





TO THE RIGHT NOBLE,  
AND MOST WORTHY OF  
*ALL HONORS, AND*  
ALL TITLES,

ROBERT Earle of Salis-  
burie, Lord High Treasurer of  
*England; &c.*

THOMAS Earle of Suf-  
folke, Lord Chamberlaine to  
*his Maestie.*



Y most Honoured Lords, I might  
iustly feare, that my continuall de-  
sire to acknowledge my dutie vn-  
to your LL. by some acceptable  
kind of seruice, would be held im-  
portunitie, if your Noble disposi-  
tions, and mine owne experience  
in particular of your Honours  
gratefull acceptance of the mea-  
nest seruice that is well meant, had not freed me from that  
feare, and enabled my weake faculties to adde this vnto the  
rest of my oblations, which I consecrate vnto your LL. vp-  
on the Altar of my deuotion. I must confesse that your fa-  
uorable reception of my French and Netherland Histories  
hath added courage to my will, to passe the Pyrennee Moun-  
taines, and to take a suruey of this Historie of Spaine: the  
which I held (in my weake judgement) for many respects,  
as worthie the knowledge of our Nation, as any other. It is  
a generall Historie of all the Continent of Spaine, wherein  
the seuerall Histories of those seuerall Kingdomes, as they  
were in former times distinctly diuided and gouerned by

*The Epistle Dedicatorie.*

diuers Princes, are vnited; being collected out of all the best authors that haue written of that subiect. These considerations I say, were the inspiring meanes to moue me to vnder- take the traduction of this Historie of Spaine, and haue giuen me resolution, and constancie to finish it, and to send it forth to the view of the world. The worke I hope will giue good content, it being a faithfull relation of so many variable and strange accidents as haue happened in those Countries, during the manie alterations and changes of that State, and the long and cruell wars betwixt the Moores & Spaniards. If I, in my plaine maner of translation, haue not giuen it that grace which a more eloquent penne might haue done, I most humbly craue pardon, and intreat that my desire to benefit others, may giue satisfaction for my disability and defects. I haue presumed to shroud the fruites of my poore endeours, vnder your LL. countenance and protection; desiring to leaue a testimonie to all posteritie how much I am

*Your LL. deuoted in au-  
duetie and seruice,*

EDWARD GRIMESTON.



To the Reader.

**G**entlemen, in the last edition of the Historie of France, I did willingly omit all matters acted by the Spaniards, wherein the French were not principally interessed, hauing then a resolution to make the Histories of those countries distinct and priuat. And for that I would not leave you long in suspense, I promised within the yeare to publish this Historie of Spaine: wherein (notwithstanding my publike seruice, and many other difficulties) I haue forced my selfe to keepe my word, and to giue you satisfaction, though it be with some preiudice to my health. I will not vse many complements in the behalfe of the Author, his worke shall plead for himselfe: This Historie was written by a Frenchman, who is yet liuing, a man of grauitie and iudgement: It is no translation, but a collection out of the best writers that haue treated of that subiect. his chiefe Authors were Stephen Garebay, Ierome Surites, Mariana, Ambrose Morales, Iohn Valsee a Fleming, with many other Spanish, Italian & Latin writers: out of all which he hath compyled this worke, and as it were vnitied and tyed together the discourse of all these realmes with a continued style, by reason of the warre, accords, marriages, and other treaties and alliances which they haue had common among them: yet hath he so distinguished them, as seeing them all, you may easily read any one seuerally by it selfe, by the direction of notes and inscriptions set in the margent at euerie section or breach, whereby you may choosethat belongs to Nauarre, Portugall, Castille, or to any other of those realmes, and read the Historie apart from the beginning to the end.

The antiquitie of this Spanish Nation (whereof he hath breiefely made mention in the beginning of the first Booke) he confesseth to be obscure and vncertaine, and the writers thereof ignorant or negligent, so as it may be his discourse agreeth not with some authors which treat of the same men of whom he maketh mention, as of Hercules, Cacus, Gerion, Denis, and such like; but he pleads thus much for himselfe, that he could not contemne nor reiect the Spanish authors which haue so written of them, the which are to be receiued as obserued and produced by them. This Historie comes but to the winning of the Terceres, which was in the yeare 1583; he hath finished the rest vnto these times, I my selfe haue seene it in his studie at Paris, but he hath not yet put it to the Presse, so as I haue bene constrained, in the continuance thereof, to helpe my selfe out of the best that haue written of these later times, wherein I haue been assisted by some worthy gentlemen in the relation of some great actions, and haue continued the Historie,

## To the Reader.

rie, unto my Lord Admirals returne out of Spaine. You must not hold it strange, if you find a great part of Philip the seconds raigne barren of any great actions done in Spaine: his chiefe designes were against forcine States, employing his bravest men abroad, either against France, England, or the United Prouinces, at the Indies, or at Sea; all which actions are either related here, or in their distinct Histories.

I must aduertise the Reader, that, from the yeare 1530, I have not directly followed my Author, for I haue both inserted diuers things out of other Authors, whereof he makes no mention, and haue related some more at large then he hath done, for your better satisfaction, as I haue found them written in other approved Authors. My last suit must be for my selfe and the Printer, yet will I not vse any great circumstances to captivate your fauors in mine owne behalfe: my stile (I confesse) is plaine and barsh; it were folly (nay madnesse) in me to seeke to conceale it, being so well knowne unto you: yet let me intreat so much fauor at your hands, that as I haue spent my spirits to giue you content, so you will spare your spleenes, and censure fauorably, untill you come to the like tryall: then shall you find, that either by your owne mistaking, or by the errors of the Presse you shall haue iust cause to sue for the like grace; which is, to supply all escapes and errors with your iudicious reading. And so I rest

Yours,

B. G.

A



# A GENERALL HISTORIE OF SPAINE:

Collected out of diuers Authors, as well  
auntient as moderne.

## The Contents of the first Booke.

C

- 1 A discourse of the auntient and first beginning of the Spaniards.
- 2 Their religion and language.
- 3 The auntient and (may be) fabulous kings and capitaines of vagabond troupes in Spaine, unto Gerion, and so to Hercules the Great.
- 4 Many petie kings, or Italian pirats, spoyling Spaine.
- 5 Discourse of the absurdities of these antiquities.
- 6 Greekes spoyling Spaine.
- 7 Affricanes entring and wasting Spaine.
- 8 Confusion and medley of the people which vsurped the cuntry of Spaine.
- 9 Phenicians and Gaditines, their offspring.
- 10 A Chorographickall description of the firme land of Spaine.
- 11 Islands about Spaine.
- 12 Distinction of the gouernments of Spaine, according to the Romans and Carthaginians, and others after them unto the Arabians.
- 13 Distinction of the kingdomes of Spaine, which are now of fame.
- 14 The fertilltie of Spaine, both auntient and moderne.
- 15 The manners of the auntient Spaniards, and of those which now hold it: their armes and discipline.

E



He beginning and antiquitie of nations farre fetcht, is alwaies fabulous: for most of them that haue vndertaken to write histories, either generall, or particular of some one nation, haue thought it expedient (for their reputations) to offer a perfect worke unto the world; and not to passe any season without some memorie of them of whom they write: imagining that the studious Reader would hold it an argument of their loth or negligence, to leaue any thing in blank. And therefore when as they wanted the testimonie of graue authors, they haue countenanced their owne imaginations; or haue imitated the fabulous inuentions of others, employing their time, toyle, and eloquence in vaine things: wherein they may hap-

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ly fatisie some curious heads, but not such as desire to leame. For as a lye cannot be so disguised, but either the conference of ages doth discouer it; or a spirit knowing the force and effect of things created, doth reject it; or the religious condemne it, as it is fit; when it shal once appeare that the author of any historie hath supposed things doubtfull and vncertaine, for true, thereby to enlarge his volumes. He that is studious, and loth to loose his time, growes discontented,

B

contented,

*Truth the substance of a history*

*The end of reading histories is to follow the truth and to live wise.*

*Spaine was known before the Carthaginians.*

*The Grecians authors of fables.*

*Tubal.*

*Pyrene mountains: full of green myrtles.*

tened, and reads it with distast. Wherefore men of best judgement, hold, that the subject of a historie is truth, in serious matters, and worthy to be imparted to posteritie; giving libertie to them that write, to season the examples with praise or blame: observing the rewards & punishments which have followed, without respect of persons, or yielding to any passion, either of loue or hatred, but stirred vp by the merits of vertue, or the horror of vice; to the end that such as read their writings, may be encouraged by the worthy acts of some, to liue virtuously, and deterred by the dishonour and vnfortunat successe of others, from all bad affections: and the rather, for that they do therein find imitable steps of vertue. And for that the memorie of many things is buried in obliuion, or miscaried, they have not been so strict, as to forbid them that find themselves ingaged in the defars and obscuritie of the antiquitie of nations, to observe some steps, and go by probable conjectures, to a way passable. This is allowed them, so as they doe it by constraint, and with judgement; remembering, that a good huntsman can judge of a wolues footing from a dogs, which are something like.

The historie of Spaine, which were solue to write, is herein defective, as in a manner all others be: for before the coming of the Carthaginians into that country, and the wars of the Romans, it cannot be directly said, by what people Spaine was held, nor at what time, nor by what policie it was gouerned, but by ill grounded conjectures. For of the acts of the first men which were disperfed vpon the face of the earth after the deluge, we haue no author but *Moses*, who is carefull to describe the estate and succession of the Hebrewes, in that chiefly which concerns the establishing of the Church of God. Of other nations he speaks but by occasion, and as God would doe good vnto this nation by them, or punish it for their ingratitude. Wee must not then seeke for any mention of Spaine or Spaniards in him. The Grecians had so little care of other nations, & haue so much respected their own, as they haue scarce vouchsafed to speake of them, but with contempt; and to amplyfie their own glorie, they haue sometimes fed the Latines with fables: who haue adorned and enriched their Rome and Italie, and haue had care to proclaime their getts, making vse (in regard of antiquitie) of Grecian fables, or of conjectures; as the moderne haue in like manner done. What can we then do in matters which are so doubtfull, but only touch these conjectures as farre as they shall seeme receivable: passing that slightly ouer, which the Historians haue written of our first Spaine, to the end we busie not our selues in a vaine labour more than is fit.

Wherefore, according to *Iosephus* report, and vpon their consciences which haue supposed vnto vs a *Berosus*, we say after many others, that *Tubal*, one of the sonnes of *Japhet*, otherwile called *Tubal*, or *Iabel*, is father to the Spaniards, although it be verie likely, that he neuer set foot in Spaine, being then a country without a name: but that from Armenia or the neighbour places, taking his way towards the North, he stayed in a region since called Iberia, situated vpon Mont Caucasus, which couers it from the North, betwixt the Caspian and Euxine seas: a country then inhabited by them which we call Georgians, whereas afterwards the Chalbises, or Alibes were, a name approaching to Iubales, as some would wrest it, changing some letters, as it happens in the corruption of tongues. These people were Smithes, handling yron, whereof the country abounds, and applying it by their art to many good vses. The descendants of *Tubal* in these places, were afterwards called Iberians, and the country Iberia, by some man of qualitie which caried that name, and whose memory they would preferre, as it is likely. From thence the most receivable authors doe maintaine, that the Iberians Spaniards parted some ages after *Tubal*, or *Iabel*, and that the people being so multiplied, as the country could not well feed them, nor containe them, a part of them were constrained either by force, or by casting of lots, to abandon the place, and seeke some new abode: the which hath bene ordinarie among all nations, and in all ages, but especially in the first age, when it was necessarie the world should be peopled and inhabited: and it is credible, that nature was at that time wonderfull fruitfull, God providing for the propagation of mankind. The common opinion is, that these Iberians haue wandered much, being arriued vpon the frontiers of the region whereof we treat, staid in the vallies of those mountaines, which were since called Pyrence, and that they did liue long there, finding them fit to entertaine them in their first inclination and breeding: for that country abounds in yron mynes as much as any in Europe; and therefore they found means wherewith to imploy themselves, and to feed, for that these mountains were full of all things wherof these new come men, and ill provided, had need, that

is to

A is to say, chestnuts, hazlenuts, pears, plummies, cherries, and all other wild fruites, with great store of acornes, especially towards the West parts.

2 That there was either good religion, knowledge, gouernment, or any thing else, but great simplicitie, ignorance, and pouertie, we can hardly beleue: and wee persuade our selues, that ciuilitie, industrie, experience and knowledge of valour and profit of things, was taught them by necessitie, the mistresse of Artes, and by strangers which came into their country from Phenicia, Ægypt, Greece, Carthage, Gaule, and elsewhere; to whom they were for a long time a prey, and in the end they learned armes, and many other malicious practices, whereof they had the root in their hearts, but grossly planted. As for religion, wee shall find by this discouerie, that it was most barbarous and infamous among them. And who doubts, but the successe of *Tubal* did suddenly forget the true God, and his pleasing seruice, seeing this corruption did so soone enter among the sonnes of *Sem*, and namely those of the family of *Heber*, of whom the Eternall did frame his chosen people and his church. I will not busie my self to contradict them which beleeue, that their first language was that of the Biscanians in those times; discouering, that seeing it hath so long maintained it selfe in that propriety, and that it cannot be discerned that this tongue hath taken any tearms from other auncients, nor from other nations which inhabit about their country, with whom notwithstanding they conuerse and traffique, wee must beleue that there is something verie remarkable in this language, and thereby conclude, that it was one of the first tongues which did confound the builders of Babel, and by consequence the whole world, God being pleased to haue preserved in Spaine this note of the first inhabitants thereof. Admit it be so, and that the Bascogade, which the Biscanians at that time did vse, a part of Nauarre, and they of Alaua, are the first, or of greatest antiquitie vpon the frontiers of Spaine.

3 Let vs be no lesse difficult to beleuee the opinion of a certaine Spanish doctor, who maintains, That one of the nephewes of *Sem*, or else of *Cham*, called *Sepharad*, came along the coast of Affricke to the strait, and hauing crost it with great troupes, he did people the bankes of the Ocean and the Mediterranean seas, whereas the riuier of Guadaluquiber doth ingulph, grounded vpon that the Hebrews call the Spaniards *Sepharadin*, & that they may apply the beginning of many names of towns, riuers, islands, and mountains of the country, to the Hebrew, Caldee, and Syriack tongues; as Gaddir, Sepyla, Betis, Calpe, Auila, and the like. All this is not strange, although there were no danger to deriue these names from the Phenicians, who vied the Syrian tongue, and had great affinitie with the Hebrew which was vsed among the Lewes, a nation also of Syria: and to beleuee that they were brought into Spaine by the Tyrians and others which invaded those quarters, when they came to spoyle the treasures thereof. That Spaine hath alwayes from the beginning bene peopled in two severall parts, vpon the East and Pyrence mountaines by the Iberians of Asia, and Caucasians descending from *Tubal*; and towards the South at the strait, by *Sepharad* and his troupes, which came out of Syria and Affricke: and that of either side, as the people multiplied, they advanced farther into the country: we may vndoubtedly beleuee, that those of the Pyrence mountaines passing the vallies by little & little on the West side, did people such a part of the country as they gaue their name to the first nauigable riuier, and to the whole region, celebrating the memory of their native country, and of this *Iberus*, of whom they were named, whatsoeuer he were.

4 Among the most auncient captains or kings of this vagabond nation, they make mention of one *Idubeda*, of whom the mountaine of *Iubalda*, or *Idubeda*, might be named, whereof we will speake hereafter. Then they produce *Brigus* king or gouernor of these troupes, who began a ciuile gouernment, and built (as they say) many castles in Spaine, which caried the marks of his name, all in a manner ending in Briga, as Nemetobriga, Mitobriga, and such like, by reason whereof he caried painted in his standard a castle (although the skill to blaze Armes was not then well knowne;) and the authors of the Spanish antiquities say, That of him the assemblies of people were called Brigies, and afterwards Brigues, and Brigades: the which did so multiply vnder his gouernment and conduct, as they were forced to send whole armies out of the country, to seeke new habitations; whereof some of these Brigues coming into Thrace, and then into Asia, they brought the name of Brigie thither, the which since by corruption hath bene turned into Phrigia: and that Castille, now called Viegia, was in old time tearmed Brigia, and that the new Spanish tongue hath since turned it into Biegia,

B ij

cal-

*Biscan tongue  
verie auncient, &  
held the first the  
Spaniards vsed.*

*Conjectures  
are that Sepharad  
had did build  
Spaine.*

*Iberians gave  
the name vnto  
Spaine.*

*Idubeda.*

*Brigus.*

Consider that  
the Celts were  
mangled with the  
Iberians from  
the beginning.

To rob was pro-  
hibited by the an-  
cient  
Tayos.

Betis.

Gerion.

Strange princes  
tyrannize spain

Ofiris

A just cause of  
warre to deliver  
the oppressed.

Curetes.

Gadir and Tar-  
teffe.

Here the first  
habitation in  
Sardinia.

calling it Castille la Biegie, in stead of Briga. For my part I beleue, that this word *Briga*, was brought into Spaine by the Celtes, which did hold a great part of that country, for that it is of the language of the old Gauls, by the which was signified people, town, or assembly. Moreover, there were many townes in France, which had their names deriued from it; as the lake Brigantium vpon the Alpes, which is that of Constance at this present; and Brigantium, which is Briançon in Dauphine; the Latobriges neere vnto the Suisses, and others, whereas the Celtes did in old time inhabit. And if there were a king so named, it is verie likely he was a Gaule, capitaine of some troupe of Celtes, in whose time there were great alterations of people, and by consequence ambitious thefts, the best exercise the noble men then gaue themselves vnto. This is what may be spoken of this *Briga*.

After whom *Tagus* was famous, from whom it may bee the riuer *Tayo* tooke her ancient name. Hee following the steps of his predecessour, sent many superfluous and vnneccessarie troupes out of Spaine, to seeke new habitations, whereof some past into Asia.

*Betis* came after, who was also called *Turditanus*, hee gaue that name to the country which is betwene the holy Promontorie, now called Cape S. Vincent, and the riuer of Guadalquivir, the which was also called *Betis*: and in succession of time did communicat that name to a great part of the neighbour country, whereof they did afterwards name one of the chiefe provinces of Spaine. In regard of him that country vpon the strait towards the West and South, began to be famous, and knowne to strangers, especially to the *Ægyptians*, and other *Africans*, nations which were then mightie and warlike, and withall cunning and politike, good mariners, and abounding in ships, to whom the entrie into this part of Spaine did offer it selfe, and was more commodious than any other. And therefore the names of other inhabitants within the country, did for a long time after remaine obscured and vnknowne. They doe attribute some lawes and policie vnto this *Betis*, and the bringing in of some learning into Spaine, but what it was, is vnknowne.

To confirme that which is said, That in the reign of *Betis* strangers began to taste the riches and commodities of Spaine: Authors report, that presently after his death, a capitaine, mightie in shipping and men, came out of Affricke, landed in Turditanie, and seised thereon. Hee was a Libian, and was called *Gerion*, and by some *Deabus*, furnamed by the Greekes *Chrysee*, as one would say, of gold, or gilt; by reason of the treasures he gathered by violence and tyrannie. For knowing that Spaine was full of mynes of all sorts of mettals, he became curious to search for them, forcing the people to worke with such rigour, as if they had beene brute beasts; many fainting vnder their burthens, ended their miserable liues: so as the brute of his crueltie (an inseparable companion to couetousnesse) infected in a manner the whole earth, in places most remote, and was abhorred of all those that had any feeling of humanitie.

*Ofiris* *Denis* then reigned in *Ægypt*, who moued with pitie, and of a generous spirit, came into Spaine with a great armie of *Ægyptians*, *Syrians*, *Arabians*, and other neighbour nations, to ruine this detestable tyrant; whom he vanquished in battell, and slew: which is the first that was giuen in Spaine, that any mention is made of since the deluge. And for that he came neither to conquer, nor to enrich himselfe, being moued with a zeale of iustice, hauing settled the affaires of the country, he deliuered the feignorie of the *Turditanians* to three of his children, who had beene punished for his wickednesse, admonishing them not to follow the wretched auarice of their father, least their ends were like vnto his. Some *Arabians* *Scenites* of his troupe, would needs remaine in Spaine, to whom he assigned the country about Cape Saint Vincent.

Neere vnto it (and where as the riuer *Anas* disgorgeth it selfe) dwelt the *Curetes*, descended from *Curis*, nephew (they say) to *Champ* among the *Tercenian*, or *Tartessian* forests, which did run along the shore vnto the island of *Gadir*, then called *Tartesse* (in our time *Calis*: ) in which island *Gerion* was interred, the first of any dead bodie that was put in the ground in Spaine; for before the custome was to cast dead carcases into the sea, or into riuers, or to hang them vpon trees, or else they left them in the fields.

*Ofiris* left in this island a sister of his, called *Erythree*, who (it may be by one of these young *Gerions*) had a sonne called *Noras*, who (as some say) did build *Nora*, the first mansion in the island of *Sardinia*.

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A These three young princes, who were called *Lominians*, were so like in face and manners, and did agree so well together, as the Poets haue fained, that they were but one king which had three bodies. They gouerned their subjects with more modestie than their father. Imagine that the feare of punishment kept them in awe, yet could they not so subdue their courages, but they fought all vnworthie means to reuenge their fathers death. Wherefore the seas being now open to the *Turditanes*, & commerce brought in from the West to the East, they had secret practises with *Tiphon*, whom they knew to be ambitious, and procured him to kill king *Ofiris* his brother, and to seise vpon the kingdome of *Ægypt*.

*Ofiris* left many children, among the which was *Hercules* the Great, whom they surname *Hercules* *Oren*,

B the *Ægyptian Apollo*, *Mars*, & *Oron*: by him the *Gerions* *Lominians* receiued a worthie reward for their ingratitude. For hauing gathered together a great armie of diuers nations, he past into Spaine, whereas these three brethren were ready to make head against him: yet *Hercules* grieving that so much innocent blood should be spilt for the offence of three men, he offered to fight alone with them all three in single combats: which being accepted by the *Gerions*, they lost their liues. They say, that this passage of *Hercules*, was at the same time when as *Jacob* and his family went into *Ægypt*, or a little before. By this victorie *Hercules* was receiued and honoured of the *Turditanes*, and other *Spaniards*: who after that he had settled their affairs, and planted two pillars vpon the straits, the one in Europe, and the other in *Affricke*; and two others in the island, since called *Gadir*: which some hold were towers, and not pillars, for a marke and testimonie of his conquests and toyles, he tooke his course towards *Italie*, leaving the gouernment of Spaine to one of his captaines called *Hispal*, which some will haue to bee his sonne. They say also, that he left in those islands, which are now called *Majorca* and *Minorca*, a Gouernour called *Balee*, of whom they since tooke the name of *Baleares*: although that most men beleue they were so named, for that the inhabitants were expert in fliings.

*Hispal* remaining Gouernour of this part of Spaine, which is at the straits and thereabouts neere vnto the two seas (for as we haue said, those that liued within the country, had not felt much of these forraigne inuasions) he began a towne called by him *Hispalis*, since named *Sevilla*, and at this day *Seuille*.

*Hispal* succeeded him, a wife and an aduised man, and a louer of vertue, as they write of him: and we must beleue that he was some great personage (if there were euer any such in being) seeing the whole region whereof we treat hath retained his name, and preferred it in such sort as it hath not beene changed since. Others notwithstanding acknowledging in no sort this *Hispal* to be the author of the name which hath remained to Spaine, affirme, and it may bee not rashly, That it came of the people of *Iberia* in *Asia*, the which in old time was called *Pana*, of the name of one *Pan*, who gouerned there vnder his father *Liber*: and therefore this of Europe was indifferently called *Iberia* and *Pana*: but those that came after, corrupting the word, did adde some letters, and called it sometimes *Spana*, and sometimes *Spania*, as in truth the *Latines* did name it in the beginning, terming it *Spania*, and not *Hispania*. The *Spaniards* comming afterwards to imbrace the Roman tongue, added an *E*, and called it *Espania*, as they haue beene accustomed to do to all *Latine* words which begin with *S*, as *Escala*, *Escala*, *Escribo*, &c. and the like. These *Iberians* did also call themselves *Abasgi*, whereof it may bee came *Basco*, *Basco*, and *Bascongado*. Such as beleue that *Hispal* reigned in Spaine, say, That he was the first which tooke the royall diademe, and that he caused towers to bee built in the island of *Tartesse*, and in *Galicia*, which they call *Phares*, or *Beacons*, for the helpe of saylers: yet others hold with more reason, that that in *Galicia*, which is yet standing, was the worke of *Ostianus Cæsar*.

*Hercules* hauing done many great exploits in *Italie*, he left *Atlas* *Kitin* there to gouerne, carrying back his brother *Hesperus*, he returned into Spain, where he found *Hispal* deceased: wherefore he himselfe did gouerne it in person for many yeares, and dyed there, as they say. His bodie was buried in the island of *Tartesse*, where at that time the kings court was, in a sumptuous and stately tombe.

After him reigned *Hesperus*, brother to *Atlas* *Kitin*, of whose name they say that Spaine and also *Italie* were called *Hesperies*; that is, *Italie* *Hesperia* the great, and Spaine the later *Hesperia*, for that he reigned sometime both in the one and the other. But *Atlas* enuious of his brothers greatness, came with an armie and dispossessed him of the kingdome, forcing him

to flie into Italie, from whence *Hercules* had brought him: where hee was well entertained, and raigned. The which *Atlas* vnderstanding, hee suffered him not long quiet, but returned into Italie with a good number of Spaniards, and chased him away; meaning to hold Italie as his royall fear, and Spaine as an accessarie, to draw gold, siluer, and all other commodities from thence.

*Oris*, *Atlas* parting from Spaine, he left the gouernment to *Oris* his sonne, who was called *Sic Oris*, *Sic* feruing as a fore-name. Of him they say the riuier *Sicoris*, now called *Sigro*, was named: the which passeth by *Lerida*, and falls into *Ebro*. But no man can tell vpon what occasion he was so called, nor how hee extended his limits thither, being so farre from the straits, and isle of *Gadir*.

*Anus* succeeded *Oris*, whom they also called *Sicanus*, and of his name the riuier of *Guadiana* tooke the auintent denomination. Wee must conjecture, that his predecessour *Oris* did establish some estate and principallitie, or made some fort and retreat about the riuier of *Sigro*, whereof this that succeeded him had the first gouernment: seeing they place along the banks thereof, the people which are called *Sicanians*, so named of this *Sicanus*, who it seemes were his souldiours, and the troups which he commaunded. Some of those bands hauing past into Italie, to helpe their country-men, which had bene led thither by *Atlas Rittin*, and hauing inhabited the countrey of the *Latines* (which is the territorie of *Rome*) they were there encountered by the naturall *Italians*. Passing on, they carried the name of *Sicanians*, into the island then called *Trinacria*, and since *Sicile*: into the which, they say, that *Sicanus* past in person, hauing in Italie fought with the *Ligurians*, *Oenotrians*, *Lestrigons*, and others: and that he was there encountered by the *Cyclopes*, cruell and barbarous men, who would not suffer the *Sicanians* to come and dwell in their island: but they were forced to yeeld.

*Steeleus* the sonne of *Sicanus* raigned in Spaine, after his father, and passed in like manner into Italie and *Sicile*, where he changed the former name, calling it *Sicile*, the which it holds. The occasion of his passage, was the controuersie betwixt *Dardanus* and *Iafus*, his cousins, sonnes to *Electra* the daughter of *Atlas*, for the rule of Italie; the which he reconciled. But *Dardanus* hauing afterwards slaine *Iafus* his brother treacherously, *Steeleus* pursued the reuenge so vehemently, as *Dardanus* was forced to abandon the countrey, and to go into *Samo-thracia*, and then into *Asia*, to seeke a new habitation. This mans raigne concurreth with the time that God sent plagues vpon the *Egyptians*, by *Moses* and *Aaron*.

*Steeleus* being dead, his sonne *Lufus* held the scepter of Spaine; of whose name some will haue *Lusitania* (a part thereof) to be called. He past also into Italie, and at his returne brought many *Italians* into Spaine. Where, after him, *Plus*, or *Siculus*, his sonne, raigned: whom they called *Neptune*, for that he entertained many ships and gallies at sea. He past, as his predecessors had done, into Italy and *Sicile*, to succour the Spaniards which were feared in those regions, against whom the *Cyclopes* and others of the countrey renewed the wars. After him many stranger thrust into Spaine, vpon diuers occasions, but for one only cause, which was, for spoyle, being easie to take, by reason of the simplicitie of the Spanish people.

Hee that shall consider duely hereof, will not thinke it to agree with that which we haue said before, as in truth it doth not: For if these kings (of whom we haue made mention since *Atlas*) which haue raigned, according to *Historians* and *Cronickers*, for two hundred and fiftie yeares, haue not onely had the meanes to defend Spaine from strangers, but to lead forth many armies, and to subdue the people of Italie and *Sicile*; to make themselves vmpiers of kings quarels, to build townes there, and to commaund the seas: and that from Spaine to Italie, and from Italie to Spaine, the passage and commerce was ordinarie: How could it be, that so soone after the death of *Siculus*, the Spaniards should grow so simple and vnwarlike, as if they had neuer seene armes? And that it was in the power of the first pyrat that came from *Affricke*, *Phenicia*, or *Greece*, to seise vpon it, and insult ouer them, without any resistance? Had they learned nothing? had they gotten no courage in so many warres which they had seene in Italie? What was become of those capitaines which these late kings had so happily employed? had they all cursed their countrey, or found some *Lethe* flood, to make them forget it, and to stay in Italie? Or if they were dead, did they leaue no discipline, nor any impression of vertue in their youth? It is not likely, and there-

fore

A fore we must put all these discourses among idle tales, or find some meanes to vnfold this difficultie. Euery one hath free libertie to discourse: For my part I beleue, that these men which they say had reigned in Spaine since *Atlas*, haue bene *Italians*, acknowledging the Soueraignetie of Italie, and gouerning Spaine as a subdued Prouince: or else respecting onely their profit, they made voyages like vnto pyrats, shearing them to the bloud, and then carrying their spoyles into Italie, employing the lewest people in the countrey to oppress the rest; and in the meane time, through the fauour of some fort, which they did maintaine to assure their landing and their shipping, they caused themselves to be called Kings. Then seeing that the Spaniards (which had joynd with them to doe ill) did multiply too fast, or grew more cunning than was fit for their purpose, they found meanes to embarke them, and to send them into Italie vpon some vaine hopes, whereas being once arriued, there was no more any meanes to returne into Spaine. Such in my opinion were the armies which those kings led out of Spaine into Italie, that is, troups of theues, of whom they would be assured, that they should not conspire against them, nor take their practise from them, after they had instructed them in their trade. By these subtilie practises they did spoile Spaine both of men and treasure, holding the grosse and rude multitude in ignorance, and setting an opinion in them, that they were good men, and louers of justice; yea religious, for that they dealt in the pacifying of controuersies, which happened among the people, and sometimes they payed vowes, or made some superstitious dedication of a Temple or Chappell. I say moreover, That those which we haue before named were not alone, which made this worke in Spaine; but in their times, and whilst they were buisie in one part, other nations did the like in some other quarter of the countrey. So as it is no maruell, seeing the Spaniards had yet no meanes to see a lawfull and settled Estate among them, and that those which did gouerne them, had alwayes this affected end, to entertaine them in their simplicitie; an assured marke of Tyrants. So as the race of these men sayling, this poore nation was presently made subject to the first that did invade them, the children proouing as vnable as their fathers.

6 They report, That about that time some Greekes of the Island of *Zante*, in old time called *Zacynthe*, arriued vpon that coast whereas since the towne of *Valencia* was built, and there made a little fort, or store-houfe, for their traffique, the which they called *Zacynthium*; the which did since encrease in people and building, and became a good towne, from whence *Sagunte* had her beginning, renowned for the loyaltye of the citizens to the people of *Rome*, the beginning and for the occasion which shew gaue of the long and bloudie warres betwixt the *Romanes* and the *Carthaginians*, which they called the second *Punicke* warre. These *Zacynthians* trafficking with them of *Iberia*, which dwelt within the countrey, and were neighbours to the mountaines, did receiue from them gold and siluer, little esteemed by these simple men, for that these metalls grew in their countrey, giuing them in exchange trifles of small value: so, as growing rich in a short time, they published among the other *Grecians*, and among the nations of *Asia*, the fame, happinesse, and abundance of treasure in Spaine, inciting many thereby to goe and discover the countrey, and to attempt something. And for that (as we haue said before) religion hath alwaies bene a lure for cunning and malicious men to assure the simple, to whom they intend some mischief, these *Zacynthians* caused a goodly Temple to bee built to *Diana*, in the place which is now called *Denia*, according vnto some, but falsely, prouiding by that meanes and maske of religion, for their *Zacynthium*, which they had built vpon that coast, that by the reuerence of this Temple they might be assured from all violence.

7 In the meane time an *Affrican* called *Tessa* seized vpon *Gadir*, and of all the maine *Tessa* land thereabouts, calling himselfe king of Spaine. It may be that of his name they were called *Contestans*, which did inhabit along the banks of the *Mediterranean* sea, whereas *Murcia* and *Carthage* are at this present.

After him he left the gouernment to his sonne *Romus*, to whom they attribute the building of the towne of *Valencia* (yet *Titus Livius* doth not make it so ancient) the which was first called *Rome*, of his name, since by the *Latines*, holding this name to be *Greece*, they turned it in their language to *Valencia*, which was all one; for *Rome* in *Greece*, and *Valencia* in old *Latine*, is power and force.

In

False Denis.

Lebrissa, and the beginning.

Phenician spoyle Spaine.

Palatua, Palatig.

Cacus Licinius.

Gunpowder an ancient invention.

Erythree.

Gadir called Erythree.

Gargoris.

Hercules the Grecian.

In this kings time there came a pyrat into Spaine, well followed by men of his owne fort, who spoyle the whole countrey adjoining vnto the sea, and then hee returned with his spoyle, leauing an opinion of him, that hee was the father *Liber Denis*, or *Bacchus*: for the custome of those obscure times was, That great pyrats and heads of vagabond people (whereof the world did then abound) did take vpon them the names of great personages and famous men, who had gone before them, and whom foolish superstition had deified; giuing the people where they came to vnderstand, That they were gods, which came to visite them, to deliuer them from tyrants, and to doe them good; so as they were often deceived. By such fained deuices these Harpies found lesse resistance in their enterprises. It may be this *Denis* was the sonne of *Semele*, and nephew or grand child to *Cadmus* king of Thebes in Beoce, but not that great *Denis*, Conqueror of the Indies, who was much more auncient. They say, that he built the towne of *Lebrissa* (the which he called *Nebrissa*) vpon one of the chanelles of the river *Betis*; the which in those dayes fell into the sea with two gulfes. *Nebros* in Greeke is a Hynds calfe, with the skins whereof they did attire those that did celebrate the *Bacchanalia*. It was at the same time when as the Phenicians began to encroch much vpon the Spaniards, and to come with whole armies into their countrey, and to make their prey, as the Grecians, Egyptians, and others of Affricke did.

To *Remus* they make *Palatua* his sonne to succed him; who as they say was founder of the towne of *Palenza*: but there did rise a pettie king or captain against him, out of the mountaines, neere vnto the river *Ebro*, called *Cacus Licinius*, who in the end became master thereof, and *Palatua* was forced (being yet young) to fflye out of the countrey, and to sue for succours in vaine, begging his bread in a manner for many yeares, of forraigne princes and potentates. This *Cacus* was industrious, and the author of many subtilie inuentions; to purge and forge yron, and to fashion it to diuers instruments fit for the warre: for hee taught how to make breast-plates and other furniture for the defence of the bodie: and some beleue, that he had the art to make that infernall powder, which they vse for artillerie. For these inuentions, wherein he was very expert, he was celebrated by the Poets, as the sonne of *Vulcan*, the god of Forges. *Palatua* after that he had long slied in vaine to princes and townes, whereas hee expected some succours, to recouer his estate, hee resolu'd in the end to returne into Spaine, and to obserue, if the inconstancie of humane things had not prepared him some meanes to recouer his dignitie, and to chafe away his enimie: whereas hee arriued so happily, as the Spaniards, whether moued with pittie of his calamitie, or wearie of the others command, they receiued *Palatua*, and gaue him men and meanes to recouer his kingdom. So *Cacus* being dispossessed of that which he had held, fled into Italie, where they say that *Hercules* the Grecian slew him (whereof we will make mention) although that the author thereof doe not agree well vpon this point. There *Cacus* bred discord betwixt all the people and townes of Italie by his lewd practises.

*Palatua* being dead, the Tyrians of Phoenicia, who had now learned the way to Spaine, came with their king *Erythree*, and good store of ships, who giuing them to vnderstand, That he had bene commaunded by the Oracle to come and build a Temple to *Hercules Libique*, in the Island of *Tartesse*, that is, *Calis*; they were not onely receiued, but *Erythree* was also chosen king of that part of Spaine; who built a stately Temple in the Island to *Hercules*, changing the name thereof, and causing it to be called *Erythree*, or else renewed that name, which it might haue had from the sister of *Orus* aboue mentioned, or of the *Erythreeans* of the East, who followed *Hercules Orus*, which had dwelt there. To this Temple, which some hold was built vpon the maine land, where at this present *Medina Sydonia* stands, was due the tenths of all the thefts and spoyle of the West, by a perpetuall decree, the which was long obserued.

Of this king *Erythree* there is nothing more spoken: to whom they giue for successefour *Gargoris*, a Spaniard: he taught the people the vse of honey, and was therefore called *Mielie*. The chiefe force of this kings estate and others his predecessors, were the *Curetes*, a brutish and sauage people, dwelling in the Forrests of *Tartesse*, which contained a great part of the Ocean shore, from the holy Promontorie, or Cape *S. Vincent*, vnto the Island of *Erythree*.

In his time *Hercules* the Grecian, sonne to *Alcmena*, passed into Spaine, to whom the Greek Poets, and others that haue followed them, did attribute such prowesse, but falsely: for this

A this *Hercules* was but an insolent man, yet well beloued of the Grecian princes, by reason of his boldnesse and his strength of bodie fit to rob and steale, whereunto the nobilitie of that age was commonly addicted. The wealth of Spaine, which was so much spoken of in Greece and Asia, made him affect this voyage, after the first Trojan warre, against *Laomedon*. Having then gathered together all the pyrats and theuees he could, as well in Europe as in Asia, hee set saile, and coasting along Italie, hee landed in the place of *Tuscane*, which since hath bene called *Port Hercules*. From thence hee arriued in *Sardinia*, where hee found some few inhabitants, where hee left one *Sardus*, with some of the idle multitude that was in his armie. Of this *Sardus*, *Sardinia* tooke the name. Before hee passed on, hee made a great sacrifice vnto the gods, in a little Island, betwixt *Corfica* and *Sardinia*, the which for that cause doth still retain the name of *Isle Hercules*. Then hee directed his course towards the Islands of *Baleares*, then called *Gymnades*, whereas the inhabitants made some weake resistance with their slings: in the least of which Islands hee dedicated a Temple to *Ianus*, whereas since the towne of *Ciuitella* was built. Then continuing his voyage, hee toucht the Islands of *Pituyfes*, and gaue the name of *Ebusa* to the greater. In the end hee arriued vpon the maine of Spaine, whereas *Dianes* Temple was built, the which hee enriched with gifts, and did reuerence with sacrifices, for his prosperous voyage; and forthat *Diana* was held to be the goddesse which had care of trauelers. Then sayling along the coast, hee came through the strait into the Ocean, and to the Island of *Erythree*, where hee landed his armie vpon the firme land, and stayed there some few

C dayes to refresh his men; hee in the meane time honouring his Temple (whose name hee carried, and did challenge his acts) busied himselfe in making of playes and sacrifices. Hearing then that the *Curetes* and other Spaniards had put themselves in armes to fight with him, hee went to meet them, gaue them battaile, and did easily defeat them, repulsing them into their Forrests, out of the which they durst not fallie like enemies. This combat is supposed by the Poets for that of the Titans against their gods, faining, that the *Herculeans* were gods, and the *Curetes* and Spaniards the Titans.

After this victorie, the whole countrey was at *Hercules* deuotion: who imitating the auncient *Hercules* of *Lybia*, planted pillars in the straits; the one in Europe, the other in *Affricke*; enlarged the towne which was in the Island of *Erythree*, and left many Tyrians and Sydonians, which had followed him, there: and it may be it then tooke the name of *Gadir*, or *Gades*, which in the Phenician tongue signifieth a Terme, or Limit: and tearming himselfe a god, would haue all diuine honours done vnto him. And some hold, That it was hee which made a law, to pay the tenth of the enemies spoyle, and to offer them to *Hercules* Temple: at the least hee did exact it being in Spaine, that hee might haue part of other mens spoyle, and know the greatest theuees. This done, hee marched towards the *Pyrene* mountaines, spoyleing the coast vpon the Mediterranean sea, and drawing after him a great traine of all nations, which came at the bruit and fame of this great theefe, and the treasures of Spaine: Hee passed into Gaule, and from thence into Italie, polluting all good families where hee passed, as hee had bene accustomed to doe all his life time. The cause of his suddaine departure, was the news hee heard of the great preparation which the Grecian princes made, to warre against the *Trojans*, for the rape of *Helena*, whither hee was inuited by his friend *Telamon* of *Salamine*. Thus was Spaine in a short time beaten, and deliuered from a great scourge. Of this *Hercules* the Poets haue fained all that is written, of the conquests, prowesse, and trauels of many other *Hercules*, more auncient and better men than hee: hee was a Grecian, but not of Greece it selfe, but of that part of Italie which they call the great Greece, and of *Tarentum*, conceived in adultery by *Alcmena*, the wife of *Amphitruon*, a priuat man, and an vknowne father, bred vp at Thebes in Beoce, and nourished in theft, fornication, and execrable murders: a companion and counsellor to *Iason*, in the voyage of *Colchis*, at the spoyle of the treasures of *Medea*, and the rape of his daughter *Medea*: the author and executioner of the ruine and death of *Laomedon* king of *Troy*; whose daughter *Hesione*, a noble and innocent virgin, hee did prostitute to his companion *Telamon*, bold and hardie in all bad actions: so as hee purchased the name and reputation of a valiant captain, and was readily followed into Spaine by men of his owne fort, whereof there were store, and finding nothing left to steale in Asia.

As hee carried away many bad persons when hee went into Spaine, so hee left others of diuers nations behind him, who built cities and townes, or finding some of their countrey men already

Theues countenanced by prisoners in old time.

Baleares called Gymnades.

Hercules defeats the Titans.

Hercules Tarentum a bastard.

Calpe.  
BarcelonaAfonſia,  
Lerida.Crueltie of a  
grandfather.Albin, Habidus,  
or Habis.The Celtes paſſe  
into Spaine.

Celtiberia.

alreadie ſeated, planted themſelves among them. Calpe, which was called Heraclea was then built. In this paſſage alſo, Barcinon, ſo named of fifthermens Cabbins, made of oyziers, which were fiſt there, was enriched with a Temple, which this *Hercules* cauſed to be built to *Iupiter*. Turiaſſo neere vnto Montcaio, was the Tyrians worke; Aulonſia the Italians, it is now called Vic: Ilerda, now Lerida, the Illyrians, and others of other nations, whereof *Hercules* army was compoſed. To *Dianes* Temple (which the Zacynthians had begun before his coming) there were (by him, or by the Zacynthians of his companie) great beames of Iuniper ſet; the which were ſpared by *Hanniball* when as he ruined thoſe places, and continued vnto the time of the Roman Emperors. There remained many other marks of this paſſage long after in Spaine.

As for *Gargoris*, who was king, he recovered his authoritie with great difficultie, and kept it with more paine; yet he reigned many yeares, and left the realme to his grand child, which his daughter had by ſtealth: wherewith *Gargoris* was ſo much offended, as he cauſed this child to be left in the fields, to be deuoured of wild beaſts; the which, by the will of God, did not only leaue him vntoucht, but did alſo nourish him with their vrine: whereof the old man being aduertified, he commaunded him to be laid in the high wayes, that oxen, horſes, hogs, and ſuch like going and coming, might tread him vnder their feet: yea, he cauſed him to be preſented to famiſhed maſtiues, which had bin kept hungry of purpoſe: but he was ſtill preferred by the fauor of heauen; and the brute beaſts (more kind than his grandfather) turned from the infant, and did not hurt him. In the end, this cruell man not content to put the poore child to an ordinarie death, he cauſed him to be carried far into the Ocean ſea; yet could not his deſire ſucceed: for the infant was caſt by the waues vpon the ſands, whereas a hynd hauing newly calued, was ſo farre in loue with it, as ſhe forgot her own fruit, and nourished the child, vntill he grew great, and got his liuing in the woods and rocks, feeding vpon wild fruits; who in the end grew ſtrong, and ſo actiue, as he ran as ſwiftly as any ſtagge. He was often ſcene, and purſued by the huntſmen of the cuntry, who could not conceiue what it was; yet they layd fo many ambuſhes, as in the end they tooke him, and preſented him vnto *Gargoris* their king: who hauing carefully conſidered and viewed the countenance of this ſavage priſoner, he was of opinion, that it was his grand child: whereof he was the better aſſured by certaine marks which he had made vpon his bodie, and cauſed him to be attended on as his Eſtate required; then dying, he left him heire of his realme of Spaine: where he ſhewed himſelfe wiſe, vertuous, and a louer of the good of men, notwithstanding that he had bin bred vp among wild beaſts in his youth. For they ſay he made politicke lawes, and taught them to tyll the land; accuſtomed the barbarous people to a more ciuile life, and fought the meanes to better the fruits of the earth by manuring, remembering his hard and rough breeding in his younger yeares. Hee is called by *Albin*, *Habidus*, or *Habis*, by others *Habidus*, or *Habis*. He appointed exerciſes for the Spaniards, and diuided the people into ſeuen townes or cantons.

8 After him there is no mention of any kings in Spaine for many ages: which giues ſome occaſion to conjecture, that they erected many Commonweales; or that this region lay open to the inuaſion of many ſtrangers, which came from diuers parts; namely, after the deſtruction of Troy, which happened in the time of this *Habidus*; in whole life time certaine Celtes coming out of Gaule, came into Iberia, where they had long and ſharpe warre againſt the inhabitants of the cuntry, with whom they would ſhare their lands; & in the end forced the Iberians to receiue them, and to contract alliances with them, giuing them their daughters in marriage: and ſo communicating both ayre, cuntry, and names with them, they made of two nations one, which was called Celtiberian, and the cuntry of Celtiberia; which is, all that lyes betwixt the Pyrennee mountaines and the riuer of Ebro. Other Celtes and Gauls had paſſed farther into Spaine; it may be, before the Iberians came there, and had run beyond the riuer of Ebro, vnto the Weſt Ocean, where they had held a part of Portugal and Betica; in which provinces they did alſo carry the names of Celtes, Celtiques, Galates, and Gallicians, and there did build townes. *Ephorus* (for that the Celtes did hold all that North part of Spaine, and part of Portugal) extended Gaule vnto the Iſland of Gades. *Habis* reigned yet, when *Elna*, a towne in the cuntry of Roſſillon, was firſt founded; the which ſome haue ignorantly written, was named by *Helene*, mother to *Conſtantine* the Great, or built by her grand child *Conſtans*.

Many Grecians in thoſe times came into Spaine, among the which (as they ſay) was *Tener*, the ſonne of *Telamon*, who (hauing beene chaſed away by his father, and after his death excluded

A cluded from the ſucceſſion) landed whereas now Carthage now ſtands, and ſo paſſed on into Galicia. They attribute vnto him the foundation of the towne of Salamanca; a name which commeth neere vnto that of Salamina, where *Tener* was borne: yet ſome affirme, That in auncient time it was called Elmantica, and more properly. *Diomedes* alſo came into Spaine with certain *Aetolians*, and they hold, that the towne of Tude vpon Myrio was his worke, for Tude, that this name hath ſome affinity with *Tydeus*, the father of *Diomedes*. *Aſtur*, who was coachman to king *Memnon* (no ſmall office in thoſe dayes) being come with the Grecians into this Region, gaue the name vnto the Aſturians, and to the towne and riuer of Aſtorga. Some *Aſturia* maintaine, That Liſbon, Olyſſippo or Vlyſſippo, hath bene built by *Vlyſſes*, and in it a Temple to the goddeſſe *Pallas*. Of *Mneſthem* of Athens (to whom there were diuine honours conferred after his death) was named the port of Mneſthee, neere vnto Gades. Finally, infinite Grecians, which could not or would not returne into their cuntry, after the deſtruction of Troy, came into Spaine, and erected many petty Eſtates: and among them there were many other nations, who had ſome ſtrength at ſea, and were expert in nauigation, but at diuers ſeaſons, and very vncertaine; as the Thracians, whereof the towne of Veta, or rather that of Almerie, *Almeria*, giue ſome teſtimonie: for in old time it was called Abdera, as another which was in Thrace. The Rhodians did build the towne of Roſes, now deſart, at the foot of the Pyrennee mountaines, *Reſta*, whereas the Conſull *Cato* firſt landed, when hee came to make warre in Spaine. Theſe men taught the Spaniards the vſe of hand-mylles, and to coyne money. The Phocians of Aſia did build Marſeille, and founded the towne of Empurias, which in like manner is now ruined. It was in auncient time inhabited by three kinds of people, of diuers manners and languages, diuided by wals, and liuing in continuall jealousie one of another, which were naturall Spaniards. Theſe Phocians, and afterwards Romans, which were added by *Iulius Ceſar*, who hauing reduced Spaine vnder his obedience, and chaſed away *Pompeys* children, and their faction, made one bodie of theſe three nations, and a towne well vnitied. The Mileſians and the Caryſtians came alſo to inhabit there; and the Leſbians iſſued from the Maſſagetes, to whom they attribute the foundation of Concauo, Caſtulo, at this preſent Caſlona, in old time a great towne, and the limit of two gouernments of Spaine: vnder the Romane Empire it was called Pamaſia; which maketh ſome thinke, that they of Phocide in Europe were the founders, for that Pamaſſus hill is in their cuntry. Then came the Phrygians, which were extract (as ſome ſay) of Spaine and the Egyptians, vnder the leading of a capitaine called *Tarracon*, of whom the towne of Tarracone tooke the name. Hauing taken great ſpoyles along the Mediterranean ſhore, he went and payed the tenths of his thefts to *Hercules* temple at Calis, according to the auncient order. He had a nobleman of the cuntry, whoſe name was *Teron*, that oppoſed himſelfe, but he could not hinder him from ſpoyling of the cuntry: For in truth the Spaniards, vntill the warres betwixt the Romanes and the Carthaginians, had no commendation to bee good warriors, in regard of other nations. When as the Egyptian was gone, *Teron* demanded of the Gaditanes the offerings which this theefe had made vnto their Temple, as taken away by violence and iniuſtice: whereunto the Gaditanes oppoſed themſelves, and did ſo well defend the rites of their god, as they ſlew *Teron*, and defeated his men in a battaile at ſea.

Some Cipriots came alſo to dwell in Spaine, and moreover they beleue, that the towne of Biana, in old time Alba, and of Madrid, firſt called Mantua, be the worke of the firſt Latines and Italians.

The reaſon why ſo many nations came into Spaine, was the abundance of mynes, and the ignorance of the Spaniards, which made them leſſe couetous, and by conſequence leſſe giuen to armes, and therefore they were a prey to all theſe theeuilh nations: whom (as all things haue their changes and reuolutions) they haue in this laſt age not only imitated, but exceeded them farre in crueltie, couetouſneſſe, and inſolencie, to ſimple rude nations diſcouered by them, as will appeare by the diſcourſe of the Hiſtorie.

F About 880 yeares before the Natiuitie of Ieſus Chriſt was that memorable fire in the Pyrennee mountaines (I ſpeake it according vnto the Spaniſh Authors) the which diſcouered more plainly the treaſures of Spaine: For the heardfmen hauing ſet fire of the woods (where the mountains were full) and it continuing many dayes, the vynes of the earth were ſo mooued with this violent heat, as the ſiluer melting ran downe by ſtreames: whereof, pyrennee rats and ſtrangers which did traffique there, being aduertified, they came running to this booty.

The



The Phenicians among others, vnder a kind of traffique, and with the exchange of certaine trifles of small value, laded their ships aboue once, being conducted (as some write) by *Sichee*, husband to *Elisa Dido*; yea, in so great abundance, as they made the anchors of their ships of siluer; so as *Sichee* grew so rich, as his brother in law *Pigmalion* through enuie and couetousnesse slew him: who afterward bent his course for Spaine; but running vp and down the seas, he died: wherefore his companie wanting a head, came to *Gadis*, to their brethren and countrymen, which were planted in this Island, who entertained them courteously, and the towne was better peopled by them: so as in the end it became a mightie Commonweale, inhabited first without all doubt by this nation of Tyr.

Tyrians did first  
people Calie.

9 Tyr was at that time, and long after, one of the most famous cities in the world, and most abounding in people and wealth, which the townes that haue taken their beginning from her, in diuers parts of the earth, doe witness. And although it had in a manner no territories, and that it was often taken and spoyled by the kings and potentates of Asia, and by *Alexander* the Great, yet did they easily recouer their first happinesse, by reason of the industrie of the inhabitants, and the commoditie of the sea; the which they did frequent with more experience and knowledge than any other nation of that age. It was the mother city of that mightie Commonweale of Carthage, which for so long a time did contend for Emperie with Rome; the first foundation whereof was layed by one *Carchedon* a Tyrian: it was afterwards enlarged by *Dido*, sister to *Pigmalion*, about 135 yeares before the foundation of Rome, and did encrease daily both in people and wealth. The citizens whereof some 562 yeares before the Natiuitie of Christ, bent their course for Spaine, to spoyle as others had done, by reason of them of Gades: who hauing gotten a great territorie in Spaine, which made them to bee feared and honoured of their neighbours, yet not contenting themselves with their owne, they fought to take from others: yea, being right merchants, and seeking to make their profit of all things, they tooke away men from the neighbour townes and villages, and caried them to sell as slaues in strange countries: a traffique which had bene alwayes vied by the Phenicians of Syria, their progenitors, to the prejudice of the people of Palestina and Iudea, who bordered vpon them. These inhumane fashions did in the end stirre vp the other people of Spaine against the Gaditanes, whereof followed much warre of small fame, by reason of the weakenesse of the Commonweales and Potentates which did manage them, if wee will compare them with others of those times.

Tyrians great  
foemen.

Tyrians made  
profits of all  
things.

Arganthon.

Carthaginians  
called into Spaine  
by the Gaditanes.

Religion where  
is: ever it be, it  
is alwayes reuer-  
enced.

Onely there is an honourable mention made of a noble man commanding vpon the coast of the Ocean, neere vnto this Island of Gades, called *Arganthon*, happie in wealth and long prosperitie of his affaires; for they say he liued 155 yeares, and reigned 80, and withall loued iustice: whose time is conferred with that of *Ancus Martius*, reigning in Rome about 150 yeares after the foundation thereof. The Gaditanes were kept somewhat in awe by him and others; yet not so subdued, but they tooke armes vpon all occasions; so as the people round about conspired against them: who finding not themselves strong enough to oppose against so many enemies, they resolued to call the Carthaginians to their aid; who in the end became masters of Spaine, vntill the Romanes slayed the course of their victories and conquests: the which shall be related in the following Bookes with more delight, for that we are better assured than of these things.

Hitherto we haue discoursed of the beginning and antiquitie of those nations which came first to inhabit Spaine, following the obscure steps of those that haue left any thing in writing, or read or conjectured, hauing scarce obserued any order of times, being without any sure grounds: for euen the places, whereas euery one of the Gouernors, Captains, or Kings, whereof we haue made mention, did reigne, is not very certaine. Yet it is most apparent, that the Isle of Gades hath been the most famous place of all Spaine, and that the superstition of idolatrous people hath preferred it from the inuasions and spoyle of strangers, by reason of the famous Temple of *Hercules*, which was built there: and that the maine land which is about this Island, and the strait which is neere vnto it, haue bene sooner and more particularly knowne than other places within the heart of Spaine, by reason of the commodious landing for Armies, and the abound of merchants strangers, which came thither by sea. And it is credible, that within the country there were many pettie kings, heads of people, without fame, and it may be without any good and lawfull policie; and it is not impertinent, that some

townes,

A townes, famous in after ages, and euen in our times, whose beginning is not known, haue had their first foundations from these vnkowne people.

Wee haue willingly omitted many discourses written by others, for that wee haue held them fabulous, or at the least very doubtfull: as the coming of *Noe* into Spaine, and the voyage and conquest thereof by *Nabuchodonozor*, and such like, which we may read in counterfeite *Ereosus*, or in *Iosephus*, being deceived by the memorial of the Chaldeans, who put this last *Nabuchodonozor* about all the *Heracles* that euer were, to whose acts (the which in truth were great, as we may gather by the holy Scriptures) wee doe not any way derogate, by calling in question his coming into Spaine, for that Asia, Egypt, and Africk, which were neere, might furnish him wherewith to erect his trophies.

The great drought (whereof some haue left remembrance) seemeth as incredible vnto vs, as *Prodigious* the which continued six and twentie yeares, and burnt all the trees and plants in Spaine, except some Oliue and Pomegranet trees, as they say; as if these trees could not be hurt by the extreame heat, as well as the rest: it dried vp all the riuers, except Ebro and Guadalquivir, which became small vnprofitable riuers; so as the people were forced to goe out in great troupes, to seeke for other dwellings. These things, for that they haue not bene written by any auncient and good Authors, who would not haue passed ouer so memorable an accident with silence, and for the absurdities which follow, they are with reason rejected.

C And for as much as in that which we are hereafter to treat of, we shall find Spaine more manured, better peopled with men, townes, and burroughes, limitted and distinguished by more apparent bounds, and hauing some better forme of government and policie than it hath hitherto had, we haue thought it expedient (for the Readers ease) before we enter into the subject, to make a particular and briefe description thereof, making some mention of the fertilitie of the soyle, qualitie of the ayre, and nature and manners of the Spaniards, both auncient and moderne.

10 Spaine in general, and in regard of other countries, had from the beginning natural limits, as they are at this day; vlesse they will say, that the continuall beating of the waues of the sea hath made some breaches, or hath diuided it from Africke, to the which some belecue it was joyned in the beginning, or that the forme hath bene changed by some other accident. There may well be some diminution: for in Islands, the which (for that they are little) are better comprehended and measured by the fences, we find without all question, that some at this present are much lesse than they were in former ages, and others that haue bene famous, are now perished, and are no more, hauing bene vndermined by the waues, and swallowed vp in the sea. But whatsoeuer hath happened since that Spaine had any fame vnto this day, it doth not appeare that there hath bene any great portion cut away, or that it is much altered or changed.

Description of  
Spaine.

This Region hath bene very fitly compared by the Auncients to an Oxes hyde spread abroad: for beginning by the necke somewhat narrow (which is the passage of the Pyrence mountains, by the which it is joyned vnto Fraunce) it extendeth it selfe to the right and to the left, going towards the West: so as making in a manner a square forme, the Promontories or heads which thrust into the sea, on the one side vpon the coast of Biscaye, and at *Finis terræ*, and on the other at *Cap de Gates*, and at the strait of Gibaltar, represent the legs; then the point of *Cap S. Vincent*, stretch forth behind towards the West, makes the taylor.

That which is taken for the East part of Spaine, runs along the Pyrence mountains, beginning neere vnto the towne of Bayonne, vpon the limits of Fraunce, where was heretofore the Promontorie *Easo*, and runs vnto *Cap de Cruix*, whereas *Venus* Temple was in old time; that is, from the Ocean to the Mediterranean sea; being 80 leagues, or thereabouts, taking the way by Fraunce: for these mountaines haue no strait course, but bend much towards Spaine, and hold a great part of that country: so as he that would goe from the Ocean to the Mediterranean sea within the country of Spaine, on that side of the mountaines, should find it much more than 80 leagues. Although that this coast of Spaine be called the East, yet all this passage of the Pyrence mountaines turnes much towards the North, and is subject to that wind which the Italians call *Gree*, and by our mariners *Northeast*.

Spaine like an  
Oxes hyde.

The East part of  
Spaine.

C

From

The South coast  
of Spaine.

From Cap de Crux, or *Venus* Temple, along the Mediterranean sea, and passing by the strait into the Atlantick Ocean, vnto the holy Promontorie, or Cap S. Vincent, is the South part of Spaine; the which notwithstanding turning towards the East, is for the most part subject to the wind which the Italians call Sirocco, and we Southeast, and contains about 275 leagues; that is, 202 leagues to Gibraltar, and 73 leagues from thence to Cap S. Vincent, the which are distinctly measured after this manner.

From Cap Crux to Barcelona	30 Leagues	From Carthagea to Vera	18 Leagues
From thence to Tarracone	16 L.	From Vera to Almerie	13 L.
From Tarracone to Valencia, by the mouth of		From Almerie to Malaga	20 L.
the river of Ebro and Tortosa	30 L.	From Malaga to Gibraltar	23 L.
From Valencia to Denia	17 L.	From Gibraltar by the strait to Calis	20 L.
From Denia to Alicant	18 L.	From Calis to the mouth of Guadiana	26 L.
From thence to Carthagea	17 L.	From thence to Cap S. Vincent	27 L.

All which together are 275 Leagues.

The West part  
of Spaine.

The West part of Spaine is directly towards the Equinoctiall, and contains 126 leagues, or thereabouts, along the Ocean sea, from Cap S. Vincent, vnto that which the Ancients called Nereum, and we Finis terræ; whereof the distances are these.

From Cap S. Vincent to the mouth of Tagus or Tayo	38 Leagues
From thence to the river of Munda	25 L.
From Munda to Duero, a river, and where it falls into the sea	25 L.
From thence to Ponteuedra	19 L.
From Ponteuedra to Cap Finis terræ	18 L.

All which together make 125 Leagues, whereof there are about 100 of the jurisdiction of Portugal.

The North part  
of Spaine.

From Cap Finis terræ vnto the Promontorie Easo, neere vnto which is Bayonne, a frontier towne of Fraunce against Spaine, is the North part thereof, running some few score Leagues along the Ocean, sometimes called Britannicum. For

From Cap Finis terræ vnto Ninerio, or S. Marthe, they number	40 Leagues
From thence to Hianeo or Cap. Stations	30 L.
From thence to S. Ander	30 L.
From S. Ander to the last bounds of the Pyrenees	40 L.

All which makes 140 Leagues.

The circuit of all  
Spaine.

All the circuit then of Spaine shall be of 620 Leagues, counting foure Italian myles to a League, that is, 80 Leagues by land, and 540 by sea, sailing round about it, where it is wath with the two seas, which makes it almost an Island.

Provincies out of  
Spaine vnder  
the jurisdiction  
thereof.

We are not ignorant, that in old times was comprehended vnder the jurisdiction of Spaine, on the one side the Prouince of Gaule Narbonoise, which is now called Languedocke, and on the other side a portion of Mauritania in Africa, beyond the strait, as well in the times of the Romane Emperours, as of the Gothes; but for that it was an accessorie onely for a time, and vpon extraordinary occasions, and that it is most certaine that these people are by nature excluded out of the limits of Spaine, and haue alwaies had diuers humors and manners to the Spaniards, wee will containe our felues within the compasse which wee haue described and measured, in the whole course of this Historie; and if we be forced to goe out of it, wee will hold our felues there as strangers. Having turned round about Spaine, let vs now come into the heart of it, and before we speake of the particular Prouinces, let vs see what mountaines and riuers are famous in the whole country, the better to distinguish euery nation, both ancient and moderne.

Pyrenees, why  
is called.

The Pyrenees, which haue taken their name either of the great fire, whereof mention hath bin made (for Pyr in Greeke is fire) or from the ordinarie lightning which falls vpon the tops of the hills, or else (if we will receive fables) of the nymphe *Pyrene*, daughter to *Bebrix*, whom *Hercules* did get with child as he passed that way, extend their greatest masse from *Venus* Temple, or Cap Crux, vnto Bayonne, this is to say, from the one vnto the other sea, stretching farre into Spaine, where they doe hold a great part of the countrey, which lyes betwixt them and the river of Ebro, casting moreover many branches along and crosse this Region, from whence doe fall many riuers and small streames, the which some haue numbered to be 150; meri-

A meriting the names of riuers. The front of these mountaines, which stretch vnto the Ocean neere vnto Bayonne, bending in that part, runs along the Cantabrians, Asturians, & Gallicia, vnto the last Westerne limits, extending it selfe far into the country, and making almost halfe Spaine crooked and hilly, whereas the river of Duero doth passe, and further. These hills were heretofore called Cantabres and Vindius, and since they took diuers names, which were giuen them by the people which dwell thereabouts, and in the vallies thereof. At this present they be the mountains of Biscaia, Nauarre, Sentillana, the mountains of Oca, Asturia, and Gallicia. Out of them doth flow the river Ebro, in old time Iberus, neere vnto a place which they call Fuent Ibres, & hauing run a little towards the East, the turneth her course to the South, by the ancient country of the Autrigones, Vardules, Valscons, Illegetes, Ederanes, and Illeacones, the which are in our time the Nauarrois, Arragonois, and Cattelaunians, and hauing run about 120 leagues through the country, it falls into the Mediterranean sea, beneath Tortosa. Duero doth also take her beginning in these mountains, a great river, and the ancient limit betwixt Portugal and Tarraconese, two of the principall Prouinces of Spaine, neere vnto a Bourg called Aquilar, not farre from Soria, bending in the beginning towards the South, but afterwards she takes her course to the West Ocean, into the which it dischargeth it selfe neere vnto the towne of Porto Galego, hauing run about 120 leagues by the Arcuaces, and betwixt the vallies of the Galliques and Lusitanians, which in our time are those of Castille the old, Leon and Portugal, towards the North. Into it falls the river Auia, vpon the banks whereof they say that no tree that is pricking will grow; although that all the countrey thereabouts is full of Pomgranets, Oranges, Cytrons, and such like, the which it hath common with another river in Galicia, called Alesfe.

The spring of  
the river Ebro.

The course of  
Ebro.

The spring of  
the river Duero.

From the same Pyrenees, as from a common stemme, parts the mountain, called in old time Idubeda or Iubalda, the which thrusts forth into two other branches, the which diuides Spain from the East vnto the West, and passing by diuers people, gets also diuers names: for in the beginning they call it Sierra, or mountaine of Acienca, by reason of the ancient towne of Aua, the ruines whereof are yet to be seene, about the towne of Bourgois: then it is called Sumo Sierra, Puerto de Tablada, of Palomera, of Abilo, Pico, of Tornauacas, & in the end enters into Portugal, making a great front neere vnto the Ocean, the which they call the mount D of Stella, vpon the top of which is an admirable lake: for they doe often find in it pieces of ships which haue suffered shipwracke vpon that coast, notwithstanding that the mountaine is very high, and a good way from the sea: and they say moreover, that when the sea is troubled with tempests, they doe heare the waues beat, and all that lake and mountaine make a noyse, with the horrible sound of the winds and tempest, as if they were in full sea.

Mountaine of  
Idubeda.

The mountain  
of Stella in  
Portugal, and  
the wonders  
thereof.

This course of the mountains running betwixt the riuers Duero and Tayo, doth now cause a distinction of the people of the Prouinces of Spain; for which reason they are called, on this side, or beynd the mountains. The other branch of this most Idubeda runs towards the South, neere vnto the towne of Sigüenza and Cuenca, keeping in the river Ebro, that it bend not towards the West, the which in our time hath also gotten diuers names, that is, Solorio, Sierra Molina, Sierra d Alcarraz & Sigura, in old times, Mons Argentum, and sometimes rising high, and sometimes falling and opening in some places, it is in a manner plain neere vnto Valence: then it riseth againe, and passeth to Carthagea, and to Cap de Palos, in former times called Scombraria, the ancient limit of two governments of Spaine, at what time this mountain was called Ortopeda or Ortopeda. Passing on by the sea shore riseth the mountaine, in old time Ortopeda, M. called Illipula, and now Sierra Vermeia, Sierra de Rondas, and other hills of the kingdom of Illipula, M. Granado, which extend vnto the strait whereas they make Mont Calpe, called at this time Gibraltar, the which should properly be called Gibal Tarif, a name gotten by the dissent of a capitaine Moore, called Tarif, who landed in this place with the first armie of Moores that came out of Affricke into Spaine, when as the Gothes kingdom went to ruine. Other mountaines diuiding themselves from this, and going far from the sea, run about Cordoue and Seuille, the which in old time were called Mariani Montes, and Castulonensis Saltus, now Sierra Morena. Out of these aboue named mountaines, which keepe in the river Ebro, bending from the North to the South, there flowe three great fouds or riuers, Tagus, Anas, and Betis, according to the ancients, but now called Tayo, Guadiana, and Guadalquivir, besides many others of lesse fame, which these doe receive and carrie into the Ocean.

Mariani M.

Tayo, Tagus,  
Guadiana, &  
Gualquivir,  
the three great  
riuers of Spain.

C ij

Tayo

The course of  
Tagus.

Tayo hath his spring at a place which is now called Sierra Molina, neere vnto the towne of Cuenca and Toralba, the which passing almost through two parts of Spaine, runneth by Toledo, the country of Estrema Dura and Portugal, towards the West Ocean, where it enters by a large and spacious channell beneath the royall citie of Lisbon. This riuer was famous among the Auncients, by reason of the little graines, and as it were scrapings of pure gold, which they did often find in the grauell and sand, which the torrent and streames of water had brought from the mountains.

The beginning  
and course of  
Guadiana.

Guadiana commeth out of the country which in old time they called Campus Laminitanus, and now Campo de Montiel, a place which is otherwise drie and wanting water. This riuer directeth her course in the beginning towards the West, neere vnto the towne which was called Pax or Pezaguista, but now Badaios: turning there to the South, it dischargeeth it selfe into the Atlantick sea, bounding in at this day the kingdome of Portugal on the South side, as in old time it diuided the prouince of Betica from Lusitania. Towards the Spring they call it Rodiera, and from thence (which is admirable) hauing run some leagues in the country, it hides it selfe vnder the ground, neere vnto a place called Argamasilla, and runneth so hidden about eight great leagues: then it comes forth againe into certaine moores, continuing her course in that manner, neere vnto the auncient townes of Cecilia, Gemela, Emerita, and Pezaguista, towards the sea, by reason whereof the Spaniards breed admiration in strangers, bragging, that they haue a bridge in their country, vpon the which about ten thousand cattell feed daily.

Guadalquivir,  
the name, springs  
and course.

As for Guadalquivir, so named by the Moores, which is as much to say, as a great flood, and in old time Betis, her beginning is vpon Mont Argent, called now Sierra d'Alcaras, and runneth towards the West into the Atlantick sea, beneath Seuille, by a large channell; although in old time it had two: whereof the one passed along the wals of Nebrissa, which at that time was Lebrissa; the which is at this day about two leagues off, for that the channell is filled vp: vpon the which Afta did also stand, which in those times was also called Zeres de la Frontera.

Cape.  
Iulii.  
The ladders of  
Hanniball.

There are other mountains in Spaine of lesse fame, as Mont Cayo, neere to Tarrasone in Arragon, in old time Caunus; M. Iulii or Mons Iouis, neere to Barcelone; the ladders of Hanniball, called in that time the coast of Garaph, and others. Moreouer, there are many riuers besides those which we haue described, giuing the names or bounds to Prouinces: as the riuer of Ruscino, whereof the towne and country was named; of the ruines whereof Perpignan was built: Astorga, which seemeth to giue the name vnto the Asturians: the riuer of Calybs, which passeth according vnto some, neere vnto Tarrasone, and in his name carrieth the marks of the beginning of the Spaniards, the water whereof is excellent to sleepe yron: Sicoris, or Sigro, which passeth at Lerida; about the which were the Sicanians, which passed into Sicilie, Cinpa or Senga, and the greater and lesse Arragon; floods whereof the kingdome of Arragon is named, with others which are observed by the curious. But it shall be easie for vs, among these great mountains and riuers which we haue described, to find out euery people and prouince, and the particular places of Spaine, as well according to the distinctions of the Auncient, as their limits and diuisions, since the euerfion of the Romane Empire.

Turdulans.

Beginning then with the Westerne point, we say, That from Cape S. Vincent vnto the Island of Gades or Calis, did dwell the auncient Turditanes, vpon the sea, and within the land, holding both bankes of the riuer Anas, and the country which lieth betwixt it and Betis, beyond the which they did occupie some leagues of the country towards the South. This Region was in the beginning full of woods and forrests, which they called Tercenians and Tarteftians, but being cut downe, it hath bene alwaies very fertile and abounding in all things. The towne of Híspalis, called after Sepila, and since Seuille, was of this nation, being also called Romulenſis Colonia, situated vpon the bankes of Betis, a great and navigable riuer, and lower towards the sea, Nebrissa, and Afta Colonia, and within the country Italica, whereas the Emperours Traian, Adrian, and Theodosius were borne, with the Poet Statius, and Carmon retaining still the name, Pax Iulia and Beia, at this present Portugall.

Turdulans.  
Gordone.

Neere vnto this towards the East were the Turdules, whose country is also bathed by Betis, and vpon this riuer is the towne of Cordoue, called Colonia Patricia, built by the

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A Confull *M. Claud. Marcellus*, about the yeare of the foundation of Rome 602. Which country of the Turdules did extend to the Turditanes and the Bastules, from the Ile of Gades, vpon the Ocean, vnto the Mediterranean sea, neere vnto the Promontorie Charidemum, or Cap de Gares. The places which the Turdules did hold lying vpon the Ocean shoare, towards the strait, were the port of Melithee, the Temple of Iuno built by *Hercules*, and the citie of Belon, on which side there are at this day S. Marie, Trafalgar, and Tariffe: and within the country the mountaine Ilipula, and Ilipula Magna, at this present Ilpa; Illiberis, or Liberia, which some thinke was Granada in those times; and Aftigi, one of the iudiciall seats of Spaine, which may be Eccia at this day, although there were another of that name vpon the sea shoare. Among this nation it may well be the Meleffians were, and their towne Oringe, taken by *L. Scipio*, which they say was Aryona.

After were the Bastules, within the straits, and along the Mediterranean sea, who were sumamed Pœni, continuing vnto the Promontorie of Charidemum, or Cap de Gares, and to Balaria, now Bara, or Vera, next vnto the Turdules, of which nation Calpe was, otherwise called *Heraclée*, the which at this day they name Gibaltar, neere vnto the which in old time was the towne of Cartheia, called also Tarteſſe, the which was a common name in old time for the riuer Betis, the Island of Gades, and all the neighbour country. It is likely, that this towne of Cartheia was situated whereas Algezire now standeth. *Titus Algezire*.

*Linus* setteth it without the strait, vpon the Ocean. Then Malaga, a port which retayneth his name; and Abdera, which is Almerie, vpon the Mediterranean sea, belonging vnto the Bastules; and it may be Munda, whereas *Pompeys* eldest sonne was defeated, if it be that Ronde which is at this day, as some will haue it. The countries inhabited by these three nations, are at this day comprehended in Granada, Andalusia, and a part of Portugall, and made the Betique Prouince one of the chiefe members of the kingdome of Spaine.

Next vnto them, and continuing along the coast of the Mediterranean sea, were the Bastitanes and Contestanes, whereas in our time lyeth Murcia and Valence, seperated by the mountaine Orospeſa. The towne of Bafa was in old time the chiefe mansion of the Bastitanes, otherwise called Bastitanes, to whom Acci did belong, now called Guadix, and vnto Beiar and Origuella, in old time called Bigerra and Orcelis. But Murcia, then called Menlaria, Satabis, which is Xatua, and towards the Promontorie Scombaria, now called Cap de Palos, new Carthage, Alone, which at this day is Alicant, Illici, it may be Elches in our time, and the citie of Valence, were belonging vnto the Contestanes, among the which it may be Illiturge was, lying farre from the sea, or else among the aboue named Bastitanes.

Then followed the Editanes and Illecaones, from Valence vnto the mouth of the riuer Ebro. The townes and places renowned among the Editanes, or, as others tearme them, Seditanes, were Dianium vpon the sea, and Sagunt higher, destroyed by *Hanniball*, whereas now Moruiedro standeth, Cæsar Augusta, farre off from the sea, is Saragossa, in old time Salduba.

Among the Illecaones were Dertosa, in these times Tortosa, and old Carthage, ruined by the two *Scipios* brethren.

Ioyning vnto them, and still coasting along the sea shoare, and on this side the riuer of Ebro, were the Acetanians, Laetanians, and Indigetes, all which are comprehended at this day in Catalogne, vpon the sea. To these Acetanians (who were also called Coferanians) belonged Terraco; of the which, the greatest part of Spaine was named; a towne peopled by the two brethren *Scipios*, to oppose it against new Carthage.

F Barcelone growne great of a small beginning, by the ruines of Rubicata, a Colonie of the Africanes, situated vpon the riuer Rubricatus, at this present Lobregat, was of the Laetanians, or Laetanians.

The Castellans (who, according vnto some, haue left their name to our Catalogne) were Castellans, whereas it may be the Duchie of Cardone now is.

C iij

Vpon

Indigetes.

Vpon the declining of the Pyrene mountains, were the Indigetes, or Endigetes, where-as the towne of Empurias or Emporium now is, and Rhoda, or Rofes, now ruined, and in old time the Temple of *Pennus*, whereas now *Celibre* stands, a name taken from *Illiberis*, which was at the foot of the Pyrenes, as some suppose.

Rufino  
Rufillon.

For a frontier to Spaine on that side, we will place *Rufino*, which is the Countie of *Rosillon*, although it were in old time of the Province of *Gaule*, but it hath of long time beene annexed vnto Spaine: there was *Elna*, which hath not changed her name, and *Rufino*, both riuier and towne, of whose ruines *Parpignan* was built. Neere vnto it is a small riuier, called *Illeris*, and since *Tetrum*, that is to say, filthie, for that the water thereof is blacke, by reason that it passeth among the mynes of metall, whereof those mount-  
taines are full. In this countrey there was also a towne called *Illiberis*, as that of *Gre-*  
*nade*, whereas the first Councell of Spaine was held: but at this day there remaineth no  
marke of it.

Celtiques.

Comming now to the holy Promontorie, or Cape S. Vincent, from whence wee are parted, we will describe the people dwelling along the Westerne and Northerne Ocean, vnto the other end of the Pyrenes, neere vnto *Bayonne*; whereof the first were called *Celtiques*, who came without all doubt from *Gaule*, after that the *Celtes* and *Iberians* were mingled together, comprehended partly vnder the *Lusitanians*, who held a great Continent of the countrey, as well by the sea side, as within the land, and gaue the name vnto one of the chiefe members of Spaine, containing the *Vergons*, of whom wee will make mention hereafter.

Lusitanians.

These *Celtiques* and *Lusitanians* comprehended a great part of our *Portugall*, of *E-*  
*strema Dura*, and *Castille* the new; and entred as farre as *Andelouzia* into the *Celtiques*  
countrey. The auncient townes which they had, and the places most renowned, were  
*Vlyppo* or *Olyppo*, now *Lisbone*, at the mouth of *Tayo*, the mouthes of the riuers  
of *Monda* and *Duero*, and within the countrey *Scalabis*, or *Turris Iulia*, now *Tru-*  
*gillo*, *Talabriga*, *Talauera* now *Ebura*, *Norba Cæsarea*, at this time *Alcantara*, *Augusta*  
*Emerita*, now *Merida*. These two last were betwixt *Tayo* and *Guadiana*, and *Norba Cæ-*  
*farea* was ruined by *Pompeys* faction, for that they had beene two faithfull vnto *Cæsar*: of  
the ruines whereof, and the remainders of which people, *Emerita* was afterwards built, in  
*Augustus* his time. There were also *Euandria*, *Cecilia Gemellina*, now called *S. Marie* of  
*Guadalupe*: *Aronda* among the *Celtique* *Betiques*, called also *Munda*, not that whereas  
*Pompeys* eldest sonne was defeated. Beside these townes, there were vpon the marches of the  
*Lusitanians*, *Ilipa*, which it may be is *Niebla* at this day; *Ostraca*, *Carmel*, *Ituca*, and others,  
whereof there remaine no markes.

Callaiques or  
Galleges.

Beyond the riuier of *Duero* were the people called *Callaiques* or *Galleges*, now *Gal-*  
*legos*, so named of the *Gauls*, *Galates*, or *Celtes*, holding a great countrey, which was  
barren and hillie, for the most part, but where it joyneth vpon the *Lusitanians*; which is  
that which is contained betwixt the riuers of *Duero* and *Minio*, belonging at this pre-  
sent to the realme of *Portugall*; the which hath taken this name since the coming of the  
*Moores*, of the towne of *Porto*, right against the which, they or the *Gauls* pyrats built  
a fort, which was called *Gal*: it may be it is that which is called the tower of *Gaya*, the  
which is in this countrey, whereas *Duero* falleth into the sea. These people of *Callaiques*  
were diuided into two; those which were called *Brecaires*, by reason of the towne of *Bre-*  
*car Augusta*, which was among them (the which is now *Braga*, Metropolitane of *Por-*  
*tugal*), and the *Callaiques Lucenses*, by reason of the towne called *Lucus Augusti*, now  
*Lugo*. Of the *Brecaires* was the riuier *Lemia*, called *Lethes*, for that the *Celtes* inhabi-  
ting about the riuier of *Guadiana*, comming with other of their neighbours into this coun-  
tre, after some tumults, and the losse of their captaine, being vagabonds, and without  
counsell, they wandered vp and downe without conduct, and without any care to returne  
from whence they came, as if they had forgotten their first abode. The *Brecaires* and their  
towne *Breca* tooke their name from certaine souldiours of *Affricke*, which were leued about  
the riuier of *Bragada*, in the Province of *Carthage*, and then mingled with the *Celtes*, or  
*Gauls*, were called *Callaiques*, or *Galleges Brecaires*.

Among

Portugall  
whence it was  
so named.

Brecaires.

A Among the *Lucenses* were the *Artabres*, about the Promontorie *Nereus*, which is now *Artabres*,  
*Finis terræ*: there were the altars of the *Sunne*, and *Flauium Brigantium*, it may be *Compo-*  
*stella* at this day, or *Betauzos*, or rather *Corunna*, and *Trileucum*, a Promontorie, and *Iria*  
*Flauia*, at this day *S. Marie* of *Finis terræ*, or *Padron*, and *Aquæ Calidae*, now *Orense*.

Asturia joyned to these *Callaiques*, at that time diuided into many iurisdiccions: there was  
*Lancia* the chiefe towne, taken by *Augustus* captaine, *Legio Germanica*, or *Gemina*, at this  
time *Leon*, a royall towne: *Bregetium*, called since (according vnto some) *Ouedo*, an as-  
sured refuge for Christians, when as the *Moors* did ouerun Spaine: *Asturica Augusta*, at  
this day *Astorga*: *Forum Egurrorum*, *Medina* of *Rioseco*, and towards the sea *Flauianauia*,  
neere vnto the which began the *Cantabrians*, which are now the *Biscanes*, those of *Guipul-*  
*neere* vnto the which began the *Cantabrians*, which are now the *Biscanes*, those of *Guipul-*  
*neere* vnto the which began the *Cantabrians*, which are now the *Biscanes*, those of *Guipul-*

B Among them was the towne of *Segisama*, taken by *Ottavianus Cæsar*. They  
did comprehend the *Antrigones*, *Caristes*, *Bardules*, and *Vascons*, the which extended them-  
selues farre from the sea into the countrey, on this side the riuier of *Ebro*, and coasted the *Py-*  
*rene* mountains. The neerest vnto *Asturia* were properly called *Cantabrians*, to whom *Vel-*  
*lencia* did belong, about the place where as now *Victoria* stands, the chiefe towne of the  
Prince of *Alaua*, *Iuliobriga*, at this day *Logroño*. The riuier of *Ebro* did run through the  
middelt of the *Autrigones*. *Alba* was among the *Vardules*, since called *Viana*: and to the *Vas-*  
*cons* belonged *Pompeloni Martua*, which is now called *Pampelone Iacca*, which according  
to *Ptolome* hath held the old name: *Calagorina*, now called *Calaorra*, or *Calahorra*: *Bal-*  
*con-ton*, of the name of *Baleo*, or *Valco*: *Suessia*, which may be *Sanguessa*, and others.

Hitherto we haue briefly described the people and prouinces of Spaine, which joyne vp-  
on the seas, and observed the chiefe places thereof, applying them as neere as might bee to  
thesetimes: Let vs now enter into the countrey, beginning with the confines of the *Callai-*  
*ques*, *Asturians*, and *Cantabrians*, towards the North, and comming to the South.

The *Vacces* did joyne vnto the *Gallicians* Brecaires of the West, to whom the *Murbo-*  
*ges*, *Areuaces*, those which were called *Beli* and *Tithi*, confining with the *Celtiberians*, the  
*Pelendones*, and *Berones* were neighbours, approaching neere vnto the riuier of *Ebro*, which  
D was to the East of them, and that of *Duero* vpon the South. All this compasse is comprehended  
in our time within *Castille* the old, and the realme of *Leon*.

The townes of *Viminacium*, *Auia*, or *Liua*, which is now *Villalon*, *Segisama Iulia*, at  
this present called *Tordeillas*, which they call otherwise *Turris Sillana*; *Palantia*, which hath  
preferred the name of *Palencia*; *Pincia*, which is *Valledolit*, *Septimance*, or *Sinanca*; *Sen-*  
*tica*, or *Sarabris*, at this day *Zamora*, and *Cauca*, whereas *Lucillus* committed great cruel-  
tie, and *Interactia*. These townes I say were among the *Vacces*: But *Branum*, or *Auca*, of  
whose ruines the towne of *Burgos* hath bene built, belonged to the *Murboges*.

Among the *Areuaces*, whose countrey is washt with the riuier *Duero*, running through the  
middelt thereof, were the townes of *Clunia Colonia*, *Segorgia Laða*, at this present *Sepul-*  
*ueda*, *Ocilis*, *Segobia*, which keeps his name, *Termania*, and the old *Numance*, whereas at  
this day *Soria* stands.

Vnder the said nation were the *Vergones* or *Vedons*, confining vpon the *Lusitanians*, and  
making a part of that prouince: which countrey is now comprehended betwixt the frontier  
of *Portugall*, towards *Cite Rodrigo*, the kingdome of *Leon*, *Castille* the new, and *Tole-*  
*do*. To these people *Elmantica* did belong, now called *Salamanca*, a famous Vniuersitie. On  
the East side were the *Carpetanians*, there stood *Toledo*, which retaines the name, called also  
*Serezola*, *Ebura*, *Hippo*, *Complutum*, now called *Alcala Enares*, *Mantua*, now *Madrid*:  
and it may be among them were the *Olacdes*, and their townes *Althece*.

Towards the South were the *Oretanes*, confining on the East with the *Celtiberians*, and  
on the West with the *Beturians*, neighbours to the *Lusitanians*, which are those of *Estre-*  
*ma Dura*. The countrey of the *Oretanes* makes at this day a part of the realme of *Toledo*; it  
comprehends the fields of *Calatraua*, the passage called the fields of *Alcoacer*, and part of  
the mountaines *Marianes*, at this present *Sierra Morena*, vnto *Iaen*, and to the frontiers of  
*Granado*. Oretan of the *Germanes*, which some thinke to bee *Calatraua*, *Castulo*, then a  
great and mightie towne, and now a small burrough, called *Castilla*, vpon the riuier *Guadi-*  
ana,

ana,

ana, where *Himilca* the wife of *Hannibal* was borne, issued from the race of *Milium*, who built it: *Mentifa*, which is laen, according vnto some, and *Astapa*, a famous retreat of desperat theeues; *Nobilis*, *Cusibis* and *Illustia*, were of the Oretanes.

*Celiberians*. Among the Celiberians were *Ergauica*, *Alce*, *Turiaso*, (that is *Tarassone*) *Bilbilis*, at this present *Calataub* (whereas the Poet *Martiall* was borne) *Saguntia*, now *Siguenza*, *Contrabia* and *Valeria*, which is *Concha*.

*Lobertanes*. Betwixt the Celiberians and the river *Ebro*, were the *Lobertanes*, and on this side *Ebro*, vnder the *Falcons* and mount *Edulius*, dwelt the *Ilergetes*, and towards the *Pyrene* mountaynes, and at the foot of them, the *Sueftanans*, *Lacetanes*, *Authetanes*, or *Aufetanes*, and *Cerretanes*, being all contained partly in *Nauarre* and *Arragon*, and part in *Catalogne* at this present. *Succia* the chiefe towne of the *Sueftanans*, may be *Sanguessa* in *Nauarre*: and *Iacca* at that time was of the auntient *Lacetanes*. The towne of *Ilerda*, which is *Lerida*, gaue the name to the *Ilergetes*: to them there also belonged *Osca*, *Huefca* at this day, and *Bergidum*, which is *Vrgel*, and *Anitorgis*, or *Athanasia*.

As for the towne of *Iliturgis*, it is obscurely limited by the auntients. Some of the later will haue it among the *Ilergetes*, others place it in the Oretanes countrey, and others in the *Betique* prouinces, places farre distant one from another.

The *Authetanes*, or *Aufetanes*, did possesse *Geroñda*, in our time *Girone*: and among the *Cerretanes*, were *Aufonia* the auntient, and *Iulia Libica*, which some hold to be *Linca*.

This is all which I haue thought fit to gather of the people inhabiting the firme land of Spaine, the which were found there, and augmented by the *Carthaginians* and *Romanes*, when as they contended for the possession thereof, whereof some markes appeared at that time, and that they had immutable limits, the which doe now assure vs of their habitations.

*Islands about Spaine*. There is mention made by some authors, of many islands about Spaine, whereof some are no more, others are yet famous. The *Cassiterides*, fertile in tinne, were placed by the *Cosinographers* neere vnto *Cap Finis terre*: but there is no more any mention of them; whereby it seemes they haue been swallowed vp in the sea, vnlesse they will say, they be those of the *Axores*, which are too far from Spaine.

*Islands of the gods*. The islands of the gods in the West Ocean, may be those of *Bayone*, neere vnto *Ponteuedra* in *Gallicia*.

*Celtis and the ancient names*. The island of *Gades* was in old time called *Tartessè* *Erythrea*, or according vnto some *Erythie*, *Cotynusia*, *Aphrodisia*, *Gadira*, *Gadir*, and *Gaddir* (although that *Gaddir* in the opinion of some, is a common name to the island, and to other places of *Betique* Spaine, neere vnto it, as well as *Tartessè*) and now they haue named it *Gadiz* or *Galis*. It hath beene the most famous of all others about Spaine, and is yet renowned and rich, but much more in auntient times. For although that in the *Romanes* time they had scarce any territorie, yet was it one of the greatest, the richest, and best peopled townes in Europe. It appears by the description of *Censures* at one time, That there were fise hundred heads of families, of the order of *Knights*, among the inhabitants thereof. One *Balthus* a *Gaditan* enlarged the towne almost halfe bigger than it was, and called his new worke *Neapolis*.

In this island there was a fountaine flowing and ebbing daily with the sea. Ioyning vnto it there were two other small islands, whereof the one was called *Didima*. They write, That in old time the island of *Gadis* was much greater than it is now. It hath in length from the South to the North, fometen or twelue miles, and is seperated from the maine land by a narrow channell, and distant from the strait of *Gibaltar* some threecore miles, or fiftie leagues.

*Islands Balearis*. In the *Iberique*, or *Mediterranean* sea, are the two islands *Balearis*, called in these times *Majorca*, and *Minorca*; for that the one is bigger than the other. Their first name was *Gymnasies*, for that the inhabitants thereof went all naked: *Gymnos* in Greeke, is naked in our language. But for that the men of this island were good Archers, they were called *Balearis*, vnlesse wee will beleue that this name was giuen them by one *Balee*, whom *Hercules* gaue them for their Gouvernour, as some write. In those dayes great *Commonweales* drew good souldiours from thence, who did commonly vse slings, and

A and did euer carie three; with the one he did bind his head, with another he did girt himselfe, and the third he held in his hand: and with these armes they wrought great effects, and did much amaze their enemies; for they were practised in it from their youth by their mothers, who set their breakfast bread vpon the top of a post, the which they must beat down with their slings, or else they fasted. These islanders were long before they would vse either gold or silver, remembering the great calamities which Spaine had suffered, by reason of these metalls: wherefore they held themselves to be well assured in forbidding the vse of it. They did sometimes Gold and silver forbidden by the Carthaginians, who often employed their souldiours in their warres, capitulate with the *Carthaginians*, who often employed their souldiours in their warres, that they should giue them wiues and wine for their pay, and no silver.

B These are two fertile islands, hauing this benefit moreover, that they doe not breed any hurtfull beast, although the warre which they had with the conies be no fable; but they were brought from other places, and of one bucke conie and a doe, they did multiplie in such great numbers, as with the working of their holes and burrows vnder ground, they vntrooted trees, and vndermined the foundations of houses, so as the inhabitants sent embassadors to Rome, to demand helpe and succour of the Senat against these beasts (a certaine argument of their simplicitie) but afterwards they learned to take them. The greatest of these islands is about fiftene leagues long, and verie narrow. The lesser yeelds nothing to the other in bountie and fruitfulness. About them are the little islands of *Cabrera* and *Dragonera*. Neerer vnto the maine land, and more Westerly, are the two *Pityufes*, whereof the greater was called *Ebusus*, which hath about twentie miles circuit of hard access, hauing a port vpon the South side: It is now called *Yuica*, the which they say hath no serpents, and if they bee brought from any other place, they die. But the other, *Ophiussa* in old time, and now *Fromentaria*, is so full of them, as the island hath remained desart and not inhabited. In *Yuica* they make excellent fish.

C These islands are right against the shore betwixt *Barcelona* and *Valence*. The islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica* were in old time giuen by the Popes in fee to the kings of *Aragon*, who haue contended by armes for the right thereof, against the *Genenois* and *Pisans*, for many yeares, till that in the end the *Aragonians* got the quiet possession of *Sardinia*, of which conquest we shall speake often; wherefore wee will describe it briefly, without making any particular mention of that of *Corfica*, which the *Genenois* hold.

D The isle of *Sardinia* lies in the *Mediterranean* sea, hauing that of *Corfica* neere vnto it vpon the North. It runs out in length from North to South, neere threecore leagues, accounting foure miles to a league. It is held to be about an hundred and fiftie leagues in circuit: It is fise and thirtie leagues from *Africke*, the neereft place vnto it is *Tunes* or *Bizerte*. Betwixt it and *Corfica* are but foure leagues, and in some places but three: in the which there are many small islands, which they cal *Buinares*. This island was in old time called *Ico*, *Ichnusa*, and *Sandaliotis*, for that it hath the forme of a sole, or of a mans foot. The first inhabitants were *Tufcanes*, and then *Grecians*, led by *Iolans* and *Sardus*, companions to *Hercules*. After which there arriued some *Troianes*, and then *Athenians*. After them the *Carthaginians* leised vpon this island, who were dispossest by the *Romanes*, which was the cause of the third warre betwixt E them.

Hauing beene long vnder that commonweale, and consequently vnder the *Romane* empire, the *Saracens* got footing there, against whom the *Genenois* and *Pisans*, then mightie commonweales, did arme, by the Popes persuation; conquered it, and planted themselves there. But for that it was a subject of their warre and quarels, and withall the Popes bearing a spleene against the *Pisans*, it was giuen in fee to the kings of *Aragon*. It was heretofore a store-house for the *Romanes*, it was so fertile, and would be so still, if the people were industrious; much better for tillage than *Corfica*, especially that part which lies towards *Africke*, which is a plaine, and lyes lower than the other towards *Corfica*, which is hilly. In it there grow vines and all sorts of fruites, as in *Corfica*, except oyle, by reason of the negligence of the *Sardinians*: for nature bringing forth in the woods and mountaynes, infinite store of wild oliues, thewes it is their owne fault if this plant be not made good. The island abounds in cattell of all sorts, as it appears by the great quantitie of hides and cheefe which they transport into *Italie* and other places. There are great store of wild goats, called by the countrey men *Mufines*, or *Mufles*, which haue their haire like staggas, and their heads like rammes, but their hornes bending backwards: they are verie light and nimble, and liue in the mountayns, where- of

*The diue in Sardinia corrupted by nature and by accident.*

*Mynes.*

*Baies.*

*Judges in foure iurisdiction.*

*Chiefest towne in Sardinia.*

of the Sardinians (who are better huntmen than the Corsicans) take three or foure thousand at a time, the which they flea to sell their skinned, whereof the Cordeuan leather is made, leauing the carcases in the fields, notwithstanding that the flesh be reasonable good to eat; wherewith it may be the ayre is impaired, the which doth naturally infect that countrey, by reason of certaine South windes which blow in Summer. The horses of Sardinia are hot, strong headed, and hard to be broken, but they last long; and there are many wild. Among their tame cattell there are certaine small bullockes, which amble naturally, which the countrey men vse like Affes and Mules, to goe from one place to another. Heretofore there have bene mynes of sulphur or brimstone, alume, siluer, and salt; and it is but the negligence of the people, that they are not found at this day, and with good profit. Neither doth it want bathes which are good for many infirmities, especially betwixt Montreal and Saint John. In Sardinia (as some maintaine) there are no wolues, nor any venomous nor hurtfull beasts, the which they haue common with many other illands: yet they haue verie great foxes, fierce and cruell, which easily kill a sheepe or a goat. There growes the hearbe Sardonique, which causeth death, with such a contraction of the sinewes, as they seeme to smile when they are dead.

This island hath in former times bene better inhabited than it is at this day, and they haue bene more warlike than now they are. When as the Geneuois and Pisans did hold it, they distinguisht it into two prouinces, that of Cap Caillery which looks towards Africke, the which was the Pisans part, and the greater; and Cap of Lugodori, joyning vpon Corfica, which the Geneuois held for them. Then the Sardinians had their rulers and Gouernours, whom they call Iudges, diuided into foure iurisdictiones or prouinces; one at Caillery, another at Arborea, since called Oristagny; one at Turrita, or Torre, and the fourth at Galluri. This kind of gouernement was entertained vntill the conquest of the island by the Arragonis, and the Spaniards rule. At this day there is a Viceroy resident at Caillery, with absolute authoritie, who of necessitie must bee a Spaniard, and is assisted by a Councell, or royall audience, consisting of a President, and a certaine number of Counsellours. The two prouinces aboue mentioned, into the which the island is diuided, haue either of them a Gouernour, who is a Spaniard, or of the island indifferently, which doe gouerne and haue authoritie in the absence of the Viceroy, but hee being present, it ceaseth.

The towne and chiefe places of this island, bee Caillery, commonly called Calger, a towne seated vpon the side of a hill towards Africke, hauing a goodly port, haunted by merchants and saylers from all parts: it is well built, and enriched with diuers towers, and a stately temple, built by the Pisans, and an Archbishops seat. This citie hath by priuiledge a iurisdiction apart, besides the Viceroyes authoritie, and is gouerned by the citizens themselves. Next is Oristagny, in old time called Arborea, the which is also a bishopricke, and was sometimes a marquissate with a particular lord: but one of them rebelling, the kings of Arragon haue vnaited it vnto their demaines. There is a port also towards the West. Arghero, or Alguero, followes on the same West part, the which hath no port, but onely a road. Boffa vpon the Sea, the tower in old time was called Libiffon, a Colonie of the Romanes, and afterwards called Torre, or Turrite, the which is now ruined. Saffari, ten or twelue miles from the sea, where there is an auncient conduit of water, the which continues about twelue miles, vnto Saint Gaudins temple. Then castile Arragonois towards Corfica.

There are many other burroughes and castles in the island, of small fame. The ruines of old buildings which are to bee seene in many parts of the island, shew that in auncient time there were many cities and great buildings. In places not inhabited there yet are many towers to bee seene of a round forme, built of a verie hard stone, hauing the doores and entrie narrow, and the stayres in the maine walls. Those buildings are called by the inhabitants Noracs, a marke of great antiquitie, some thinking that *Norac* sonne to *Erihree* did first inhabit this island, by whom the buildings were so called. The illands which are about Corfica and Sardinia, are few, and of no fame. Afanara and Tolaro, are towards Cap Logudori, the one of the East side, the other of the West, the rest are rather themselves islands.

The

A The Sardinians had in old time a proper language, but the often change of their lords, and the access of diuers nations, hath corrupted their speech: The most ciuile at this day speake Spanish Cattelán: the vulgar sort haue a language mixt of the Cattelans, Italians, Moors, and other strange and barbarous words. Among the ruder sort, there is not in a manner any religion, and not much in townes; for in all Christendome you shall not find Churchmen more ignorant than in Sardinia. Their religious exercises are to heare masse on Sundayes, and on some Saints daies, and then they feast and daunce euén in their Churches, men and women together, with immodest songs and jestures.

In townes their apparell is verie stately, especially of the women; but the countrey peoples is simple and grosse. The men are of a small stature, but strong and rough, and great huntmen with crossebowes: quiet and peaceable among themselves, and courteous to strangers.

Spaine, as wee haue described it by the prouinces and particular people, was diuided into three principall members, or three great prouinces; that is, Betica, Lusitania and Tarraconense. Betica was so named of the river Betis, that is, Guadalquiber, which passeth through the middle of it. It did containe that which is inclosed by the river Anas, or Guadiana, on the one side, and by the Ocean sea, from the mouth thereof stretching towards the strait, and then running along the coast of the Mediterranean sea vnto Carthage, or the Promontorie Charidemum, called Cap de Gates: From whence going by land to Castulo, or Calsona the old, it was bounded in on that side by the mountaine Iudabeda, which is at this day called Sierra of Alcarrias, and others, as if they would draw a direct line from Muxacra, which is neere vnto Cap de Gates, vnto Almagra. This prouince was the best and most fertile of Spaine, and the first affected and vsurped by the Phenicians, Africanes, and other strangers.

From the river Anas, or Guadiana, and his entrie into the sea, mourning to the place whereas Duero falls into it, was the West part of Lusitania, the second member of Spaine, the which did lyce betwixt those two riuers, on the North and South sides, and within it had for the Easterne limits, the Carpetanes and Oretanes, going from Castulo, or Calsona, vpon Guadiana, vnto Septimania, at this present Simanca, in Castille. The riuier Tayo passeth through the middle of this region, where in some places there are store of all sorts of fruits.

All the rest of Spaine, from the mouth of Duero along the shore vnto Fonterabie, or Easo, and from the Promontorie Charidemum, or Cap de Gates, or else Bara, or Vera, or Muxacra on the Mediterranean sea, vnto Venus Temple, or Cap de Crux, and all the people which are betwixt the Pyrenees and the limits which wee haue giuen to the prouinces of Betica and Lusitania, made the third member of Spaine: yet if wee shall beleue Mela, the Calaiques, that is, the inhabitants of Galicia, were comprehended among the Lusitanians; and that others haue made a fourth prouince of them during the emperours: accounting also the Carthagenoise for a fifth, and adding the sixth in Africke: for as much as all that which the Romane Emperours did possesse beyond the strait in Mauritania, was subject to the iustice of Spaine. But this tripartite diuision of Spaine, is the most auncient, and is not entertained by the Romanes, during their great exploits of armes, and conquests thereof; especially for the gouernement of justice among those nations, hauing wholly subdued them: for they erected Courts, which they called Conuents, appointing to euery prouince his iurisdiction. In Betica there were foure established, at Gades, Corduba, Astigi, and Seuille. In Lusitania three, at Emerita, Pax, or Pezagausta, and at Scalabita, or S. Iren. And in Tarraconense feuen, at Carthage, Tarracone, Cesar Augusta, Clunia, Astorga, at Lugo, and at Bracar.

As for the diuision of Spaine into the hither and further, that happened in the beginning when as the Romans came to make war against the Carthaginians, who held it in a manner all, or at the least had reduced it vnder their obedience. The riuier of Ebro made this separation, and the Romans called that part of Spaine where they first entred, the hither part, and the other beyond Ebro, the further: for they came first by sea vpon the coast of Catalogne, to Roses, to Empurias, or to Turracon, notwithstanding after they had enlarged their command on the other side Ebro, they did also extend the limits of Spain by little & little on that side.

as in the end it was bounded by the Promontorie of Scombraria, or Cap de Palos, neere to Carthage, and the descent of the mountaine Idubeda, and so through Castille, by the townes of Cuenca and Seguenza, vnto the Cantabres, or Biscanes. And this distinction continued in two principall gouernments, for matters of warre and state, till *Augustus Caesar*; the Romanes sending sometimes Consuls, sometimes Proconsuls, or Pretors, euerie one to gouerne in his iurisdiction. Afterwards *Augustus* reduced Spaine into one prouince, the which was entertained by his successors in the empire, at the least vnto *Constantine the Great*, who changed the Courts of iustice into another forme, making fise chiefe townes, and as many prouinces, that is, Tarracoe, Carthage, Seuille, Merida, and Bracara; the which was afterwards entertained by the Gothes, vpon the declining of the empire, who notwithstanding made it but one kingdome while they enjoyed it.

13 But after that the power of the Arabian Mahometists, who had subdued the empire of the Persians, and extinguished the name of other Potentates in the East, had extended it selfe vnto the farthest bounds of Africke, and into the prouinces of Europe, which lay neere vnto it, Spaine which was not without vices and defects in the chief members thereof, being suddenly invaded & overrun by this nation, being euer an enemy to peace and good gouernment, was dismembred, & diuided again into diuers principalities, the names wherof we retaine vnto this day; that is, Ouedo and Leon, Nauarre, Arragon, Cattelogne, Valence, Murcia, Granada, Tollede, Castillia, Gallicia, and Portugal, which for the most part had distinct titles of kingdomes, some being held by the Moores, and others defended by the Gothes and them of the country. Of euerie of which kingdomes we meane to make mention in this historie, and to continue it, with the helpe of God, vntill that all Spaine was reduced vnder the command of one king, although it hold still the former diuisions, and their limits, as they were set downe in the time of the Arabians and Moores.

For Cattelogne, which comprehends the auintient Indigetes, Castellans, Leetanes, and Acetanes, runnes along the Mediterranean shore, from Cap de Cruz, vnto Alfaques, to the mountaine of Moncia, and *S. Peters* fontaine, where there is a little brooke called Cinia, which makes the limits.

Hauing pass this river, the Bourg of Vimero is the beginning of Valence, which holds on to Alicante, and in this realme in old time were comprehended the Edetanes, Illecaones, and Contestanes.

Then they enter vpon the borders of Murcia and Carthage, which extend as farre as Almerie, by the Contestanes, Bastitanes, and some part of the Bastules.

From Gibaltar to the mouth of Guadiana, are the banks of Andelouzia, which some say was so called, for that it is before Lusitania, as if they would say, Ante-Lusitania. Others deriue the name from the Vandales, which haue held it, and call it Vandalusia: There did the Turditanes, and a part of the Celtique people dwell.

After which they enter into Portugal, which runs on vnto the river Minio, where it falls into the sea, the auintient limits of the Lusitanians, and of the Gallique Breccaires. This realme according to the suruey which king *Sebastian* caused to be made in our time, contains 260 leagues in circuit, wherof there is an hundred and twentie towards the sea, and an hundred and fortie to the land.

Gallicia follows from Minio, Bagone, and Pontueudra, vnto Ribadeo; they were in old time the Lucentes.

Then they come to the Asturians of Ouedo; from Castropol to Llamas, from Llamas to Castro Deordiales, are the banks of the Asturians of Sentillana. These people alone haue retained their auintient name. After which followes the coast of Biscaie, where is Portugalette and Bilbao, and stretcheth vnto Ondarroa. Then they come to Guipiscoa at Montroico, which ends at Fontarabie. These were ancient Cantabrians, and part Autrigones, Caristians, Vardules, and Valcons vpon the sea.

Nauarre lyes for the most part vpon the sides and vallies of the Pyrenées, which enter into the country of Spaine by Ronseual, by the valley of Salefar, and the valley Roncal, vnto Hifana, which is the limit of Arragon, and passeth vnto Logogno, where it confines with Castillia the old. It was the country of the Valcons, Vardules, Caristians, and other their neighbours.

Arra-

Spaine reduced  
to one gouern-  
ment.

Five seats of iu-  
stice established  
in Spaine by  
Constantine the  
Great.

Many kingdoms  
erected in Spaine  
by the Arabians  
and Christians.

Cattelogne and  
its limits.

Valence.

Murcia & Car-  
thage.

Andelusia.

Portugal.

Gallicia.

Asturie and  
Ouedo.

Nauarre.

A Arragon of a small beginning hath embraced part of the Valcons and Illegetes, on this side Ebro, and on the other side a part of the Celtiberians country. And it was determined in the time of king *Jagues* the first, from the river Cinga at Farila, and of *S. Christine*, to the top of the Pyrenées at Aluentofa.

Leon was in old time part of Asturia.

Castillia the old and new, comprehended all the middle countries of Spaine, betwixt the Gallicia, and nations aboue named.

As for the passage of the Pyrenées, if these hills went in a direct line, the passage would bee short betwixt the two seas, for they say, that both the one and the other may be easily scene in a cleere day from the tops of some of them, yea from that of *S. Adrian*.

Spaine is then both in general and in particular, as we haue descibed it: and if we consider well the situation of this region, we may rightly say, that it is rampared and defended by nature against all the attempts and enterprises of strangers, as much as any country in the world, being compassed in with the daungerous gulfs of the two seas, and walled vp behind with the hard passages of the Pyrenée mountains: being moreover of a temperat and whole some ayre, and hauing a soyle fit to nourish all things. For there are neither violent winds, nor thicke foggy vapours, nor any insupportable heat of the Sunne: but the aire is sweet and calme, being continually refreshed with the North and Westerne winds which come from the sea.

14 Of the fertilitie of Spaine, and the great diuersitie of good things which it produceth, the auintients haue left vs ample and true testimonies, wherof the most autentique are, That the Romanes hauing made waite in the heart thereof, both against the Carthaginians and them of the country for about two hundred yeares, it did in a manner continually feed these great armies on either side, with that which it did bring forth, and did not only supplie them with victuals, but also with treasure to entertaine their fouldiours, and to satisfie the greedie desire and couetousnesse of their commanders and captaines; and moreover hath filled their treasuries full of spoils both at Rome and Carthage, as shall appeare by the particularities in the progresse of the Historie.

It was Spaine which gaue courage to the Carthaginians to attempt those high enterprises which wee read of them, and did furnish them with meanes to entertaine so many mercinarie fouldiours, wherewith for so many yeares they did trouble and annoy the Romane empire, and other nations, without cost or daunger to their owne citizens, who in all these wars did hunt after nothing but honour and profit, to the prejudice of Spaine, and with the bloud of other people.

Wee haue before made some mention how rich it was in mynes of gold, silver, and all other kinds of metall: let vs now say boldly, that nature had heapt vp mountaines of treasure there, and that the auintients did rightly say in tearmes besitting their Idolatrie, That *Pluto* dwelt vnder the couering of this earth: the which was the cause of infinit calamities to the Spaniards. For these greedie robbers came from all parts, being drawne thither with the desire of gaine: so as the best aduised were forced to forbid the vse of gold and silver among them by an expresse law. Among others the Betique prouince, which now hath the name of Andalusia, Granada, and thereabouts, was exceeding rich of mines of gold and silver, and yet the soyle was verie fertile in fruits, the which seemes to be against naturall reason.

When as the Carthaginians came first into Spaine, vnder the conduct of *Amilcar Barca*, they found among the Turditanes, the verie mangers for their horses, and hoggeheads, made of pure silver. Then they began to digge new mynes, and did cruelly toyle the people in those workes; and it is said, that out of one onely myne or pit called Bebelo, of his name that found it neere vnto the frontier of Aquitaine, *Hannibal* did draw about three thousand crownes profit euerie day. The Romanes discovered others neere vnto Carthage, where they had foure hundred daily at worke, and did receiue euerie day fise and twentie thousand Drachmes, amounting in a manner to two thousand and fise hundred French crownes. Yea the plough-men many times in their tillage, raised vp with their ploughshares crusts of gold: and many times vpon the sands the fisher-men did find great store of

D

graines

Leon.

Gallicia.

Spaine rampa-  
red by nature.

Spaine a temper-  
ate ayre.

Fertilitie of  
Spaine.

Riches of Spaine.

Bebelo a rich  
mine.

Rich mynes  
neere vnto Car-  
thage.



graines of this mettall, verie pure, which had bene brought from the mountaines with the floods: yea if they carried water into a drie ground, and watered the earth, the gold would presently shine: so as there were more found in Spaine gathering vp of gold, than in digging out of their mynes and pits. There was as great abundance of copper, yron, tinne, and all other sorts of mynes, and exceeding good.

Copper, yron, and  
Tinne.

Their large and spacious plaines and mountaines did feed infinit troupes of all sorts of cattell: the forests were full of red deere, wild boares, and other wild beastes, and all sorts of foule. They say, that in South Spaine there was oftentimes such abundance of conies, as they were a great ruine vnto their fruits, spoyling the roots vnder the ground, with their working, so as they were much annoyed with them, being ignorant by what means to take them, vntill they were taught to vse ferrets, the which were brought them out of Africke.

Conies spoyled  
their fruits.

The sea fruitfull

If the land did so abound in all things, what shall wee thinke of the sea? The shore (saith Strabo) is full of oysters, and of all other shell-fish: yea in the Ocean, whereas all things exceed in greatnesse and multitude those which are in the other sea, by reason of the flowing and ebbing thereof. There are to be seene huge Whales, Grampasses, and other such monsters of the sea, which spout out water, the which seemes a faine off, to bee great pillars or towers of cloudes. How much shall we say that the Congres and Mullers of that Ocean doe exceed ours? About Carteia the Pourcelaines are of ten pounds weight, but without the strait the smaller Mullers and Congres weigh commonly foure score pounds, the Poulpe or many feet, therefore, the fish called the Cuttle, are two cubits long: the Thon comes thither in great abundance, delighting in the acornes which fall into the sea, from a certaine kind of small oske which growes along the shore, yeelding such abundance of this fruit, as being afterwards cast vp by the waues of the sea, the banks both within and without the straits, are exceeding full, but especially the Ocean, wherewith this fish (which is verie common in that sea) is much delighted, and growes verie fat with it. Many other commendations are given by the aunts to Spaine, whereof they might well iudge, that neuer went out of Italie, by the number of great shipping laden with merchandise and prouision of victuals, which came daily out of that countrey, to the ports of Ostia, Puzzol, and others of Italie, wherein Strabo, Plinie, Mela, and other authors, may satisfie the curious. So as it hath not bene impertinent, if the Poets haue placed the delightful Elisian fields in this part of the world.

Wee cannot with reason doubt of that which they haue written: for although that the mountaines of Galicia, Asturia, Biscaie, Nauarre, and Arragon, which containe a great countrey, seeme rather to bewray a defect than any great abundance of fruits; and that in Castille, and part of Portugall, the drought is not fit to bring forth corne: yet considering Spaine in generall, and the whole circuit, wee shall find daily by experience, that it is rich and plentifull of all those things, wherewith it was in old times furnished. For if at that time they did feed whole armies, so doe they at this day great and well peopled cities and townes, better frequented and inhabited than in those times.

Spaine fertile as  
this day.

As for rich mettals, we must confesse, that it yeelds now to antiquitie, and no wonder, for how could the earth supplie the greedie couetousnesse of men, who haue not ceased for many yeares, and with great toyle to digge into the bowels of the earth? Wee see at this day the pits and caues, out of the which the Romanes drew their siluer, neere vnto Carthage, with great heapes of drossie like vnto mountaines. But yet this countrey is not so bare and walled, but that they haue found in our age, at Guadalcanal, a myne as rich as any at the Indies, which our elders doe witness: and there is no doubt, but that gold, siluer, and copper, are to be found in other places.

Iron and Steele  
abounds there.

Biscaye and Guepuscoa alone can furnish yron and Steele ynough for a world, and with workes which are made of this mettall, namely with Armes, being the verie storehouse of Spaine. Vitriol, Brimstone, Alum, Orpigment, mineral salt, and such other things, are found in Spaine, both for their owne vse and their neighbours. What wanteth it of the fertilitie and diuersitie of all sorts of good fruits in a good part of Portugall, Andalusia, and almost all along the Mediterranean sea? But who can condemne

eum

A euen the montaines of this region, of barrenesse, which beare se good wines, and so many sorts of fruits?

To conclude, Fraunce, England, and Flanders, are familiar witness of the fruitfulness and delights of Spaine: and if they will not serue, wee will appeale to Asia it selfe. Their raisins, oliues, figges, oranges, limons, dates, cytrons, pomegranets, sugar, saffron, and such things, are dispersed into all countreies, and are better, and more fauourie than in any other place.

In what place of the world doe you find more sorts of good hearbs, or more pleasant gardens, than in the prouince of Valence? From thence wee haue the best silkes in the world, cotton of Murcia, scarlet, crimson, and other precious colours, with sweeter and pleasant perfumes. Finally, all the fences of man are wonderfully pleased with that which comes from thence, and growes in that happie region.

And as for the hilly countrey, which they hold to be barren, and the plaines to be drie, euery one knowes what commoditie those places doe yeeld: and wee find it by experience in Spaine. There they feed infinit troupes of sheepe, whose wooll is admired throughout the world: and yeeld vs also infinit store of Spanish leather, necessarie for many vses, and verie profitable for their neighbours.

They haue timber to serue them as well for the building of houses, as for shipping, whereof they haue great store. And who can denie, that in Nauarre, Asturia, and Galicia, there are goodly and fruitfull vallies? Can wee desire a countrey more abounding in all good things, than that which is betwixt the riuers of Duero and Minio, at this time belonging vnto the Realme of Portugall? the which being scarce a day and a halfe journey in length, and much lesse in breadth, hath an Archbishopricke, which is that of Braga, Porto Gallego, a bishopricke, and contains in it about one thousand and foure hundred parishes, five hundred Colledges of Canons, and one hundred and thirtie Conuents: it hath six ports of the sea, about two hundred bridges of stone, and two thousand and five hundred fountains.

But who doth not admire the Genets of Spaine, which I had almost forgotten, their beautie, swiftnesse, and easinesse to breake, especially of those of Andalusia, which drinke of the water of Guadalquivir, whereby, according to the Spaniards opinion, they are made more nimble and swift? Of this race was the horse which *Julius Caesar* esteemed so much, as when hee was dead, hee caused his image to be set vp in *Venus* Temple at Rome. Of them and of the Lusitanians their neighbours, the aunts would make vs beleue, that they were conceiued by the winds which the mares did receiue when they were desirous of the horse, blowing from the West, namely from the places where the horses feed; the which some thinke not impossible. Of all these things no man that hath any knowledge of the world can doubt.

And if any one would object, That Spaine cannot bee so fertile as wee make it, for that they are supplied with corne from Fraunce, England, Sicile, and Germanie: and that they carrie great store of linnen cloth, and other merchandise, out of Brittain, Normandie, Flanders, Holland, and elsewhere, without the which the Spaniards must of necessitie perish: Let him consider the great regions discovered by the Spaniards, within these hundred and twentie yeares: what great fleets Spaine hath continually entertained, rigged, and victualled, as well for the East as Westerne voiaiges; and what need they haue to furnish those countreies with such things as they borrow, whereof without doubt they should haue sufficient for themselves, but not to furnish a new world: the which doth also waite their men daily to people these discovered countreies: And withall let him adde the haughtie and couetous disposition of the Spanishe nation, who doe willingly leaue their labour, to goe vnto the mynes, or to goe to the warres, and neuer follow any worke, but when they are forced by necessitie.

15 Having hitherto discoursed of the situation and fertilitie of Spaine, let vs speake something of the manners and kind of life, which the Spaniards haue from time to time obserued; that being entred into our discourse, wee may not bee interrupted therewith. When as the Carthaginians came into Spaine, and long after the Romanes had got some footing,

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footing,



footing, there were few walled townes in the country, but many great burroughs and villages. The most ciuile were they of the Betique prouince, and the worst fouldiours of them all, giuing themselves to trade of merchandise by sea, and somewhat to letters, and in a manner like vnto those that liue vpon the coast of the Mediterranean sea. But as for the rest, they were all rustick and barbarous, namely the Mountainers, and aboute all the Gallicians, Asturians, and Cantabrians, whose ordinarie trade was to rob and steale, contemning labour, vntill that the Romanes taught them to liue more ciuilly and peaceably, ruining their forts and retreats. They were traitors, spies, and readie vpon all occasions to steale. They carried targuets two foot long, & a dagger at their sides, clothed in a doublet of linnen cloth stined and quilted: and these were their armes. For there were no cuirasses nor head-peeces among them, but on their heads they carried high hats made of sinewes, and on their legges boots of haire, and in their hands many darts: some of them carried jauelins whereof the heads were of copper. They wore long haire like women. Their exercises were fencing and running both on foot and horsebacke, and their combats by troupes: They loued libertie aboute all things, which made the Romanes to see many examples of crueltie, even in the weakest sex: for there were many mothers among the Cantabrians, which slue their own children, many daughters who for the like cause murdered their parents: so deere libertie was vnto this nation; to maintaine the which, and fearing they might be forced in any thing, they did vially carrie payson about them: and if they were surprisid and made slaues, they fought by some notable villanie to giue their masters occasion to kill them. It was often scene, that when they were tyed to the crosse to be executed, they did sing for joy of their approaching death: but some haue shewed this resolution vpon good and commendable occasions, as to conceal the secrets of their masters and friends, or after they had reuenged their death, or the wrong which had bene done them.

Their religion was infamous, for they sacrificed humane creatures vnto their gods, euen their prisoners, cutting off their right hands, to offer them vp: Their Priests and Duiques tooke their conjectures from the intrals both of men and beausts; but aboute all they tooke their diuination from their countenances, when as they receiued the deadly blow, and fell to the ground.

As for their manner of liuing, it was simple and rude: they dranke water, lay vpon the ground, and did eat the fesh of goats which they did sacrifice vnto Mars: they made cakes of dried acornes, the which they did eat warme. They did willingly banquet with their parents, and had tables and seats of stone, against the wall, where they did appoint the most honourable places according to their ages and dignities. They had no vse of siluer coined, but did exchange ware for ware. They had a beaustly and filthie manner of washing and perfuming themselves, with vrine which had stood long stinking, with the which both men and women did rub their bodies and faces, yea euen their teeth, imagining that it was a preferuatiue against many infirmities; the which is not disallowed by the Physitians. This filthie obseruation was common then in Spaine among them all.

They did severely punish malefactors, and especially parricides, whom they did stone without their confines. If any one were sicke, they carried him into the highways, and corners of the streets, after the manner of the Egyptians, to take counsell and helpe of such as had bene troubled with the like diseases. Vntill the time of the Romane emperours, they had vsed boats made of beausts skins afterwards they began to make them of wood, raking the bodies of great trees, and making them hollow like vnto troughes.

In this simplicitie and rudenesse did the ancient Spaniards of the mountaine liue, which were those of Galicia, Asturia, and Cantabria, and the inhabitants of the Pyrenees, whose country was full of wood and water, but otherwise verie barren: by reason whereof they enjoyed their libertie long, and were last of all subdued by the Romanes: so as in the time of the emperor *Tiberius Nero*, there was yet some contention. The Iberians, and Celtiberians were somewhat more ciuile, for that they had more commerce with strangers, and were neere vnto the Mediterranean sea, which was more frequented than the Ocean. In the war they carried round targuets, fortified with sinewes, short swords, darts, and slings: in their battails they did mingle some light horsemen with their footmen: they did accuse them of

The qualities of the mountaine Spaniards.

Armes of the ancient Spaniards.

Libertie deere to the Spaniards.

The Spaniards religion is infamous.

The Spaniards living simple and rude.

Their manner of justice.

Their manner of boats.

Prouerbes of the peoples libertie.

The discipline of the Celtiberians.

A horses to hills and vallies, and by that meanes kept them in breath, and made them swift, yea they did teach them to kneele when they made a certaine signe. They attired themselves of blacke wooll and short. They prepared yron to forge their armes and harnes, druing it out into plates, the which they buried in the ground for certaine dayes, vntill the rust had eaten away that which was vnprofitable, & then they made their swords and other cutting weapons. They did commonly carie two swords, and did fight more willingly on foot than on horsebacke: for when as they found themselves to haue any advantage vpon the enemy, they left their horses, to ioyne with their footmen, pursuing them that fled with great agilitie, the which was naturall to all Spaniards. They were reasonably courteous to strangers; but they did punish them that had done them any wrong verie cruelly. They did lue of fesh and fruits, and did drinke water with honie, whereof their country did abound; and sometimes they had wine, which they bought from strangers coming from the neighbour coasts. Their neighbours with whom they had the greatest amitie and commerce, were the Vaccaces, and Areuaces, at that time a part of Castilia the old: they agreed well with them in all sorts of traffique. Euerie yeare they made a diuision of their lands, and assigned them by portions and lots to certaine particular persons, who did till and sow for the rest, whilst that others were employed in the warres, or about some other affaires: then they diuided the fruits which they gathered. And if any one were convicted, that he had embeslied any thing, he was punished with death. In time of peace they did banquet and daunce, leaping and frisking with great agilitie: and they went to the warre according to the measure of instruments, singing rusticke and militarie songs.

Such in a manner were the Lusitanians, with whom the Celtes were mingled, and feared in their country, leading their liues for the most part as theues, which they learned from them of Galicia and Asturia, their neighbours. Generally all the most barbarous Spaniards were nimble and active, so as they could easily escape from their enemies, or pursue them when they had the better; neither were their spirits lesse active than their bodies: great vnderakers of few words: patient and hardie in trauell, enduring hunger, thirst, and other discomforts. Their women were nothing daintie, but did exercise themselves like vnto the men: and if they were deliuered of child, they lay not long, but fell soone to their worke: they walsh their children as soone as they were borne in the neereft brooke, and then they wrapt them vp in their feshing clothes. But after that the Romanes were entred, and somewhat settled in Spaine, these people were forced by little and little to learne another discipline, and to frame themselves to a more ciuile kind of life, being governed by more politike lawes, they of Betica and the Turditanes exceeding the rest alwaies in mildnesse and humanitie: for these were presently changed to the Romanes manners and discipline, forgetting their owne language, to imbrace the other. Many townes were also built and peopled in diuers parts of Spaine, and the Romanes and Latines mixt with the Originaries of the country, who accustomed themselves so well to the Latine tongue, as it since continued in Spaine: for the Castilian tongue at this day is nothing in a manner but a corrupted Latine. And the Spaniards grew such, as many among them did make their fame equall with the most esteemed among the Romanes: the two *Senecas* were Spaniards, with *Silina*, *Martial*, *Lucan*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Portius Latro* the Orator, *Quintilian*, *Colomella*, and the good emperours *Traian* and *Theodosius*, were Spaniards.

The Romanes by the experience which they had, and the more to augment their owne glorie, gave great titles of honor and commendation to this nation, whom they found somewhat instructed in armes, and some discipline, by the Carthaginians. They call it rich in fouldiours, and a seminary of the enemies armies, which had fashioned that great captain *Hannibal*, and in all they speak highly of Spaine, & not without reason: for the great courage and resolution of them of Numantia, was memorable, a towne without walls, without towers, and without defences, feared only vpon a little hill, and covered on the one side with a riuer, and defended by a few fouldiours, who notwithstanding withstood the force of mightie Roman armies for the space of 14 yeres, & not only made head against them, but also repulst them off to their great losse. In the end being besieged by about 40000 men, or, as some say, 60000, being prest by famine, and forced to demand a peace, finding no grace with their enemies, who had compassed them in with forts and trenches, being refused vpon the last refuge, which was death, they

Preparation for yron.

Manners of the Spaniards in general.

The women halfe men.

The tractable- nisse of the Spaniards of Andalusia.

The Spanish tongue a corrupted Latine.

Great persons of Spaniards.

The magnanimity of the 20000 Numantians.

made so furious a fallie vpon the Romanes, as an infinit number of them were slaine vpon the place, which was a deere purchase vnto the enimie. This happened during the Celtiberic warre, which continued twentie yeares. This magnanimitie, courage, adrefse and militarie discipline, were thus begun, and by little and little augmented in this nation by the Carthaginians and Romanes, in making warre against them: whom without doubt they might haue bin able to haue resisted, if they had knowne their owne force and wealth, and if they had sooner learned good lawes and policie, which maintaine people in amitie and concord. This was the first prouince which the Romanes did assaile vpon the firme land, and the last which they subdued. The strength of Pompeyes armie when he encountered *Cesar* in Macedonia, were the Spanishe bands, which were in his armie, if he could haue vsed them.

Faith and constancie in the end tooke place among this nation, whereof *Hannibal* had often made triall. But what example can we find more memorable, than the fidelitie of the Saguntines to the people of Rome, for the which they lost wiues, children, citie, and liues?

By little and little they also left that diuelish superstition of sacrificing of men, accustoming themselves to more mildnesse and humanitie, and practising daily better discipline vnder the Romans command; as if God would reforme them by their meanes, and prepare them to receiue the true and wholesome doctrine of Iesus Christ: the which this nation did embrace happily in the beginning, with great fruit and notable examples in the Church of God. But after that the barbarous nations were dispersed ouer all Europe, hauing troden vnder foot the Majestie of the Romane empire, and invaded the chiefe prouinces thereof, chased away all learning, and good discipline, and infected the earth with heresies and superstitious ceremonies, the ignorance of God and of his seruice, entred into Spaine, which our age doth yet feele. Then was a time when as they kept publike schools of Magicke arts and conjuring, to the which they had made subject Philolophie, Astrologie, Physicke, yea and Diuinitie it selfe.

But leauing these things which belong to other discourses, let vs say, That the Spaniards in those dayes were of diuers conuersations, as they were a mixture of diuers nations. They are apt to receiue discipline in all things, according to the disposition of princes and lords, whom they serue, they are faithfull and constant vnto them, desiring to be in perpetuall action, by reason of the agitation of their spirits, which is like vnto the agilitie of their bodies, who for the most part are leane and drie. They are sober and vigilant, but verie couetous, patient of heat, cold, hunger, thirst, and all other discomforts, especially if there be any hope of profit or honour, for the which they hazard themselves resolutely to all dangers: they desire to be well apparelled, and esteeme armes and horses aboue all things: they are impudent braggers of their owne actions, vertue, and nobilitie: ciuile to conuerse withall, louing good townes, copious in their language, much giuen to women; for the most part vnlearned, shewing little art in that they do, disdaining labour, & a country life. The women are sober, louing their husbands or their friends deere, but wonderfull delicat, and curious of painting and perfumes, retaining therein nothing of the auncient Spaniards: they nor their children drinke not any wine. The country language at this day, is for the most part Roman or Latine corrupted and mingled with some other words of such nations as haue held it in these last ages. The Biscane tongue is preferred in Biscaye, and part of Nauarre, and other their neighbours: but in Granada, Andalusia, Murcia, and Valence, especially among the rusticke multiuude, the Moorish and the Arabian tongue is in great vse: and in all ages almost, the people of Spaine haue vsed diuers languages, and were different one from another. Making an end of this booke, we will relate in the following, by what meanes and titles euerie nation hath from time to time held it.

THE

Ignorance makes people subiect.

The true religion received with great affection by the Spaniards.

Demable arts in Spaine.

Manners of the Spaniards in this time.

Language in vse among the Spaniards at this day.



## B THE SECOND BOOKE OF the Historie of Spaine.

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Some



The Tyrians of the race of Iauet

The Gaditanes call the Carthaginians into Spaine.

Carthaginians desire more to be great than just.

One ages before the first warre betwixt the Romanes and the Carthaginians, which grew by reason of the Isle of Sicile, the Gaditanes extracted from the cite of Tyr. couetous and malicious according to the nature of flauies, from whence it may be they were illused (for we read, that the bondmen of the Tyrians on a time slew all their masters, and made themselves Lords of the towne; the which they held vntill Alexander the Great, who did root out the race of them) began to torment the Spaniards their neighbours, chasing them out of their lands and possessions, making them flauies, and entreating them in the vildest manner they could; which was the cause of great warre and diuision in that quarter of Spaine: so as injuries on either part encreasing daily, the naturall borne disdain of these strangers, and enuying their greatesse, made a generall league of many Commonalties against them: whereupon they of Gades finding themselves too weake to make head against so great a multitude, they resolved to call in to their succour, and to the spoyle of Spaine, the Carthaginians of Africke, their brethren, comming from the same race and towne. The cite of Carthage was then a great Commonweale, the which had a great iurisdiction among the Africans, and fought onely to enlarge their Empire; so as they were ready to run into Spaine, with this honest and religious pretext, to succour the oppressed: whereas they not onely freed the Gaditanes from all feare of the Spaniards, but did also subdue the people of Spaine, scetled themselves there, and gouerned it as their Prouince: from whence they drew afterwards so great treasure and other commodities, as they presumed to assaile the greatest Potentates in the world.

The name of Spaniards, before this warre, had beene great among other nations, onely in regard that they serued as a prey to all strangers: which were they only which held the lower countrey, and the coast of the Mediterranean sea, and part of the Ocean, South and West: among the which, some nations of Europe and Asia had built and peopled some townes. As for those which liued in the heart of the countrey, and in the mountains, their fame was more obscure, being for the most part rough and barbarous, hauing scarce any commerce with strangers, but to rob and steale, which was their best practise: and therefore vntill the coming of the Carthaginians, they had benee as it were free, and assured both from inuasion and trade, doing wrong rather than taking any: but afterwards they did all in generall leaue to manage armes with discipline, they vnderooke parties, contracted alliances among themselves, and with other nations, growing by little and little more politicke, ciuile, and courteous. The Celtes were already mingled with the Iberians about the riuier of Ebro; and passing on, they obtained lands and habitations in Lusitania, and in a corner of Betica, which was neere vnto them: then passing the riuier of Duero, they planted themselves betwixt it and Minio; and consequently to the mountains, in the countrey, which from them tooke the name of Galicia, and doth still hold it; whereas they built the towne of Porto, vpon the confines of the Lusitanians, which is at this time a Bishopricke, retaining the name of Portugall, and so goes on to the Westerne sea.

The Celtes, Iberians, and other Spaniards farre from the sea, as they were almost like in manners, had (as is sayd) maintained their reputation free and vnited, vntill this descent of the Carthaginians: who hauing resolved to settle themselves in Spaine, seized first vpon the Island of Iuisa, and fortified it, *Masse* being Generall of this Armie. This was five hundred sixtie two yeares before the coming of Christ, and an hundred eightie nine yeares after the foundation of Rome. After which time, watching their opportunity, eight and fortie yeares after, they sent a great fleet of shippes into Spaine, led by one *Maherbal*, vnder colour to relieue the Gaditanes, who had benee vanquished by *Baucus Capi*, then reigning ouer the Turditanians, their neighbours. The name of the protection and support of this puissant Commonweale of Carthage, purchased the Gaditanes a peace and free trade; the which drew so manie families from Carthage into the Island and Citie, as exceeding the rest, they got the absolute command thereof, *Maherbal* yet liuing.

The Carthaginians continued for a time without any care of the affaires of Spaine, being very much afflicted with drought and other discommodities, they hauing great

warre

A warre in Sicile and Sardinia, but about the yeare 255 they vnderooke againe the conquest of Spaine, whither they sent *Afdrubal* and *Amilcar*, sonnes to *Mago*. Passing by Sardinia, *Afdrubal* was slaine there, leauing three children, *Hannibal* the eldest, *Afdrubal*, and *Pappho*. *Amilcar* was diuerted from Spaine by the warres of Sicile, where he was also slaine, and had three sonnes in like manner, *Himilco*, *Hanno*, and *Gisgo*. The yeare 272 after the foundation of Rome, they sent a small supplie of nine hundred fouldiors into Spaine, whom they would haue land in the Islands of the Baleares; but they were repulled: and soon after *Pappho*, sonne to *Afdrubal*, had charge to keepe the Spaniards in awe (who were solicited by the Africane Moores their neighbours, to ioyne with them against the Carthaginians) who by his wisdom restrained them; and moreover, got sufficient forces from them to force the Moores to sue for peace, and to giue ouer their enterprises against the cite of Carthage. In this warre the vertue of *Saru* of Barce (a towne neere vnto Carthage) author of the *Barcinian* faction, was very famous. *Pappho* liued in great reputation, who after his death was by opinion receiued into the number of the gods; the which he had procured during his life. For he had caused certaine birds to be taught to speake, and made them learne to say, That *Pappho* was a great god. Which birds being let flye, they chattered out those words in the fields, to the great admiration of the people. After his decease the Prouince of Spaine was committed to *Himilco* and *Hanno* (the sonnes of *Amilcar*) his cousins, who tried by faire and plausible means to draw the inhabitants of the Baleares to liue in amitie with their Commonweale.

C *Hanno* being arriued at Gades, and desiring to discouer the countrey, and the coast of Spaine without the strait, he sayled vnto the holy Promontorie, or Cap S. Vincent: and hauing giuen aduice vnto the Senat of that which he had seene and vnderstood, he obtained leaue to continue his discouerie as well vpon the coast of Spaine as Africke, in the Ocean sea: whereupon he prepared two fleets; the one for the coast of Europe, and to passe vnto the Gaules, and farther if he might; the charge whereof he gaue vnto his brother *Himilco*, and of the other he would be captaine and conductor himselfe, and sayle towards Africke: so in the beginning of the yeare 307 of the foundation of Rome they set sayle, either of them taking his course. *Himilco* parting from the port of Heraclee, which was in the strait, coasted the Mesenians and Selbitians, passed the Promontorie of *Iuno*, and the mouth of the riuier Cyllbis, which runneth betwixt Barbarie and Huelua, neere vnto the which in old time was the Island of Erythrea, which is not to be seene at this day, vnlesse it be that of Gades it selfe: and then he discouered the Tartessian forrests, and did see the Turditanes coast, whereas the riuier Betis fell into the sea at that time by foure mouthes, afterwards reduced to two, but now there is but one. Passing on, there came into his sight Mont Cassius, rich in veines of Tyne, from whence it is likely it tooke his name: beyond the which, the riuier, which they now call Tinte, (whose water is excellent good to dye blacke) falls into the sea, neere vnto Palos of Moguer. This riuier was in old time called Iberus, as that which passeth and loofeth it selfe at Tarracone. From thence *Himilco* passed neere vnto *Proserpinus* Temple, built vpon a point which runneth farre into the sea; vnto which place come the Marian hills: and a little more forward riseth Mont Zephrus, whose top is alwaies hidden in the clouds: about the which for a good distance the shoare is full of rockes vnto Mont *Saturne*, the which is among the Centis, by the which the riuier Anas or Guadiana doth run; at the mouth whereof were two Islands, whereof the greatest was called Agone. Passing on by a long course towards the holy Promontorie, and hauing doubled it, this Carthaginian armie came to the port of Cenis, neere vnto the Islands which they now call *Persegueres*. Not farre from thence dwelt the Dragans, a people of Lusitania, compassed in by the mountaines Cephis and Sempis, right against the Islands of Stremmie, the which stands farre into the sea: but neerer vnto these Dragans was another Island called *Alcala*, about the which the waters were blew and wonderfull cleere, but very stinking, whereof there are at this day no markes. About *Alcala* was the mountaine Cyrrilian. *Himilco* hauing sayled along the coast, he discouered the Island *Pelagic*, full of greene trees, the which he durst not touch, being consecrated to *Saturne*, hearing that if any saylers would land there, the sea was troubled. The shoare which goes vnto the mouth of Tayo was inhabited by the Saries, a cruell and a barbarous people, whose Promontorie was for that cause called *Barbareque*. There notwithstanding was planted the Greeke Colonie *Olyppo*, which is Lisbon at this day. These Nauigators came to the Promontorie *Nerium*, which

which is Finis terræ, and to the neighbour Ilands called also Stremnies, for that the inhabitants of the Island of Stremnie about mentioned, being forced to leaue it for the multitude of Serpents which were there, they rettyred into these Ilands. There is no further mention made of *Himileos* nauigation.

*Hanno* 9-page  
upon the coast of  
Africa.

As for *Hanno*, he made a longer voyage: his armie consisted of many vessels, carrying about thirtie thousand persons of both sexes: hee planted a Colonie vpon the sea coast of Africke (the which is now Azamor) the which he called Thimateria: he passed on beyond the foot of Mont Atlas, towards Numidia and Lybia: he discovered the fortunat Ilands, which are the Canaries, and those of Cap Verd, which is the point of the Hesperides; the Island of Argin, in old time Cerne; and the Gorgones, so named by him; the mouths of the great riuer Niger, the which hath Crocodiles in it, and sea horses as well as Nil, vntill he came vnto the Island named at this day S. Thome, vnder the Equinoctiall. Some say, that hee doubled the point of Africke, or Cap bonne Esperance, and passed as farre as the Arabick sea, and from thence returned to Carthage by Egypt, reporting, That he had seene men all couered with haire; which it may be were Apes, for there are very great and dangerous ones in some part of Africa; and other wonders. He returned to Carthage five yeares after his departure.

It was in the yeare 312 of the foundation of Rome, when these two captaines vnderooke their voyages; *Gisgo* their brother gouerned Spaine in their absence: and thinking to returne to Carthage, to be partaker of the feasts and joy which were made in regard of their prosperous voyages, he perished with all his ships at sea.

*Hannibal* sent  
into Spaine.

*Hannibal* brother to *Pfappho*, and cousin to these, surnamed the ancient, was sent into Spaine, and with him *Mago* his kinsman. *Mago* stayed at the Baleares, and he passed to Calis: and some hold, that he built a fort at the place which is called Lagos, the which was named Port *Hannibal*: there was also built in his time, at the mouth of the riuer of Betis, *Lucifers* Temple, dedicated to the goddesse *Venus*, whose stane was called Phosphoros, or Lucifer: it is S. Lucar of Barraneda at this present. During their time and gouernment there grew great warre betwixt the Spaniards of Betica and the Lusitanians, dwelling by the riuer Anas, the which was nourished by the Carthaginians and their captaines *Hannibal* and *Mago*.

Warre in Sicily  
by the Carthagi-  
nians.

The Commonweale of Carthage had then great warres in the Island of Sicily, kindled about the yeare 346 of the foundation of Rome, by the Agrigentines, who did murder the Carthaginian garrisons, being busie at their sacrifices: wherefore by decree of the Senat there were leuies of men made in Spaine, and in the Ilands of the Baleares. But the Agrigentines were defeated in battaile, and then besieged for the space of two yeares, who in the end were forced to yeeld to their mercie, who entreated them very roughly: whereupon they had recourse vnto *Denis* the old, by whose aduice they freed themselves of those that did oppresse them, and tooke from the Carthaginians the townes of Camerine and Gelce. *Denis* although he dissembled, seeming to be a neuter, found himselfe so engaged, as he was forced to take armes against the Carthaginians, by whom hee was vanquished, but with great losse of their men: the rest of the Carthaginian armie, where *Himileo* was had the leading of tenne thousand Spaniards, was consumed by the plague: whereat *Himileo* was so grieved, as being returned to Carthage, refusing to see either children or friends, he flew himselfe in his house. After these ruins, by the industrie of *Denis* a peace was concluded betwixt the Carthaginians & the Sicilians, or rather a truce for 30 yeares. This was in the yere 356 of the foundation of Rome.

About that time some ships of Carthage, dispersed by tempest, or else of set purpose following *Hannos* discoverie, or imitating his designs, came vnto a great Island, which wee may thinke to be that of S. Dominique at this day: which made them of Carthage to affect these voyages with such vehemencie, as to diuert them, the Senat resolved to cause them to be slaine which were returned, and had brought the newes, fearing least their citie and countrey should be vnpeopled.

New warres in  
Sicily.

The truce being expired, the Carthaginians prepared againe to warre in Sicily; during the which truce, they had advanced their authoritie and credit among the Spaniards, entertaining diuisions among them, and taking parties: so as they had meanes at one time to bring to the warres of Sicily 20000 foot and 1000 horse of that nation, making them by this means weak against their own designs: to which forces they added 300 Majorquins, which vied lings, and 10000 Africans, making *Hanno* chiefe of this armie, who should suddainly invade the Island, whilst

A whilst that *Denis* made warre in Italie. But *Suniat* a Carthaginian enuying *Hannos* charge, aduerted *Denis* of this preparation; and as he continued in this trecherie, he was discovered by the taking of a ship in the strait by them of Carthage, in the which were found his letters and aduertisements to *Denis*, written in Greeke; whereupon he was taken and punished: and it was decreed at Carthage, That no Carthaginian should learne the Greeke tongue: but *Denis* his armie at sea was defeated, whereby the Carthaginians affaires prospered in Sicily.

*Denis* being dead, and his sonne of the same name succeeding him, vnder the gouernment of *Dion* his kinsman, the warre ended by a long truce betwixt the Carthaginians & Sicilians, and *Hanno* returned with great treasure which he had gotte of those spoiles. He was presently sent to Calis, and *Bostar* to Majorca, and to that part of Spaine which is opposit *Hanno* tyrannizing over the people in his gouernment, prouoked them to rebell; so as to subdue & punish them, he called the Moores into Spaine, who assisted them cruelly. The complaints being come vnto Carthage, *Hanno* was called home and discharged of his gouernment; who in diddian there- of attempted to payson the whole Senat in a banquet which he prepared for his daughters marriage. This trecherie being discovered and dissembled, they presently made Sumptuarie law, limiting the number of persons, and the sorts of meats at such feasts. But hauing elaped punishment, yet fearing it, he fought notwithstanding to trie his force, with a multitude of slaues which he, his kinsmen, and friends had: wherewith the people being incensed, they besieged him, & tooke him in his house, and then deliuered him to the Iudges; by whose decree his eies

True with the  
Sicilians.

B were put out, his lims broken, his body torne with whips, and then hung vpon a cross: his children and all his kinsfolkes were also put to death, that they should haue no desire of reuenge. A cruell example, but excusable in the Africans, for the foulness of the offence and the interest of their country. The Carthaginians affecting much the conquest of Spaine, purified it without any disturbance, sending good Gouernors and wife captaines: wherein they prospered daily in such sort, as they might terme themselves masters thereof, and so did enjoy it for about 350 yeares, all the people of Spaine being their subjects or allies, vntill that the Romans began to make some practices, seeking to draw the people vnto them, and to be assured of them, when any occasion should be offered. So either of these Commonweales made way for their great designs, yet not entering into any ouert action: but the Island of Sicily assailed by the

*Hannos* trecherie  
against the Sen-  
at of Carthage.

The Carthaginians  
are content in  
the conquest of  
Spaine.

The Romans  
seek to get  
vnto Spaine by  
simulation.

*Messina* the  
cause of the first  
Punicke warres.

D Carthaginians, and especially the towne of Messina, did so engage them, as it could not be appeased but with the ruine of the one party. For the space of 115 yeares there was either open war, preparations for war, or a counterfeit peace betwixt the Romans and the Carthaginians. They entered into this hostilitie 489 yeres after the foundation of Rome, and about 262 yeres before Christ. This first warre was decided in Sicily, and in the Mediterranean sea, during 24 yeares; in which time the people of Spaine did adhere sometimes to one partie, sometimes to another, as their affaires succeeded: the Carthaginians being in the end forced to demand a peace of the Romans, the rest of their hatred and spleene continued yet in Spaine for a time: for those which had rebelled against the Carthaginians, sought to maintain their liberties by the fauour of the Romans, who encouraged and assisted them vnder hand: yet *Amilcar*, surnamed

Spain nourished  
the hatred be-  
twixt the Ro-  
mans and Car-  
thaginians.

E *Beres*, father to *Hannibal*, being appointed Gouernor and Lieutenant general for the Carthaginians in Spaine, subjected vnder their obedience almost all the nations and townes which had beene distracted, and did shake the allies of the contrarie faction. He was an irreconcilable enemy to the Romans, and would that his sonne *Hannibal* should succeed him in the like affection, and (as we say) should sucke it from his mothers breasts, binding him thereunto in his youth by othes and religious ceremonies. For as he prepared to passe into Spaine with the armie, offering the accustomed sacrifices vnto their gods, to haue a prosperous voyage, he caused his sonne *Hannibal* (being then scarce nine yeares old) to approach vnto the altar, and hauing commanded him to lay his hand vpon the sacrifice, he made him sweare, That as soone as he should be able to beare armes, he should employ them to annoy the Romans, and declare himselfe their enemy. Whilst that *Amilcar* relies too much on his good fortune, and pursues the

Private passion  
in *Amilcar* was  
the ruine of his  
country.

F rebels in Spaine inconsiderately, he was slaine, hauing done great exploits in nine yeares space. They attribute the restoring and enlarging of Barcelona vnto him, and according vnto some, the naming of it.

*Amilcar* slaine  
by the Spaniards.

*Afrabad* his sonne in law succeeded him, a wife and a valiant man, vnder whom *Hannibal* learned his first precepts of warre. And as the troubles did not onely continue, but also encrease

The Carthaginians tyrannic ad-  
vanced the Ro-  
mans credit in  
Spaine.

encrease in Spaine, new rebellions growing daily, by reason of the Carthaginians crueltie G  
and tyrannie, the Romans were sollicit by many to take them into their protection; where-  
unto they did willingly giue care. Whereupon the two Commonweales were vpon teames  
to enter into a more cruell warre than euer: to auoid the which, it was aduised by the Senate  
of Rome to send *Quintus Lucilius* into Spaine, to treat with the Carthaginians, and to settle  
some good counsell for the affaires of that country. So as betwixt *Lucilius* for the Romans,  
and *Asdrubal* for the Carthaginians, there was a peace renewed and confirmed betwixt those  
two Estates, and the friends and allies of either part in Spaine; appointing the riuier of Ebro  
for a limit and barre betwixt them, beyond the which they might not lead any armie. And for  
that the towne of Saguntum being then rich and populous, held them long in debate, either  
desiring to haue it on his faction, in the end (not able to agree) it was concluded, That it  
should remaine neuter, vfe her owne lawes, and be maintained in her libertie, and that neither  
partie should attempt any thing to the preiudice thereof.

A new accord  
betwixt the Ro-  
manes and Car-  
thaginians.

The Estate of Spaine being thus ordered, the peace (which was not well assured betwixt  
the Romanes and Carthaginians) continued three and twentie yeres, or thereabouts, account-  
ing from the day that it was concluded in Sicile. *Asdrubal* gouerned Spaine beyond Ebro  
eight yeres, and aduanced the affaires of his Commonweale more by mildnesse than by  
armes; whom they make the founder of new Carthage: but returning to a rigorous counsell,  
his crueltie incited a Gaule, who serued him, to murder him, reuenging the death of a Lord  
of Lusitania his master, whom *Asdrubal* had caused to be slain, whose head he caused to bee  
carried through the country vpon a lance, after that he had hanged the bodie vpon a crosse. I  
This seruant being taken, died in the extremity of his torments, singing and laughing for joy  
that he had done the deed.

The greatest re-  
solution of a ser-  
uant louing his  
master.

Before the death of *Asdrubal* it was propounded in the Senat of Carthage, If it were  
expedient to send *Hannibal* into Spaine, vnder the discipline of his brother in law, who de-  
maunded him? Among the Senators there was one of great esteeme, called *Hanno*, being of  
a contrarie faction to the familie of the *Barciniens*, which also was great and rich, either ha-  
uing their partisans. These pleaded vehemently, letting the Senat vnderstand on the one side,  
that *Hannibal* was bred vp in armes, and by that meanes did imitate his fathers vertues: the o-  
thers to hinder this resolution, feared least the hatred which *Hannibal* bare vnto the Romans, K  
and whereof he made publicke profession, would ingage and draw their Commonweale into  
new troubles and calamities: For although the Carthaginians were exceeding ambitious,  
and in that regard enemies to all mankind, yet did they feare the magnanimitie and constancie  
of the Romans, and their valour, which they had tried. Besides, the forepassed warres as well  
against them, as against others, yea, against their owne mercinarie fouldiors, had wasted their  
treasure, vnsumishd them of ships, and consumed their best captaines; so as it behoued them  
to liue many yeres in peace, before they vnderooke any difficult warre. But their miserie,  
and that of Italie, would haue the *Barciniens* preuaile; and so *Hannibal* was sent into Spaine  
to his brother in law *Asdrubal*, vnder whom he liued some three yeres: after whose decease,  
he was demanded for head and Generall by the men of warre, and by their fauour obtained L

Fallings in the  
Senat at Car-  
thage.

The ambitious  
ambitione  
of all men.

*Hannibal* made  
Government of  
Spaine.

His disposition  
and vertues

His vertues

of the Senat and people of Carthage the government of Spaine, being then about two and  
twentie yeres old. There was not in any age a more remarkable man than this, as well for  
his great vertues as vices: for he was of a generous spirit for great attempts, and inuincible in  
all dangers: bloudie combates were his delights, neither did he want judgement nor coun-  
sell: in the warre few men had better practised the knowledge how to obey, and how to com-  
maund, than he: he was neuer tyred with any toyle: he endured heat and cold indifferently:  
he gouerned his feeding as nature required: he hated rest, and slept onely when hee found  
himselfe idle, not vpon a soft and delicate bed, but most commonly vpon the ground, in a  
*Corps de guard*, among the fouldiors: he was not curious in his habits, but delighted much  
in faire Armes and good horses: being alwayes the first in fight, and the last at a retreat. So M  
many vertues had for companions in the same subject, a brutish crueltie, damnable infidelitie,  
sacriledge, and contempt of all religion. When as he found himselfe possessed of these  
forces, he sought all meanes to breake the peace with the Romanes; propounding within  
himselfe, not onely to chafe them out of Spaine, but also to assaile them in Italie within their  
owne strength, and in the very feat of their Empire. He began to make warre against the Ol-  
cades,

A cades a people beyond the riuier of Ebro, who were in good termes with the Carthaginians,  
but not their subjects, and rooke Althee their chiefe towne, and sackt it; the which did very  
much terrifie their neighbours. Then he quarrelled with the *Vaccees*, sometimes pretending  
a right, as being subject to the iurisdiction of Carthage; sometimes doing them iniurie, or  
pretending that he had receiued some wrong from them, hee so prouoked them, as among  
many acts of hostilitie, after the taking of Hermandicia and Arbocla, townes of the *Vac-  
cees*, and a great defeat which he gaue vnto the Carpetanians and the rest of the *Olcades* and  
*Vaccees*, and in the end the conquest of all those Prouinces, he came vnto that which he had  
propounded vnto himselfe; which was, to besiege Sagunt. The complaints of his excesse  
B came daily to Rome; yet the Senat being busied with the warres of Gaule, and against the Il-  
lyrians, were not much moued, vntill that the Saguntines seeing a siege continuing before  
their towne, quickened the Romanes by their embassadours, letting them vnderstand, That if  
they made any account of Spaine, it was now high time to oppose themselves against the  
violence of *Hannibal*; who hauing broken their treatie and accords in a thousand forts, might  
be at that instant about their walls with an hundred and fiftie thousand fighting men. This  
did moue the Senat of Rome not to neglect their allies, and to apprehend the dangers which  
did threaten themselves, if they suffered the Carthaginians their enemies to prosper. Where-  
fore they sent two embassadours to Carthage, which were, *Publius Valerius Flaccus*, and *Quin-  
tus Bebilius Tamphilus*, with charge to passe to *Hannibal*, and to summon him to retire, and to  
C leaue their allies in peace; otherwise to let both him and the citie of Carthage vnderstand,  
that they would not endure the wrongs and iniuries which had bene done them. But Sa-  
gunt was besieged vnder colour of some controuerfies and quarrels which they had with  
their neighbours. *Hannibal* being entred into their territorie, abandoned it to the spoyle of  
the fouldiors, and then assailed the towne in three places. There was one part plainer and  
more accessible than the rest, where he intended to begin his batterie: but hauing made his  
approaches with great toyle and difficultie, the successe was not answerable to his designe:  
for there hee found a strong tower, and the wall rayfed higher; besides, the place where  
there was most danger was manned with their most valiant fouldiors; who at the first repul-  
sed their enemies with their arrowes: but in the end not contented to shoot from their tow-  
ers and defences, they made sallies, and came to fight with them hand to hand: in which skir-  
mishes there was no great aduantage on either side. *Hannibal* himselfe approaching too ven-  
turosly neere the wals, was wounded with a iaeline in the thigh, and ouerthrowne; the  
which did much amaze them that were about him, so as they fled; and it did so trouble the  
rest, as they abandoned all their workes. Then had the Saguntines some leysure to breath,  
and the towne was for a time rather besieged than assaulted, whilest that *Hannibal* was vnder  
cure; yet they ceased not to make all sorts of engines to batter the towne: the which was  
done afterwards, and more violently than before, and in so many places, as the besieged were  
scarce able to make their defence: and there were three towers with their courtines betwixt  
them already ruined, so as the towne was discouered, and seemed to lye open; which made  
both assailants and defendants to run thither: where they did fight with such obltinacie,  
E both parties being in battaile betwixt the ruines, not as at the entrance of a breach, but as  
in an open champaigne, animated by two feuerall passions, the one hauing hope to vanquish,  
and the other no hope of mercie in their enemies. In the end, the Carthaginians were for-  
ced to retire; and soone after the Romane embassadours arrived in the rode of Saguntum:  
but *Hannibal* would not heare them, but let them vnderstand, That a man busied with so  
many affaires as he was, could not spend his time in words, and that he saw no great safetie  
for them, if they landed among so many fouldiors, of diuers barbarous nations. Where-  
upon they passed into Africke, and hauing deliuered their charge vnto the Senat of Car-  
thage, and demanded in vaine, That *Hannibal* (the author of the warre) should be deliue-  
red vnto them, after many protestations, they returned with bare words: For after much  
contention among the factions in the Councell of Carthage (whereas *Hannibal* had ma-  
nie kinsmen and friends) answer was made vnto the embassadours, That the warre had  
F bene begun by the Saguntines, and that the Senat and people of Rome should not embrace  
their quarrell against the Carthaginians, with whom they had liued in peace and amitie for so  
many yeres.

A friend doth  
not often flie  
for his friends  
harmes, vntill  
himselfe be in  
trouble.

Sagunt besieged.

*Hannibal* wound  
ded.

Hope doth  
breed the effects  
of this rage.

The simplicity  
of the Romans.

Whilest the Romans were thus busied to resolute and to send embassadours, *Hannibal* pursues his siege, and presseth *Sagunt* by all means possible: He builds new engines, animates his souldiours, and promisseth them the spoile of a rich towne: the *Saguntines* ramp up their breaches, and labour day and night: the batterie begins afresh, and they haue many assaults giuen, and with greater furie than before. In the end, being tyred with the multitude of assaillants, who had fresh supplies continually, they could not keepe the *Carthaginians* from entering by their breaches, their walls being newly repaired with earth, after their accustomed manner, and therefore easie to pierce: so as they seized vpon an high place within the precinct of the towne, whereas they planted many of their great crosse-bowes and artillerie after their manner, and casting a wall about it, they made as it were a citadell, against the which the *Saguntines* did presently make a trench, diuiding it from the rest of the towne, which was not yet taken. And as it happened diuers times, that the one getting the other, must needs retire, the towne was reduced to a small compasse, and withall they had great want of victuals, and of all other necessaries, by reason of the long siege, *Hannibal* was then forced to march into *Oretania* and *Carpetania*, where there was some likelihood of a tumult, for that those which he had sent to enroll souldiours, were retained by them of the country, by reason of the great rigour which they vsed. As his absence from the campe gaue some rest vnto the *Saguntines*, so his coming among those people caused peace, and reduced them to obedience. In the meane time *Maherbal*, sonne to *Himilco*, who had the charge to continue the siege, vsed such diligence, as there was no few of *Hannibals* absence. To conclude, he wrought so well, as at his returne he shewed him large breaches, sufficient to giue a generall assault, which were made on the side of the castle, the which the *Carthaginians* did win. The miserable *Saguntines* being thus prest, and out of all hope of succours, which could not come vnto them but from Rome, which was farre from them, *Alco* one of their citizens cast himselfe from the rampar, and went to *Hannibal*, without the priuie of the Senat, that he might moue him to some reasonable conditions: but *Hannibal* offered them their liues onely, and that they should depart the town with one robe onely, and to go and dwell where they should be appointed: whereupon *Alco* durst no more returne vnto *Sagunt*, beseeching him to giue him leave to remaine within the campe: then there was a Spanishe souldior named *Alorco*, who offered himselfe to carrie these conditions vnto the *Saguntines*, and to persuaide them to accept thereof. But he preuailed as little as the other: for being heard in their Senat, they were so farre from yeelding in that manner, as by a common consent they resolved to bring all their gold, siluer, and other goods into the market place, where they set it on fire, and consumed it: and there were some so desperat, as they cast themselves into the fire, to be consumed with their goods. In the meane time there was a great noise heard from a tower which fell suddainly, hauing bene long battered, the which gaue free entrie vnto the enemies: a band of souldiours then being entred by that breach, they made a signe vnto the campe: whereupon *Hannibal* being vigilant to embrace all occasions, marched thither with the whole bodie of the armie, and tooke the towne, hauing giuen charge to his souldiours, to kill all that had past the age of fouretene years: a cruell sentence, but he held it necessarie, seeing hee had to deale with such obstinate enemies, who being in fight, neuer yeelded but by death, and being thus vt within their towne, with their wives and children, would rather burne themselves in their houses, than yeeld. And although that many things were spoyled and consumed by the fire, yet the bootie was great. Thus *Sagunt* fell into *Hannibals* hands, eight months after the beginning of the siege. And during this siege, his wife *Himilce* was deliuered of a sonne called *Aspar*, which doubled his joy. Then did the *Romanes* resolute to proclaim warre against *Carthage*, moued partly with the vnworthie calamitie of their friends and allies, and partly with the feare of their owne estate: the which happened 536 years after the foundation of Rome, *Pub. Cornelius Scipio* and *Titus Sempronius Longus* being created Consuls.

*Hannibal* was so farre from any remorse to haue drawne these two Commonweales into armes, as contrariwise, when hee had brought backe his armie to new *Carthage*, and diuided the spoyle among his souldiours, he began to make preparations to march into *Italy*, from whence he meant to chase the *Romanes*, and to driue them (if it were possible) out of the world. Hauing therefore disposed of the affaires of that Prouince, and well fortified and manned

Friends as farre  
off as flume to  
succour.

Sagunt taken by  
assault.

The Romans  
refuse to warre  
against the  
Carthaginians.

Good fortune  
transportes Han-  
nibal to over-  
growe enterprises

A manned the townes, he left the gouernment generall thereof to *Asdrubal* his brother, and taking his way by the Mediterranean shore to *Empurias*, he entred into *Gaule*, and came vnto the *Alpes* without any opposition of the *Gauls*, although they were much prest thereunto by the *Romanes*, leading an armie which consisted of *Numidians*, *Africanes*, *Spaniards*, *Rome*, *Gauls*, and other nations, the which he entertained and supplied often with the same nations, as well with the reuenues of the mynes of *Spaine*, as that which he tooke from the enemy, but most of all by his only authoritie, and the reuerence of his name, so long as he continued the warres in *Italy*, which was 16 years.

6. Whilest that the Consul *P. Scipio* attended him at the entrie of *Italy*, at the foot of the mountains, *Cn. Scipio* his brother (sent by him into *Spaine*) parted from the mouth of *Rosife*, with a good number of gallies and other vessels, well manned with souldiours, and coasting along the *Gaulishe* shore, he came to *Empurias* without any encounter: where hauing landed, he gouerned himselfe so discreetly in all his enterprises, and with so great humanitie towards the *Spaniards*, as in a short time hee reduced to the deuotion of the *Romanes* those which had bene drawne away either by force or feare, assured himselfe of the old allies, and got new, not onely among the people which lay neere vnto the sea, but also of those which dwelt farre into the country, and even of the mountaineers, although they were very rude and barbarous; wherewith he encreased his armie, and had willingly from them, without any constraint, victuals, and all other necessaries. *Hanno* appointed Gouernor of the country on this side *Ebro*, for the *Carthaginians*, went to field to make head against the *Romanes*, whilst that *Asdrubal*, Gouernour generall of the Prouince, made hast to ioine with him with a great armie. But *Scipio* went speedily to charge *Hanno*, and did easly defeat him, where he slew 6000 of his souldiours, tooke 2000, forced his campe, and not onely spoyled the baggage of his armie, but also that which *Hannibal* had appointed for *Italy*, wherewith *Scipios* souldiours were made rich. In the meane time *Asdrubal* arriues, hauing had no certaine intelligence of the defeat of *Hanno*: whereof being aduertised, he marched towards the sea, where he found many *Romane* souldiours and mariners stragling after some spoyle, of whom he slew many, giuing them a worthie reward of their negligence; the which happened neere vnto *Tarracone*: yet hee made no long abode there, but presently repassed the riuier of *Ebro*. *Scipio* hauing rested his armie foure dayes, resolved to pursue him, but he would first assure himselfe of *Tarracone*, the which was not very well furnished. *Asdrubal* seeing him retire, aduanced againe, and did sollicite the *Ilergetes* to rebell, who notwithstanding had giuen hostages to the *Romanes*, making them to spoyle some of their allies countrey; whereupon *Scipio* went to field, and *Asdrubal* retired. *Scipio* meaning to punish these *Ilergetes*, besieged *Athanasia*, their chiefe towne, and forced them to redeem themselves with money, and to giue new hostages: then he went to the *Aufetanians*, allied to the *Carthaginians*, neere vnto the riuier of *Ebro*, whom he besieged, and defeated the *Laceranes* who came to succour them, wherof there remained 12000 vpon the place, and the rest were dispersed, returning disarmed to their houses.

This siege continued 30 dayes in the heart of winter, the snow being almost foure foot deepe, wherewith their engines of batterie were in a manner couered, the which did preserve them from the fire which was cast by the enemy. In the end, *Amusite* their captaine hauing abandoned them, and being retired to *Asdrubal*, the towne yeelding it selfe from spoyle for 20 talents, amounting to 12000 French crownes: from whence *Scipio* led his armie backe to *Tarracone*.

The second yeare of the second Punicke warre, *Asdrubal* Generall of the *Carthaginians* resolved to charge the enemy wheresoeuer he should encounter him, either by sea or land, hauing armed out thirtie gallies which *Hannibal* had left him, and tenne others which he had; of all which, he gaue the charge to *Himilcon*, commanding him to sayle along the coast in view of his land armie, with the which he parted from *Carthage*, keeping still neere the shore: wherof *Scipio* being aduertised, he resolved also to fight with *Asdrubal*, if any opportunity were offered. Yet hauing intelligence, that he had bene reinforced with some fresh troups, he resolved not to hazard a battaile by land, but to set vpon them at sea. Hauing to that end embarked the flower of his armie, hee parted from *Tarracone* with fise and thirtie ships of warre, and came within foure or fise leagues of the mouth of the riuier of *Ebro*: there he was aduertised by two galliots of *Marcellus*, that the enemies gallies were at anchor in the

E ij

mouth

He marcheth to-  
wards Italy.

Cn. Scipio sent  
into Spaine.

He winneth the Spa-  
nians by mild-  
ness.

Hanno defeated  
by Scipio.

The Spaniards  
inconstant.



The Emperours  
of the Romans.

Whilest the Romans were thus busied to resolute and to send embassadours, *Hannibal* pursues his siege, and presseth *Sagunt* by all means possible: He builds new engines, animates his souldiours, and prometh them the spoile of a rich towne: the *Saguntines* rampar vp their breaches, and labour day and night: the batterie begins afresh, and they haue many assaults giuen, and with greater fure than before. In the end, being tyred with the multitude of assaillants, who had fresh supplies continually, they could not keepe the *Carthaginians* from entering by their breaches, their walls being newly repaired with earth, after their accustomed manner, and therefore easie to pierce: so as they seized vpon an high place within the precinct of the towne, whereas they planted many of their great crosse-bowes and artillerie after their manner, and casting a wall about it, they made as it were a citadell; against the which the *Saguntines* did presently make a trench, diuiding it from the rest of the towne, which was not yet taken. And as it happened diuers times, that the one getting the other, must needs retyre, the towne was reduced to a small compasse, and withall they had great want of victuals, and of all other necessities, by reason of the long siege, *Hannibal* was then forced to march into *Orcania* and *Carpetania*, where there was some likelihood of a tumult, for that those which he had sent to enroll souldiours, were retained by them of the country, by reason of the great rigour which they vsed. As his absence from the campe gaue some rest vnto the *Saguntines*, so his coming among those people caused peace, and reduced them to obedience. In the meane time *Maharbal*, sonne to *Himilco*, who had the charge to continue the siege, vsed such diligence, as there was no shew of *Hannibals* absence. To conclude, he wrought so well, as at his returne he shewed him large breaches, sufficient to giue a generall assault, which were made on the side of the castle, the which the *Carthaginians* did win. The miserable *Saguntines* being thus prest, and out of all hope of succours, which could not come vnto them but from *Rome*, which was farre from them, *Alco* one of their citizens cast himselfe from the rampar, and went to *Hannibal*, without the priuite of the Senat, that he might moue him to some reasonable conditions: but *Hannibal* offered them their liues onely, and that they should depart the town with one robe onely, and to go and dwell where they should be appointed: whereupon *Alco* durst no more returre vnto *Sagunt*, beseeching him to giue him leave to remaine within the campe: then there was a Spanishe souldiour named *Alorco*, who offered himselfe to carrie these conditions vnto the *Saguntines*, and to persuaide them to accept thereof. But he preuailed as little as the other: for being heard in their Senat, they were so farre from yeelding in that manner, as by a common consent they resolute to bring all their gold, siluer, and other goods into the market place, where they set it on fire, and consumed it: and there were some so desperat, as they cast themselves into the fire, to be consumed with their goods. In the meane time there was a great noise heard from a tower which fell suddainly, hauing bene long battered, the which gaue free entrie vnto the enemies: a band of souldiours then being entred by that breach, they made a signe vnto the campe: whereupon *Hannibal* being vigilant to embrace all occasions, marched thither with the whole bodie of the armie, and tooke the towne, hauing giuen charge to his souldiours, to kill all that had past the age of fouretee yeares: a cruell sentence, but he held it necessarie, seeing hee had to deale with such obstinate enemies, who being in fight, neuer yeelded but by death, and being shut vp within their towne, with their wiues and children, would rather burne themselves in their houses, than yeeld. And although that many things were spoiled and consumed by the fire, yet the bootie was great. Thus *Sagunt* fell into *Hannibals* hands, eight months after the beginning of the siege. And during this siege, his wife *Himilce* was delivered of a sonne called *Asar*, which doubled his joy. Then did the *Romans* resolute to proclaim warre against *Carthage*, moued partly with the vnworthie calamitie of their friends and allies, and partly with the feare of their owne estate: the which happened 53 yeares after the foundation of *Rome*, *Pub. Cornelius Scipio* and *Titus Sempronius Longus* being created Consuls.

*Hannibal* was so farre from any remorse to haue drawne these two Commonweales into armes, as contrariwise, when hee had brought backe his armie to new *Carthage*, and diuided the spoyle among his souldiours, he began to make preparations to march into *Italie*: from whence he meant to chase the *Romans*, and to drue them (if it were possible) out of the world. Hauing therefore disposed of the affaires of that Prouince, and well fortified and manned

Friends a farre  
off are slow to  
succour.

Sagunt taken by  
assault.

The Romans  
resolute to warre  
against the  
Carthaginians.

Good fortune  
transports *Hannibal*  
to overcome  
great enterprises

A manned the townes, he left the gouernment thereof to *Asdrubal* his brother, and taking his way by the Mediterranean shore to *Empurias*, he entred into *Gaulle*, and came vnto the *Alpes* without any opposition of the *Gaulles*, although they were much prest thereunto by the *Romans*; leading an armie which consisted of *Numidians*, *Africanes*, *Spaniards*, some *Gaulles*, and other nations; the which he entertained and supplied often with the same nations, as well with the reuenues of the mynes of *Spaine*, as that which he tooke from the enemy, but most of all by his onely authoritie, and the reuerence of his name, so long as he continued the warres in *Italie*, which was 16 yeares.

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This siege continued 30 daies in the heart of winter, the snow being almost foure foot deepe, wherewith their engines of batterie were in a manner couered, the which did preserve them from the fire which was cast by the enemy. In the end, *Annulite* their captain hauing abandoned them, and being retyred to *Asdrubal*, the towne yeelded to *Scipio*, redeeming it selfe from spoyle for 20 talents, amounting to 12000 French crownes: from whence *Scipio* led his armie backe to *Tarracone*.

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Cn. Scipio sent into Spaine.

He winneth the Spaniards by mildness.

Hanno defeated by Scipio.

The Spaniards inuincible.





the Carthaginians a supplie of foure thousand foot and five hundred horse: as soone as they arrived, he went to field with his armie, approached neer vnto the enemye, began to repayre his shippes, and to make a fleet for the defence of the coast and Islands. Being busie about these things, the rout of the sea captaynes, which had bene defeated the Summer before, troubled him much. These after the battaile hauing bene much blamed by *Asdrubal*, did neuer afterwards shew themselves neither faithfull to their Generall, nor well affected to the affaires of the Carthaginians: so as by practises there were some townes yielded to the Romanes in the country of the Carpesians, where the Realme of Toledo is at this day; and had taken one by force: so as all the warre was drawne by the Romanes into this country. Wherefore *Asdrubal* entering the country in hostile manner, affronted a captaine of this nation called *Galbus*, who lay in campe neere vnto the towne which had bene taken. Hauing sent some souldiours lightly armed to the enemies trenches, to draw them forth to skirmish, and some others against them that were gone to forrage, there was at one instant a great tumult in their campe, and slaughter and flying without it, so as manie faued themselves within their fort: yet in the end they were so well assured, as they not onely defended their rampiers, but also sallied forth, and presented themselves in battaile against the Carthaginians, going resolutely to the charge, leaping and skipping after their accustomed manner, the which struck terror into the enemye, who retired as hee could with credit. *Asdrubal* hauing recovered a hill flanked with a riuer, he brought his armie thither, thinking it needfull to fortifie himselfe there. So these two armies giuing feare for feare, there were some skirmishes among the souldiours on either side, whereas to speake truth, the Numidian horseman was not equall to the Spaniard, nor the Moores darts able to pierce their aduersaries targuets, who were as nimble and active as they, and had more force and courage. The Spaniards seeing that by running about the Carthaginians campe they could not draw them forth to battaile, and that it was not easie to force, they went to besiege a towne called *Afena*, whereas *Asdrubal* coming into that Prouince, had made his store-house for victuals and munition; they tooke it by force, and spoiled all the country about it: but after it there was neither order, obedience, nor conduct among them, as it happeneth often after a good successe. *Asdrubal* seeing their disorder and negligence, thought good to embrace this occasion: Wherefore hauing aduertised his souldiours thereof, he left his place of strength, and led his armie in good order against these Spaniards, who were dispersed here and there in disorder, and without ensignes. Being discouered by them that were in sentinell, euery one runs to armes, and so went to encounter the enemye disordered, without ensignes and without commandement. Some began the fight, whilst that other arrived in troupes, the greater part being not yet come out of their campe: yet they encountered them with such furie, as they stayed the first charge of the Carthaginians: but finding themselves few in number, faint, and not well vnted, against many in good order, they were soone broken, and forced to seeke their companions; and in the end they were so prest, being on a heape, and nor able to vse their arms, as they were for the most part slaine; some making way by force through their enemies, faued themselves in the mountains and Forrests neere adjoining. Their campe was in this amazement abandoned, and the whole Prouince was in one day reduced vnder the obedience of the Carthaginians.

During these actions, *Asdrubal* receiued commandement from his superiours at Carthage, That hee should march with all speed with his armie into Italie: the which being knowne in Spaine, all the people in generall began to wauer, and to follow the Romanes parties: whereof *Asdrubal* did aduertise the Senat, letting them vnderstand what prejudice this bruit did bring vnto the affaires of the Commonweale of Carthage; and that it was apparent, if he parted from thence, before he should passe the riuer of Ebro, all Spaine would fall into the Romanes power: for besides that he neither had men, nor a sufficient captaine to leaue in his place, to guard that Prouince, the Romanes captaynes were such, as they could hardly be resisted with equall numbers: wherefore he aduised them (if they had any care of Spaine) to send a good Commander and a strong Armie in the place of that which he should lead away: and although that all things should succeed as they desired, yet should they euer find some alteration among the people of that country. *Asdrubal* his letters did somewhat moue the Senate, but for that they did more affect the affaires of Italie, they

Concept of military discipline follows a victory.

*Asdrubal* takes advantage of his enemies negligence.

The Council of Carthage thinking to see Italy, by great Spain.

A they did not alter any thing that had bene decreed touching his departure with his army, but they onely sent *Himilon* with some bands, and did arme some ships, which they held sufficient to keepe the people of Spaine in awe, as well vpon the sea coasts, as within the country. This captaine hauing past the sea with his forces, layed vp his ships in safetie, and fortified his campe, he tooke some of his best horsemen, and past through friends and enemies countries, vntill he came to *Asdrubal*, to whom he presented this decree of the Senat: and hauing conferred with him, and vnderstood the course that he was to hold in the warres of Spaine, he returned to his troups, hauing nothing that did assure him more from encounter vpon the way, than his diligence and speed: For before they could haue means to assemble their forces, they had news of his returne. *Asdrubal* seeing that he must needs go, he exacted great summes of money from all the townes and people that were vnder the Carthaginians iurisdiction, being well aduertised, that he must purchase the passage and fauour of the Gauls with readie money, as *Hannibal* his brother had done. This done, hee tooke his way towards the riuer of Ebro.

The Romanes captaynes being aduertised of all these things, and knowing of what consequence *Asdrubal*'s passage into Italie was, whereas *Hannibal* alone did much trouble the Romanes state, they employed all their wits and means to stop him. Wherefore leaving all other affaires, they joynd all their forces in one body, and passing the riuer of Ebro, towards which *Asdrubal* approached, being doubtful whether they should fight, or by assailing some towne

C or country that was confederat to the Carthaginians, secke onely to stay and diuert him. In the end they made a shew to besiege *Ibera*, a towne which was rich and mightie in those quarters: But *Asdrubal* to diuert them, and to succour his allies, marched with his armie towards another towne, which a little before was yielded to the Romanes: wherefore they left the towne, and went directly towards *Asdrubal*. The armies were some dayes within a league and a halfe one of another, before they came to battell, making light sallies one vpon another. In the end, as if it had bene agreed vpon, they put their armies in battell. The Romanes diuided their troups into three; some of their footmen were placed before, and some behind their ensignes, and the horsemen vpon the wings on either side. *Asdrubal* set the Spanish footmen in the midst of the battell, the Carthaginians on the right hand, and the Africanes on the left. To the Carthaginians he added the Numidian horsemen that were mercenaries, and the other Africanes in the head of the battell; yet he put no Numidians on the left hand, but such as had bene accustomed to go with two horses together to the warre, and when they had wearied one, they leapt nimbly on the other, which was fresh, being armed in the hottest of the fight: so active and nimble they were, and their horses so gentle and tractable. Being thus in battell, the Generals had equall hopes, for there was no great difference betwixt their forces, either in number, or qualitie of men of warre: but among the souldiours it was not so. The Romanes were perswaded, that the safetie of Rome and Italie, and their returne to their houses, depended vpon this battell; and therefore they were resolute to vanquish or die. But the Spaniards (whereof the most part of the other armie did consist) had

E not that resolution, desiring rather to be beaten in Spaine, than to be drawne into Italie, conquerours: Wherefore at the first charge their battalions in the midst were forced, and turned their backs, the fight was more furious on either hand, for the Romanes were furiously charged on the one hand by the Carthaginians, and on the other by the Africanes, and in a manner compassed in, when as their whole armie (being joynd together in one bodie) easily repulsed them. So fighting in two parts, the Romanes had the aduantage euery where, and were masters of the field. The slaughter was great, and had bene greater, if the Spaniards had not fled so fast in the beginning. The horsemen did not in a manner fight: for when as the Moores and Numidians did see their squadron in the midst wauer, they began to flee, leaving their wings naked, and leading the Elephants away with them. *Asdrubal* hauing continued

F vntill the end of the fight, retired out of the prease with some few that followed him. The enemies campe, and all their baggage, was spoiled by the Romanes. Through this victory, if there remained any people in Spaine which were not firme and constant to the Romanes, they were now confirmed. On the other side, *Asdrubal* law himselfe not onely out of hope to lead an armie into Italie, but also in some doubt where he should find a place of assurance in Spaine. These newes being aduertised to Rome by the two *Scipios*, were verie pleasing; not so much

*Asdrubal* prepares to goe into Italie.

The policy of the Roman and Carthaginian captaynes.

The order of the two armies.

Agility of the Numidian horsemen.

A victory of great consequence for the Romanes.

for

*Asdrubals passage into Italy begun.*

for the victorie which they had obtained, as for that *Asdrubals* passage was broken. This Summer was prosperous for the Romanes affaires, but they began to want victual, and the seamen, both mariners and fouldiers, were in a manner naked. Wherefore the capitaines gaue the Senat to vnderstand, That they must of necessitie provide for these wants, else they should not be able to entertaine neither the armie, nor the countrey. For the which the Senat gaue order, by the good husbandrie of the magistrats, and the willingness of priuat persons; so as there were some found which did vndertake to furnish the armies in Spaine, of all things necessary for three yeares.

*Illiturgis besieged by the Carthaginians, relieved by the Romanes.*

*Asdrubal* accompanied by *Mago*, and *Amilcar* sonne to *Bomilcar*, Carthaginian capitaines, were come to besiege the towne of *Illiturgis*, which had revolted from them to the Romanes party: about the which they had made three camps, through which the *Scipios*, two brethren, past by force, with great slaughter of their enemies, and put victuals into the towne, whereof they had great need: and having encouraged the inhabitants to carrie themselves valiantly in the defence of their walls, as they had feared them do which came to succour them, they refused to make a furious sallie vpon the enemies fort, in *Asdrubals* quarter. Which *Mago* and *Amilcar* seeing, they ran thither with all their forces, so as that day the Carthaginians had 60000 men in battell without their campe, against 26000 Romanes, or thereabouts; who notwithstanding had the victorie, without any doubt, having slaine more of their enemies than they were themselves, taken about 3000 prisoners, woon about 1000 good horses of service, caried away 59 ensignes, slaine five Elephants in fight, made the enemies to raise their camps, and (which was their chiefe designe) freed the towne of *Illiturgis* from siege. The Carthaginians to recouer their honour, went to besiege *Incibile*, another place allied to the Romanes, having filled their bands, and made new supplies in the countrey, who demanded nothing more than warre, so as there were any hope of poyle: for at that time Spaine did abound in youth. There they did rather increafe their shame: for being assailed by the Romanes, they lost 13000 fouldiers more, which were slaine vpon the place, 3000 prisoners, two and fortie ensignes, and nine Elephants. Then in a manner all Spaine did adhere vnto the Romanes, to whom this Summer was verie successfull.

*Another victory by the Romanes.*

The yeare following, when as *Q. Fabius*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus* were Consuls, and the sist of the second Punicke warre, had diuers causes: for *Asdrubal* and *Mago* defeated great armies of Spaniards, which were allied to the Romanes, before they had left their garriisons, where they had wintered, to passe the riuier of *Ebro*: and in a manner all that part of Spaine was recouered by the Carthaginians: but the diligence of *P. Scipio*, who marched thither with his armie, kept them play, and assured the countrey. Hee came first and camped at a place called *Haut-Chateau*, or High-Castle, famous by the death of that great *Amilcar*; the which was strong, and well furnished with come which they had brought thither a litle before: but the countrey round about was full of enemies, and some of the Romanes, which had taried scattered behind from the bodie of the armie, had beene charged by the enemies horse, who slew two thousand, and retired without any losse. This made *P. Scipio* retire into a countrey of more safetie: who fortified his campe, and entrenched it neere vnto the mount of *Victorie*, whither *Cn. Scipio* his brother came with all his forces. And in a manner at the same instant, *Asdrubal*, sonne to *Gisgo* the third, a Carthaginian capitaine, presented himselfe with a compleat armie, in view of the Romanes, and planted his campe right against them, having a riuier betwixt them. There *P. Scipio* hauing taken certaine men at armes with him, parted secretly to discouer the enemy and the countrey: but being himselfe discouered by the enemy, hee was in danger to be defeated, had hee not recouered a litle hill neere adjoining, whereby hee had meanes to defend himselfe, and to make head against them that did environ him, vntill that his brother *Cn. Scipio* came to venge him. The towne of *Castulo* which was so great a friend, and so strictly allied vnto the Carthaginians, as *Hannibal* had taken a wife there, yielded vnto the Romanes. The Carthaginians returned vnto the siege of *Illiturgis*, in the which there was some garriison of Roman fouldiers, hoping to take it by famine. *Cn. Scipio* to releue both the garriison and the inhabitants allied to the Romanes, marched that way, past valiantly betwixt two armies, and put a legion of resolute fouldiers into the towne, with great slaughter of the enemy.

The next day was no lesse happy vnto him, in a braue fallie which he made, where there were

*Asdrubal where great Amilcar was slaine.*

*Romanes defeated.*

*Castulo yielded to the Romanes.*

*Illiturgis relieved and againe by the Romanes.*

A slaine in these two encounters twelue thousand Carthaginians, and about ten thousand prisoners, with five and thirtie ensignes, so as *Illiturgis* was againe freed from siege. The enemy being chased from thence, they went to besiege *Bigere*, another towne allied to the Romanes; but they retired presently vpon the brute of *Scipios* approach, and marched towards *Munda*, where they were also pursued by the Romanes. There they had a sharpe encounter, which continued foure houres; but as the Romanes had the victorie, they founded a retreat, for that *Cneus Scipio*, Generall of the armie, had bene thrust into the thigh with a Numidian lance: which wound his fouldiers that were fighting about him feared to have been mortall; without which accident it is certaine the Carthaginians campe had been taken that day, and the victorie absolute. For the fouldiers with their Elephants had been repulst vnto their palisadoes and rampars, vpon the which there were nine and thirtie slaine with darts: Yet they say, that in this fight the Romanes slew about twelue thousand of their enemies, and carried away seven and fiftie ensignes. The Carthaginians being defeated, retired to *Auringe*, where they were pursued and prest by the Romanes, during this amazement; and were againe charged before they had leasure to assure themselves, and to recouer their spirits, *Scipio* causing himselfe to be carried through the battalions in a litter. Here he had an absolute victorie, but with much lesse slaughter by the halfe, for the enemies were reduced to a smaller number. But as those people were prompt by nature, to renew the warres, and presently to supply their armies, the countrey being fertile of fouldiers, their bands were presently filled by the diligence of *Mago*, brother to *Asdrubal*, being sent to make new leues, so as they durst hazard another battell: the euent whereof was like vnto the former, most of the Carthaginian fouldiers coming faintly to fight, as for a partie which had beene often beaten, and in few dayes. They lost in this conflict eight thousand men slaine vpon the place, and almost one thousand prisoners, with eight and fiftie ensignes, and great store of baggage, rings, chaines, and bracelets of gold: two great noblemen of Gaul were also slaine, the one called *Marcius*, the other *Cisfarnus*: eight Elephants were taken, and three slaine. Thus the Romanes affaires prospered in Spaine, who in the end were ashamed, that the townes of *Sagunt*, for the which this war was begun, had continued five yeares in their enemies power. Wherefore they approached neere vnto it, and by fauour of the battels which they had woon, did easily chase away the garriison that was within it: and hauing conquered the place, they called home all the old inhabitants, and restored them to the possession of their goods, sold the inhabitants thereof for slaues, which had beene the motiue of their desolation, and sold the inhabitants thereof for slaues, to them that would giue most.

*Cn. Scipio lured.*

*The Carthaginians put to rout.*

*Another defeat of them.*

*Carthaginians againe defeated.*

*Saguntum restored to their goods.*

*The Romanes fire vpon enemies within Carthaginians in Asdrubal.*

*Gala fathers in Asdrubal.*

The Romanes to haue the better meanes, not onely to repress the injuries of the Carthaginians, but also to assaile and annoy them, did stirre vp new enemies against them neere vnto their towne, and drew vnto their alliance *Siphax*, king of a part of *Numidia*, who was already somewhat discontented with them: so as they were forced to haue their recourse vnto *Gala*, another king of the same nation, and to incense him against *Siphax*. This *Gala* was father to *Massinissa*, from whom the Romanes did afterwards draw many good seruices: but at that time he shewed himselfe a bitter enemy to *Siphax*, and did often defeat him. In the meane time nothing was done worthe of memorie in Spaine, only the Celtiberians which were in pay with the Carthaginians, were drawne away by the Romanes, whom they entertained with the same conditions: and these were the first mercenary fouldiers which the Romanes vsed, to their great prejudice. Moreouer, the two *Scipios* sent about 300 Spanish gentlemen into Italy, to sollicite them of their nation, which were in *Hannibals* armie, to leaue his partie, and to ioyne with the Romanes.

After this, there were two yeres spent before there was any memorable act done in Spain, both parties encountering one another rather by counsell and practises, than by open hostilitie. The seventh yeare of this warre, the Roman capitaines assembled their forces, and it was resolved in counsell, That they must not content themselves onely to haue stopped *Asdrubals* passage into Italy, but they must seeke some meanes to end all the warre in Spaine: presuming they had forces ynow to doe it, hauing this Winter drawne vnto them, and armed 30 thousand Celtiberians. The enemies had three camps, two whereof were commaunded by *Asdrubal* sonne to *Gisgo*, & by *Mago*, being both joyned together. They were distant from the Romanes some five dayes journey: But that which *Asdrubal*, sonne to *Amilcar*, the ancient

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Gouernour of Spaine, led, was neerer, being lodged neere vnto Anitorge. The Generall G of the Roman armie would first giue him a charge, hoping to defeat him easily. One only difficultie troubled them, which was, how they should hinder the other two armies (After the defeat of this *Asdrubal*) from retiring into some place of aduantage among the mountaines and forests; and by that meanes should draw the warre in length. Having then a conceit to make warre against all Spaine at one instant, they resolved to diuide their forces betwixt them: so as *P. Scipio* with two third parts of the Roman armie, and the bands of their allies, should goe and affront *Asdrubal* sonne to *Gisgo*, and *Mago*; and that *Cneus Scipio* should lead the rest of the old legions and the allies against *Asdrubal* Barcin.

This being concluded, these two armies with their commanders parted at one instant: the Celtiberians marching before, came and encamped neere vnto Anitorge; in view of the enemy, being separated the one from the other by a riuer. There did *Cneus Scipio* stay with his troupes, and *P. Scipio* marched on where he was to make warre. But when as *Asdrubal* saw them diuided, and one farre from the other, being a wise and politique capitaine, considering that the sinewes and strength of the Roman armie consisted of their allies, and in mercinarie fouldiours, and knowing the treacherous and inconstant disposition of the barbarous, euen of the Spaniards in those times, by the experience he had had in that long warre, hee resolved to trie all means possible, to corrupt the Celtiberians, which were vnder the Romans pay, being 30000: the which he did happily effect, by the meanes of some of the same nation which were in his camp; who vnto the same language, and hauing means to haue secret conferences one with another, they concluded with the capitaines of the Celtiberians, that for a good summe of money they should retire with their men, and returne to their houses. It seemed a matter of small moment to them: for they were not prest to turne their armes against the Romans, but only to retire, and not to make warre: besides, most of the fouldiours were glad to rest, and desired to see their kinsfolkes and friends, goods and possessions. Wherefore it was easie for the capitaines who were corrupted, to persuade them to dislodge, being without feare to be staied, or forced by the Romanes, who were but few in number. Let this be an example

to all estates that make warre, neuer to fortifie themselves so with mercenaries and strangers, as they may prescribe them a law; but let their greatest strength be of their own nation. These Celtiberians then hauing taken vp their ensignes, and trust vp their baggage, departed suddenly: neither could any intreatie nor prayers preuaile to stay them, pretending that they had warre at home, and that they must goe and defend their owne houses. *Cneus Scipio* seeing himselfe thus abandoned, and not able to prevent it neither by intreatie, force, nor any good counsell, finding himselfe too weake to hold the field against so great and mightie an armie, hauing also no meanes to ioyne with his brother *P. Scipio*, he meant to trie if he might retire safely and with his honour, and sie all occasions to be forced to fight. But *Asdrubal* holding him vanquished, would giue him no rest, but followed him continually at the heeles. The like terrour, but a farre greater daunger, did at the same time presse *P. Scipio*, being freshly charged by a new and a valiant enemy: it was *Masiniussa* a young prince, then allied to the Carthaginians; who afterwards was famous, and made mightie by the amitie of the Romanes. *P. Scipio* at his first arrivall found him in front, with goodly troupes of Numidian horsemen, comming continually day and night to his trenches, keeping his armie in perpetual alarme, so as not any one durst goe farre out, either for forage or for wood, dislodging their sentinels oftentimes, and pursuing them euen within their gards, and to the portes and rampars of their campe, whereas the Romanes were shut vp as if they had bene besieged, and in want of all things, wherewith they were likely to be daily more and more oppressed, if a Spaniard called *Indibilis* should come and ioyne with the Carthaginians, where he was expected with seuen thousand and five hundred Suesethanians. For so graue and wise a commander as *P. Scipio* was, he tooke a bad and rash resolution: for hauing left his campe to the gard of a few men, vnder the command of *T. Fonteius* his lieutenant, hee parted about midnight

to goe and encounter *Indibilis*, and to fight with him: the which he did, and had easily defeated him, if the Moores and Numidian horsemen (who had watched *Scipioes* departure) had not come and charged the Romanes in flanke, the which caused a great terrour among them, and besides they were charged in the rereward with all the Carthaginian armie, which had followed them. Being thus enuironed of all sides, doubtfull where they should make head, or

which

The two Scipios  
are accounting  
too much, to  
themselves

The mercenaries  
Spaniards make  
no account to  
beaten the Ro-  
mans at need.

The force of an  
armie ought to  
be of naturall  
subjects, and not  
of strangers.

The inglorious  
of the Celtiberi-  
ans.

Two Roman ar-  
mies to pay to  
the enemies.

Masiniussa  
a fierce aduersary  
to the Romanes.

A which way they should force through the enemies, and escape that daunger, their General *P. Scipio* fighting and encouraging the fouldiours, and going to all places where his presence was needfull, was thrust through the right flanke with a lance, so as he fell downe dead from his horse. Then the enemies which had charged that troupe which was about *Scipioes* person, seeing him on the ground, went running throughout the armie, leaping for joy, and crying out that the enemies General was slaine. This accident gaue the Carthaginians an assured victorie, the Romanes (being destitute of a head) thinking only how they should sie and saue themselves. It was easie for them to make way through the Numidians, who were but lightly armed, but to saue themselves by flying against so many horsemen, and footmen who did run in

B a manner as swift as horses, there was no meanes: so as the slaughter of the Romanes was very great, both in the fight and in the flight, and hardly had any one escaped, if the darkenesse of the night had not fauoured them. The happinesse of so great and important a victorie of the Carthaginians, was no whit impaired by the negligence of their capitaines, but making good vse thereof, presently after the conflict, hauing giuen some little rest vnto their fouldiours, their armie dislodged, and marched with all speed to *Asdrubal* Barcin: campe: being assured, that all their forces vnited together, they should easily vanquish the other Roman armie which remained, and by that meanes end the warre in Spaine. Being arrived, the joy was great among the capitaines and armies, rejoycing at this late obtained victorie, whereas so great and redoubted a capitaine of the enemies had bene slaine, and all his armie defeated: wherefore being full of hope, they assured themselves to doe as much vnto the others.

C There was yet no newes of this lamentable defeat in *Cneus Scipioes* armie, but there was seene a sad mournefull silence, as if they had had some secret preface, as it happens often to such as doe diuine of an approaching mischiefe. The General of the armie, besides that he found himselfe weakened, and abandoned by his allies, hearing that *Asdrubal* armie was so much reinforced, was much perplexed, and could not by any conjecture and reason of warre imagine other, than what had happened: For what reason were it to thinke, that *Asdrubal* and *Mago* could passe without fighting, if his brother had bene liuing? Why did he not hinder them? or at the least coast them and follow them, to come and ioyne with his brother, if he could not keep the enemies armies from ioyning? Being in this perplexitie, seeing no other meanes to assure himselfe, but by a retreat, hee parted secretly in the night, vnknewne to the enemy, causing his armie to make a long march: But the day hauing discouered his departure, the Numidian horsemen were presently sent after; who ouertooke the Roman armie toward the evening, and skirmishing, stayed them much, charging them sometimes behind, and sometimes vpon the flanks. *Scipio* gaue order, that in fighting the armie should still aduance, fearing the enemies battalions of foot, which marched with all speed after their horse. In the end night approached, and yet the Romanes had not much aduanced, being forced to make often stands against the Moores, who did continually annoy them. Wherefore *Cneus Scipio* retired with all his troupes to a little hill, a place of small aduantage for them that were already wauering; yet the seat was somewhat higher than the fields about it: There he lodgeth, and puts his horsemen and all his baggage in the midst, and his footmen make a circle round about, and so did easily resist the attempts of the Moores. But when as the Generals with their complete armies were ioyned together, hee saw there was no meanes to make it good by fighting, if he did not intrench himselfe after the accustomed manner: Wherefore he began to aduise by what meanes he might make his palisadoes, but he was come into a bare, barren, and drie soyle, where there was neither trees nor bushes, nor any ground fit to make flaggies; neither could they digge into it, nor make it hard for the enemy to approach, for the ascent was easie on all sides: yet to make a kind of rampar, hee caused them to take their packe-saddles and dorsers, and to tye them together, wherewith the fouldiours made as it were a wall of a conuenient height round about them, filling vp the places which wanted, with such baggage as they had.

F The Carthaginians being arrived, put themselves in order to assaile this little hill, but discouering a new kind of rampar, and not accustomed, they were somewhat amazed: but their commanders began to crie; How now fouldiours, why stay you? why doe you not speedily pull vp and scatter this baggage which doth amaze you, and is not fit to stop women nor children? The enemy is ours, wee hold him fast, being hidden behind those

*P. Scipio* slaine,  
and the Romanes  
defeated.

The victorious  
Carthaginians  
pursue the  
retiree.

Heauinesse in  
*Scipioes* armie  
without any ap-  
parent cause.

The Roman army forced and defeated.

Cn.Scipio slain.

Ann 545 of Rome.

The courage of L. Martius rewinnes the Roman from despair.

L. Martius chosen General of the Roman army

The Carthaginians proud of their great victory, were defeated by the Romans.

L. Martius retains the favour of the Romans.

cofers and burthens. Thus contemptuously did the captaines speake, yet was it not so easie G to make a breach, nor to passe over them: but in the end they forced them, and the souldiours found passage in diuers places, so as they made a great slaughter of the Romans; yet the greatest part of the vanquished saved themselves by flight, who finding woods and forests, a good number of them, after a long and tedious journey, came vnto P. Scipios campe, commanded by T. Fonteius, the lieutenant. Cn. Scipio was also slaine in this assault at the hill, as some say, in the beginning of the fight: others notwithstanding affirme, That he thought to saue himselfe with some few men, in a tower, which was there adjoining, the which being enuironed by the enemy, and the gates set on fire, they were all taken and slaine. Behold two great captaines, brethren, dead, and their armies defeated, in lesse than a moneth, leauing the Romans affaires in Spaine so troubled, and in such despair, as they might well say, all was lost: But humane things are gouerned by a higher power, who doth not alwaies impart his decrees to our discourses.

9 There was a Roman knight called L. Martius, sonne to Septimius, a young man, a chieue, hardie, and of greater courage than could be expected in a man of his condition; who assured the remainders of the legions, and the faithfull allies of the Roman state, and reuined Spaine from their sorrow and mourning, for the losse of two such great personages, and of so many good men, and from the calamitie and daunger they were then in: and in the end recouered the honour and fame of the Romanes, which was growne contemptible. Hee had with his generous disposition learned good discipline vnder Cn. Scipio. And hauing gathered many of them together which had fled from the defeat, and drawne a good number of souldiours out of the garrisons and vnitied townes, he made a little armie, and came and ioyned with T. Fonteius, P. Scipios lieutenant. This armie being on this side Ebro, in a campe well fortified, it was resolu'd to chuse a head that should command ouer all, and that they should take their voyces therein, as the bands should enter into gard one after another. L. Martius being but a knight, was so gracious, as all in generall gaue him their voyces, and he was chosen Captain General of the Roman armie. After which time hee was verie carefull to fortifie himselfe in places of strength, and to provide store of victuals and munition, finding the souldiours readie to execute whatsoever hee commaunded. But it was not long before there came newes vnto the campe, That Asdrubal the sonne of Gisgo marched towards them, to make an end of the warre, and to free the countrey of those few Romanes which were yet remaining in Spaine. Then the souldiours remembering their old captaines, began to faint at their new captaines commands; so as the centeniers and other officers and bands, yea and L. Martius himselfe had much adoe to reuiue them, reproaching them, that they behaued themselves faintly like women, making fruitlesse lamentations, which was not the meanes to reuenge the deaths of their Generals, nor to recouer their lost honour. The enemies were not far off, and it was time to preach to them; when as suddenly there was scene a strange alteration throughout all the Roman campe: Their mourning was conuerted into furie, euerie man fell to his armes, and they cried out, that they should bring them to the enemy. They fallly forth of their gates, and with great courage receiue the Carthaginians, who came disordered, and in a manner contemning them whom they had already vanquished. This resolution of the Romanes amazed them, wondering at the number and order of these men, who had gathered them together, or what captaines they had remaining after the death of the two Scipioes. But in the end they were forced to flee, and were hotly pursued that day, vntill that Martius thinking the souldiours did abandon themselves too much, caused a retreat to be sounded, and himselfe standing before their ensignes, stayed their rashnesse, which might haue drawne them into some disorder, and so (desiring nothing but reuenge and blood) hee brought them backe to the campe. The Carthaginians being thus roughly repulst from the Roman trenches, seeing they were no more pursued, they presumed it had bene feare, and therefore they retired softly, and without care. Being in their campe they vsed the like negligence in their gards and watches: for notwithstanding they did see the enemy nether, yet they did esteeme them to be but the reliques of two armies which they had beaten and defeated some few dayes before.

Martius being aduertised by good spies, what was done in the enemies campe, hee vnderooke rather a rash than hardy attempt, but the issue was fortunat. Knowing that he had the ar-

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A mie of Asdrubal Gisgo now in front, the which was followed by the two others, hee thought it lesse daunger to aduenture to fight with that alone, than to attend and bee beaten by all three together: If he vanquished, he should restore their affaires, which were almost ruined, and if he were beaten, at the least he should haue the honour to bee the assilant. Hauing therefore assembled the captaines, centeniers, and chiefe souldiours, he deliuered vnto them the pitifull estate of their affaires, and how that for the honour and reputation of their countrey, for the loue they bare to the deceased Scipioes, and for the interest of their owne lues, they were to carrie themselves valiantly and courageously against their cruell enemies which pursued them; whose negligence and contempt did inuite them to goe and assaile them, and B did promise them a certaine and easie victorie, especially if they made hast before all their forces were vnitied: the which afterwards they could not withstand, concluding, that there was no other meanes to make warre, than to issue forth the next night, and to goe and force the Carthaginians in their trenches. He found the souldiours well disposed at this motion, wherefore he commaunded them to prepare their armes, and to be readie to depart when he should command. The Carthaginian armie made two lodgings, about a league and a halfe one from the other: betwixt both was a great valley couered with trees. In this forest was an ambush of Roman souldiours layed, with some horsemen, to stop the passage for such as would runne from one campe to the other: the rest of the Roman armie was led with great silence against the enemies, where finding neither gards nor sentinels, nor any thing else to C stop their passage, they entred farre, as if they had bene within their owne campe: then suddenly the trumpets sounded, and making great cries they fell to the execution, killing all they met, without mercie, and setting fire of the enemies lodgings and tents; but about all they seized vpon the ports and issues, that not any one might escape. The amazement, fire, cries, and slaughter, did so trouble the Carthaginians, as they could not beare one another, nor giue any order for any thing. They found themselves among troups of armed men: thinking to flee, they were slaine at the gates, if any leapt ouer the ramparts, they fell into the ambushes, so as the enemies which were in the other lodging, could haue no intelligence of this surpris, but by death, which was presented vnto them at the Romanes coming, who with great celeritie (boiling with furie, and implacable desire of reuenge) came thither, and D there found greater negligence than they had done in the first campe: For these were farther retried from the enemy, and vpon the breake of day many were gone forth for forrage and wood. There were armes at the ports, but no souldiours, some here, some there, some asleepe, and some walking in their gownes in the trenches. The Romans fell vpon these careless people, hauing no resistance made at the ports: they entred within the campe, and in the midst thereof began a bloudie fight, the enemies running from all parts at the first crye and tumult, striving vniuiously to repulse the Romanes. Which conflict was likely to continue long: but when as the Carthaginians discovered their enemies targuets all polluted with blood, they fainted, hauing thereby an assured argument of the defeat of their companions. This feare put them in rout, and to a miserable flight, euerie one sauing himselfe where he found any way open to escape, and abandoning the campe. So in one night E and the day following, there were two campes taken, vnder the conduct of L. Martius. The number of the dead, according vnto some, was seuen and thirtie thousand, and about eight hundred prisoners. The spoyle was verie rich, and among other things, therewas found a great targuer of silver, weighing one hundred thirtie and eight pounds, on the which was grauen the picture of Asdrubal Baris, the which was afterwards set in the temple of the Capitoll, and it was called Martius targuer, remaining for a memorie of the victorie which hee had gotten against the Carthaginians, where it continued vntill the Capitoll was burnt.

This action restored the Romans power and authoritie in Spaine, and was the cause that F sometime was spent without any enterprises of either side, either fearing to hazard anything after so great losses.

10. These diuers and contrarie accidents teach vs how little wee should relye vpon the events of war, and that it is not in the power of man to maintaine himselfe one day: wherefore if modestie be necessarie in humane things, yea in greatest prosperitie, and to beare a respect

The over great boldnesse of Martius, which proved his downfall by the enemies negligence.

A great defeat of the Carthaginians.

A targuer of silver a monument of Martius victory.







diligence of *Mago*, wherefore the fouldiours comming to the assault, were entertained with a shower of darts and arrowes which fell vpon them, more vpon their flanks than in afront: besides the wall towards the firme land, was very high. Notwithstanding the fouldiours animated by their Generals presence, and with a desire to vanquish and spoile, planted their ladders of all sides, and mounted courageously, striving who should get first to the top of the wall. But many of the ladders, being over-laden with the multitude, brake, and they fell into the ditch; besides most of them were too short. They gaue an assault in like manner towards the sea, but with more amazement than danger, and of euerie side there was more brute than effect: so as for this time the Romans were repulst, which gaue courage vnto the enemies, and hope they should be able to keepe the towne; persuading themselves, they were out of scale-doe, and that their armies should haue time ynough to come and succour them. But *Scipio*, who was resolu'd to take this towne, did not suffer them to continue long in this error: for as soone as he had caused them which had giuen the first assault to retire, being wearie and wounded, he made other fresh fouldiours to aduance against the towne, to renew the assault, taking the ladders from their companions. He had bene aduertised by fishermen of Tarracoe, which were in his campe, and who had waded through the marishes on the West side of the towne, That there was no great store of water along the wall, when the tyde was spent, and that it was easie to goe to the foot of it: and withall had obserued, that on that side the wall was but low, ill rampared and fortified, and without gards, for that they assured themselves of this stil water. Wherefore vpon the ebbe, and a strong Northerly wind, which draue out the water, it was easie to wade through: he embraced this occasion, and sent some troups thither, shewing them the easie access; saying, That the gods did inuite them, and assure their passage, causing the sea to retire, whereby they might take the towne, as it fell out: For finding no man to resist them, whilst that all were busie in other places, where as they feared most, they entred into the towne, and marched directly towards the port where as the combat was hottest, where they were sooner felt than heard; and the enemies were charged both in front and in flanke, before they knew that the towne was taken: so as the number increasing still, one helping another ouer the wall, euerie one fought to saue himselfe, and not any one made any more resistance. Wherefore the gate being broken, and an entrie made for the armie, they entred in battaile into the towne, with their commanders and ensignes, and seized vpon the chiefe places. Those which had past ouer the walls, made a great slaughter of the inhabitants. The Carthaginian fouldiours retired themselves into two forts, the one was to that high peece of ground aboue mentioned, on the East part of the towne, garded by fise hundred fouldiours, and the other was the castle, which *Mago* had referred. The mount being assailed by a part of the Romane armie, was presently forced: Soone after *Mago* seeing there was no more hope, hauing made some resistance, yielded the fort also, and all that was within it. Vntill that time the Romanes slew all they met about fouretene yeares of age: but the castle being yielded, they were commaunded to cease from killing: then they began to fall to the spoile, which was verie great, where they had ten thousand prisoners, all men of free condition. Those that were naturall citizens were set free, and the towne restored vnto them, and all that was found belonging vnto them. There were also found about two thousand artificers, whom *Scipio* adjudged to the publike of the people of Rome, giuing them hope of speedie libertie, if they carried themselves like good men, and did imploy themselves valiantly in the warres. With the rest of the youth which was able and strong, he furnished his galleies: and encreased his armie at sea, with eight galleies taken from the enemy. Besides this multitude, there was found within the fort the Spanish hostages, whom hee treated as honourably as if they had bene allyed to the people of Rome. Thus this wise Generall by his mildnesse and humanitie woun the hearts of the people, with more honor, and much lesse paine and daunger, than if he would haue forced them by armes, the which notwithstanding he could well employ at need. The engines to batter and defend townes and forts, were infinit: there were threecore and foureene ensignes taken: the gold and siluer was carried to the Generall: there were two hundred threecore and sixteen cups of gold, euery one weighing a pound; and in siluer coined eighteen thousand and three hundred pounds weight, with great store of siluer plate. All which things were deliuered by weight to *C. Flaminius* the treasurer. Besides, there was found 40000 bushels of wheat, and 870000 of barley. There were taken

New Carthage taken.

The number of the prisoners taken at Carthage.

Scipio inherits the Spanish hostages kindly.

A taken within the port an hundred and thirteene shippes of burthen, whereof many were fill laden with armes, come, siluer, yron, cloth, stuffe to make ropes, and other things for the vse of shippes: so as in regard of the spoyle, the towne of Carthage was esteemed of least value.

14 The heat and furie of the fouldiours being past, and *Scipio* in quiet possession of the towne, without any contradiction, the same day leauing the towne in gard to *Caius Lelius*, with the fouldiours of his galleies and mariners, he brought backe the Armie and Legions to their campe, very much tyred with so many exploits of warre which they had done in one day: for they had fought hand to hand in field, had giuen an assault, and taken the towne with extreme paine and danger, and that being taken, they had been still forced to fight with great disadvantage against them that held the castle: wherefore he suffered them to rest vntill the next day, when as he caused the whole armie both of sea and land to assemble, thanking first of all the gods, who not onely had deliuered into their hands the richest towne of all Spaine, but had gathered together in it as it were a spoyle of all that was precious in Spaine and Africa: so as their enemies were left naked of all things, and they were abundantly furnished with superfluitie. Then did he publicly acknowledge the valour of his fouldiours, commending such as had done their duties, according to euery mans vertue and resolution, where they had repulst the enemies, who had sallied out so furiously against them; and notwithstanding the height of their wals, the dangers of vnkowne passages in the moores, and the munition of their forts and citadels, they had past all, and surmounted all obstacles. Wherefore although he knew that all deserved much, yet it was expedient to haue an especial regard to those that had first mounted vpon the wals, and therefore he commaunded they should reue themselves. There were two fouldiours which pretended this honour to be due vnto them: it was a crowne of gold made with battlements, which the custome and auncient militarie order of the Romanes did giue vnto him that mounted first vpon the enemies walls. One of these was *Q. Trebellius*, a Centenier of the first Legion; and the other, *Sextus Digitiu*, a fouldior of the sea armie, who (as it happeneth often) had put the whole armie into faction, either being supported by them of his ranke. *C. Lelius* maintained them of the fleet, but *M. Sempronius Turdianus* the Legionaries; which contention had almost bred a mutinie, but *Scipio* gaue them arbitrators, which were the two abouenamed, and *P. Cornelius Caudinus* for a third, who should examine the cause, and informe him. Notwithstanding, after they had taken from them these men of respect, who should be iudges in stead of supporters, the disorder grew greater: for although they seemed partiall, yet they did restraîne the violent passions of both parties, rather than maintaine them: which *C. Lelius* perceiving, leauing the assembly, he went and informed *Scipio*, that this businesse was handled without modestie, order, or reason, and that they were like to fall to armes: and although they proceeded not so farre, yet was it dishonest and a very bad example, that honour due to vertue should be sought in that manner by corruption and false witnesses: for on the one side the Legionaries, and on the other the mariners, offered to sweare what they would haue them, not knowing the truth, nor considering that in so doing they made themselves guilty of perjurie, and did draw the punishment of that crime not onely vpon their owne heads, but vpon the whole armie, and on the Romane Ensignes and Eagles, violating and contemning in this manner the reuerence of an oath: Hee aduertised him of these things by the aduice of *Cornelius* and *Sempronius*, the two other arbitrators. *Scipio* gaue him thanks, and did much commend him for it: wherefore hauing called the fouldiours together, he let them vnderstand, That he was duly informed, how that *Q. Trebellius* and *Sext. Digitiu* were the first that mounted vpon the wals of Carthage, and the one as soone as the other, and therefore in witness of their vertues he did honour either of them with a murrall crowne. And thus he wisely pacified a great sedition among the fouldiours, and did auoid a detestable profanation of all religion; the which was of great consequence among the Romanes, who were no lesse desirous, that the world should be as well conceited of their pietie and iustice, as of their valour. He afterwards rewarded euery one according to his merits, and among others, *Lelius* Generall of the armie at sea, to whom hee did as great honor as he would haue done vnto himselfe, giuing him a crowne of gold, and thirtie oxen. Hee caused also the hostages of Spaine to be brought before him, which were found in new Carthage, to whom he spake courteously, giuing them good hope,

and

The reward of vertue must not be sought by vicious means.

Romans religious.

Scipio doth cunningly pacifie a great tumult.

*Scipio takes so  
win the Spani-  
ards hearts by his  
great bounty.*

*A Spanish Ladie  
having taken in  
recommending*

*Scipio honors  
the virtue of  
Ladies, professes*

and letting them vnderstand, That they were fallen into the hands of a Nation, which desired more to win the hearts of men, and to tie them vnto them by their good deeds, than to constrain them by feare of force; and had rather haue other nations for their faithfull companions, than to subdue by an odious seruitude. He caused the names of the Townes and Communalties of Spaine to bee giuen him in a List, and enquired of the number of prisoners of either of them, to whom he sent messengers, willing them to come and receiue their owne. If at that time there were any embassadours of any of those places within his campe, hee presently caused theirs to be deliuered vnto him. C. Flaminus Treasurer generall had the charge of the rest, with commandement to entreat them well. Whilst these things were in hand, a Spanish Ladie, who was very old, stept out of the troupe of hostages, and callt her selfe at Scipios feet: shee was wife to Mandonius, brother to Indibilis, Lord of the Illetes: beseeching him to giue especiall charge vnto the gards, to entreat the women well and honestly: To whom Scipio answered, That they should not want any thing: But (sayth she) it is not the feare of any want that maketh me thus careful: for what doth not suffice them that are in our estate? I feare another thing; it is the youth of those that are about me, whom I see in danger to receiue disgrace: as for me, my age doth free me from that misfortune. There were about her the daughters of Indibilis, and manie others of great houles, very faire, and in the flower of their ages, which honoured this Ladie as their mother. Then Scipio with a noble and vertuous courage answered thus: Truly, the discipline which I haue learned among the Romanes, and which I obserue, doth admonish me, that whatsoeuer is held worthe of respect in any part of the world, should not be violated or corrupted by vs: but above all this, your vertue and modestie inciteth mee to be more careful to preserve you, seeing you shew that you haue not any way forgotten that which doth most honour and adorne women. He therefore gaue them in gard vnto one, whose modestie and continencie was well knowne vnto him, commanding him to keepe them with as much honest respect, as if they were the wives and mothers of their owne allies. Then they brought vnto him a young virgin a prisoner, fit to be married, and so exceeding faire, as she drew vnto her the eyes of all that beheld her. Scipio enquired of whence, and what parents she was of? Among other things he vnderstood, That she was promised to a young Nobleman of the Celtiberians, called Allucius: He caused her to be carefully kept; and sent vnto the virgines parents, and to her future husband; that they should come vnto him: who being arrived, he spake vnto this yong man (whom he knew to be exceedingly passioned with loue) vsing a more artificiall speech vnto him than hee did vnto the virgines parents.

I am (sayd hee) young, and so are you, wherefore my desire is, that wee conferre more freely together: Your Spouse being brought before mee by our souldiours, and vnderstanding that you loued her with great affection, I did easily beleue it, seeing her beautie: for if it were lawful for me to seeke the pleasures which youth demands, and that my mind and thoughts were not wholly employed for the affaires of the Commonweale, I would willingly be excused, if I did abandon my selfe to the passions of loue, being so iust and lawful, as of her that should be my wife: wherefore I fauour yours as much as I may. Your Spouse hath bene kept here with mee with such honour and respect, as if shee had bene with her father and mother, and hath bene garded to make a pure and absolute present vnto you, worthe of my qualitie and yours. I demand onely in recompence of this gift, that you will be a friend to the people of Rome; and if you thinke me thereby to be an honest and a good man, such as they of this country haue heretofore knowne my deceased father and uncle to haue bene, know that there are many such in the citie of Rome; and remember, that there is not any nation vpon the earth, whose hatred you and yours should more seeke to auoid, and to seeke their friendship, than ours.

This unexpected fauor, the which could not be comprehended nor equalled by any recompence or thanks, held this Spaniard seized with joy and shame: who taking Scipio by the right hand, prayed all the gods to require the great fauour he had done him, seeing he found himselfe insufficient to make any satisfaction as he desired. Then were the virgins parents called, who seeing their daughter already freed without any ransom, entreated Scipio very earnestly to receiue the gold which they had brought to redeeme her, which was of a good quantitie, saying, they would hold it for a great grace, that he had preserved their daughter vnderfled.

*Scipio*

A Scipio being much importuned by them, was content to please them: whereby hee caused these presents to be brought before him, and hauing called for Allucius, hee sayd vnto him: Besides that which you are to receiue of your father in law in dowrie with your wife, take this present from me, commanding him to carrie this gold away with him. Allucius hauing receiued these honours and presents from Scipio, he returned ioyfull and content to his house, filling the whole countrey with his prayse and merits: and in truth it was an act as generous, liberrall, chaste, and religious, as hath bene in the memorie of any age done by a Pagan in his youth and vigour, and who had commandement and soueraigne power in that behalfe ouer the enemy; but it may be it was not without ambition, nor humane considerations.

B There was a bruit throughout all Spaine, That there was a young man come like vnto a god, who surmounted all things, as well by force of armes, as by his courtie and bounty: wherefore Allucius hauing made a leuie of his friends and vassals, came within few dayes vnto Scipio, being accompanied with foureteeen hundred horse, to doe him and the people of Rome seruiue.

C Scipio after hee had stayed C. Lelius with him some dayes, to dispose of the hostages, the spoyle, and all other things with his aduice and counsell, he sent him to Rome with a galeasse, and Mago with him, who was late Gouverneur of new Carthage, and about fifteene Senators prisoners, to bee messengers and assured witnesses of his victorie. During his abode at Carthage, he exercised his souldiours in all exercises fit for the warres, as well by land as sea. The first day he caused the Legions to run armed foure myles together, which makes a league: the next day he made them to scoure their armes before their tents: the third day they fought in forme of bataille with poles and darts blunted: the fourth day they rested, and the fifth they ran againe with their armes. Thus he did employ his souldiours during his abode at Carthage. The mariners did exercise themselves in rowing vp and downe in their galleies, and made feights to trie the swiftnesse of their galleies. These things were done without the wals of the towne, to fashion their minds and bodies to all warlike exercises: but within Carthage there was nothing but preparation to armes, the Generall being careful to see all things himselfe in person. Sometimes he went aboard the galleies, sometimes he ran with the Legionaries, sometimes he went to visit the workmen in the Port and Arsenall, vsing incredible care and diligence. Hauing thus prouided for all things necessarie, repaired the breaches of the towne, and manned it with good souldiours, he went to Tarracone. In the end the deputies of many townes of Spaine came vnto him, where he had assigned an assembly for all the allies of the people of Rome, as well old as new, whither came many deputies on this side Ebro, and some beyond it.

The Captaines and Commanders of the Carthaginians did what they could to conceale the losse of Carthage; and when as they found it was generally knowne, they fought with good words to repaire their losse, saying, it was but a towne lost, surprised by a young man, who perswaded himselfe, that he had thereby woon all: but when he should see three great captaines and three victorious armies approach, he would abate his pride, and remember the miserable end of his house. This they bruted among the people, yet knew they that the losse of Carthage had much weakened their forces.

The 34 day after that Lelius was parted from Carthage, he arrived at Rome with his prisoners, to the great contentment of the people. The next day hee deliuered vnto the Senate what had bene done in Spaine; the towne of new Carthage (the chiefe of the whole countrey) taken in one day, and many townes which were reuolted, returned againe to the Romans, and many others receiued into a new league; the which was verified by the prisoners answers. The Romans about all things feared Afrubals passage: for they had worke ynough to resist Hannibal alone. Lelius was sent backe into Spaine in the same vessell which had brought him.

The yeare following, when as Qu. Fab. Max. for the fifth time, and Qu. Fulv. Placc. for the fourth time were Consuls of Rome. Scipio hauing spent all the Winter to win the hearts of this barbarous nation, some by presents, others in deliuering them their hostages and prisoners, Edesio a famous captaine among the Spaniards came vnto him: His wife and children were with the Romanes, the which was partly the cause of his reuolt: and withall, he found

*Scipio adds the  
benefits to his  
continencie.*

*Perse gives to  
every one his due  
reward.*

*Military exer-  
cises done by  
Scipio.*

*The care and di-  
ligence of a good  
Generall.*

*The Carthaginians  
and dissimble  
their losse.*

*Ann. Roma 544*

all





As they were selling of the Africane prisoners, by the Generals commaund, there was a goodly young stripling, whom the Treasurer (hearing that he was royally defended) sent to Scipio: being demanded by Scipio, What he was, and of whence, and why he followed armes being so young? he answered with teares, That he was a Numidian, and that his name was Masinissa, who being left an Orphan, retired to Gala king of the Numidians, his grandfather by the mothers side, and there had bene bred up, and had followed his uncle Masinissa, who came lately into Spaine to succour the Carthaginians with some bands of horse: That before that time hee had neuer bene in any combat, for that his uncle restrained him, by reason of his tender age: but the day of the last charge he had stolne from him, and hauing found means to recouer horse and armes, he had thrust himselfe into the battaile with the rest, where he had bene ouerthrowne by the defaults of his horse, and was taken by the Romanes. Scipio commaunded, that this Numidian should be kept, vntill hee had finished that which concerned the publicke. Being afterwards retired to his tent, he sent for him againe, and asked him if he would returne to his vncl; who answered with great signes of joy, That he would be very glad. Then Scipio hauing giuen him a gold ring, a rich embrodered robe, a cascocke after the Spanish fashion, with a clasp of gold; and hauing mounted him vpon a good horse, with rich furniture, he sent him away, giuing him certaine knights to conduct him where hee pleased. These things being thus past, as they consulted among the Romanes touching the affaires of the warre, many were of opinion, That he should pursue Asdrubal; yet Scipio was content to place a garrison in the straits and passages of the mountaines, employing all the rest of the Summer to win the Spaniards by gifts and other fauours, receiuing many into the alliance and protection of the people of Rome.

17 In the meane time the two other captaines Mago and Asdrubal sonne to Gisgo came into base Spaine, to joyne with Asdrubal Barcinien, somewhat too late after his defeat, but very fitly to consult of their affaires. They saw the Spaniards were daily practised to reuolt, and that the Carthaginians should not be able to hold any one place in Spaine, if they did not speedily prevent it. Asdrubal of Gisgo relied much vpon the Spaniards which dwelt along the Ocean, and about Gadiz, where the Romanes had not yet bene: but the other two did foresee that the Romanes bountie would corrupt them as well as the rest; assuring themselves, that there was not any Communalitie, nor priuat man in Spaine, which began not to wauer, and would neuer cease to reuolt, if they did not vse one means to prevent it: which was, That Asdrubal Barcinien should gather together all the Spaniards he could, and lead them into Italie, as it had bene formerly concluded: and by this means Spaine should be disarmed of her owne forces, and more easily kept in awe by feare; and as for their armies, they would supply them with other souldiours: and therefore they were of opinion, That Mago should leaue his troupes to Asdrubal Gisgo, and passe speedily into the Islands of Maiorca and Minorca, with store of treasure, to make good leuiues of that nation: In the meane time Asdrubal of Gisgo should retire into the farthest bounds of the Lusitanians, to auoid all occasion of fighting with the enemy: That Masinissa with three thousand horse chosen out of all the bands, should spoyle the enemies country on this side the riuer of Ebro, and succour their friends and faithfull allies. These things being concluded by the Carthaginian captaines, were presently put in execution.

In the eleuenth year of the second Punicke warre, M. Marcellus and T. Quintus Crispinus being created Consuls at Rome, the gouernments of Spaine were confirmed for another year to P. Cor. Scipio and to M. Sillanus. The sea Armie in Spaine being eightie galleys, as well of those which came out of Italie, as were taken at Carthage, were reduced vnto thirtie by a decree of the Senate, commaunding Scipio to send fiftie into Sardinia, as well for the defence of that Island, as of Italie, by reason of the great preparation which was made in Affricke, whereas they said the Carthaginians did arme two hundred fayle, to come vpon the coast of Italie. This year Spaine was somewhat quiet, Asdrubal thinking onely of his voyage into Italie, and to prepare his armie, wherein he vsed exceeding great diligence, vntill he had passed the Pyrenees. Being entred into Gaule with great store of treasure; hee leuiued souldiours of that nation, and assured his passage by the Alpes; the which did much trouble the Romanes: for they had then worke ynough to make head against Hannibal; but the wilde

Masinissa nephew  
to Asdrubal  
prisoner to the  
Romanes.

The Carthaginians  
are resolved to  
carry all the  
Spanish souldiours  
out of Spaine, to  
prevent reuolts.

Asdrubal Barcinien  
passeth into  
Italie.

A dome of C. Nero and M. Linnus, the new Consuls for the year following, freed them of that care: who by an aduenturous, but a necessarie stratageme of warre, whilst they kept Hannibal play in Apulia, defeated and slew Asdrubal, neere vnto Senegaille, with almost all the Spaniards, Gaules, and Ligurians, whereof his army consisted: a defeat which did recompence that of Canes, yet was it not without great effusion of blood on the Romanes side, who lost about 8000 men. Yet this did assure their estate, which vntill that time had bene in great danger; and Hannibal vpon the newes of his brothers death, began to distrust his owne good successe and his countries.

Spaine during Asdrubals preparation, and a while after his passage into Italie, had some rest from warre, but they fell soone againe to armes. At that time Asdrubal, sonne to Gisgo, kept about the Island of Gades, and in the West marches, neere vnto the Ocean. The Romanes commaunded all along the Mediterranean sea, and held all that part of Spaine which lies towards the East. In the place of Asdrubal Barcinien they had sent Hanno from Carthage, with a new armie; who hauing passed the sea, joyned with Mago. These two had leuiued among the Celtiberians (which is in the midst of Spaine) great troupes of souldiours, in a short space. Scipio sent M. Sillanus against this armie with 10000 foot and 500 horse; who making great marches, by difficult and strait passages, which are ordinarie in Spaine, hee approached by the means of certaine Celtiberian guides (who had changed their parties) neere vnto the enemy, before they had any newes of him, being also aduerted by the same Celtiberians, when hee came within two leagues of them, that vpon the way hee should encounter two of their camps; that of Celtiberians, newly leuiued, on the left hand, being some 9000 men; and the other of Carthaginians, on the right hand. As for these, they obserued good discipline, kept their gards, and had their sentinels placed in good order; but the others regarded it not, but were secure and carelesse, like new souldiours: who thinking themselves at home, apprehended nothing that was to be feared. Wherefore Sillanus marched first towards them, causing his troupes to goe on the left hand, as closely as they could, least the Carthaginians in the other lodging should discover him. Then he sent forth some to discover the enemies countenance, and marched speedily after them. He was now within lesse than halfe a league, before the enemy had any notice of his coming; for he went by broken wayes and deepe vallies full of trees, where he fed his armie: there they returned vnto him, whom he had sent forth to discover, who confirmed that which the reuolted Spaniards had deliuered vnto him. Then the Romanes (leauing their baggage vpon the place) put themselves in battaile, and marched against the enemies, whom they found in great amazement, seeing the Roman armie so neere. Mago, who was in the other campe, posted thither vpon the first bruit, to put them in defence. There were some 4000 good souldiours among the Celtiberians, carrying targuets, and 200 horse, the which were set in the front, and the rest to second them were lightly armed; and in this manner they came to fight. They were scarce come without their rampiers, when as the Romanes cast their darts at them, but the Spaniards flooped to auoid them: then rising suddainly againe, they cast theirs against the Romanes, who standing close, and couered with their targuets, defended themselves from any harme; but approaching neerer, they came to the sword. The place where they did fight was of great advantage for the Celtiberians, by reason of the vneuenesse, whose custome was to skirmish with leapes and jumps; contrarie to the Romanes, who fight close, and stand firme: and therefore this vneuen ground did not much trouble them, but that they were sometimes constrained to breake their ranks, by reason of the straits and litle groues, wherewith the country is full, fighting sometimes one to one, and two to two; the which did also hinder the enemies from flying, and exposed them to the slaughter. All those of the foreward which carried targuets, were in a manner slaine, and they continued killing and ouerthrowing those that were lightly armed, and the Carthaginians which were come to their succours, led by another Hanno, who was taken alie: but Mago retired in the beginning of the battaile with about 3000 foot and all the horse, and the tenth day after came vnto Asdrubals campe. The Celtiberian souldiours which remained, got home into their country through the woods and forrests. This victorie was very pleasing vnto Scipio, who did greatly extoll Sillanus his vertue, and was in hope to end the warre, if he did speedily set vpon Asdrubal, who remained in the remotest part of Spaine, in the Betique Prouince, which now

Asdrubal and  
his armie defeated  
in Italie.

Hanno sent  
from Carthage  
into Spaine with  
a new armie.

M. Sillanus fur  
prizeth and de  
feates the Car  
thaginians.

*Asdrubal retreats  
up his army, and  
leaves the field  
to the Romans.*

is Andalousie. He hauing intelligence, that *Scipio* marched towards him, dislodged from the place where hee encamped, and retired in great disorder towards the Island of Gades, then thinking, that whilest he had an armie in field, they would not cease to pursue him, he resolved to breake vp his campe, and to put his souldiours into garison, as well for their safetie, as the townes, and he himselfe went into the Island.

*Scipio* being aduertised, that the enimie had no armie in field, and seeing that he must make warre in diuers parts of the countrey, and besiege one towne after another, a matter of some difficultie, and of more toile than profit, he turned head again: yet for that he would not wholly abandon that part of Spaine to the enemy, he left *L. Scipio* his brother with an army of 10000 foot and 1000 horse, to trie if he could take *Aurige*, the chiefe place of the countrey, situated in a fertile soyle, vpon the marches of the Mellefians, the inhabitants whereof were naturall Spaniards. There were certain mynes of siluer found, & it was *Asdrubals* retreat, from whence he made his courtes into the countrey. *L. Scipio* being come neere the towne, before he did wholly besiege it, he sent some to parle with the inhabitants, to know their minds, and to persuade them rather to trie the Romans friendship than their armes. Preuailling nothing, he besieged it, and cast a trench about it, with a double pallisado, diuiding his armie into 3 troups, the which should keepe the towne in continuall alarme. The first assault given by one of the three troups was valiantly maintained, and their ladders, with the souldiours which mounted, throwne into the ditch, and the assaillants were often in danger to be drawne vp with hooks of yron, which the besieged cast downe from the wals and towers, so as the Romans were forced to retire. *L. Scipio* finding that the small number which he had sent to the assault made the partie inequall, hauing therefore caused the first to retire, he sent all the rest of his armie to giue a new assault: the which did so amaze the besieged, being tyred with the first assault, as the inhabitants abandoned the wals; and the garison of Carthaginians thinking that the towne had bin yielded, left their gards where they had bin sent, and put themselves into one body. The inhabitants fearing, that if the enemy forced the towne, they should be all put indifferently to the sword, resolved to prevent this danger by yielding: and hauing opened a gate, they went forth in troups, carrying only their targets, to defend themselves from the Romans darts, and holding vp their right hands naked in sign of peace, they let the Romans vnderstand that they yielded. It is doubtfull whether they did vnderstand their meaning, seeing them come a far off, or whether the Romans did doubt some fraud; but they charged these poore Spaniards, and cut them all in peeces, and by the same port entred the towne with their colours flying, killing all they met without exception, & in the meane time some of their troups forced the other gates, and made way vnto their companions. The horsemen being entred, seized vpon the chiefe places, as they were commaunded, being followed by them which they called *Triares*, which are footmen, fighting alwaies in the rereward, so second where need required. The rest of the legonaries dispersed themselves throughout the towne, putting all to the sword. In the end the Carthaginians were taken prisoners, and some 300 of the inhabitants: the rest which remained after the furie were pardoned, and their houses and libertie yielded them. There died at the taking of this towne 2000 of the enemies, and some 90 of the Romans. It was a pleasing exploit to them that did execute it, but especially to *P. Scipio*, who commended *Lucius* his brother with all the honorable tearmes he could, equalling the taking of *Aurige* to that of Carthage: and seeing winter approached, & that there was little reason to pursue *Asdrubal*, & lesse to vndertake the siege of *Calis*, he retired with his campe on this side *Ebro*, & sent his souldiours to winter. He sent *L. Scipio* to Rome, with newes of that which had bin done, and with him he sent *Hanno*, one of the enemies captains, and many other great prisoners: this done, he retired to *Tarracoe*.

19 The Romans after this good successe were in hope to chase their enemies out of Spaine: for hauing defeated one of their armies, taken one of their chiefe commanders, the rest of their forces being disbanded, and forced to liue within their forts and garisons, in the farthest parts of the countrey, *Scipio* thought there was now no cause of any present feare, but that he might dispose of his affaires at leysure: yet he was deceived: for Spaine by reason of their stirring spirits, and the opportunitie of places, was in that respect as fit as any Region in the world (after such defeats) to leuie new armies, and to reuine the warre. *Asdrubal* then, sonne to *Gisgo* (who did second the *Barcins* in wisdom and valour worthie of a great Commander) being assisted by *Mago*, sonne to *Amilcar*, did so deale with the Spaniards,

as

A as he leuied 50000 foot and 4500 horse of that nation, beyond the riuer of *Ebro*: he mustered them neere vnto the towne of *Sylpia*, and there did the two Carthaginian captains encampe, being resolved to accept of a battaile if it were offered. *Scipio* aduertised of this great unexpected preparation, drew his Legions to field, although he held them not sufficient to oppose against so mightie an armie. As for the fauours of Spanish allies, his meaning was to make some shew vnto the enemy: yet would he not fortifie himselfe with so great troups, as he should haue cause to feare his ruine by their trecherie, as had happened vnto his father and vncl: wherefore he sent *Syllanus* to *Colca*, who commaunded ouer 28 townes, to demand the succours of horse and foot, which he had promised to enroll during the Winter: and he himselfe

*Scipio crosses  
into mercina  
vnto his father  
vnto his father  
had done.*

B selfe going from *Tarracoe*, as he passed by the townes of his allies, tooke vp such souldiours as he thought good, and came to *Castulo*, whereas *Syllanus* met him with 3000 foot and 500 horse. From thence he marched beyond *Beclia*, hauing in his armie, as well of citizens of Rome, as of allies, of foot and horse about 45000 fighting men. As they made their lodging, and did rampier it after the accustomed manner, beheld *Mago* and *Mastimiffa* come with all their horsemen, and charge them that were busie at worke; whom they had put to rout, if *Scipio* had not caused certaine bands of horsemen to gard them, being in battaile behind a little hill, who aduanced against the first that were approached neere the rampiers, forcing them to retire in the beginning without any great difficultie. The fight was long, and somewhat doubtfull against them which came afterwards close and in good order, but when as

*Mago and M' al  
M' al charge  
the Romans.*

C the Roman bands which were dispersed here and there, and that the souldiours which laboured at the rampiers, left their worke and fell to armes (being so commaunded) the wearied refreshed with new supplies, and greater numbers coming full from the campe, then the Numidians and Carthaginians finding the charge hote, retired in the beginning in good order, but being ouerpressed by multitudes, they could no longer make head, but were put to rout, every man sauing himselfe as he could. This encounter did puffed vp the hearts of the one, and abate the courage of the others, yet there were daily skirmishes betwixt the horsemen and them that were lightly armed. In the end *Asdrubal* put his army into battaile, the which *Scipio* did also on his part: but either armie continued in that manner neere his fort, vntill the evening: whereupon first the Carthaginians and then the Romans retired into their camps, and thus they continued for certaine dayes together, *Asdrubal* comming first to field, and making his retreat first, without any attempt one against another. The Romans held the middle part in their battaile, and the Carthaginians did the like in theirs, being mixt with Africans: vpon the wings in either armie were their allies, all Spaniards: before the Carthaginians battaile were their Elephants, which a farre off shewed like castles, and it was giuen out, That the armies should fight in that manner, and that the Romans and Carthaginians (betwixt whom the quarrell was, holding the midst of the battailes) should encounter with like armes and courage. *Scipio* hearing that this opinion was generally beleueed, changed the order of his battaile: wherefore at night he caused warning to bee giuen secretly throughout the campe, That every one should be ready for the breake of day, that both men and horse should refresh themselves, the horsemen should be armed, and the horses saddled and bridled: And when as day began to appeare, he sent all his horsemen, and the footmen that were lightly armed, against the *Corps de gard*, which were vpon the approaches of the enemies campe, and then he marched himselfe with the whole armie, hauing against the expectation both of his own souldiours and of the enemy set the Romans vpon either wing, and the troups of their allies in the midst. *Asdrubal* moued at the noyse which his horsemen made, goes out of his tent, and seeing the tumult which was before the trenches and pallisades of his campe, the small assurance of his souldiours, the enemies colours glistening a far off, and all the fields covered with their troups, he presently sends forth his horsemen against the Roman horse, and he himselfe hauing put his footmen in battell, goes out of his campe, without changing any thing of his former order. The horsemen encounter continued long, without any aduantage: for when as

*The two armies  
in battaile reue  
die to fight.*

F any one was forced to giue back (the which was ordinarie on either side) they had a safe retreat to their squadrons of foot: but after that the bodies of both armies were neere one vnto another, *Scipio* giuing a signe, caused his horse to retire, & opening the ranks of foot, received them within the battell: then he placed them in two squadrons behind the points of it, to reinforce and support his foot; and when he saw it was time to charge, he commanded the battallion in

G ij

the

The Romanes  
and the Cartha-  
ginians were in  
bataille.

Scipions policie  
decides Asdrubal  
bet.

Scipio is of more  
force than flame

Treacherie of the  
Spaniards to the  
Carthaginians,  
their allies.

the middest (which were all Spaniards) to march softly: he himselfe leading the right point, had given charge to *Syllanus* and *Martius* (who had charge on the other side) that as they should see him advance, they should doe the like, and begin the battaile with the enemy, with the most resolute of their horse and foot, before the two squadrons in the middest should come to joyne. Wherefore stretching forth in this manner both the wings, either of them with three companies of foot and as many horse, and some forlorne hopes lightly armed, went with all speed to affront the enemy, whilst the others followed. Betwixt both wings there was a void place, for that the Spaniards marched more slowly; and they had already begun the charge on either side, when as the chiefe strength of the enemy (which consisted in the Carthaginians and old African fouldiours) was yet a crosse-bow shot off, and durst not turne towards the wings to succour their companions, least they should leaue the battaile naked and open to the enemy, who came against them. The horsemen and Roman fouldiours did wonderfully gall the enemies wings vpon the flankes, the companies of foot which made the point, prest them in front, and sought to cut off the wings from the rest of the battaile, and euen now the partie was not equall in any part: for besides that the points of the Carthaginians army were furnished with horse-boyes and Spaniards newly leued, who had to deale with Romanes and braue Latine fouldiours, the day being far spent, *Asdrubal*'s armie grew weake, for that they had beene surprisid by the alarme in the morning, and were forced to put themselves in battaile without feeding: the which *Scipio* had done of purpose, and to that end had delayed the fight for many houres, beginning it as beate as he could. It was past noone before the foot companies which were in the wings began to charge, and much later before the battailions in the middest did joyne, so as before that all their forces came to fight, the heat of the Sunne, the toyle being so long on foot, laden with armes, hunger, and thirst, had so tyred the Carthaginians and young Africanes, as they were forced to support themselves vpon their targuets, they were so faint. Besides the Elephants (terrified with the furious combate which was vpon either wing) had run through their middle battaillon. Wherefore the Carthaginians tyred in bodie, and fainting in courage, began to recoyle, but without disorder, euen as if they had retired by their Generals command. But the victorious Romanes charging them with great resolution on all sides, when as they found them to shrink, notwithstanding all the persuasions of *Asdrubal* to keepe their ranks vnto the next hils, where they had a safe retreat (being not able to withstand the enemies force) they all turned their backs and fled, feare being of more force than shame. Being come vnto the foot of those hils, they would haue stayed their ensignes, and rallied themselves to make head against the Romanes, who had made a stand to put themselves in order to assaile them: but when they saw they were eagerly pursued, they fled into the fortification of their campe, with great amazement, being chased so neere by the Romanes, as they had almost entred pell-mell with them. There fell so great a shower after the heat of the Sunne, as they which pursued, were forced to stand still, and to retire with great toyle vnto their campe: yea, there were some which did superstitiously beleue, That it was not good to proceed any farther that day. Although the night and the rain did inuite the Carthaginians (who were tyred and wounded) to take some rest; yet feare and danger made them to fortifie their campe with all expedition, which they presumed would be assailed by the enemy at the breake of day: and seeing they could not conquer by armes, they rayed their rampiers with stones, gathered out of the neere valleys. Hereupon they did see themselves abandoned by their allies: wherefore they thought it best to be gone, holding slight more safe for them than any force. The beginning of the Spaniards reuolt was by *Aranes* Lord of the Turditanes, who passed vnto the Romans campe with great troups of his subjects: and soone after two sorts of importance were yielded vnto the Romanes by such as had them in gard. *Asdrubal* fearing this mischiefe would grow greater, trusted vp his baggage and dislodged. *Scipio* being aduertised in the morning, that the enemy was gone, sent his horsemen after them, and then marched after with the Legions and the rest of the armie with all speed: who if they had followed them the right way, they had soone overtaken them: but they trusted to their guides, who assured them of another way, which conducted them to the riuer of Betis, where they might cut off their passage. *Asdrubal* hearing that way was stopped, was once in mind to haue retired towards the Ocean: but

A but his fouldiours (observing no kind of discipline) marched like men that fled, so as they got some ground of the Roman Legions: yet the horsemen and fouldiours which were lightly armed, pursued them still, and did not abandon them; but charging them sometimes in the rear, and sometimes in the flanke, did stay them and force them to fight, vntill the Legions arrived: then was there no more any combat; but a slaughter, as of sheepe, vntill that their Generall (the author of their flight) saved himselfe with about seuen thousand men, most without armes; the rest were in a manner all slaine or taken. The Carthaginians which escaped with their captaine, entrenched themselves suddenly vpon a mount, and there defended themselves easily against the Romanes; who did strive to get vp; yet being in a naked and desolate place, and vnto to endure a siege of few dayes, many disbanded and went to the Romanes campe: the which *Asdrubal* perceiving, he abandoned his fouldiours, embarked himselfe, and passed into the Iles of Calis. *Scipio* aduertised of his flight, left *Syllanus* with tenne thousand foot and a thousand horse to besiege their campe, and he with the rest of the armie returned in 70 daies to Tarracoe, where he should dispose of the affaires of the princes and noblemen of Spaine; and giue rewards according to euery ones merit.

After his departure, *Syllanus* had secret conference with *Mastinissa*, who having new designs in his head, passed into Africke with a small traine, that he might draw his people to his owne humor. The cause of his suddaine change did not then appeare, the which he did afterwards iustifie by a long and constant loyalty; wherein hee did persist vntill his death.

C *Mago* did also passe into the Island of Gades, *Asdrubal* having sent backe the vessels: so as the armie (being abandoned by the Commanders) was disperised, some saving themselves by flight in the neighbour townes, and some yeelding to the Romanes. In this manner were the Carthaginians chased out of Spaine, about the twelfth year of the second Punick warre, by the conduct and happinesse of *Publius Scipio*, five yeares after that he had had the charge of the armies and government of Spaine. Within few daies after *Syllanus* came to *Scipio*, being at Tarracoe, bringing him newes, that the warre was ended. *L. Scipio* was sent from thence to Rome, with many prisoners of warre to carrie newes of the absolute victorie obtained of the Carthaginians in Spaine. But *Scipio* not content to haue effected so great matters in that country, had a greater designe, so great was his mind, and so desirous of glorie. D Wherefore knowing, that there was not any one man to make head against him in Spaine, he embraced all Africke, whither he passed to make factions, and to trouble the Carthaginians Estate: the which succeeded happily, but it may be with greater hazard than was fit for his ranke.

*Pub. Cornelius Scipio* being returned out of Africke, where he had withdrawne from the alliance of the Carthaginians king *Siphax* their neighbour, and although hee did now see Spaine quiet in respect of the Africanes; yet he knew, that some townes did containe themselves more for feare than for any loue, as those which had greatly incensed the Romanes during the precedent warres: the first and chiefe, either in greatness or offence, were Castulo and Illiturgis: Those of Castulo had shewed themselves friends during the prosperitie of the Romanes; but after the defeat and death of the two *Scipios*, they had reuolted to the Carthaginians. The Illiturgians had done worse: for besides their reuolt, they had deliuered such as had saved themselves there after these defeats, to the slaughter. These crimes were wisely dissembled by *Scipio*, when hee came first into the Prouince, and that matters were yet doubtfull: for if he should then haue punished them, he should haue respected iustice more than profit. All things being now assured and quiet, hee thought it a fit time to punish them. Wherefore having called *Lu. Martius* to Tarracoe, he sent him to besiege Castulo, with the third part of his forces; and hee himselfe departing from Carthage, led the rest of his armie before Illiturgis, whither he came in five dayes march. The inhabitants doubting, that they would not leaue their trecheries unpunished, had fortified their towne, and furnished themselves with all things necessarie to endure a siege. *Scipio* let his fouldiours vnderstand, That these Spaniards did rightly feare that which they had merited, exhorting them to goe against them with greater furie than against the Carthaginians themselves. For (sayd he) the quarrell which wee haue had against them of Carthage, was one wickednesse and cruell treason. The time is now come, when wee shall reuenge the murders done

unto my companions, and the trecherie which they had prepared for you, if you had fallen into their hands after the defeat: and therefore let us deale so, as neuer any Nation shall hereafter dare to wrong the souldiers or citizens of Rome in any disgrace whatsoever. Having animated his souldiers with these words, hee commaunded ladders should be brought, and distributed to the most assured companies: then diuiding his armie into two, he commaunded, That *Lelius* his Lieutenant should assaile the towne on the one side, and he would lead the rest into diuers places; the which was executed with great courage and resolution. The townsmen had no need of any capitaine to encourage them in their defence: for euery one knowing his danger, was both a spurre to himselfe and his companion, saying, That it was not the honour of a victorie which they fought for them, but their punishment: That they must make an account to die, but it was more honest and safe to hazard it fighting (whereas euery one giueth as well as taketh, and oftentimes the vanquished riseth, and the victor falleth) rather than to be led bound and manacled (after that wee shall haue seene our towne burnt to ashes) to end our liues with torments, and all ignominie, in the sight of our wiues and children, who shall be made slaues. Wherefore they came resolutely to the walls, not onely such as were able to carrie armes, but old men, women, and children, which made resistance about their forces; they brought stones, and gaue armes to those that did fight. It was not onely a question of libertie which giueth courage to valiant men, but they did apprehend the horror of punishments, and the vild and ignominious death which they should suffer: euery one tooke courage, seeing his companions valour: Wherefore if it was well assailed, it was better defended: so as this Romane armie, which had subdued all Spaine, being often repulld by the inhabitants, did shamefully wauer. Which *Scipio* perceiving, he feared least his men should faint after so many vaine attempts, and the enemies should grow more hardie, wherefore hee thought it needfull to hazard his owne person, and to bee partaker of the danger: whereupon he commaunded them to make ready their ladders againe, and reproching the souldiers of cowardise, he aduanced to mount himselfe (if he had found them slacke) and came neere vnto the wals, not without great danger: but the souldiers being very carefull of their Generall, began all to crie out, and carried ladders to all parts. *Lelius* did also presse them on his side: so as then the valour of the defendants was forced to giue place, and they abandoned the rampiers. It happened, that during this tumult, the fort which was held impregnable was surpris'd: for certaine souldiers of Africke reuolted, which were in the Romane armie, seeing that they of the towne were busied to withstand an assault in the most dangerous places, and the Romanes as busie to get an entrie into the towne, they obserued the highest part of the towne, couered with a steepe rocke, which had neither rampier, gard, nor defence. These men being actiue and nimble, began to creepe vp this rocke, with the helpe of certaine pykes of yron, which they did strike into the stones, and made steps of them, the first helping vp their companions which followed; so as in the end they got vp to the top of the rocke, from whence they began to run with horrible cries towards the towne, which was already woon by the Romanes. Then shewed they the fruits of their choler and hatred: none were spared, but all put to the sword, men, and women, of all ages and sexes; yea, and poore infants: no man cared for spoyle, the fire deuoured what might be consumed, and the rest was ruined, for that the Romanes would not leaue the markes of a towne, nor the memorie of any habitation of such enemies.

From thence *Scipio* led his armie to Castulo. This towne was not onely kept by Spaniards, which were come thither from diuers places, but also by the remainder of the Carthaginians, which were brought thither to garrison after the retreat of their armie. But before that *Scipio* arrived, they had newes of the taking of Illiturgis, which strucke a great terror among them, and made them almost to despair: and as euery mans guilt was not alike, so euery one fought to provide for his owne safetie. Wherefore they began to distrust one another, and in the end fell to an open diuision, the Spaniards seperating themselves from the Carthaginians: *Cordubelus* commaunded the Spaniards, who spake openly, That they must yield vnto the Romans: *Himilco* was chiefe of the Carthaginians, whom *Cordubelus* deliuered vp with the towne vnto the Romans. By this voluntarie reddition, being also not so culpable as they of Illiturgis, the victorie was vsed with lesse rigor.

A 22. From thence *Martius* was sent against them of that nation, which plaied the rebels, to subiect them to the Romane yoke: and *Scipio* returned to new Carthage, to performe the vowes which he had made vnto his gods, and to represent the games of fencing which he had prepared in honour of his deceased father and vncle. These fences which were brought forth, were none of his slaues, nor such as had bene made free, which the master fences were wont to present vnto the people, which sell their blood, and are hired for money: but all those that did fight, came willingly without any fee: for some were sent by the noblemen of the countrey, to shew the valour and dexteritie of the nation; others presented themselves vnto the combat, for the loue they bare vnto their Generall; others thrust forth with glorie, defied, or being challenged, accepted the combat willingly. Some there were, which not able to end their suites by pleading, resolved erie it by the sword, who were of no base condition, but gentlemen of noble houses. Among others *Corbis* and *Orfus*, two cousin germes, who contended for the principalltie of the towne of Ibis, would end their controuersie by armes. *Corbis* was the elder. The father of *Orfus* had lately ruled in that towne, having succeeded to that seignorie by the death of his brother. *Scipio* would haue reconciled them by iustice, and knowledge of the cause; but they both answered, That it was not the custome among *Carthaginiens*, and that they would not haue any gods nor men to be their iudges, but *Mars*. *Corbis* was the stronger, and *Orfus* the more courageous, by reason of his youth, both resolute to die, rather than to submit himselfe vnto his aduersie partie. With this resolution they shewed themselves to the whole armie. The eldest also had more experience in his weapon, and was more cunning, so as he did easily vanquish the foolish presumption of the younger. To these fights of fences were added funeral plaies, according to the manner of the Pagans, with preparation fit for the countrey, and as at the warre.

23 During these shewes, the Romanes lost no time, *Scipio*'s lieutenants being seriously employed about their affaires. *Martius* hauing past the riuer Betis (called Cice by them of the countrey) tooke two good and rich townes, without striking stroke. There was another towne called *Astapa*, the which had alwayes held the Carthaginians partie, and made profession to hate the Romanes deadly, yea when there was not any necessitie of warre: but the nature of these men (who had no delight but in theeuing had caused them to spoile the countries of the Romane allies, and to strip their victualers, souldiers, or merchants, if they found them scattered; yea they had layd an ambush for a great troupe of men passing through their countrey, and hauing surpris'd them in a strait, had slaine them. When as the armie came before the towne, the inhabitants prickt with the feeling of their faults, expected no mercie of their enemies, and seeing no meanes to hold against a siege, they tooke a cruell and detestable resolution: for they brought into the middell of their market place all that was good and precious within the towne, and laied it on a heape, vpon the which they set their wiues and children; then they planted great store of fagots and other wood round about it: this being done, they appointed fiftie yong men well armed, for the gard thereof, enjoying them, that whilest the euent of the fight betwixt them and the Romanes was doubtfull, they should helpe maintaine there, and be faithfull gardians of their goods, and of those persons whom they held deere: but if they saw it succeeded ill, and that the towne was in danger to bee lost, they might then be assured, that all they which had fallied out vpon the enemies were slaine in the fight: wherefore they did coniure them by all the celestiall and infernall gods, to remember their libertie, which that day should end by an honest death, or by an infamous seruitude: and therefore they should not leaue any thing that belonged vnto them, wherewith the enemy might glut his crueltie: to which end they had both fire and swords in their mie in his furie might glut his crueltie: to which end they had both fire and swords in their hands; and that therefore such things as were to perish, should be destroyed by the hands of their faithfull friends, rather than be exposed to the come and infolenzie of the enemy. This spoken, they added an execrable curse vpon those that should suffer themselves to be moued with any pitie or tenderesse of heart, and forbore to execute that which they had decreed; then hauing opened the gate, they marched directly to the Romane trenches, with more than a brutish furie. The Romanes had no conceit they should fall thus forth vpon them, wherefore they found the passages vnto the campe but ill garded. Some troupes of horse and foot









The practise of  
the Gallians  
discouered and  
supprest.

A fight as the  
sea between Leli-  
us and Adherbal

Mago brother to  
Hannibal and  
Generall of the  
Carthaginians,  
lives to recover  
all Spaine.

Scipio prepares  
to go against  
Mandonius and  
Indibilis.

Scipio sends to  
his lieutenants.

as they fled, and he with a small number saved himselfe. Whilest this was doing about that riuer, *Lelius* arrived with his sea armie at Carteia, hauing past the strait, at the entrie whereof this towne is situated in the Ocean. The Romanes thought they should haue meanes to surpris the towne of Gadiz by intelligence, as they had contriued it with some of the inhabitants: but this busines was discouered before the execution the complices were taken, and deliuered by *Mago* vnto the Pretor *Adherbal*, to be led to Carthage the great; who put the conspirators into a galeasse, and for that it was heavier and more slower than the gallies, he sent it a little before, & himselfe followed it with eight gallies. This galeasse was already entered into the strait; when as *Lelius* discouering it out of the port of Carteia, put forth also with a galeasse, being followed by his seuen gallies, and assuring himselfe that the enemies galeasse carried by the current within that strait (being hard to force) could not turne backe, he went to affront *Adherbal* and his gallies. The Carthaginian seeing himselfe surprisid, was doubtful whether he should lie after his galeasse, or else make head. Whilest he stands in suspense, *Lelius* commeth vpon him, and it was not in his power to auoid the combat. They were in a strait, whereas nothing could be done after the manner of sea-fights, by the iudgement of capitaines and mariners: for the sea going high in that place, they could not turne their gallies at their pleasures, the which were carried by the waues as well against their own as against the enemies, notwithstanding all their endeours; so that oftentimes they might haue seene a gallie flying turne her spurre suddenly against that which pursued her, by the turning of a waue, and that which chafed her, to lie away. The gallies being in this strife, it happened, that the Roman galeasse (whether by her weight, or the number of her oares) masting the waues better than the rest, forced two Carthaginian gallies, stemming the one, and disarming the other of all her oares of the one side, as the passed by her, and would in like manner haue endamaged the rest, if she had incountred them: but *Adherbal* with the helpe of his sailes and oares, recovered that coast of Affricke which was nereest. *Lelius* being victor, returned to Carteia, and informed of all that which had passed at Gadiz, how that their practise was discouered, and that the conspirators were sent to Carthage, he aduertised *Marius*, that it was labour lost to stay there, being more expedient to returne towards their Generall: which they did both within few daies after, and came to new Carthage. *Mago* hearing of their departure, and freed from feare, did not only resume new courage, but was also in hope to recover all Spain by the rebellion of the Ilergetes; wherefore he sent presently to Carthage, to acquaint the Senate with the sedition which had lately happened in the Romanes campe, and the rebellion and reuolt of their allies, giuing them charge to make them greater than they were; perswading them, that it was now a fit time to recover the Seigniorie of all Spaine, which they had receiued from their ancestors, and therefore they should send forces to do it. As for *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, who were gone to the field, vpon the brute of *Scipios* death, thinking to make vse of the Roman soldiours which were mutined, when as they vnderstood the truth of all things, they retired home to their houses without any alteration, attending what should be done vnto the feditious; presuming, that if *Scipio* pardoned his own soldiours, he might also vse the like clemencie towards them: but when as they vnderstood with what rigor he had punished them, they thought it was a preface for them to attend the like, for that they were guiltie of the same crime: wherefore they gathered their forces together, and caused their confederats to arme, meeting in the territorie of Sadera, where they had camped in the beginning of their reuolt, being some 20000 foot and 2500 horse. *Scipio* hauing easily pacified the discontentment of his soldiours, paying vnto euery man what was due vnto him, shewing them a good countenance, and vsing good words, to whom before his departure from Carthage, he made a speech in some bitter tearmes against the rebellion of these two noble men.

I goe not (said he) against these men to punish their ingratitude and wickednesse with the like affliction, as when I did chastise the offences of our fellow citizens, for what I did then was very sparingly, as if I should haue torne out part of mine owne bowels; wherefore I was content to correct the error or the offence of 8000, by the punishment of 35 men: but now that I march with you to ruine the Ilergetes, to whom we are not tied neither by birth nor friendship, seeing that league which was betwixt vs had bin wickedly broken and violated by them, I know that all you of mine armie are either Romanes or Latins: besides, there are few of you which haue not bin brought out of Italie hither by my vncke

Cn. Scipio,

A Cn. Scipio, who first brought a Romane armie into Spaine, or by Publius my father, or by me, and that you are all accustomed to the names and conduct of the Scipioes. Wherefore I desire to carrie you backe, that you may be partakers of the triumph, which we haue well deserved. As for this warre whether we go, let vs not call it a war, if we will remember what we haue done in this country. I do more esteem *Mago*, who hath saved himselfe in an island out of the world as a man may say with a few ships, than of the Ilergetes. He is a Carthaginian capitaine and holds some forme of a garrison where he is, but these are theues, and captaines of theues, which are of no moment in a well governed warre, but only to ouerrun and spoyle their neighbours fields, carrie away their cattell, and set fire of their farmes: whose force and valour consists in flying swiftly, and not in fighting well. If I goe first against them, doe not thinke it is for any danger, or difficultie, or for any feare I haue that the war will be long by their means, but only to the end so wicked a rebellion should not remaine long unpunished, nor to leaue any enemy in armes, if it be possible, in a province conquered with so great happinesse and valour as we haue done.

Then he exhorted them to follow him vnder the conduct of the gods, not to the wars, but to punish wicked men: injoyning them to be readie for the next day. Being parted, he made ten lodgings with his campe, before he came to the riuer of Ebro, which hauing passed the fourth day following, they presented themselves in sight of the enemy. Betwixt both was a large vally, compassed in with mountaines: there *Scipio* made some troupes of cattell which had beene taken in the enemies country, to be put, to draw them forth to fight, causing them to be kept with some fouldiours which were lightly armed. The Spaniards fall vpon this booty, and the Romane fouldiours goe to rescue it. Hereupon *Lelius* arrives, being appointed to second these footmen, with some bands of horse, who arrived fity, for the combat was doubtfull. The Spaniards were repulst by these succours with great slaughter, yet they fainted not for all this, but presented themselves the next day in order of battell, vpon the same place: and for that the vallie was not able to containe all their forces, they brought forth some two third parts of their foot, and all their horse. The Romans held the straitnesse of the place to be an advantage for them, for that their fouldiours did fight better close than in an open field, who kept their ranks, and did not run vp and downe like vnto the Spaniards: besides, they saw that they should haue to deale with two third parts of the enemies armie. And *Scipio* resolved of a stratagem: for seeing that he could not flanke his footmen with his horse, by reason of the straitnesse of the place, and that by the same reason, the enemies horse were also vnprofitable, he commaunded *Lelius* to lead all his horsemen about the hills, and to seeke some passage to charge the Spanish horsemen vpon the backe, and to draw them from their foot. And to the end the enemy should not discouer what *Lelius* intended, he presently went against the enemy with his footmen, placing foure companies onely in front, for that he could not do otherwise: so the battell began in two feuerall places, betwixt two battalions of foot, and two of horse, whereas one could not succour another, till in the end the Spanish foot being put to rout, their horsemen being prest before by the legions, and behind by the Roman horse, were all presently slaine, so as of all the horse and foot which fought in the vallie, there escaped not any one. The other third part of the Spanish army, which came not to fight, but had only been spectators in a safe place, on the top of the hills, had all means to flee away; among whom there escaped *Mandonius* & *Indibilis*. The campe and all their baggage was taken, with 3000 prisoners: and of the Romans there were slaine about 1200, & about 3000 hurt. There is no doubt, but they had gotten this victorie with lesse blood, if the field had beene larger, and that the Spaniards might haue fled more easily. After this rout, *Indibilis* refused to lay aside armes, and as the safest way, to submit himselfe to *Scipios* faith and clemencie, the which hee had tried: and therefore he sent *Mandonius* his brother vnto him, who did prostrate himselfe at his feet, confessing their fault, which seemed (said he) to be as a fatall disease in that season: hauing not onely run among the Ilergetes and Lacetanes, but also infected the campe and Romane armie: finally, that both he and his brother were comethier, being readie either to yeeld vpon their liues to *Scipio* (from whom they had receiued them) if it were his pleasure, or in taking them againe from him, to be for euer bound vnto him. It was an auncient custome with the Romanes, not to capitulate, nor to haue any peace with them with whom they had no alliance nor friendship, before they did yeeld into their hands whatsoever they held, were it holy or prophane, giuen hostages, deliuered vp their armes, & receiued garrisons into their townes. *Scipio* was content to receiue *Mandonius* present, and *Indibilis* being absent at that

A battell betwixt the Romanes and naturall Spaniards.

The Spaniards defeated.

*Mandonius* and *Indibilis* yield to *Scipios* mercy

H

time,

Scipio pardons  
the rebellious  
Spaniards.

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Lib. 2.

time, with some bitter speeches giuing them to vnderstand, that they had deserued death: but G they receiued their liues by the grace of the people of Rome. Moreover, that hee would not disarme them, which was the assurance they did vially take of rebels, but would they should hold them freely, and to be void from feare: but if they revolted againe, they should know he would not be reuenged of innocent hostages, but vpon such as had offended, and that he would punish those that should present themselves in armes, and not the disarmed: Wherefore they should chuse, whether they would haue the Romanes fauourable vnto them, or incensed against them. Thus was *Mandonius* sent away, without any other punishment than money, which they commaunded him to furnish to pay the armie. *Scipio* hauing sent *L. Mar-* H *tius* before, to passe the riuer of *Ebro*, and *Syllanus* to *Tarracone*, he staied some time, vntil the *Ilergetes* had paid their money, and then he followed after *Marius* (who approached neere vnto the Ocean) with some few men, and no baggage.

25 The treatie begun with *Masiniissa* had bene delayed for diuers reasons: for this Nu- midian would treat with *Scipio* himselfe, and make his promises to him. This made *Scipio* to vnder- take a long voiage. *Masiniissa* was in the island of *Gades*, where hauing intelligence by *Me-* *ritus*, that *Scipio* approached, he told the Governour *Mago*, That the horses and horsemen were spoiled in the island, where they caused a dearth of all things, to the hurt of others: desiring him to giue them leaue to passe into the firme land, to make some courses into the enemies country. Being past, he presently sent three of the chiefe among the Numidians to *Scipio*, two of which (should remaine for hostages, and the third returne to bring him notice of the day and place where the enteruie should be; where they met with a small companie. *Masiniissa* first of all thanked *Scipio*, That he had sent him his nephew, his brothers sonne: then he said vnto him, That he had long desired to see that day, and that hee desired much to doe something that might be acceptable vnto him, and profitable to the Romans: wherein hee would imploy himselfe more willingly than any stranger whatsoever, the effects whereof he could not yet shew in *Spain* (a country vnknowne vnto him) but in place where he was borne and bred, hoping to succeed his father in the kingdome: and that if the Romanes did send *Sci-* *pio* into *Africke*, he did hope to worke so, as the estate of *Carthage* should not stand long. *Mas-* *iniissa* was welcome vnto *Scipio*, who heard his words with great content, knowing that what- soeuer had bene valiantly performed in *Spain* by the horsemen, was done vnder the onely leading of *Masiniissa*, who shewed by his carriage and countenance, that he was a yong prince of great hope. So hauing plighted their faith one vnto another, they parted, *Scipio* towards *Tarracone*, and *Masiniissa* to *Gades*: and to the end hee would not seeme to haue passed into the firme land in vaine, he spoyled some of the neighbour country neere the shore, with *Scipios* consent.

26 *Mago* being made frustrat of his conceiued hope, to repaire the *Carthaginians* affairs in *Spain*, by the Spaniards rebellion, vnder *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, and the sedition of the Romanes souldiours, resolved to goe into *Africke*, when as being readie to depart, he receiued order from the Senat of *Carthage*, by the which he was commaunded to passe with all the shipping he had at *Calis*, into *Italie*, and to leaue all the souldiours he could in *Gaulle*, and a L shipping he had at *Calis*, into *Italie*, to the end the warre which had bin long the sea coast, and to ioyne with his brother *Hannibal*, to the end the warre which had bin begun with such animosities, might be continued with the like resolution. For the effecting whereof they brought money from *Carthage*, and he for his part got all hee could from the Gaditanes, hauing not onely exhausted their common treasure, but vnfurnished their temples of their jewels and other riches, and forced euerie priuat man to bring him all the gold and silver he had. As he passed along the coast of *Spain*, comming neere vnto new *Carthage* he landed some souldiours, which foraged the country neere vnto the sea, and gaue an alarme vnto the whole prouince. Then he approached neere vnto the towne, and hauing kept his souldiours aboard the gallies in the day time, at night he put them on shore, towards that part of the wall whereas the Romanes had entred; supposing that *Carthage* had not been verie well manned with souldiours, and that haply some of the inhabitants might revolt: but the flight of the country-men, and the centinels (which had discovered the armie at sea the day before) had alreadie giuen aduertisement to the town, who imagined that it was not without some designe, that the gallies had cast anchor so neere vnto them. Wherefore the garrison kept themselves in armes, and stood readie at the port next vnto the poole, and towards the

At parley be-  
tweene *Masiniis-*  
*sa* and *Scipio*,  
the priuities of  
the Romanes.

*Mago*, *Hanni-*  
*bals* brother,  
commaunded to  
possesse Italy.

*Mago* spoils the  
Gaditanes.

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A the sea. The enemies came in troups mixt of souldiours and mariners, vnto the foot of the wall, with more brute than effect: and then the port was set open, whereas the Romanes made a furious sallie vpon them, with great cries, wherewith they were so amazed, as at the first charge they turned their backs in disorder towards the sea, whither they were purified with great laughter: and if their gallies had not bene verie neere to receive them, there had not any one escaped. Hauing gotten aboard, they were not yet assured, but feared that some of the enemies gallies would come out of the port against them: wherefore they drew vp their ladders and bridges speedily, and for that they would loose no time in weighing their anchors, they cut their cables. And it happened, that many thinking to saue themselves by swimming, they were drowned. This armie returned speedily towards the Ocean, from whence they had parted. Day being come, the Romanes found about 800 men slaine, betwixt the towne and the shore, and about two thousand cuirasses. To *Mago* (who thought to returne vnto *Gades*) the entrie was refused: wherefore he returned vnto a place neere vnto it, called *Cimbis*, from whence he sent certaine gentlemen vnto *Gades*, to know the reason why they shut the gates against him, who was their friend and alie. To whom they answered, That it had bene done by the multitude, who had bene discontented at the spoiles and infolenities which the souldiours committed, when they imbarqued. Then he sought to draw their Suffe- *Magi-* *fruits of the Ga-* *drance.* *Magoes* *trains* *noni* *regour* *de-* *gainst the Gad-* *itanes.* *an* nation) to parley with them, and with their chiefe treasurer. When he had them, hee cau- sed them to be scourged with rods, and then to be hung vpon a gibet. Which done, he sayled towards the *Ptyiuses* (being islands some hundred miles from the firme land, and inhabited at that time by *Carthaginians*) where both he and his whole armie were well entertained, the which was not onely refreshed with victuals, but furnished with souldiours and armes by those islanders. *Mago* relying vpon these things, came vnto the *Baleares*, some fiftie miles from thence, thinking to winter in the greater of them, the which was rich, and full of men, with a large and safe port; for now *Autumne* drew neere: But he found himselfe deceiued: for the inhabitants of *Majorca* went in hostile manner against him, no lesse than the Romanes would haue done, and with their slings kept them from landing; so as the *Carthaginians* were forced to put out to sea, & went to *Minorca*, which is the other island of the *Baleares*, as fertile as the other, but not so strong of men. There they landed, and without any great resistance became the masters of the towne and island: where they inrolled two thousand men of that nation, the which they sent to *Carthage* to winter. When as *Mago* had left the Ocean, to enter into the strait, the *Gaditanes* yielded vnto the Romanes.

These were the affaires which passed in *Spain*, vnder the government of *P. Corn. Scipio*, who hauing reigned the prouince and the armies vnto *L. Lentulus*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*, returne- *Scipio* *returnes* *to Rome.* ned to *Rome* with ten gallies: where being arriued, he made known vnto the Senat the great exploits of warre which he had done, the battels woon, the townes taken, and the people and countries subdued vnder the obedience of the Romanes; finally, that in *Spain* he had left no enemy. These things were deliuered by him with great state, rather to see if they would grant him a triumphant entrie into the citie, than to demand a triumph: For in truth, vnto that day there had not any captain entred in triumph into the citie of *Rome*, how great fouer his exploits had bene, if it were not with the title of a Roman magistrat. Being entred into *Rome*, he brought into the publique treasure, of the remainders of the spoyle of *Spain*, 14352 pounds of silver in masse, and great store of coined money.

The Gallitans  
yeld vnto him:  
Romanes.

Proconsul no  
magistratus in  
Rome.

H ij

THE



## THE THIRD BOOKE OF the Historie of Spaine.

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The

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Lib. 3.

A



He 14 yere of the second Punick war, which, according vnto the most certaine writers, was in the yere 548 of the foundation of Rome, P. Corn. Scipio and P. Licinius Crassus were chosen Consuls. During their magistracie there grew a great war in Spaine; and from that time the Roman affaires were nothing more quiet, notwithstanding they had chafed away the Carthaginians: For the Spaniards, who are naturally enemies to rest, and desirous of libertie, and yet contemning the

*Concord the ground of liberty*

only meanes to maintaine it, which is, concord and good correspondence, did mutine vpon euery light occasion. If they had bene as wise in that point, as they were valiant and hardie

B

in combats, the Romanes had laboured in vaine to subdue this countrey, where they employed much time, much policie, and the blood of their best men. Vntill Scipioes departure, & some time after, the Romanes had not tried the nations dwelling in the mountaines, which runne through the middelt of Spaine, nor those which were towards the North: they had not yet extended their conquests farre from the Mediterranean sea, nor gone much beyond the riter of Betis. But afterwards they knew what difference there was among the Spaniards themselves, when as they were mercenaries, and carried armes for anothers quarell, and when they fought for their owne liberties, houses, and families. And as they past farther into the countrey, they found the difference betwixt those who by their frequentation with strangers, had accustomed themselves to gaine, and to hunt after honours and delights: and the others, who bestowed themselves to gaine, and to hunt after honours and delights: and the others, who be-  
C

C

stranged from all commerce, had no other ambition, but not to be subject to any other but to their own lawes; nor other couetousnesse, but of a prey conquered by arms, in the day time, and in fight, thrust on by necessity, without any other respect. These last for the most part were of the race of the auncient Gaules and Celtes, which had crept into Spaine, and did hold all that which we call at this day Nauarre, Biscaye, Alaua, the Asturians, Gallicia, Castilia the old, and a great part of Portugall. All these did not know the Romanes, but as men which laboured to take away other mens goods, to chafe them out of their countries, or to subject them as slaues, and to make their profit of them. They were long before they made any alliances with them, louing them better farr off than neere. In the meane time all these people of Spaine (who generally were couragious and hardie) wanted ciuilitie, and the knowledge of justice, neither knew they how to praise and entertaine the lawes of friend-  
D

D

ship among themselves: the which at length reduced them all into seruitude, they of whom wee haue spoken, being the first which yielded vnto the yoke, who had seene the Carthaginians and Romanes among them, and had conuersed with them for some yeares. For besides that they were before a mixt people, by the access of Grecians, Phenicians, Afri-  
E

E

cans, Celtes, and other nations, whose vices they had mingled with theirs, they were in the end wholly corrupted, by the promises and persuations of either of these mightie commonweales, either of them seeking to draw aid and commoditie from them against the other, during the warres; whereof they were glorious, proud, and ambitious, and if they were not held in such estimation, as they thought they had deserued, they were discontented.  
F

F

They were false and treacherous to strangers, enuious among themselves, and alwayes apt to rebell, and to breed quarels: of which vices the Romanes (seeing themselves freed from the Carthaginian warre) could wisely make vse to subject them, who let them know, that they had honoured some of that nation, yet their meaning was alwayes to hold them in the ranke of subjects, and not of companions: the which their foolish Spanish presumption could not discern, vntill they were taught it to their cost: as it happened to Mandonius and Indibilis, princes of the Ilergetes, people of Catelonia, where as Lerida and Huefca are at this day.

*Whereas strangers abhorre, there vice and corruption abound.*

*The Spaniards were glorious, ambitious, enuious, and treacherous.*

*The last rebellion of Mandonius and Indibilis.*

H ij

tunitic



unitie offered to effect their desires, and to make themselves kings of the other people of Spaine, which vnto that time had beene subject, sometimes to the Carthaginians, and sometimes to the Romans, and oftentimes to both; they acquainted their subjects, and the Aufetanes their neighbours, with their designe: vaunting, That if they maintained themselves in vnitie, they might easily expell the Romans out of Spaine, as well as they had chased away the Carthaginians: With whom they preuailed so by their persuasions, as in few dayes they had gathered together in the fields of Sedete 30000 foot, and 4000 horse, and there made the bodie of their army. The leaders of the Roman army, were *L. Lentulus* and *L. Manlius*, who being aduertised of this reuolt, meaning to prevent this mischief in time, went speedily to field, and passing quietly through the Aufetanes countrey, as friends, they came whereas the enemies were, and encamped within a league of them. There they tried first by messages and embassages, to diuert them from their foolish enterprise, perswading them to lay aside armes: but it was in vaine. Some foragers of the Romanes being charged by the Spanish horse, they were forced to send some troupes of horse to succour them, where there was an encounter that day, but to no effect. The day following, at the Sunne rising, the Spanish armie advanced in battel, within a mile of the Romane campe. The Aufetanes held the middelt, hauing the Illegetes on the right hand, and on the left some other Spaniards of small fame. They had left betwixt the battalion in the middelt and the two wings, a good large space, to giue passage to their horsemen, when it should be time to come to the charge. The Romanes ordered their armie after their accustomed manner, yet imitating the enemies therein, they left a space also to bring in their horsemen. This done, *L. Lentulus* bethought himselfe, that they should make best vse of those horsemen which should enter with them first into these spaces which were betwixt the squadrons of the enemies foot: Wherefore he commaunded *Ser. Cornelius*, who had charge of the Romane horsemen, to enter into those spaces of the Spanish armie. In the meane time he hauing the twelfth legion, being prest in the beginning of the battell by the Illegetes, on the left hand, made it good vntill they were seconded by the thirteenth legion, the which he caused to aduance, to succour them in the front of the battell: and hauing thus assured that part, he ran towards *L. Manlius*, who did his dutie, encouraging the fouldiours, and sending supplies where he saw any need; aduertising him, that the footmen on the left wing behaued themselves well, and that hee had sent *Ser. Cornelius* with the horsemen, to charge furiously into the enemies troupes: the effect whereof did presently appeare: for *Ser. Cornelius* being entred with his horse into the middelt of the enemies, he made all their battell of foot to wauer, and withall stopt the passage to the enemies horse, so as they could not come to fight: which made the Spanish horsemen to leaue their horses. The Romane captaines seeing the Spaniards in some disorder, they cried out, encouraged, and intreated the fouldiours to proceed valiantly, and to keepe them from joyning together againe. The enemies began now to forsake the fight, if *Indibilis* leauing his horse, had not come and presented himselfe in the head of the footmen. There was a long and bloudie fight, the which they maintained, vntill that *Indibilis* and those that fought about him, were ouerthrowne and slaine one vpon another: then they began to flie of all hands, and the Romans to pursue them, of whom they made a great slaughter, and withall tooke their campe, and all their baggage. There were 13000 slaine vpon the place, and about 8000 prisoners. Of the Romans there died two hundred, or not many more, especially on the left wing. The Spaniards being thus defeated, the rest which escaped retired home into their countrey.

The Spaniards being afterwards called to counsell by *Mandonius*, they complained much of their losses, and blaming the authors of this warre, they said, That they were of opinion to send embassadors vnto the Romans, to beseech them to take them to mercie, and that they would deliuer them their armes: the which they did, and excused themselves, laying the fault vpon *Indibilis*, *Mandonius*, and others, which had solicited them. To whom the Romans answered, That they would take them to mercie, vpon condition they should deliuer vnto them the authors of this rebellion aloue, else they would intreat the Aufetanes, Illegetes, and other their confederats, as enemies.

This answer being returned by their embassadors, *Mandonius* and the other authors were taken, and sent to the Romanes to receiue the reward of their misdeeds. By this meanes the troubles in Spaine were pacified, whereas they imposed a double tribute for that year, and a

con-

A contribution of come for six moneths, with cassocks and cloakes for the fouldiours: besides, the Romanes forced about thirtie seuerall prouinces to giue hostages. These things were done in Spaine, whilst that *P. Scipio* prepared to goe into Affricke, to diuert the warre which was betwixt the Romanes and Carthaginians in Italie, whither he had sent *C. Lelius*, *Mago* on the other side being arriued at Genes in Italie, and vpon the coast of the Ligusticke sea.

3 The Saguntines (for whose sake this second Punicke warre betwixt the Romanes and Carthaginians had beene vnderaken) had sent embassadours to Rome with *Scipio*, to thanke the Senate for the care they had of their faithfull allies, to protest of the loue and affection the Commonweale of Sagunt had to the people of Rome, and to offer a crowne of gold to *Iupiter Capitolinus* his Temple, who were honourably entertained, and rewarded by the Senat: who hauing a desire to see Italie, were by a publicke decree conducted and accompanied with a good gard wherefoeuer they would goe.

Some moneths after, *Hannibal* being out of Italie, the same Saguntines surprised in Spaine certaine Commisaries and Carthaginian captaines, with a good summe of money, whereas they would haue leuiued fouldiours in that countrey, whom they sent to Rome with their money, and presented them to the Senate. The Commisaries and captaines were detained prisoners, but the money was restored to the Saguntines, with thanks by the Senat: the summe was 250 pounds of gold, and 800 of siluer.

C The Spaniards were so entreated vnder the government of *L. Lentulus* and *L. Manlius*, as of the goods and reuenues of Spaine both Rome and Italie were often relieued, with come, apparel, armes, and all other prouisions which they drew from thence. In the end, the Romanes hauing forced the Carthaginians to demaund a peace, after the defeat which *Scipio* had giuen vnto *Hannibal* in Affricke, and neere vnto Carthage, it was resolved in the Senat at Rome, to call home the old fouldiours which were in Spaine, to leaue only a Legion of Romanes, with fiftene companies of Latines their allies, and to send a new Gouverneur thither. Wherefore *L. Corn. Lentulus* returned to Rome: where hauing related what he had valiantly and profitably performed, he demaunded leaue to enter the cite in triumph; the which they refused him, being against the presidents of their ancestors: for whosoever had the conduct of an armie, being no Dictator, Consul, nor Praetor, but only holding the place of a Consul or Praetor, did not enter in triumph into the cite: yet for that the exploits done by him were great and worthie, they were content he should enter so in a fort; which was not altogether so stately and pompeous as a triumph; the which in their language they called *Onatio*. Hee brought into the Treasurie 44000 pound weight of siluer, and 2450 pounds of gold, and of the bootie there was giuen to euery fouldiour 120 Asse, which make about a crowne and a fifth part, besides their ordinarie pay. This was during the Consulship of *Ser. Sulpitius Galba* and *C. Aurelius Cotta*: but the year following *L. Corn. Lentulus* was created Consul, with *P. Julius Apulus*, or *P. Villius Tapulus*; and in his place *C. Corn. Cethegus* was sent into Spaine, who gaue a great defeat vnto the Spaniards in the fields of Sedeta, where there were about 15000

E of the enemies slaine, and 78 ensignes taken. *Cethegus* and *Manlius* being afterwards called backe to Rome, the people sent in their place *Cn. Corn. Lentulus* and *L. Stertinus*. The Senat graunted to the Gaditanes (besides the conuentions which they had made with *L. Martius Septimius*) That they should haue no Gouverneur. *L. Manlius Acidinus* being returned out of Spaine, demaunded of the Senate (for that he had well and verrouously gouerned the affaires) That he might enter into the Senate with the solemnitie called *Onatio*: but hee was hindered by *M. Porcius Ceca*, Tribune of the people, who opposed himselfe, for that he had not bene in that government in qualitie of a Magistrat, but as a Vice-gerent, being lesse fauoured therein than *Lentulus* his companion: wherefore he made no entrie: yet he brought in 1200 pounds of siluer, and some 30 of gold. Soone after *C. Corn. Lentulus* returned from

F Spaine, bringing also vnto the publicke treasure 1515 pounds of gold, 20000 of siluer, and 3455 deniers of siluer coyned. *L. Stertinus* being also returned, brought 5000 pounds of siluer out of the farther Spaine, and of the spoiles he caused two arches to be made in the Oxe market before the Temples of Fortune and of the goddesse *Matuta*; and one in the great Lists, vpon the which he set Images gilt. So as these Romanes made sharpe warres against the

A great army of  
Spaniards ad-  
uanced into Ro-  
manes.

As well be-  
cause the Ro-  
mans and Spa-  
niards.

The Spanish ar-  
my defeated.

The Spaniards  
sent to the Ro-  
mans for mercie.

The chief au-  
thors of rebellion  
do alwaies  
smart for the  
vse.

The Saguntines  
send embassa-  
dours to Rome.

Ann. Roma 553

Dictators, Consuls, and Praetors were allowed to triumph.

Onatio.

A great defeat  
of Spaniards.

The Roman Go- the men, but more against their purfes; by reason whereof the inconstant nature of the Sp- G  
nards was now very waucring.

*C. Corn. Cethegus* and *Quin. Minutius Rufus* being Consuls at Rome, Spaine hauing vntill  
that time bene but one Consularie Prouince, gouerned by two Pro-consuls, was diuided in-  
to two gouernments, and two Pretors sent thither, who had charge to make a diuision of their  
jurisdictions, whereof the one should be called the hither Spaine, and the other the farther:  
but not as before, when as the river of Ebro made the limit, for the hither Spaine passed much  
beyond it. *C. Sempronius Tuditanus* was sent into the hither Spaine, and *Marc. Heluius* into  
the other, for Pretors. Both of them were intangled with great and doubtfull warres: for a-  
gainst *Heluius* there did rise *Colca* and *Lucinius*, great noblemen of Spaine, who conspired with  
many good townes, as Cardona, Bardona, and many others vpon the sea coast, which had not  
yet revolted. As for *C. Sempronius Tuditanus*, hee was defeated in his gouernment, and so  
wounded, as he died soone after.

Wherefore *L. Furius Purpureo* and *M. Claud. Marcellus* being created Consuls, *Qu. Fabius*  
*Buteo* and *Q. Minutius Thermus* were sent Pretors into Spaine, either of them with a legion  
of Romane souldiours, and foure thousand foot and three hundred horse, Latines, of their al-  
lies. Thus the warre reuiued in Spaine the fifth yeare, after the end of the second Punicke  
warre; and from that time the Romanes had to deale with the Spaniards alone, without any  
support of the Carthaginians. The danger of this warre was so apprehended by the Se-  
nate, that one of the two Consuls, with a Consular armie of two legions, five thousand  
foot and five hundred horse of their allies, Latines, should goe in person with twentie gal-  
lies, and such a number of other vessels, as should bee fit to transport his armie. *L. Valerius*  
*Flaccus* and *M. Porcius Cato* were created Consuls: Spaine was allotted vnto *Cato*, to whom  
*P. Manlius* was appointed as Pretor in the hither part of Spaine neere vnto Gaule, and *Appius*  
*Claudius Nero* in the further Spaine. To these Pretors were appointed (besides the legion  
which either of the Gouernours in Spaine then had) two thousand foot and two hundred  
horse, newly leuiued.

Whilest these things were preparing, *Q. Minutius Thermus* came to battaile with *Budares*  
and *Besylides*, two commanders of the Spaniards, neere vnto Turbe, where he defeated them,  
and slew about twelue thousand of their men, tooke *Budares* prisoner, and put the rest in rout.  
These newes did somewhat reuiue the people of Rome, who were miglirly perplexed for  
these warres of Spaine. *M. Porcius Cato* being Consill, passed into Spaine the fixt yeare after  
the peace made betwixt the Romans and the Carthaginians, to reduce that Prouince wholly  
vnto the obedience of the people of Rome: wherein his seuer carriage did much auaille: for  
mildnesse is not alwaies fit for all nations, nor for all diseases. He embarked his armie in the  
river of Genes, whither he had drawne five and twentie ships of warre, whereof there were  
twentie of the state of Rome, and five of their allies, with a great number of others. They ar-  
riued safely at Rosas, then called Rhoda, at the foot of the Pyrenees, where they chafed away  
a garison of Spaniards which held the castle. From thence he passed to Empurias, and there  
he landed his souldiours. At that time Empurias was a double towne, diuided with wals, the  
one inhabited by Grecians issued from Phocæa (from whence also the Marislians came) the o-  
ther by Spaniards. The Greeke towne was in a manner all in the sea, and was not much about  
four hundred paces in circuit: the Spaniards habitation was much more, containing about  
three thousand paces; alwaies liuing in ieaousse one of another, assured onely by their dili-  
gent gard, and continuall discipline of warre, as if the enemy had bene at their gates. The  
Grecians entertained no Spaniard within their wals, neither did they goe out rashly towards  
the land: the sea was free for all men. Amid these ieaousies they receiued great commodi-  
ties one from another: for the Spaniards (who were very ignorant of nauigation) had many  
strange commodities from the Grecians, and did furnish them in exchange with the fruits of  
their country. This traffique was the cause that the Spaniards towne was open vnto the  
Grecians, who for their better safeties were allied vnto the Romanes, and maintained them-  
selves with as great loyaltie in their friendship, as the Marislians themselves could doe, al-  
though they were not so mightie. The Consill *Cato* arriuing there, they receiued him with  
all the honour and bountie they could. He stayed there some time to discover what forces  
the

Ann. 558.  
M. Porcius Cato  
Consul first into  
Spaine.

The Spaniards  
defeated by Q.  
Minutius  
Thermus.

A strange and  
vniuersal manner  
of liuing of the  
Empurians.

A the enemies might haue, and where they were; and for that hee would not spend the time in  
idleness, he caused his souldiours to be trained. *Cato's* arriual was in hauest: wherefore he did  
forbid the purueyers and Commissaries to make any prouision of come, but sent them backe  
to Rome, saying, That the warre could maintaine it selfe. Departing from Empurias, he put  
the enemies countrey to sacke by fire and sword, and filled all with terror.

At the same time *M. Heluius* meaning to retire out of base Spaine, which he had gouerned,  
being accompanied with 6000 men, which the Pretor *Appius Claudius* had giuen him for con-  
ueying, he was encountered by the way with 20000 Celtiberians, neere vnto the towne of Illi-  
uoy, (either that which *Scipio* had destroyed, being repaired, or another of that name) whom  
he did fight withall, and vanquish, and slew 12000 men: then he tooke Illiturge, where he put  
all the inhabitants about the age of 14 yeres to the sword: and from thence he came vnto Ca-  
toes campe: from whence hee afterwards passed to Rome; into the which he made a solemne  
entrie, with ouation, for that hee had gouerned his prouince happily. Hee brought 14732  
pounds of siluer in masse, 17000 Bigats (which is a piece of coyne, stamp with a chariot drawn  
with two horses) and of the siluer of Osca 120438. Presently after *Heluius*, *Q. Minutius Ther-*  
*mus* returned to Rome, who had the honour of a triumph, which was the first that was graun-  
ted, by reason of his victories in the wars of Spaine: he brought also into the Treasurie 34800  
pounds of siluer, 38000 Bigats, and 278000 of Osca.

In the mean time the Consill *Cato* was not farre escaped from Empurias, whereas three  
C embassadours came vnto him from *Bisliges*, Lord of the Illegetes; among the which was  
one of his sons, complaining, That their castles were besieged by the other Spaniards, whom  
they could not resist, but with aid from the Romanes. That if it pleased him to send them five  
thousand men, it would be sufficient to force the enemy to retire. The Consill answered,  
That he was moued with the danger wherein they were: but he had not at that time such for-  
ces, as he might with safetie send away so great a number, especially being not farre from the  
enemy, with whom he expected to fight every day. The embassadours hearing these words,  
cast themselves at his feet, and embracing his knees, besought him, not to abandon them in  
their great necessitie, seeing the Romanes were the onely refuge they had in this world: they  
let him vnderstand, That if they would haue falsified their faith, and conspired with others  
that were revolted, they might easily haue auoided that danger; but they would not doe it, al-  
though they had bene solicited with threats and terrifyings, hoping that the Consill should  
refuse to aid and defend them, they did protest before God and men, That they should be forced  
to leaue the Romane partie, least they should fall into the miseries and calamities of them  
of Sagunt. That day *Cato* made them no other answer, yet he did not leaue to meditate there-  
on all night, to find some meanes to free the Illegetes from this danger; and not to diminish  
his forces: for that would haue stayed him from fighting with the enemy, as he desired, or else  
in fighting he might be too weake and in danger. In the end he considered, that hypocricie  
and dissembling in warre haue oftentimes auailed much, and that those which attend succors,  
being perswaded to haue them speedily, haue often vpon this hope taken courage, and grown  
so relolute, as they haue preferred themselves: Wherefore the next day he told the embas-  
sadours, That he was content for their sakes to incommode himselfe, and that notwithstanding  
that he had great occasion to employ his souldiours, yet he would send them succors.

Hereupon he commanded they should take the third part of all the companies, and that  
they should prepare victuals and ships to embarke them the third day. Whereupon he sent  
away two of these embassadours, to carrie newes to *Bisliges* and the Illegetes, retaining the  
third, who was sonne to *Bisliges*, making him good cheare, and honouring him with presents.  
The embassadours before their departure saw the troupes embarked, and being very well fa-  
tised, went away, making great bruit of these succors. The Consill thinking that he had  
made shew ynough, caused the souldiours to land againe, and to returne to the campe. And  
for that the season began to grow vnfit to make warre, he caused Winter lodgings to be made  
for the armie, within a myle of Empurias, from whence he sent the souldiours on euery side to  
spoyle the enemies countrey. Leauing a sufficient garison in the campe, he made them goe  
forth in the night, that they might goe the farther without discouerie, and more easily surprise  
the Spaniards. In this manner he did exercise his new souldiours, and surprised many of the  
ene-

Dissembling in  
warre doeth of-  
ten imports.

Souldiers should  
be alwaies in  
action.  
A sharp begin-  
ning of the war.

A notable vi-  
ctorie gaine  
by the Pretor  
Heluius.

Q. Minutius  
Thermus return-  
ed first at  
Rome for his vi-  
ctories in Spaine.

*Cato speaks to  
the capitaine.*

enemies, who durst no more goe out of their forts. *Cato* hauing by this meanes sufficiently G  
tried the hearts both of his owne men and of the Spaniards, he called the Captaines, Knights,  
and Centenies together, and said vnto them: *That it was now time to set their hands to the*  
*work which they had so much desired, to shew their vertue by a battaile, and not by rauaging and*  
*spoyleing, as they had hitherto done, and that they must no more busie themselves with the prey of the*  
*champion country, but prepare themselves to enioy the riches of townes. The estate of the affaires in*  
*Spaine (said he) is reduced to that point, that whereas in the time of our predecessors, when as there*  
*was neither captaine nor armie for the Romanes in this region, they did capitulate, That their power*  
*and command should extend vnto the riuer of Ebro: and now when there is a Consull, two Pretors, and*  
*three Armies, and that the Carthaginians haue bene wholly excluded for these tenne yeares, wee haue*  
*not in a manner any thing on this side that riuer. We must then recover it by our armes and valour, and*  
*reduce this nation (which hath bene accustomed to begin warre with more rashnesse, than to maintaine*  
*it vertuously) vnto the yoke, which they would shake of: wherefore goe and refresh your selues, and be*  
*readie to depart this night. About midnight he dislodged, that he might encampe at his plea-*  
*sure, before the enimie should haue any intelligence. So as taking a long circuit, he marched*  
*beyond the Spaniards armie; and when as day began to breake, he put his men in battaile, and*  
*sent three companies of foot vnto the rampier of their campe.*

*Cato seeks to  
make his fouldi-  
ers hardie by  
conspirencie, ra-  
king all places of  
retreat from  
them.*

The Spaniards being amazed to see their enemies behind them, ran to armes: then the  
Consull said vnto his fouldiors: *There is now no more hope but in our valour, the which I haue done*  
*of purpose; for the enimie lies midway betwixt vs and our lodging: all that is behind vs is the ene-*  
*mies; wherefore there is no better safetie than to trust to our owne vertues. He then caused his com-*  
*panies which were gone to skirmish, to retire, as if they would haue fled, that he might draw*  
*forth the enimie, as hee did: for the Spaniards (thinking that the Romanes had retired for*  
*fear) left their campe, and came out armed, filling the place betwixt their trenches and the*  
*Romanes armie, and there put themselves confusely and hastily into battaile: but the Con-*  
*sull gaue them no leisure, but caused certaine troupes of horsemen to aduance, who came and*  
*charged these Barbarians thus disordered: but the Romanes on the right hand were presently*  
*repulled, and retreating in haste, had almost put the footmen in rout. The Consull perceiving*  
*this, he presently sent two bands of foot, who passing along the enemies right flanke, pre-*  
*sented themselves behind, before the battalions of foot came to joyne: the which did so amaze*  
*the enemies, as the partie which before was doubtfull for the Romanes, by reason of the disor-*  
*der of their horse, was now almost equall: yet both the horse and foot on the right wing*  
*were so troubled, as the Consull could hardly make them stand firme: yea, he was forced to*  
*take some by the hands, to turne them against the enimie. Whilest they did fight with their*  
*darts a farre off, the encounter was doubtfull: yea, the Romanes wauering on the right wing,*  
*could hardly be kept in order. On the left wing and in front the Spaniards were sorely prest,*  
*and besides, they feared those companies which came in the reere to charge them: but when*  
*they were approached, and so joyned, as no blow fell in vaine, and that there remained no hope*  
*but in their resolutions and valours, being come to the sword, and that *Cato* had refreshed his*  
*tyred men with new troupes, which charged the enimie like lightening, then were they forced*  
*and put to rout, so as they did what they could to saue themselves in their campe. Then*  
**Cato* galloping to the second Legion, which he had refused for succours, he caused them to*  
*aduance speedily towards the enemies campe, to force it, but with such order, as if any*  
*one aduanced too fast, or went out of his ranke, he beat him into his order with a iausline*  
*which he carried, commanding the colonels and captaines to doe the like. Now did the Ro-*  
*man armie giue an assault vnto the enemies rampiers & palisadoes, who defended themselves*  
*valiantly, repulping their enemies with stones, flaues, and other arms: where a new Legion ar-*  
*riuing, the combat was more furious, both parties growing more courageous; the one through*  
*hope, the other through despair. The Consull riding about the campe, obserued what part*  
*was worst manned, or weakest defended: and finding that the gate on the left hand was but*  
*ill furnished with men, he sent some of the foremost ranks of the second Legion thither, and*  
*such as carried long flaues, who forced the gate which was at this gate, and entred into the*  
*campe. The Spaniards seeing the enemies within their trenches, leaue their armes and en-*  
*signes, fflye out of their ports, and cast themselves ouer their rampiers, euery man seeking*  
*to saue himselfe, and one hindring another with haft, so as there was a great slaughter of*  
*them*

*The Spaniards  
defeated by  
Cato.*

them that fled, and their baggage was all taken. Some hold, that there died in this battaile A great slaugh-  
fortie thousand Spaniards. There are three commendable things noted in *Cato* in this action: ter of Spaniards.  
First, to take all hope of safetie from his fouldiors, but by their armes and vertue, he had led  
them far from their campe and ships, betwixt the enemies campe and his country: Secondly,  
that he did send two companies behind the enemies armie, whilest that he charged them in  
front: and for the third, that he had refused the second Legion behind the rest, and led them  
in good order to assaile the enemies campe, whilest that all the other troupes were disbanded  
and busie in fight.

After this great victorie, he gaue his fouldiors no great rest: for being a little refreshed in  
their campe, he led them to spoyle the enemies countrey; the which they did ouerrun at their  
pleasures, for that they were all fled. This was the cause which made the Spaniards of Em-  
puria to yeeld, and many other people thereabouts. There were many inhabitants of other  
Cities and Communalities fled to Empuria, whom *Cato* caused to come before him, and  
courteously entreated them, commanding to giue them meat and drinke, and then he sent  
them home to their houses. Soone after he marched with his armie towards Tarracone, and  
in all places where he passed, he met with the embassadors of townes, which yeelded vnto  
him; so as all Spaine on this side Ebro was reduced vnder the obedience of the people of  
Rome before he came to Tarracone: and from all places there were presented vnto him, which  
freely giuen an infinite number of prisoners, Romanes, Latines, and other allies, which  
had bene taken by diuers accidents. The brute was, That hee would lead his armie into  
C the furthest part of Spaine, towards the strait, and some sayd, That  
Turditania, which is the mountaine and places unknowne. Vpon this false bruit, there  
he would passe vnto the mountaine and places unknowne. Vpon this false bruit, there  
were seuen strong places in the countrey of the Bargitanes which rebelled, whom hee  
subdued without any great toyle, or memorable combat: but soone after the Consull  
being returned to Tarracone, they rebelled againe; so as hee leading his armie thither  
againe, subdued them: but they escaped not so good cheape as at the first; for hee cau-  
sed them all to be sold for slaues by the drumme, to the end they should trouble the peace  
no more.

*The Spaniards  
drew up to  
rebell.*

*Cato's severity  
in the Spaniards  
relays.*

In the meane time the Pretor *P. Manlius* hauing receiued the armie from his predeces-  
sor *Qu. Minutius*, and being joynd with that which *Appius Claudius Nero* had in the first  
D four Spaine, all old bands, he marched into the countrey of Turditania (the which is And-  
alousia) and the countrey adioyning. The Turditanians were esteemed the worst warriors a-  
mong all the people of Spaine; yet trusting in their multitudes, they came to encounter the  
Romanes: when the Romane horsemen disordered them at the first charge; then the Legions  
arriving, they put them wholly to rout. But the war was not thus ended: for the Turditani-  
ans did entertaine in pay ten thousand Celtiberians, and continued to make warre with these  
mercenaries.

The Consull being incensed at the double rebellion of the Bargitanes, vsed his natu-  
rall rigor and severity against all the Spaniards which dwelt on this side the riuer of Ebro:  
E for he distamed them all, thinking, that if they were armed, they would vpon any occasion  
fall into rebellion. This was taken so disdainfully by these people, as many grew furi-  
ously mad, and slew themselves: A nation in truth fierce and warlike, who esteemed  
not that life which passed without armes: Whereof the Consull being aduertised, he cau-  
sed the Senatours of all the townes of that countrey to come vnto him, to whom he sayd:  
That what hee had done, was more for their profites, than any interest of the Romanes: For when  
they were to make warre, you know (said he) it was decided with more misfortune and lesse  
for the Spaniards, than trouble or paine for the Romanes: wherefore to preserve you hereafter from  
ruine, I thought there was but one onely meane; which is, to keepe you from rebelling: Let vs then  
bethinke our selues of the mildest course, and giue me your aduice; because me I will not willingly en-  
tertaine any, but what you shall giue. These Senatours demanded time to aduise thereon: and  
being called againe, they answered not any thing. Whereupon the Consull caused all their  
townes to be demanteled in one day: and from thence marched with his armie against their  
neighbours, which were yet in armes, whom he brought to obedience, namely, Segeltica,  
a towne of great importance, and rich, the which he tooke by sappe. It was a greater diffi-  
culty for *Cato* to subdue these people of Spaine, than it had bene for the first captaines  
which

*The Spaniards  
offered not the  
life which passed  
without armes.*

*Cato demanteled  
the townes in  
Spaine.*



which came thither for the Romanes, when the Carthaginians did rule there: for at that time if the Spaniards were wearie of the Carthaginians command, they had recourse vnto the Romanes: but *Cato* making warre against them, they had no other refuge, but from an vsurped libertie they must fall into slaueerie. Finally, he found all this Prouince altered, some hauing taken armes, some being besieged by their neighbours, to force them to take armes; who (if they had not bene prevented in time) would haue also rebelled with the rest. This *Consull* had such an active spirit, as all things both great and small must passe through his hands, neither did he thinke it sufficient to refuse, discourse, and command that which he held fit to be done, but he himselfe did execute many things; neither was he more strict and seuer to any one in his commandments, than to his owne person. There was not any one to be found in his armie, that did watch, fast, and toyle more than himselfe. Finally, he had no aduantage among those that he commanded, but the honour to command.

The Turditane warre grew more difficult to *P. Manlius*, by reason of the mercinarie Celtiberians: wherefore the *Consull* being called thither by letters from the Pretor, he marched with his armie. At his arriual he found, that the Turditanes had their campe diuided from the Celtiberians: being encamped, the Romans had continuall skirmishes and light encounters with the Turditanes, who had alwaies the worst. As for the Celtiberians, he caused them to be solicited by the colonels and captaines of his armie, propounding vnto them the choice of three conditions: If they would turne vnto the Romanes, they should haue double the pay which the Turditanes had promised them: or if they would retire to their houses without taking any partie, they promised them abolition of all which they had done: and for the third, if they desired warre, they should come to field, and present themselves in battaile. The Celtiberians demanded respite to make answer, and then did communicate these propositions in open Councell to the Turditanes; where there was great contention, but no conclusion: so as many daies passed without any assurance of peace or warre: during the which, the Romanes ouerrun the enemies country, and spoyle their townes, as if it had bene in open warre: oftentimes making priuat treaties and accords, they entred, went and came into their forts. The *Consull Cato* seeing that he could not draw the enemy to battaile, hee first sent some troupes with their ensignes, to spoyle that part of the country where they had not yet bene: then hearing, that the Celtiberians had all their baggage in the towne of Seguntia, he went thither to take it; and yet could hee not draw them out of their campe. In the end hauing mustered and payed his armie, he left all the forces with the Pretor, and returned with seven bands (which made about 3500 men) towards the river of Ebro. With these few men he tooke townes, and forced obedience from the Sedetanes, Ansetanes, and Suesetanes. As for the Lacetanes, (a people dwelling in a sauage country, and out of the way) besides that their rough and barbarous disposition kept them in armes, they had highly offended the Romanes, whilest that the *Consull* was busie in warre vpon the marches of the Turdules, ouerrunning and spoyleing the lands of their allies: Wherefore the *Consull* led vnto the siege of their towne not onely the Romane bands, but also the youth of those allies, whom they had wronged. This towne was long, but not very broad. Encamping within foure hundred paces of it; there he placed certaine chosen companies, commanding them not to stirre, vntill he returned vnto them, and then he led the rest of his forces vnto the other side of the towne. There were a great number of Suesetane soldiours among the strangers allies, whom he caused to march against the towne, and to assaile the wall. These being discouered by the Lacetanes, and knowne by their armes and ensignes to be fouldiours of Suesse, whose territorie they had spoyled at their pleasure, and many times defeated their troupes, they sallied out vpon them: but the Suesetanes scarce seeing them approach, crying out and shaking their armes, fled, and the others pursued them. The *Consull*, who expected no lesse, galloped along the wals vnto the companies which he had left on the other side; and whilest the townsmen pursued the Suesetanes, he seized vpon their towne being vnmanned, and tooke it, before the townsmen were returned from the chase, forcing them to yeld vnto his mercie. Presently after this exploit, he went against a strong towne, called Vergium, which was the receptacle of all the theues in the country, who robbed and spoyled all men which dwelt thereabouts, or passed that way. The Lord of the place came forth presently to meet with the *Consull*, excusing himselfe, That neither he nor his subjects did wrong any man, but that certain theues

being

*Cato seeks to corrupt the Celtiberians.*

*Plinius makes mention of a Seguntia in the Betique Prouince, besides that which is now called Seguntia.*

*This towne is may be in that which they now call Suesse.*

A being receiued into the towne, they had made themselves masters thereof. The *Consull* said vnto him, That if it were so, he should returne into the towne, and find some means (when he should giue an assault) to seize vpon the citadell or fort, with them of his faction, whilest the theues were busie to defend the walls. This was cunningly put in practise, and the theues which held the towne were surprised in diuers places, being encountered on the one side by the Romane armie, and on the other side by them of the fort. Thus *Cato* woon this place, and hauing pardoned them which held the fort, with their kinsfolkes and friends, granting them their liues and goods, he commaunded the Treasurer to sell all the rest of the Vergetanes for slaues, to them that would giue most: and as for the theues and robbers, he caused them all to be hanged.

B By these actions the *Consull Cato* had reduced the Prouince to more quiemesse, and then he began to dispose of the publicke reuenues for the Romanes in these countries, renting out the mynes of yron and siluer, which made it rich. The year of his *Consullship* being ended, he returned to Rome, whereas *P. Corn. Scipio* the second time, and *Titus Semp. Longus* had bene created *Consuls*. There he entred in triumph, and brought into the Treasury 25000 pounds of siluer in masse, 123000 Bigats, and 540 of Olca, with 1400 pounds of gold. Besides, there was payed vnto euery footman 370 Asyles, and thrice as much to euery horseman, *Cato* saying, That euery one must tast of their spoiles.

C There were sent into Spaine for Pretors *P. Cor. Scipio*, sonne to *Cn.* cousin to the other, *P. Cor. Scipio* and *Sex. Diginitus* (it may be it was he which was honoured with a mural crowne at the taking of new Carthage) into the hither part. As for the armies, that of the Pretors was entertained, and the *Consuls* cast. One of these *Gouernours* was more fortunate than the other: for *P. Scipio* did not onely defend all that which belonged vnto his prouince, but put the Lusitanians (who came to assaile him) to rout. *Sex. Diginitus* had many great troubles in his gouernment, and many vnfortunate encounters, so as he deliuered not halfe the men which he had receiued at his comming, to his successor: and without doubt all Spaine had risen, if the other Pretor had done no better. *P. Corn.* sonne to *Cn.* by his judgement and dexteritie did so terrifie the enemies in the farthest parts of Spaine, as aboute fiftie Townes and Communalities yielded vnto him. After the expiration of his gouernment,

D attending his successour, he set vpon certaine Lusitanian theues, who returned with a great bootie, which they had taken from the subjects and allies of the Romanes: and although he were in great perplexitie and danger in this charge, despairing almost of the victorie, for the which (if he did obtaine it) he did vow games to *Apollin*: yet he woon it, and (being much inferior in number of fouldiours) defeated the Lusitanians; where hee slew twelue thousand vpon the place, tooke five hundred and fortie prisoners, all horsemen, and carried away an hundred thirtie foure Ensignes, hauing lost very few of his men. This encounter was neere vnto the towne of Ilipa, whither the Pretor went with his armie, and brought forth all the bootie that was recovered, suffering euery one to carrie away the goods and cattell which had bene taken from him by the enemy, and causing the rest to be sold, with the which the fouldiours were recompenced. *Scipio* obtained this victorie in qualitie of Vice-Pretor.

E 9 *L. Corn. Merula* and *Q. Minutius Thermus* were created *Consuls* at Rome, *C. Flaminius* was chosen Pretor for the hither part of Spaine, and *M. Fuluius Nobilior* for the further: *C. Flaminius* should succeed *Sex. Diginitus*, to repaire the bad success which had happened during his gouernment. He demanded of the Senat, That he might take one of the Legions appointed for the citie, and that mingling with them fuch fouldiours as he should leuie, he might chuse out of the whole number 6500 foot & 300 horse; and that with this Legion thus made, he might vndertake the affaires: for he did not much relye vpon those forces which remained with *Sex. Diginitus*, the which were in a manner ruined, saying, That the warre growing hote in Spaine, they might not goe vnfrumished; speaking of the good and bad success of that Prouince, as well by himselfe, as by his friends, much to his owne aduantage. The auncient Senatours were not of opinion, That the Senat should make any decrees vpon the reports of priuat men in fauour of magistrats, and that they must not giue credit to that which was spoken touching matters of gouernment, if it were not aduertised by the Gouernours themselves, or embassadours sent to relate the success. Finally, the Senat resolved, That if there

were

*Vergium taken by Cato.*

*Cato disposes of the reuenues of Spaine.*

*Ann. Rome 559*

*Sex. Diginitus vnfortunate.*

*A great victorie of P. Cor. Scipio, sonne to Cn. against the Lusitanians.*

*The wisdom of the Romans reprobated no common braueries in matters of State.*

where any troubles in Spaine, they should leue men there: yet they write, That *C. Flaminius* went into Sicile, where he enrolled certaine bands; and that passing from thence into Spaine, he was caft vpon the coast of Africke, where he tooke an oath of fome fouldiours which he found there, being the remainders of the armie of *P. Scipio Africanus*: and that besides all thefe, he leuied men in Spaine. But whatfoeuer he did, yet he found not the affaires of Spaine fo difficult as they had giuen it out. Being in his gouernment (which extended vnto the Oretanes) he tooke the towne of Ilucia, and hauing lodged his fouldiours to Winter, there were many light skirmishes betwixt him and the Spaniards, whereas he had not alwayes the better, but loft many of his men.

The other Pretor which gouerned the further Spaine did great exploits: for he fought a battaile with the Vaceans, Vecons, and Celtiberians all together, neere vnto Toledo, put them in rout, and defeated them, taking their king *Hilernus* aliue. The yeare following the gouernment was continued to these two Pretors. *Flaminius* tooke the towne of Litabrum by force, the which was strong and very rich: he also tooke *Corribilo*, a nobleman of great fame, prisoner. *Fulsius* in the further Spaine did fight happily with two armies, tooke the townes of Vefcelia and Holo from the Spaniards, with many castles, some by force, and some by composition: and then passing by the Oretanes country, he seized vpon Nobilia & Cusibis, and came vnto the riuier of Tayo, on the which Toledo stood, a small town, but strong of situation: whilst he did batter it, an armie of the Vecons came to succour it, but he defeated it: then continuing his siege and batterie, he tooke the towne. This done, he returned to Rome, *L. Emilius Paulus* being chosen to succeed him, when as *P. Cor. Scipio*, sonne to *Cn.* and *M. Attilius Glaucio* were Consuls. He entered into Rome with the solemnitie of Ouation, bringing into the common treasure 130000 Bigats of filuer, 12000 pounds of filuer in masse, and 127 pounds of gold. *C. Flaminius* was continued in his Pretorship in the higher Spaine.

10 But whereas other Pretors had but six officers which carried rods and axes before them, *L. Emilius* had twelue, so as his Pretorship was equall with the honor & dignitie of a Consul. To either of these Pretors (besides the armies which were in the country) were appointed a supple of 3000 foot and 300 horse, newly leuied; two third parts of them of their allies, and the other third part of Romane citizens. *Paulus* did twice defeat the barbarous Spaniards in battaile, and flew 30000, hauing taken his aduantage vpon the passage of a riuier. He brought vnder the obedience of the Romanes 250 places, by their voluntarie yelding, and yet with the honour of all these gallant exploits he returned to Rome, hauing not enriched himselfe one dragma during his gouernment; the which is a rare thing in a man of command. His gouernment being then continued for another yeare, he did somewhat blemish the glorie of his victories, by a notable rout which he had in the Balthanes country, whereas he lost 6000 men vpon the place, the rest of his army recovered their campe with great difficultie, and then was forced with long marches to retye himselfe into places of more safetie: but afterwards attending the coming of *L. Bebrius*, who should succeed him, he was reuenged of the Lusitanians for his former losse, of whom, he flew 18000, tooke 330, and woon their campe, with their baggage.

*L. Bebrius* had bene chosen at Rome to succeed him: but as he marched by the riuier of the Liguticke sea, he was set vpon by certaine Ligurians, who flew most part of his men, and himselfe being wounded, hee was forced to saue himselfe in Marceilles, with a small number, and without others, whereas the third day after he died. These newes being sent to Rome by them of Marceilles, the Senat appointed, That *P. Brutus* in the Pretors place should take the gouernment of the further Spaine, and leaving the armie and prouince of Tuscane to one of his lieutenants, he should speedily depart. In the other part of Spaine, neerer vnto Gaule, *L. Plautius Hipfius* was appointed in *C. Flaminius* place, whose gouernment was reasonably quiet.

*M. Valerius Messala* and *C. Luinius Salinator* being made Consuls at Rome, the higher part of Spaine was giuen to *L. Manlius Acidinus*, and to *C. Catinius* the farther: who continued in the same charge the yeare following: in the which the Lusitanians and Celtiberians troubled the peace, & went armed to field: the which being written to Rome by the Pretors, they did chuse *L. Quintus Crispinus*, who had that part of Spaine which lies beyond the riuier of Ebro, and *C. Calpurnius Piso* for the other part. Whilst they prepare, *C. Catinius* came to fight with the Lusitanians in the territorie of Asta, whom he defeated in battaile, woon their campe, and

The happy exploits of Fulsius

P. Emilius Pretor with Consul leuied auxiliaries

The great exercise of P. Emilius in his gouernment. P. Emilius sent to rout by the Spaniards.

The victorious encounter of L. Bebrius.

Ann. Roma 564

Ann. 565.

C. Catinius defeats the Lusitanians.

A and flew 6000 vpon the place: but as he gaue an assault to the towne of Asta (the which was taken without any great resistance) he was wounded, and died soone after. *L. Manlius* the other Vice-Pretor had an encounter with the Celtiberians in his gouernment, yet no man knew who had the victorie; onely the Celtiberians dilogged the night following, confessing thereby, that they were vanquished. The Romans being masters of the field, had leysure to burie their dead, and to gather vp their spoyles.

Within few dayes after the Celtiberians hauing augmented their forces, they came and assailed the Romanes neere to Calaguris, which now is Calahorra, but they were beaten, and lost 12000 men vpon the place, 2000 were taken prisoners, and they were chased out of their campe, and lost their baggage. And such was the heat of this victorie, that if they had not bene restrained by the coming of the new Pretors, the Celtiberians had bene wholly subdued. *Quintus* and *Calpurnius*, as soone as they were within their prouinces, lodged their armies to Winter. *L. Manlius* being returned to Rome, made his entrie with the ceremonie called Ouatia, whither he brought 52 crownes of gold, 132 pounds of gold, 16300 pounds of siluer, and declared in open Senate, That besides all that, his Treasurer *Qu. Fabius* brought 10000 pounds of filuer and 80 pounds of gold, to be put into the common Treasure.

11 The Spring time being come, the two Pretors went to field with their armies, and joynt together in Beturia, marching towards the Carpetanians country, where the enemies were then in field. The beginning of their exploits was not very successfull, but in the end they made reparation of their errors. The fight began betwixt the foragers on either side, neere vnto the townes of Hippo and Toledo; to whose succours there came some from either army, and in the end all their forces came thither: so as the Spaniards seeing themselves in a convenient place for their manner of fighting, the two Romane armies were defeated in this unexpected skirmish, and repulsed with great disorder and amazement, within their expected rampiers, and yet the enemies could not follow their good fortunes. The Pretors fearing to be assaulted, dilogged in the night: and at the break of day the Spaniards presented themselves before the trenches, but seeing no shew of any enemy, they entered into the campe, whereas they made bootie of that which the Romanes could not carrie away with them. This done, they stayed there some dayes, without attempting any thing. The Romans lost in this combat and in the flight about fife thousand men, of their citizens and allies, with whose spoiles the Spaniards armed themselves, and marched towards the banks of Tayo. All the respite the Romane Pretors had, they employed it to fill vp their bands with Spanish fouldiours of their friends and allies, and to assure the rest which had bin beaten. Wherefore when as they did see their forces reasonably well repaired, and their fouldiours hearts reuiued (who demanded nothing more than the enemy, to reuenge the disgrace which they had received) they came and encamped within twelue miles of the riuier of Tayo: when as a good part of the night was spent, they tooke vp their ensignes, and came by the break of day to the riuers side, whereas they put themselves into a square battaile. The enemies were on the other side, encamped on the side of a hill, and the Romans hauing found a foord in two places passed ouer; *Quintus* on the right hand, and *Calpurnius* on the left, but the enemy moued not: who being amazed at their suddaine arriuall, spent time in consultation what they should do, when they might haue disordered all the Roman armie, being troubled at the passage of this riuier. In the end all passed, both fouldiours & baggage, the which they laid all together: for they neither had any convenient place, nor any leisure to make any trenches, nor to plant their campe, for that the enemy began to arme, so as they put themselves in order to fight, placing the strength of their armie (which consisted in two Legions) in the middle. The field betwixt both enemies lay open, which did assure them from ambushes and surprises. The Spaniards seeing theye two Legions in two great squadrons, put themselves in battaile on the riuers side where they were, thinking to disorder them before they should be able to joyne with the bodie of their armie; wherefore they went and gaue them a furious charge. The fight in the beginning was fierce, the Spaniard being puffed vp with pride for his former victorie, and the Romans mad with desire to deface the ignominie to haue bene vanquished, contrarie to their custome. The two Legions in the middle fought valiantly, and could not be forced: wherefore the Spaniards resolving to pierce through them by some means, they sent a great troupe

He that leaves the field, confesseth he was vanquished.

The Celtiberians defeated.

Beturia now called Hissma Dura.

The Romans defeated, but the Spaniards can not pursue this victorie.

The Spaniards were not slow to embrace the occasion.

A battaile be-  
tween the Ro-  
manes and Spa-  
niards.

in forme of a wedge, to breake this battaillon. The furie of the fight was great, and *Calphurnius* feared the Legions should not be able to resist: wherefore he sent *T. Quintius Varus* and *L. Iunentius Thalus* (two Lieutenants) vnto them to aduertise them, That there was no means to hold Spaine, nor to saue themselves, neither euer to see their houses, nor Italie; no, nor to get vnto the other side of the riuer of Tayo, if they did not vanquish their enemies: and he at the same instant, with the horsemen of the two Legions, went and charged this pointed troupe in flanke, and *Quintius* came on the other side with a certaine number of horsemen, but with lesse courage than *Calphurnius*, who fought in the middelt of the preasse: so as by reason of the Pretors presence, and the danger whereinto hee thrust himselfe, the legionarie souldiours and all the rest were greatly encouraged to doe their duties; so as they first put their enemies to rout, and then to flight, towards their campe: whither they were pursued by the horsemen, who entred pell-mell with them that fled; where they were forely preist by them that had bene left to gard the baggage, so as they were forced to leaue their horses, and to make head against them, vntill the fifth Legion arriued, and the other bands, one after another, who freed them from this danger, and put all the Spanish armie to the sword: so as of five and thirtie thousand which were in the beginning of the battaile, there escaped but foure thousand; whereof three thousand recovered a neere mountaine, and a thousand being naked and disarmed, wandered vp and downe the fields. The Romans carried away an hundred thirtie three of the enemies ensignes: they themselves lost in this conflict little about six hundred men, and about an hundred and fiftie Spaniards of their confederats. Five Colonels and some Romane knights (which were slaine there) made the victorie seme lesse fortunat. The Romane armie was lodged in the enemies campe, for that they had no time to rampier their owne. The day following *Calphurnius* did highly extoll the souldiours valour, and gaue them gifts in testimonie of their vertue: to knights he gaue caparisons, shewing, that by their valour chiefly the battaile had bene woon: many capitaines of the two Legions were also rewarded. These two Gouvernours returned to Rome, *A. Terentius Varro* and *P. Sempronius* being chosen in their places, during the Consulship of *P. Claudius Pulcher* and *L. Porcius Licinius*. They brought many crownes of gold, and readie money, with gold and silver in masse, whereof the number is vn certaine; and they triumphed for the victories which they had gotten against the Lusitanians and Celtiberians.

Anna, Rome 968

*A. Terentius* had the hither part of Spaine, and *Sempronius* the further: they also had prolongation in their charge for the yeare following. *Varro* had some encounters in this second yeare with the Ausetanes, a people inhabiting in the countrey of Cattelogne, not farre from the riuer of Ebro, and against the Celtiberians, whom he vanquished, and tooke some strong places and townes, which they made their retreat in those marches. As for *Sempronius* gouernment, it was quiet: for the Lusitanians stood in awe of the Romans fortune, and the Pretor was continually afflicted with a troublesome discaie, which made him vnfit for all publicke gouernment, and in the end killed him in Spaine. *P. Manlius* did succeed him, who had once bene Pretor in the hither Spaine, when as *Cato* was Confull, and *Quintus Fulvius Flaccus* succeeded *Varro*.

The hither Spaine was in armes, and had need of a capitaine and souldiours to suppress the enemy: but in the other prouince the Romanes had no worse enemies than themselves: for that by reason of *Sempronius* long infirmite, the souldiours were idle, and in a manner without a head, all were corrupted, insolent, and without any militarie discipline; the which they must chieflie remedie. The Senate therefore decreed, That there should be foure thousand foot and two hundred Roman horse newly leui'd, so be sent into Spaine, with feuen thousand foot and three hundred horse of their allies.

*Terentius Varro* yielded vp the prouince and the armie to *Qu. Fulvius Flaccus*, who besieged a towne called *Vrbicua*, whereas the Celtiberians came to assaile him, making diuers skirmishes to rayse the siege, in the which many Romanes were slaine or hurt. But *Fulvius* continued firme, and by his perseuerance woon the towne, the enemies (tyred with fighting) being forced to retire. The towne being destitute of succours, was within few dayes taken and sacked. *P. Manlius* did no other thing in his gouernment, but gather together the dispersed souldiours, so as both he and *Fulvius* after the taking of *Vrbicua* lodged the armies to *Vinter*: *Terentius* being returned to Rome, entred in pompe, and brought into the trea-

Idleness and  
ease an enemy  
to vertue, cor-  
rupts the Roman  
armie.

A treasure 9320 pounds of silver, 80 pounds of gold, and two crownes of gold of 67 pounds weight.

The yeare following these two Pretors were continued in their gouernment, and the warre grew hotter in *Fulvius* prouince than euer: for the Celtiberians went to field with thirtie five thousand fighting men: against whom, *Fulvius* fortified himselfe with all the Spaniards he could leue among the Romane confederates: but hee did not equall the enemies in number: yet hee marched into the Carpetanians countrey, and encamped neere vnto *Ebura*, into the which he put a garrison. The Celtiberians approached soone after, and planted their campe within halfe a league of the Romanes, at the foot of a hill; whereas the Pretor sent to discover them by two companies of their confederats horses, being led by his brother *M. Fulvius*, commanding him to approach neere vnto the enemies trenches, and to obserue of what compasse they were, and if they came forth to charge them, they should retire without fighting: the which he executed accordingly. Some daies were spent without any action of importance. In the end the Celtiberians resolved to goe forth with all their forces, who presented themselves in battaile, in the plaine which was betwixt the two armies, and there attended the Romanes: yet *Fulvius* stirred not, but kept his men foure dayes together within his campe, during the which, the Spaniards shewed alwaies the same countenance: then seeing that the Romans lay still, and that there was no means to fight with them, they kept themselves also quiet for a time; onely the horsemen went forth, keeping themselves readie, if the

enemy should make shew to assaile them. The forragers on both sides went forth behind their armies without any let. This hauing continued some dayes, the Romane Pretor (thinking that he had made the enemy secure) commanded *L. Acilius* to march with six thousand Spanish foot of their allies, and some of the horsemen of the left wing, about the hill vpon the enemies backe, and there he should attend vntill he heard the crie of the Legionaries and the rest of the armie, and that then he should come and assaile the enemies campe. *Acilius* parted in the night, because he would not be discovered. *Fulvius* at the breake of day caused *C. Stribonius* Colonel of the Latines, to march towards the Celtiberians trenches, accompanied by the extraordinarie horsemen of the left wing. The enemy seeing him better accompanied than the day before, sallied presently forth with all his horse, being followed by their

footmen. *Stribonius* seeing them come, turned head, as he had bene commanded, and retired towards the Romanes campe. The Celtiberians pursued them speedily both with horse and foot, persuading themselves, the day should not passe, before they were masters of the Romanes campe, being now within five hundred paces. Then *Fulvius* seeing that hee had drawne them farre ynough from their fort, hee made way for his armie, being readie in their trenches, causing them to fall forth by three feuerall ports at one instant, commanding them to make great shouts and cries, not so much to giue courage to the souldiours, as it was their custome, as to aduertise them that were in ambush behind the hill, attending a signe to assaile the enemies campe. When as they heard the crie, they ran vnto their rampiers according vnto their directions: The Celtiberians had onely left five hundred men to gard it,

who made no great resistance, being amazed both at their own small number, and at the multitude of those that came suddainly to assaile them. *Acilius* hauing woon their campe, hee presently set fire on such places as lay open to the enemy. The flame appearing, did much daunt the Celtiberians, and gaue courage vnto the Romans, being assured thereby, that their campe was taken. Notwithstanding, the Celtiberians seeing themselves destitute of a retreat, fought like desperat men, and did much annoy the Romanes: but in the end being oppressed both with the first troupes and with fresh supplies, and by *Acilius*, who returned from the taking of the campe, and by the garrison of *Ebura*, who sallied forth in the heat of the battell, they were vanquished, and great numbers slaine vpon the place, and afterwards wholly defeated, the horsemen pursuing them that fled. They write, That in this battaile there died

23000 Spaniards, and 4800 prisoners taken: the Romanes tooke about 500 horse, and 88 ensignes. Doubtlesse the victorie was great, yet not without blood: for there were slaine about 200 legionarie Romanes, 830 Latines, allies, and 2400 strangers. Which done, the Pretor brought backe his victorious armie into his campe. *Acilius* was sent vnto the campe which hee had taken, and the next day they gathered vp the enemies spoiles, and the souldiours being publickly assembled, euery one was rewarded according

A memorable  
victorie of Qu.  
Fulvius Flaccus  
against the Cel-  
tiberians.

The number of  
the dead.

*Cimbria taken  
by the Romans*

*Another defeat  
of the Celtiberians  
by Fulvius*

to his merits: then hauing left the wounded men at Ebura, the Legions were led to Contrebia, by the territorie of the Carpetanians. This towne being besieged, they sent to demand succours of the Celtiberians, but the towne was yielded before they came. There had fallen such abundance of raine at this season, as *Fulvius* was forced to lodge his armie within the towne. The Celtiberians, who could not come by reason of the high waters and the bad way, knew nothing of the yielding of this towne, vntill they were charged by the Romanes which were within it: for seeing no signes of a campe about it, they imagined the enemy had bene gone; so as they approached the towne without order, fearing no danger: from whence the Romanes sallied forth vpon them with great furie, and put them to flight: and although the field was spacious, and the commoditie great to saue themselves, yet there died twelue thousand men, fise thousand were taken prisoners, foure hundred horses of seruice, and sixtie two ensignes gotten. These Celtiberians being disperfed, they aduertised their companions which came vnto them, of their defeat: whereupon they returned, and all this preparation went to smooke. In the further or West part of Spaine, the Pretor *Manlius* did also fight happily against the Lusitanians. After theise exploits *Q. Fulvius* sent *L. Minutius* his Lieutenant to Rome, with two Colonels. *T. Metius* and *L. Terentius Massiliota*, to carrie newes. That the Celtiberians had bene wholly vanquished in two great battailes, and that the Senate should not need to make prouision of money or any other thing for the entertainment of their souldiours that yeare, for that (sayd they) the warre was ended. They demanded also, That the Pretor might haue leaue to bring backe the armie, which he and others before him had so happily managed and employed: the which (they sayd) was not only reasonable, but very necessarie, for that euerie one demanded leaue, speaking openly, That if it were not graunted them, they would take it.

*Ann. Roma 173  
New Pretors  
sent into Spaine*

13 At the first generall assembly *A. Posth. Albinus* *Lusius* and *C. Calpurnius Piso* being made Consuls, they also created new Pretors to send into Spaine: the hither part by Ebro fell to *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, and *L. Posthumus* had the West part. *T. Sempronius* was not much pleased with the request made on *Fulvius* behalfe, to whom he should succede: whereupon he protested, That if they sent him thither with an armie newly leuied, hee would keep himselfe within his garisons, and not expose vnexperienced souldiours against an enemy so long trained vp in warre. Thereupon the Senate did decree, That they should rayse a Legion of fise thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred Romane horse, and besides it a thousand Romane foot and fiftie horse; and the Latines their allies should be employed to furnish seuen thousand foot and foure hundred horse: and that with this armie *Sempronius* should goe into Spaine: giuing leaue vnto *Q. Fulvius* to bring backe the souldiours which had bene sent thither before that *Sp. Posthumus* and *Qu. Martius* were Consuls; which was six yeares before: and moreover, when the new leuie were come into the country, it should be also lawfull for him to bring all backe that were about two complete Legions, of tenne thousand foure hundred foot and six hundred horse, Romanes, and twelue thousand foot and six hundred horse of their allies, Latins, of those souldiours with the which *Fulvius* had gotten two victories against the Celtiberians.

Whilest these new Pretors were expected in Spaine, *Qu. Fulvius* in qualitie of Vice-Pretor undertooke to goe and assaile the Celtiberians lying a farre off, for that they had not yet reconciled themselves vnto him. This did rather incense the Barbarians than amaze them: wherefore going to armes, they seized vpon the strait or passage called *Manlian*, by the which they knew the Romane armie must retume. *Gracchus* had giuen charge to *L. Posthumus Albinus*, going to his gouernment in the further Spaine, to aduertise *Qu. Fulvius*, That hee should come and meet him with the armie at *Tarracone*, where hee would discharge the old bands, distribute the supplies which he had brought, and dispose of the whole armie; appointing a short time vnto *Fulvius* for the effecting thereof. Vpon which newes he was forced to depart suddainly out of the Celtiberians country: which made the people surmise, that he had some intelligence, that they did secretly arme, and that hee retired for feare: Wherefore they began to gard the passage more straitly and proudly than before. The Romane armie being entered into this passage at the breake of day, they were assailed in two severall places at one instant, *Qu. Fulvius* giuing order for all things,

*The Romanes  
charged by the  
Celtiberians in  
a strait.*

A things, according to the time and place, and making a brieue exhortation to his souldiours, he assured them. The fight began to grow hot, but not with like advantage: for the legions and the Latines vpon the wings did fight valiantly, but their Spanish souldiours could not resist their country-men, who were better souldiours than they. The Celtiberians seeing they could not vanquish the Romanes, fighting hand to hand with them in a set battell, they had recourse vnto their accustomed fashion, which was, to shape their troupe like a wedge. Being thus ordered, they are more firme and violent, and can hardly be withstood: by this means they had almost disordered the legions. The which the General perceiuing, hee ran presently to the legionary horsemen, asking them, What they did there, and what succour might be expected from them? To whom they answered, That they were ready to obey whatsoever

*The Romanis dis-  
pressed.*

B should command. *Ioynce* then (said he) all the horses together of the two legions, and with a full carriere breake through that wedge of men which doth force our Squadron; yea take the bridles from your horses, as our ancestors haue often done with good successe, that you may overthrow them with more violence. Whereunto the horsemen speedily obeyed, and setting spurs to their vnbridled horses, they passed and repassed through this troupe of the enemies, breaking their staves, and making great slaughter of them. When this wedge was broken and disperfed, in the which the Spaniards did wholly relye, they had no other thought but vpon flight. The Latin horsemen moued with the valour of the Romanes, without any further commaundement, fell vpon the enemies already broken, so as there was a great slaughter made in the flight through-  
C out all the strait. For this victorie the vice Pretor did vow a temple vnto Fortune, and games vnto *Iupiter*. There died in this encounter threeteene thousand Celtiberians, about three thousand prisoners, and two hundred threeteene and seuteene ensignes taken, and about one thousand and one hundred horses gotten. The victorious armie did neither intrench nor rampart for that day: But this victorie was not without losse to the Romanes, for there were foure hundred threecore and ten citizens slaine, a thousand and nineteen Latines, and of Spaniards and other strangers, their allies, three thousand. Thus this armie hauing redoubled her fame by this victorie, it arriued at *Tarracone*, whereas *Sempronius* the Pretor (who arriued there but two dayes before) went forth to meet him, and did congratulate with *Fulvius* and the souldiours, their happie exploits for the commonweale. Then did they louingly and great concord, discharge and retaine what they thought fit among the souldiours, according to the decree of the Senat: And for that yeare there was little done in Spaine by the new gouernours, for that they arriued late by reason of the death of one of the Consuls, and the subrogation of another, which staied their expedition. The yeare following they were continued in their gouernments.

*Another great  
defeat of the  
Celtiberians by  
Qu. Fulvius.*

*The number of  
the dead of  
their side.*

*Q. Fulvius Flaccus* being returned to Rome, when as he stayed without the towne, to haue order for his triumph according to the custome, he was chosen Consull with *L. Manlius Acidinus*, and then he entred in triumph, with the souldiours which he had brought out of Spaine. He brought into the publike treasure one hundred and twentie foure crownes of gold, 31 pounds of gold, and 173200 deniers of coined money of Olfa, besides he gaue fiftie deniers, being about fise crownes, to euerie footman, twice as much to the centeniers, and thrice as much to the horsemen, as much to the allies and Latines, and to all in generall double pay.

*Ann. Roma 174*

E This yeare the Gouernors in Spaine diuided the warre betwixt them, so as *Albinus* should goe and assaile the Vaccens by the country of the Lusitanians, and from thence should come into the marches of the Celtiberians. *Gracchus* should enter into the heart of their country, for that the warre was hottest there. There he first tooke the towne of *Munda* by force, hauing set vpon it suddenly in the night, and hauing taken hostages, and put in a garrison, he battered some castles, and did forrage and burne the country vntill he came vnto another strong towne called *Certima*; whereas hauing begun to plant his engines to batter it, deputies came vnto him from the inhabitants, who vied a simple kind of speech vnto him, after the auncient

F manner, without any dissembling, telling him freely, That they would make warre if they had meanes, desiring that they might haue leaue to goe vnto the Celtiberians campe, to demand succours: the which if they could not obtaine, they would then take counsell of their affaires distinctly from the other nations. *Gracchus* yielded to their demand: and within a few daies after they returned, bringing with them ten other deputies. It was about noone. The first words which they spake vnto the Pretor, were, That they intreated him to commaund some of his

*The first sim-  
ilitude of the Spa-  
niards.*

*Gracchus his fan-  
ciful and care-  
lesse reply to the En-  
barrans.*



Spain made one  
government, and  
L. Canuleius  
Pretor alone.

*L. Canuleius* (to whom the government of Spaine was fallen) should chuse judges from among the Senators, to examine the facts; and that the parties should chuse advocates of the same order. *Titinius*, who had beene Pretor, during the Consulship of *A. Manlius* and *M. Junius* in the higher Spaine, was drawne in question: but when as they had pleaded two severall dayes, he was absolved: but *P. Furius Philo* (who had beene Gouverneur in the same province) and *M. Matienus* in the further Spaine, being accused of divers crimes, and their causes often pleaded, when as it was againe to be heard, they were excused, being absent, for that being loath to attend the sentence, they had voluntarily retired themselves, the one to Preneste, the other to Tybur: and so the matter was left undecided.

*Canuleius* desiring to suppress this pursute, to the end that many should not bee molested by the Spaniards, began to give order for the affaires of his government, and to inroll souldiours, to lead them into the province which was appointed for them, and so he parted. The Senat letting passe what had beene formerly done, provided for the future, that the Romane magistrats should set no taxe vpon come, and that they should not force the Spaniards to sell the twentieth part at their pleasures, which was a certaine tribute: and that they should send no more Commissaries into their towne to leuie money.

At the same time there came another kind of embassage to Rome, from them that had bin borne of Romane souldiours and Spanish women, and not married. These were about foure thousand men. The Senat commaunded they should give in their names, and be inrolled by *L. Canuleius* the Pretor: and that such as he should make free, should be conducted vnto Carcia, vpon the Ocean sea, to dwell there. That the inhabitants of Carcia that would remaine there, should be receiued, and portions of land assigned them: and this colonie should be held for Latines, and be called the Libertines.

It seemes that the Romanes hauing no warres at that time in Spaine, were resolu'd to reduce it to one government, and to send but one Pretor. After *Canuleius* mention is made of *Claudius Marcellus*, and then of *P. Fontenius*: of whose deeds there is no mention in auient wriuers, so as it is to be presumed, this province continued quiet. But in the year 586 of the foundation of Rome, *Q. Fabius* and *M. Junius* being Consuls, they did againe create two Pretors, which were *Cm. Fulvius* on the hither part, & about the riuer of Ebro; and *C. Licinius Nerua* in the further. After which the Romanes contenting themselves for many yeares, with their conquests in Spaine, they fought as it seemed to make them whom they had subiected, or drawne vnto them, ciuile, and to fashion them by little and little to the manners and inclinations of the Romanes: without seeking the other people which were more barbarous, who also for their parts were glad to be left in peace, being terrified with the Romanes power, whom they would not incense, neither had they any care to seek their friendship, because they hated them, as violaters of the lawes of nature, and oppressors of mans libertie.

15 In the yere 600 of the foundation of Rome, *Q. Fulvius* and *T. Annius* being Consuls, the Celtiberians (who had beene vanquished and subdued by *T. Gracchus* five and twentie yeares before) began againe to stirre, the inhabitants of Sediga, a towne of the Areuaces, hauing (against their capitulations, and the commandement of *Gracchus*) repaired the walls of their towne, and refused to pay tribute vnto the Romanes: by reason whereof other people being also rebelled in Spain, the Senat resolu'd to send an armie, and a Consul to be the General, so as *Q. Fulvius* was sent, who was not verie fortunat in the beginning. This yere by a new cōtome the Consuls entred into charge the first of Ianuarie, whereas before they did not begin their magistracie vntill the fifteenth of March: whereunto they were induced by the rebellion of the Spaniards: the which was afterwards continued. Of this beginning followed the warre of Numancia, which lasted twentie yeares. The Senat of Rome hauing first forbidden them of Sediga to raise their walls, and then commaunded them to goe to the war with their Consuls and Pretors, according to the pacification made by *Gracchus*, they answered, That they had capitulated, not to make any new forts, but not to repaire their old. And as for going to the warre, they were exempt from that charge, by the treatie of *Gracchus*: the which was true. But the Senat added a glose to these conditions, that is, As long as it shall please vs: the which the Spaniards would not heare of. Wherefore seeing that *Quintus Fulvius Nobilior* came against them with an armie of thirtie thousand men, they left their towne, which was not yet in defence, sent their wiues and children to their neighbours, and vnder the conduct

of

A of one *Carus*, they assembled to the number of 20000 foot, and 5000 horse, and came and camped in a place couered with wood, verie fit to surprisfe their enemies, whom he met withall in the woods, and both gaue and took many wounds. Afterwards in a great encounter *Carus* had the victorie, hauing slaine 6000 Romans, wherewith being growne insolent and careless, the Consul had means to haue his reuenge, sending his horsemen to charge the Spaniards which were scattered and out of order: who put 6000 to the sword, and more had bin slaine, if night had not seperated them. This made the Celtiberians more circumspect. The same night the people of the countrey assembled at Numance, and being resolu'd to resist the Romanes, they made choice of *Ambo* and *Leuco* for their captaines. The Consul *Fulvius* hauing received

*Carus* a captaine  
of the Spaniards

A conspiracie  
of the Spaniards  
at Numance.

B 300 horse, with some Elephants, from king *Masiniussa* a Moore (an auient friend to the people of Rome) marching forward, he came and offered battell to the enemies vnder Numance. He had placed his Elephants behind the first ranks, that they might not be seene, thinking to terrifie them suddenly, and to defeat them by that means; but it fell out otherwise: for being come to joyne, and the ranks opened, when as the Elephants shewed themselves, they did somewhat terrifie the Spaniards and their horses, which were not accustomed to see such beasts; so as turning their backs they went towards the towne: But one of these Elephants comming neere the walls, being hit on the forehead with a stone, he entred into such a rage, as turning against the Romanes themselves, he trode them vnder his feet; after whose example the rest began to run through the Romane troups, and disordered them: For it is the nature

C of these beasts, when they are terrified, they know neither friend nor foe: wherefore many call them common enemies. The Spaniards which were within Numance, seeing this confusion, sallied out vpon the Romanes, and slew foure thousand men, and tooke three Elephants, and many ensignes; yet they lost two thousand of their men.

Elephants held  
by the wise to be  
common enemies.

The Consul hauing refreshed himselfe somewhat after this rout, he was repulsed againe at the fort of Axenium, the which he assailed, to haue the victuals which the enemy had in it, and in this misfortune the Romanes received a third rout, whereas *Blasius* a leader of some horse of their allies, was slaine, with many good souldiours. These many losses did moue the inhabitants of Ocelis, or Ocelon, allies to the Romanes, and gardians of the money and victuals of their campe, to revolt, and to follow the Celtiberians partie. So as vanquished

Ocelon vanishes  
from the Roman  
partie.

D with so many misfortunes, the Consul *Fulvius* could take no better course, than to fortifie his campe for to winter: the which hee did with the greatest want that might be, besides haile, snow, raine, and all the rigour of the season, so as many of his souldiours perished for cold.

16 The yere following *M. Claudius Marcellus* succeeded *Fulvius*, and brought 8000 foot and 500 horse into Spaine. This man was more politique than his predecessor, to keepe himselfe from the surprisfes of his enemies, leading his armie safely to Ocelis, the which hee tooke in few dayes, and pardoned their offence, paying a fine of thirtie talents, and some hostages, which he demaunded of them. This clemencie of his made the Nerobriges, another nation, to send embassadors vnto him, to demand peace and pardon: to whom he made a pleasing answer, demaunding an hundred horsemen of them; the which they promised. But during this treatie, they sent certaine troups, which fell vpon the Romanes baggage, and spoyled some of it. Hereupon the hundred horsemen, which the Consul had demaunded, arriued, whom he committed to prison, and sold their horses, by reason of their treacherie. Then he led his armie against their towne.

Ceremonies of  
the Barbarians  
when they are  
suters.

The inhabitants seeing themselves inuironed with ditches and trenches, sent forth a herald attired in a wolues skin (a ceremonie vsed by the Barbarians in such supplications) crauing pardon. To whom hee made answer, That hee would not grant it; if the Areuaces and the other rebels their allies did not sue for it all together. Which being knowne vnto them, they all sent their embassadours to intreat the Consul *Marcellus* to referre them to the accord made in former time with *T. Gracchus*, imposing vpon them (according to his clemencie) a tollerable punishment.

There were some people allyed vnto the Romanes, which hauing beene wronged by them, opposed themselves to this demand: wherefore *Marcellus* sent them all to the Senat of Rome. The Senat made no other answer, hauing heard their debate, but that *Marcellus* should tell them what they were to do.

In

A colonie of  
Libertines.

Spaine diuided  
againe into two  
governments.

Ann. Rome 600

The Celtiberians  
and other people  
reare the de-  
manded towne.

The Romanes  
at Ocelis  
change the day  
of entering into  
their charge.

The stronger  
confesse treatie  
as they please.

M. Marcellus  
Consul first yere  
of Spaine.



Ann. Rome 602

17 In the meane time, in the yeare 602, Spaine fell by lot to the Consul *L. Lucullus*, and then they began first to inroll souldiours by lot. *Lucullus* led with him *P. Scipio Emilianus* (he that made himselfe famous by the cusion of Carthage the great, and of Numantia.) *Marcellus* hauing aduertised the Celtiberians of the coming of this Consul, and of the warre which was prepared, he aduised them, before they attended any greater extremitie, to yeeld to his discretion, promising them all good vñage, and reasonable conditions; for he desired to end this war before the coming of *Lucullus*: to the which they did. This *Marcellus* (as *Strabo* writes) did build the citie of Corduba, and imposed a tribute of six hundred talents vpon Spaine, continuing his gouernment a good while after that *Lucullus* was chosen Consul, gouerning as Proconsull.

Corduba built by Marcellus.

Lucullus being chosen judge of the occasion of war.

*Lucullus* finding nothing to doe at his arriual, he laid the foundation of a new warre, being as desirous to make some spoyle (for he was but poore) as to get honour. He entred therefore as an enemy into the Vaccens countrey, who had in no sort offended the Romanes: and hauing passed the riuer of Tayo, he went to besiege Cauca. The inhabitants demanded what he would of them, and why he besieged them. He answered, That they had wronged the Celtiberians, allies to the Romanes, and that he came to reuenge it. Whereupon they retired into their towne, and put themselves in defence. Soone after they fell off suddenly vpon them that went to forrage, and slue a great number. But the Romanes souldiours going forth to succor them, they repulsed the Spaniards, beating them euen vnto their town gates, whereas they smothered one another with the multitude, so as there were about three thousand slaine. Those which remained being amazed with this losse, they sent the next day the most ancient among them, with garlands of oliue branches, desiring *Lucullus* to receive them as friends, and to set downe the conditions; who imposed an hundred talents of siluer, and hostages, commanding them to send their horsemen to the warre with him: which hauing granted, *Lucullus* said, That he would haue them receiue a garison into their towne: where vnto they were also willing to obey, so as presently there were two thousand of the best souldiours in the armie sent, with commandement to leise vpon the ports, towers, and strongest places of the towne: which they did. Then *Lucullus* drew in all the rest of the souldiours, and by the sound of the trumpet, did most cruelly put all the inhabitants to the sword, sparing neither age nor sexe: yet some slipping ouer the walls, and creeping through the prease, escaped, who proclaimed the Romanes treacherie, couerousnesse, and crueltie, throughout all Spaine: whereupon all those that dwelt in the champion countrey, and in places of easie access, retired vnto the mountaines, or into fortified townes; carrying with them what was good and precious: and what they could not carrie they burnt, being loath to leaue any spoyle to so cruell an enemy.

Orriueno bar them laid vpon them by Lucullus.

Lucullus treacherous cruelty against the inhabitants of Cauca.

Truth breeds hatred and hate is the seed which they are sown.

Scipio Emilianus combats with a Spaniard and conquers him valiantly.

Cauca being thus ruined, *Lucullus* led his armie through a great part of the countrey which was barren and desert, vntill he came to the towne of Interctia, where there were some twentie thousand foot and two thousand Spanish horse, gathered together: of whom *Lucullus* demanded indifferently, If they would not come to composition with him. But they asked, If he would receive them with the like faith as he had done them of Cauca? reproaching vnto him with opprobrious words, this treacherous and inhumane fact. Wherewith *Lucullus* being incensed (as commonly all those are which find themselves touched) he spoiled all their countrey, and then besieged them. They knowing there was no reason to come to battell with the Romanes armie, maintained themselves with skirmishes and sudden sallies. During this siege a Spanish cavalier richly armed, and brauely mounted, shewed himselfe often betwixt the armie and the towne, challenging some Romanes to the combat, and seeing that no man durst come forth, he scorned them. But *Scipio Emilianus* being then verie young, grieved to see the Romanes knights thus dishonoured, and hauing leave from the Consul, he went to encounter him, and vanquished him: the which bred admiration in both parties, considering the inequality of the stature of the combatants; for *Scipio* was little, and the Spaniard wonderful great and strong. The Romanes conceiued good hope of this victorie: but in the night they were troubled with the cries of certaine horsemen of the towne, which were gone forth before that *Lucullus* did inuest it, who being the same night returned about the palisades of the Romanes armie, made great cries and shouts, to whom the besieged made answer: so as the Romanes were forced to keepe themselves in armes, not knowing what part to gard: besides,

A sides, they were tyred and growne weake, for that they wanted both bread, wine, oyle, salt and vinegre, liuing only vpon venison, hares, or pouldred flesh, the which bred fluxes, wherof many dyed. Continuing their batterie, they made a great breach, but coming to the assault, (whereas *Scipio* was one of the formost) and being in a manner masters of the towne, they were sharply repulsed: and in their retreat many through ignorance of the place fell into certaine priuies, where they were swallowed vp. The besieged hauing repaired their breach, seemed resolute; but hunger pressing either partie, they could not long dissemble their necessities: so as *Lucullus* perswaded the Spaniards to yeeld, with the best words he could, promising he would not deceiue them, so as in the end they gaue him credit, and yielded, vpon condition to send six thousand archers to the warre with him, giuing a certaine number of cattell, and some hostages. Gold nor siluer (the desire whereof had drawne *Lucullus* into Spaine) there was not any: for the people of that countrey had neuer esteemed it. Matters being thus compounded, the Romanes armie was led against Palantia, a strong and well fortified towne, whither many of the champion countrey, and lesser townes were retired. Most of the colonels and captains were of opinion, That they should not strue in vaine against so mightie a town: but *Lucullus*, a couetous man, knowing it to be exceeding rich, would neuer leaue it vntill that hunger forced him, the horsemen of the towne (which were verie many) falling out daily vpon the Romans which went to forrage. Being thus pressed, he put his armie into battell, and retired, the Palantines following him in the taile, and pursuing him vnto the riuer of Duero, where they left their pursute, and returned. *Lucullus* passing on, led his armie to winter in the countrey of the Turditanes. Thus ended the warre against the Vaccens, for the which (although that *Lucullus* vnderooke it without authoritie or commandement from the Senat and people of Rome) he was neuer called into question.

Interctia taken by composition.

Covetousness, and no desire of honour brought him into Spaine.

Lucullus retires from Palantia with shame.

Lucullus making war without authoritie, is not punished.

18 About that time the Lusitanians, and people of the further Spaine, liuing vnder their owne lawes, had made incursions vpon the friends and allies of the people of Rome, hauing a certaine Africane for their capitaine, and chafed *Atanlius* and *Calphurnius*, Romanes captains, killing about six thousand of their men, with *Terentius Varro*, their Questor or Treasurer. Wherewith this Africane growne proud, he went with a companie of Vectons, a neighbor people, to assaile the town of the Blastophenicians, a people who, they said, were brought and left in Spaine by *Hannibal*. This capitaine being slaine there with a stone, they did presently make choice of one called *Casarus* to be head of their armie: who gaue battell vnto *Mumius* which had bene sent from Rome with an armie; but he lost it: yet seeing that *Mumius* pursued his victorie inconsiderately, he turned head, and repaired his losse, so as he slew nine thousand of the Romanes armie vpon the place, and not onely recovered his owne baggage, but tooke the enemies, and carried away a great number of ensignes, which the Lusitanians dragged vp and downe in scorn of the Romanes. *Mumius* hauing gathered together five thousand souldiours which remained, and reuiued them as well as he could, he found an opportunitie to charge the enemy going to forrage, and did so well, as he slew a great number, and recovered his ensignes.

Romans defeated by the Lusitanians.

Mumius defeats the Spaniards, and is beaten by the vanquished through his own negligence.

Mumius reuenges his losse.

E The Lusitanians which dwelt beyond the riuer of Tayo, hauing in like maner proclaimed warre against the Romanes, and tooke the towne of Conistorgis by assault, a great and strong towne, confederat to the Romanes, they being led by a capitaine called *Causene*: and not content to make a tumult in Spaine, some of them passed the strait at *Hercules* pillars, and went to spoyle Africke: the rest went to assaile Ocile. But *Mumius* arriuing with a thousand foot and five hundred horse, slew about fiftene thousand forragers, and made them to leaue the siege of Ocile. Then going against others, who thought to escape with the prey, hee left not one aliuie to carrie newes of their defeat. Hee distributed the bootie which was portable among his souldiours, and the rest (being consecrated to those gods who hee thought did preiude over the warres) he burnt. After all this, he returned to Rome, and triumphed.

F *Attilius*, or *Acilius Balbus*, succeeded *Mumius*, who at his first arriual cut seuen hundred Lusitanians in peeces, and tooke Oxthrace, being the greatest and richest towne they had, striking terror in all the neighbour people, which submitted themselves to his deuotion as far as the Vectons. But when as *Acilius* had lodged his armie for Winter, they rebelled, and began to annoy them that were friends and confederats to the Romanes: Against whom *Ser. Galba* sent Pretor to succeed *Acilius*, meaning to succour them, made a march of 15 leagues,

K

and



and being come in sight of the enemy, without giuing rest to the souldiours, he led them G to fight, and vanquished happily. But as the Romanes pursued the flying enemy in disorder, and made many stands being wearie, the Lusitanians turning head, slue seven thousand, and forced *Galba* to die with his horsemen into Carmel, whither many that had escaped were retired: who hauing rallied them together, and leued twentie thousand men of their confederats, he wintered at Cunes. The Consul *Lucullus* who wintered in Turditania, hearing that the Lusitanians were in armes, he sent the best of his captains against them, and slue foure thousand of them, and afterwards hauing made a new head neere vnto Gades, hee cut fise thousand and fise hundred in peeces. And as *Galba* on his side pressed these people, they sent embassadors vnto him, seeming desirous to enjoy the accord made before with *Attilius*. H *Galba* made shew to pitie them, and to excuse their excesse for that pouertie had made them to breake the treaties, and to steale: saying, That he knew well that the Barbarians of the country was the cause of these inconueniences: but if they had a true intent to be friends, he would diuide them into three troupes, and send them into fertile places to lue in. The Lusitanians being woom with these promises, put themselves into three troupes, and suffered themselves to be led to the places assigned by *Galba*, who spake vnto the first, as if they were in full peace, injoyning them to leaue their arms; which hauing done, he caused them all to be massacred: and with the like fraud and cruelty he defeated the other two troupes, before they could haue any newes of the slaughter of their companions. Many slipping through the armed troupes, escaped; among the which was *Viriatus*, who reuenged the trecherie & crueltie I of the Romanes against his country-men. *Galba* shewing himselfe as treacherous, and it may be more couetous than *Lucullus*, hauing filled his cofers with the spoyles of Lusitania, wherof he did defraud both his friends and souldiours, returned to Rome, where he was called in question for his abuses: but being the richest man in the citie, he escaped by bribes.

20 The Lusitanians which remained of *Lucullus* and *Galbaes* treacheries, assembled together to the number of ten thousand, and did ouerturn the country of Turditania: against whom the Pretor *C. Vestilius* was sent; who hauing joyned the armie which hee brought from Rome, with the forces he found in Spaine, he went against them which spoiled their friends country, and slew many of them, forcing the rest to retire to the side of a hill, where he besieged them, so as they must either end their dayes by hunger or by the sword: wherefore they resolved to sue for mercie, and to intreat him to appoint them a country to dwell in; the which he willingly granted. But *Viriatus* being in this besieged companie, who had escaped from *Galbaes* slaughter, began to speake in this manner. How wretched are we, that hauing so often tried the treacherie of these Romanes, we will againe offer our throats vnto them, and be murdered by them, vnder the sweetnesse of their false promises? Do we not know that they with whom we haue now to deale, are the same who by their notable treacherie haue slaine our brethren and companions? Were it not better to keepe our armes, and selling our liues at a deere rate, let them seele that we are men, than suffering our selues to be disarmed by a foolish credulitie, to bee afterwards slaine like beasts at the slaughter? No, my companions, let vs not commit so grosse an error, as to despair in that sort: let vs rather trie to force vs a passage, and you shall find the difficultie is not so great as you imagine, if you do what I shall aduise you. This souldiour speaking with a great courage, reuiued their spirits, who with one voice cried out vnto him, That in a good houre he should be their captain, and that he should lead them whither he should thinke good. Then he put them all in battell, except some thousand of the best appointed, which he kept with himselfe, and then he commaunded euerie one to siege, appointing their Rendezvous at Tribola. *Vestilius* was in doubt to pursue them that fled, thinking it the safest course to assaile *Viriatus*, & his thousand souldiours which were in battell on the side of the hill. But they hauing spent that day and a part of the next, in making a shew that they would fight with the Romanes, easily freed themselves, being well mounted, and knowing the country; and then came to Tribola: and so this Spaniish armie was preserved by the judgement and resolution of *Viriatus*, who of a shepheard became a huntman, then afterwards a theefe, lastly he was head of an armie, and was in possibility to make himselfe king of Spaine. This action did win him much credit and reputation among the neighbour nations. *Vestilius* meaning to pursue him, fell into ambushes which he had laied in a certaine passage covered with wood: so as being charged in front by *Viriatus* his horsemen, and on either side by his footmen, the Roman armie was wholly defeated, and the

Pre-

*Galba being victor defeated by his rash purpose.*

*The treacherie of Serg. Galba.*

*Viriatus incensed by his companions not to trust the Romanes.*

*Viriatus distrustful by the Lusitanians being deceived by the Pretor.*

*The Pretor Vestilius defeated and taken prisoner by Viriatus.*

A Pretor *Vestilius* found among the prisoners, who being scorded as a man of no value by him that had taken him, for that he was old and fat, he was instantly slaine. The Romanes which escaped at this rout, gathered head at Tarteffe, being some 6000 men, whom *Vestilius*, Questor or Treasurer, caused to rest for a time: and hauing made a new leuie of 5000 of their allies, he sent them all to encounter *Viriatus*, but there returned not one, being all cut in peeces: whereupon the Questor kept himselfe within the wals, attending to be relieved by some other Roman armie. In the meane time *Viriatus* spoiled the fertile fields of the Carpetanians.

21 Then came *C. Plautius* for Pretor, bringing ten thousand foot, and thirteene hundred horse from Rome: Whereof *Viriatus* being aduertised, he made shew to siege, after whom *Plautius* sent 4000 of his best men, who were suddenly charged by them that fled before them, and were in a manner all slaine. *Viriatus* passing beyond the river of Tayo, went and fought in a certaine mountaine full of oliues, called Venus mount: whereas *Plautius* burning with desire of reuenge for their former losses, was vanquished again with great losse, and forced to retire before his time, and winter in his forts, not daring to shew himselfe in field: so as *Viriatus* did run ouer all the country at his pleasure, and ranfomed the townes which would saue their come, and other fruits which was readie to gather; else he let fire of it.

22 *Claudius Virmannus*, an other Pretor, being sent against this captain, was also defeated, in creating the disgrace receiued by his predecessors: where he lost all the forces which he had brought. The rods and axes, the coats of armes of Capraines, and other spoiles taken from the Romans, were hung vp by *Viriatus* in the mountaines, in signe of his victories. And some after 300 Lusitanians hauing encountered 1000 Romanes in a certaine strait, the Romanes lost 320 of their men, and the others but 70: besides, as the Romanes horsemen pursued some Lusitanians on foot which retired, one of the troupe turning head, thrust a Romanes horse through with a pike, and presently struck off the mans head with his sword; wherat the rest being amazed, they staied, and pursued not this Lusitanian, who retired softly mocking them.

23 After *C. Virmannus* mention is made of *C. Nigidius*, who was sent Pretor into the further Spaine, and was as vnfortunate as the rest.

24 *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *L. Hostilius* being Consuls, *C. Lelius* was sent Pretor into Spaine, against *Viriatus*, who managred the warre with great wildome; but as the daunger increased, and manie people of Spaine moued with the valour and fortune of *Viriatus* rebelled, the Senat of Rome decreed that one of the Consuls should goe in person to that warre, with a Consular armie: so as *Q. Fab. Maximus* & *Emilius*, sonne to *Paulus* & *Emilius* (who subdued *Perseus* king of Macedonie) was sent thither; a Captaine instructed in the seuer discipline of his father: who hauing leued two legions of new souldiours, with some bands of their allies, he led some 15000 foot, and 2000 horse into Spaine. Being arrived at Orfone, a towne in Spaine, he would not expose his new souldiours, which had not been tryed in any encounters, but kept them within their forts, and by little and little trayned them with light skirmishes: but *Viriatus* carried awaie both spoyle and honor for the first yeare. But *Fabius* charge being prolonged, and he remaining Proconsull in Spaine, supposing that his armie was now sufficiently trayned, he went to field, and vanquished *Viriatus* in a set battaile, tooke two townes from him, and pursued him to a place called Becor. After this exploit he led his armie to winter at Cordoue.

26 *Viriatus* finding himselfe neither so safe nor so strong as he was wont, he solicited the A-reuaces, Belles, and Tithes, a warlike people, and drew them from the Romanes alliance. These did raise a long and dangerous warre, which was called the Numantine; by reason of Numance one of their townes. *Viriatus* had *Quintius*, a Roman captaine, against him in an other quarter, by whom he was put to rout, & forced to retire into his fort on mount Venus: yet making roads from thence hee slue 1000 of *Quintius* souldiours at one time, tooke some engines, and in the end made the enemies armie retire: besides, he chased away the garrison which was in Ituca, and spoiled the Bastrans country: during which disorders *Quintius* kept himselfe within Cordoue, either for cowardise, or want of judgement, sending a captaine of the towne of Italique in Spaine against the enemy. *Q. Metellus* the Consull, was sent into Celtiberia, who subdued the Vaccaces with great expedition, and continued his government about a yeare.

K ij

Q. Fab.

*Another defeat of the Romanes.*

*C. Plautius defeated by Viriatus.*

*C. Virmannus defeated by Viriatus.*

*An. Roma 608.*

*Q. Fab. Max. Consul sent against Viriatus.*

*Q. Fab. Max. defeats Viriatus.*

Ann. Roma 610

The Consul Ser-  
uilius deſcend  
ed by the Senat  
of Rome, who  
gave him peace.

Fannius deſcend  
ed by the Senat  
of Rome, who  
gave him peace.

The exploits of  
Q. Fab. Max.  
Seruilius as  
Proconſull.

Seueri Exerci-  
tus of Spaniſh  
prifoners.

Metellus ſeueri-  
ty againſt ſou-  
diers who had  
abandoned their  
garrils.

His humanity  
to poore ſer-  
uants.

Metellus ſeekes  
to diſſuade his  
prifoners com-  
ing with the pri-  
ſons of the pub-  
like.

27 *Q. Fab. Maximus Seruilius*, being Conſul, ſucceeded *Quintius*, and went into Spaine with an armie according to his dignitie, making about 16000 foot and 1600 horſe: he alſo ſent to *Micſip* king of the Numidians for elephants. As this Conſull conducted a part of his armie to Iuſta, *Viriatus* came and charged him with 6000 men, making horrible cries, and wearing long locks, after the accuſtomed manner of theſe barbarians in their warres, whom the Romans withſtood with great difficultie: but when as the reſt of their armie was ioyned with them; and that ten elephants were arrived out of Lybia with 300 horſes, the Conſul *Seruilius* went and prouoked the enemy to fight, vanquiſhed him, and put him to flight: yet he could not ſo well conteyne his men, but they purſued in diſorder and conſuſion, as if ſals out often: ſo as *Viriatus* watchfull vpon all occaſions, turned head vpon them that purſued, ſlue a great number, and purſued the reſt vnto their campe: the which he attempted to force, and without the vertue of *Fannius*, father in law to *C. Lelius*, he had entred, to the totall ruine of the Romane armie. Night approaching, made the enemy retire, leaving the Romanes much troubled and amazed. But afterwards *Viriatus*, a man without reſt, moleſted them day and night, ſometimes by his ſouldiours lightly armed, ſometimes by his horſemen, untill that he forced the Conſull to diſlodge, and to retyre to Iuſta. Then he tooke the waie of Luſitania, being in ſome extremitie for want of victuals, and his forces decreaſing. The Conſull following him, and not able to ouertake him, made warre againſt the Betarians, dwelling in the countrey which is now called *Extrema Dura*: and cauſed ſixe townes to be ſackt, for that they had giuen ayde and fauour to *Viriatus*: then he retires to Cunes, from whence he marched ſoone after againſt *Viriatus* in Luſitania: and encountering *Curius* and *Apuleius*, two captaines of thees vpon the waie, hauing with them 10000 fighting men, the Romane armie was ſomewhat troubled; yet *Curius* was ſlaine in the fight: after which the Romanes got the aduantage, ſo as *Seruilius* took *Eſcadie*, *Gemelle*, & *Oboliola*, by force, with other places held by the garrifons of *Viriatus*, whereof ſome were abandoned to the ſpoyle, others were pardoned: he tooke tenne thouſand priſoners, whereof ſixe hundred were beheaded, the reſt he cauſed to be ſould: and with this good fortune he retyred his armie the ſecond time to winter, and then returned to Rome.

28 *Q. Caecilius Metellus* hauing prorogation of his charge in the hither Spaine or Celtiberia, in qualitie of Proconſull, he beſieged *Trebia*, a rich towne of that countrey, the which he tooke by his politike ſtratagem. It happened during this ſiege, that ſixe companies being ſet in gard in a certaine place, were diſlodged by the enemy: *Metellus* ſhewed himſelfe ſo ſeuere, as he would not receiue them, but commaunded them to returne to the place, vneleſſe they would be vſed as traitors, and as men that had abandoned the armie: the which he did to make them feele the paine of their cowardie, commaunding to cut them in pieces that ſhould ſlie towards the campe. Theſe ſouldiours forced by neceſſitie, ſhewed themſelues valiant, and recovered the place from whence they had bin chaſed. Beſieging *Centobrica*, the chiefe man within the towne, called *Rhetogenes*, retyred to the Romane campe, where-with the inhabitants being much incensed, they ſet this fugitiues children vpon the walles, whereas the Romanes engins did batter: the which did fo moue *Metellus* to pittie, as he left the ſiege, forbearing rather to take the towne, than to kill theſe poore innocent creatures, which act of humanity, did much daunt the Celtiberians, ſo as from that time they were more tractable. Being demanded to what end hee made ſo manie turnings and windings with his armie, he answered, that if he thought his ſhirt knew his conceptions he would burne it. The glorie of his great exploits in Spaine, were blemiſhed by the enuie he bare to *Q. Pompeius* his enemy, who he vnderſtood ſhould ſucceed him in his charge: to the end hee ſhould find all things difficult, he gaue leaue to all ſouldiours that demanded it, without inquirie of the cauſe: he ſuffered them to ſpoyle the victuals and munition which remained; he commaunded the Candiot archers, to breake their bows and arrows, and did forbid to giue the elephants their ordinary allowance. Hauing thus ſatiſfied his ſpleene, he did fruſtrat himſelfe of his triumph, which hee had deſerued by ſo many glorious deeds, knowing better how to ſurmout his enemies, then his owne choler.

29 *Q. Fab. Maximus Rutilianus*, or *Seruilius* according vnto ſome, Proconſull, made warre in the meane time againſt *Viriatus*: and hauing taken a commander among the theues called *Connoba*, by his voluntarie yeelding, he pardoned him: but he cauſed all his ſouldiours hands

A hands to be cut off, and afterwards puniſhed as many of the reuolted as he could take, in the like manner. He beſieged the towne of *Eriſane*, into the which *Viriatus* found means to enter by night: from whence at the breake of day he ſallied with great furie, with a troupe of their beſt men, and not onely chaſed away ſuch as wrought in the ditches & trenches, but alſo ſome companies which were ſet there to gard them, with great slaughter: yet *Viriatus* thinking now of the change of humane things, and of the miſeries which doe often follow proſperitie, vſing his good fortune with modeſtie, he began to giue care to conditions of peace, the which he obtained verie fauourable, both from the Proconſull and Senat, whom they called a friend to the people of Rome, and decreed, That ſuch as had followed him, ſhould enjoy the land: they then held: wherefore this dangerous war ſeemed to be ended, but ſoon after it was renewed.

30 *Q. Cæpio* Conſul being come into the further Spaine, ſucceſſor to the Proconſul *Q. Fabius*, began to blame the capitulations made with *Viriatus*, as vnworthy of the honor & greatneſſe of Rome, and had now got leaue of the Senat, to moleſt *Viriatus* vnder hand, that hee might take ſome ſubieſt to rebell. Then by his importune letters and many meſſages, hee obtained a decree, to proclaim war againſt him: whereupon he went to beſiege *Aſta*, the which yielded of Toledo ſpoyleing and burning all he left behind him: yet hee was followed and ouertaken by the Conſull, but being a politike captaine, he would not hazard a battell, being but weak in regard of the Romane armie, but gaue leaue to moſt of his ſouldiours to ſlip away by certaine vallies covered with woods; and he himſelfe in the meane time preſented himſelfe vnto the enemy in a ſtrong place, with ſome troups to keepe them occupied, untill he thought his men were retired into a place of ſafetie. Then he ſuddenly vaniſhed by ſecret paſſages, beſt knowne to himſelfe, leauing the Romanes amazed which way he ſhould fly. *Cæpio* marching towards the *Veſtons*, and the *Calliaques*, ſpoiled their fields. At the ſame time did riſe other troups of thees in Luſitania, after the example of *Viriatus*, againſt whom (according vnto ſome) *Brutus* was ſent. *Viriatus* deſiring to come vnto the former accord, foreſeeing that in the end he ſhould not be able to reſiſt the Roman power, ſent *Audax*, *Ditalcon*, and *Minure*, three of his moſt familiar friends, vnto *Cæpio*, to treat an accord with him: but *Cæpio* corrupted them with great gifts and promiſes, perſuading them to murder their captaine; the which they did execute in this manner. *Viriatus* was one that ſlept little, and for that hee would be readie for all accidents, he ſlept moſt commonly armed, giuing free acceſſe in the night to all his friends. *Audax* and his confederats inbracing this opportunitie, came into his tent, vnder colour of ſpeaking with him concerning ſome great affaires: and finding him aſleepe all armed but the throat, they ſtabd him in that place, and ſlew him. And then without any noiſe (being aſſured they had diſpatched him) they retired to the Conſul *Cæpio*: who gaue them leaue to enjoy the poſſeſſions which they then held, but as for gifts and recompences which he had promiſed, he ſent them to the Senat. At the breake of day *Viriatus* ſeruants and the whole armie, wondering that he ſlept ſo long, contrarie to his cuſtome, ſome going in, found him wallowing in his owne bloud; which filled the whole campe with griefe & teares, who beſides their heauineſſe for the vnworthy death of ſo valiant a man, they were in care of their own preſeruations, and for the dangers which did inuirow them. Beſides, they were the more diſcontented, that the traitors were eſcaped. Wherefore taking his bodie, and wrapping it in a rich cloth, they laid it vpon a high pile, and hauing ſacrificed many beaſts, they did celebrate his funerals, after their manner, the ſouldiours both horſe and foot running about the fire, and filling the aire with the name of *Viriatus*, untill the fire had conſumed all: after which in memorie of his name, they had ſword plaiers which did fight for their liues. Thus *Viriatus* ended his dayes, being deſired and lamented of all his ſouldiours, for that in war he was the firſt in danger, but when it came to diuide the ſpoyle, he was but equall, & it may be inferior to all theſe: and he had that happineſſe about moſt captaines, that hauing an armie of diuers nations, he led them to the wars for the ſpace of eight yeares, without any mutinie or ſedition among his ſouldiours, who in *Viriatus* place choſe *Tantalus* for their captaine, verie contrarie to him in manners and vertue. This fact did purchaſe no leſſe infamie to *Cæpio*, than to the traitours which did execute it. *Tantalus* was ſo preſt by him, as he left both armes and armie, vpon compoſition, to whom there were certaine lands appointed; ſo as for a time the Luſitanians contained themſelues in peace.

Fab. Max. deſcend  
ed by the Senat  
of Spaniards.

Viriatus ſeueri-  
ty againſt the Senat  
of Rome, who  
gave him peace.

Ann. Roma 613

Q. Cæpio broadly  
the traitors made  
with V. iratus.

Barbarians caſt  
to corrupt with  
money.

Viriatus vran-  
cheuſly mur-  
dered by the  
diſhonour of ſlue  
Rome, and of  
the Conſul Cæpio  
Traitors decei-  
ued by him that  
ſuborned them.

Viriatus lament-  
ed of his ſouldi-  
ours for his vau-  
lous and bounde



## THE FOURTH BOOKE OF the Historie of Spaine.

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Quintus

A 1



**P**ompeius Aulus Consull, in the yeare 612 comming very late in his Prouince, and hauing receiued an armie but in bad equipage from the hands of Q. Metellus, he went to beseech the Numantines; for of all the townes against whom Metellus had made warre, only Numantia and Thermancia continued in armes: Thermancia was strong by nature, situated among the woods and betwixt two riuers, and therefore of hard access: wherefore hee went first to Numantia, in the

which there were eight thousand of the best and most resolute fouldiours that were in all Spaine, as the Romanes found by experience. The Romane armie was in all about thirtie thousand foot and two thousand horse. Being at this siege, the Romane foragers were charged by a suddaine fallie of the besieged, so as many of them were slaine vpon the place. Pompey was then absent; who being aduertised of this rout, hastened to the campe: but the Numantines notwithstanding his diligence retired without losse, and continued daily to skirmish with the fouldiours, and to haue the aduantage: wherewith Pompey being discontented, he left it, and would attempt Thermancia, to see if he could repaire his honour, and get some profit: but he lost seuen hundred of his best men at the first encounter, and they chased a Colonel, which conducted victuals to the campe. Soone after hee had a third rout, with the losse of many horse and foot, and with such an amazement of all the rest of the armie, as they stood all night in armes; and day being come, the Thermantines running vnto their trenches, and pro- uoking the enemy, they fought with equall aduantage all day long, vntill night. Whereup- on Pompey did also dislodge from thence, and marched towards Malia, a little towne held by a garrison of the Numantines; the which was yeilded by the treason of the inhabitants, ha- uing slaine the fouldiours which were set there to gard it: where hauing left some companies, after that he had disarmed the inhabitants, he marched towards Sederane, to defend it from the spoiles of Tangin, capitaine of the theues, whom he defeated and tooke prisoner, with a great number of his fouldiours, but he could neither draw ransom nor seruice from them: for these Barbarian captiues entred into such a rage, as in a manner they all slew themselves, or

murdered their masters which had bought them; being vnable to endure seruitude: yea, some were so malicious, as passing the riuers, they made holes in boats, so as they sunke with their burthens. After all this, Pompey would needs returne to Numantia, where he sought to diuert the course of the riuier of Duero, which passed along the towne, that hee might cut off their passage for victuals. The inhabitants and fouldiours within the towne fighting against his designs, repulsed both them that were at worke, and those that garded them, or that came to succour them; and in many skirmishes and fallies they flew many Romane horsemen, with Oppius, a Colonell of a thousand foot: and in another place, at a trench which the Romanes had made, the Numantines falling forth suddainely, slew foure hundred men, with the ouer- seer of the worke.

During these exploits, there arriued certaine Romane Senatours at the campe, with some new bands, to supply the places of the old fouldiours, which desired to be dismissed, hauing serued fix yeares in those warres. Pompey being ashamed of his bad successe, did that which his predecessors had not yet done, continuing his siege before Numantia all the Winter: so as many which were not accustomed to the raine, snow, and cold of that Region, died of collicks and paine in their bellies. Besides, he had another rout, seeking to succour his fouldiours which were gone to forrage, whereas he lost many, as well of the Roman nobilitie, as of priuat fouldiours: so as tyred and wasted with so many losses, he was forced to retire and to lodge his armie, attending him that should come to succede him in the Spring. But fearing to be censured, for that hee had managed that warre so ill, hee resolved to make a kind of composition with them of Numantia: who being much weakened with the miseries which they had endured, and fearing they should be distressed for victuals, liuing in a barren country, they consented to send embassadours to Pompey, who in open shew demanded, That they should yeeld vnto the Romanes discretion; but vnder hand he graunted many of their demands, drawing from them some talents, certaine hostages, and them that were reuolted. There remained yet some part of the composition money to pay, for the which Pompey stayed, when as M. Popilius Lenas a Consull arriued in Spaine to succede him. Then Pompey being freed from the care of the waire, denied that he had accorded any thing vnto the Numantines, notwithstanding

Numantia at- tempted in vain by Q. Pom- peius.

Q. Pompeius repays from Thermancia,

The barbarian impietie of ser- uitude, by self-mur- der.

Negligence and cowardise of captiues poin- ting sometimes as Rome.

Diffimulation of Pompey to couer his faults.

Anno, Roma 614 Pompey dash impudently de- cline the Numantines.

2  
Popilius Lenas  
superior in  
the warre of  
Numantia.

standing that many captaines and Romane Senatours did affirme the contrarie: Whereupon G  
Popilius sent this controuersie to Rome vnto the Senat, whereas the embassadours of Numantia and Pompey did plead: but the Senate was of opinion not to confirme any thing that Pompey had done, and that the warre should continue against the Numantines. Popilius then continuing warre against them, did nothing that was memorable, although his charge were prolonged, but lost his honour, and many good fouldiors.

4  
dum, Rome 615

3 During his time, the Lusitanians hauing rebelled againe, D. Iunius Brutus was sent into the further Spaine. Others say, That he did execute that which followes, vnder the Confull Q. Cæpio, and that he was sent by him as his Lieutenant, by reason of the distance of places betwixt the riuers of Betis, Anas, Tagus, Durius, and Lethes, by which the theues escaped, and made suddaine incursions, not onely molesting them that pursued them, but also putting them out of hope to take them, by reason of the strength of the places. Brutus therefore tooke this course, he would not trouble himselfe in running after these nimble fellows, who knew all the meanes to escape; but went directly to their owne country, that he might in one expedition both punish them, and enrich his fouldiors with their spoyle; assuring himselfe, they would come to defend their holes: wherein he was nothing deceived: for both men and women came running to repulse the Romane armie, fighting with a desperat furie: so as being halfe dead, dismembred, or covered with wounds, they were neuer heard grone: yet many lesse couragious, taking vp as much as they could carrie, fled to the mountains, whom Brutus afterwards (vpon their suite) pardoned. Hauing passed the riuier of Duero, he subdued many people, and tooke hostages, and was the first of all the Romans which led an armie beyond the riuier of Lethes, called Limia, where he assailed the Brecaires, a people of Galicia, who had spoiled the viuallers comming to his campe. This nation was accustomed to lead their wiues to the warre, and both men and women did fight so obstinately, as they were neuer fene to turne their backs, nor call out any cries vnworthie of fouldiors for any wounds which they received. The women that were taken prisoners, slew themselves and their children, rather than to be slaues. Many of their towne and retreats yielded vnto Brutus, but he was constrained to subdue them againe; for finding him somewhat retired, they rebelled againe. The inhabitants of Talabrica in another part of the prouince made trial of the magnanimitie and clemencie of the ancient Romanes: for being often reuolted, and hauing abused the pardon which he had given them, Brutus hauing forced them to yeeld to his discretion, demanded first the fugitiues, and then the prisoners taken in warre. Then he disarmed them, and tooke the chiefe among them for hostages: which done, hee made them all goe out of the towne, with their wiues and children, and hauing caused them to be enuironed by the armed bands, hee spake vnto them, reproching them with their many rebellions and ingratitude; for the which they attended no lesse than the sentence of death: but he ended his speech with reproches and bitter words, and then beyond all hope sent them home to their houses, depriving them onely of their armes, horses, and other equiPAGEage for warre, and of, their common treasure. They write, That he did assigne lands for them that had serued Virriatus in the warre, and that he gaue them the towne of Valencia in Lusitania to dwell in. This yeare C. Marienus being accused at Rome, That he had abandoned the army, whereof he had charge in Spaine, was beaten with rods, and sold for a Sexterce (which in our English money is a penny) by a decree of the people.

Expulsi of D.  
Brutus the  
Conful.

The obstinate  
courage of the  
Lusitanians.  
Brutus the first  
Roman that en-  
tered with an ar-  
my into Galicia.  
Women in Spaine  
warriors and  
valiant.

Brutus magnani-  
mity and cle-  
mencie to rebels.

A worthy puni-  
shment of a  
cowardly cap-  
taine.

Expulsi Man-  
cius superio-  
r in Spaine.

As for Popilius, who made warre against the Numantines, or rather they made warre against him, he returned to Rome, at the comming of the Confull C. Hostilius Mancinus, who was also-  
gether vnfortunat in his enterprises: the which was signified vnto him by presages, before he came out of Italie: for as he tooke shipping at Port Hercules, there was a strange voice heard, saying, Mancinus stay; and as hee tooke port at Genes, there was a great Snake found in his ship, the which escaped. He was beaten euery where by the Numantines, hauing thirtie thousand men in his armie. Being terrified with a bruit, That the Cantabrians and Vacceans came to succour Numantia, he fled in the night into desert places, whereas Nobilior had encamped in former time, and there without any munition or rampier, he was the next morning found and besieged by the enemy, and constrained to capitulate a peace with them vpon like conditions, ingaging his faith to make them be ratified by the Senate. Tib. Gracchus (who was afterwards blaine) being Tribune of the people, then Quæstor in this armie, was the negotiator of

A of this peace: who was so fauoured by the Numantines, as they hauing spoiled the Romanes campe, and among other things carried away the accompts, quitrances, and other papers of Gracchus, they restored them to him againe very willingly. Although this composition were ignominious, yet did it saue the liues of twentie thousand Romane citizens: VVhich being knowne at Rome, M. Emilius Lepidus the other Confull was presently sent into Spaine, and M. Emilius called home to Rome, to giue an account of his action, the Numantine warre remaining for a time suspended. By reason whereof, M. Emilius being impatient to remaine in the Prouince idle (for captaines neuer goe to the warre, but to get honour and profit) whilest that Mancinus proceſſe was in hand, and that hee had received newes, hee began to molest the Vacceans, saying, That they had relieved the Numantines, and vnder that pretext besieged Palantia, their chiefe towne, being strong and rich, calling D. Brutus his father in law to assist him at this worke, who had his charge proroged in qualitie of Proconfull of the further Spaine. The Senate aduertised hereof, sent Cinna and Cæsius embassadours into Spaine, to let him vnderstand, That the Romanes did not hold it conuenient (after so many losses) to attempt a new warre, and presented vnto him the Senates decree, by the which he was forbidden to make warre against the Vacceans. Emilius (who had already begun the siege) answered, That the Senate was not well informed how matters passed in Spaine, nor how that he had joynd his forces with those of Brutus: and that he was well assured, that the Vacceans had relieved the Numantines with victuals, men, and money: that if he should retyre in that fort, it would be a dishonour, and that many of their allies would take occasion thereby to quit the Romanes friendship, and to contemne them. With these reasons (the which the Confull did also write vnto the Senat) Cinna returned. Then did the Confull Emilius Lepidus and Brutus the Proconfull busie themselves to plant many engines to batter the towne, and to furnish their armie with victuals. Flaccus (who was Commisſarie general of the campe) causing great store of corne to be brought, was surprisid by the enemy, and so enclosed, as it was impossible to escape: but he by a singular policie caused it to be bruited among his troupes, That the Confull had taken Palantia, the which did so amaze the enemies, as with a foolish credulitie they quit their prey, and retyred. The siege of Palantia growing tedious, the Romane armie began to suffer so much, as both men and beasts perished for hunger: so as in the end he was forced to leaue the siege, and retyre in the night, in great disorder: for there were many sicke men, who desired them not to abandon them to the enemies sword; which moued all men to pite: and therefore it was a great hinderance vnto the armie, being pursued by the Palantines: who loosing this wished opportunitee, returned, as if some Angell had stood before them, to prevent the totall ruine of the Romane armie: yet Paulus Oroſius writes, That there were six thousand men slaine, and that the rest were put in rout, and saued themselves without armes. M. Emilius Lepidus being called to Rome by reason of these errors, was degraded and condemned in a great fine. Brutus continuing in his charge of Proconfull in the further Spaine, spent much time to order things in his Prouince, and afterwards triumphed at Rome: he was afterwards called Callique or Gallique, E for that he had subdued the people of Galicia.

As for the question betwixt Mancinus and the embassadours of Numantia, it was judged, That the accord made without the authoritie of the Senat should bee void, and they decreed, That Mancinus, who was bound vnto the Numantines, should be delivered vnto them, to dispose of him at their pleasure, after the example of the ancient Romanes, who had for the like offence delivered twentie captaines vnto the Samnites. According vnto which decree, Mancinus was brought into Spaine by P. Furius Philus or Philo, Confull in the yeare 617, and was delivered by him naked and bound vnto the Numantines, who refused him. This Furius in a brauerie made Q. Metellus and Q. Pompeius Consular men, and his enemies, come with him into Spaine, to serue him as his Lieutenants: and this yeare the warre was managed in Spaine with three Consular armies: but P. Furius did nothing that was memorable. After whom, Q. Calphurnius Piso came into the Prouince: who hauing overrun the territorie of Palantia, and taken some little prey, he spent the rest of his time shut vp in Carpetania: and this yeare the Romanes received a rout by them of the towne of Numantia.

*Scipio Emilianus  
sent into  
Spain.*

*Scipio reforms  
the army.*

*The patternes  
of a good  
and wise captain.*

*A good begin-  
ning is of great  
importance in  
matters of war.*

*The Palantines  
mightie among  
the Spaniards.*

*The foresight of  
Scipio.*

6 The people of Rome being wearie of this Numantine warre, which grew daily more difficult, in the year 619 they did chuse *P. Corn. Scipio Emilianus*, called *Africanus*, Consul, for that some few years before hee had ruined the mightie citie of Carthage; vnto whom Spaine was giuen without lot: whither he went with some volunaries, and a small number of his friends, being some foure thousand men; for Spaine had too many fouldiors, and wanted onely good captaines. He gaue this troupe in charge to *Buteon* his nephew, and he himselfe went speedily before. Being arrived in Spaine, he found what he had heard before; That the armie was very ill disciplined: Wherefore holding it a part of great wisdom first of all to reforme the corrupt manners of the fouldiors, as soone as he arrived, he chased out of the campe all merchants, strumpets, tellers of fortune, and the new superstitious sacrificers; to which things the fouldiors were too much giuen: he cut off their caris and baggage, forbidding them to bring any thing into the campe that was not necessarie. He did forbid beds, and he himselfe gaue example vnto others, lying vpon coverings spread vpon girts. Finally, he set such an order among the fouldiours (submitting himselfe vnto the rigour of his owne ordinances, as in a short time they became modest, temperate, and obedient. Then hee began to traine them in warlike exercises, remoouing his campe often, whereas he caused the fouldiours to digge and make rampiers, himselfe being alwaies present, from the day breake to the Sunne set; and commonly he made them to march in a square bataile, punishing any one that went out of his ranke. Hee went about his armie to see if they marched in good order, and if he found any sicke or tyred, he set them on horsebacke, causing others to alight: and he was no lesse just vnto beasts: for if there were any horses overladen, he distributed their superfluous burthens among the footmen. Hee appointed euery man his charge and office, and limited a time for the finishing of their workes, which they might not neglect. When as he found his fouldiours sufficiently inured to labour, and accustomed to obey their commanders, then he came to encampe neere vnto Numantia, whereas he would not lodge his armie in quarters, as others before him had done, but kept it all vnted, that the enemy should get no aduantage of him in the beginning; the which is of great consequence. He had no will to suffer any one to goe forth to skirmish, vntill he was well informed how to make warre with that people, of the opportunities he must seeke, and of their manner of proceeding, their counsels and resolutions; keeping the enemy by that meanes from straying abroad, and maintaining the country, which was behind his armie, assured for his forragers: saying alwayes, That light skirmishes affected vpon brauerie, without necessitie, should be rejected by a wise and expert captaine, who should respect nothing but necessitie, profit, and occasion, and then he should shew himselfe courageous and hardie. When as he saw a conuenient time, hee marched with his armie, and taking a great circuit, he came and encamped in the territorie of the Vacceans, from whence the Numantines had their victuals. There hee wasted the country, burning all that could not serue to feed his armie. Not farre from Palantia is a place called Coplain, where behind a hill the Palantines had lodged a great troupe of men, hauing in the meane time sent out some companies against the Romanes, which went to forrage the country: for whose guard *Scipio* sent *Rutilius Rufus* with foure bands of horsemen, who repulsed the enemy, but with such an inconsiderat heat, as they were carried pell-mell vnto the top of the hill, where they discovered the enemies which lay in ambush: Then *Rufus* commanded his men to make a stand, and to cease their pursuite, for they were to defend themselves: from which danger they were freed by the Consul *Scipio*, who arrived with the rest of the horsemen: for hearing that the enemy began to flye at the sight of *Rufus*, hee doubted there was some stratageme. Being aduertised, that there were some ambushes prepared at the passage of the riuer, which was full of mud, he tooke another way, and spared not his fouldiours paines to free them from danger. In this long and drie passage he digged Wells for to ease his fouldiours, being oppressed with the violent heat, but they found the waters bitter. In the end he came into a more fertile country, with the losse onely of some horses and beafts of carriage.

Passing by the territorie of Cauca, whereas *Lucullus* had made that great slaughter, hee made

*Scipio repaires  
Lucullus fort.*

*Scipio shows vp  
the Numantines*

*Scipio seeks to  
take away the  
hope of the rescue  
from the Numantines.*

*Resolution of  
Rhetogenes the  
Numantine.*

*Scipio's cruel  
execution vpon  
rebells.*

*An ill aduised  
and inuoluntarie  
embassage.*

A made proclamations, That the Caucians which were absent might returne freely to their lands, and from thence he led his armie to winter in the territorie of the Numantines, whereas *Agurthe*, grand child to *Maximilla*, came vnto him, bringing certaine companies of archers and casters with slings, with twelue Elephants. In this place some Romanes forraging and spoiling the neighbour country, were surprised in a Bourg, behind the which the enemies lay hidden in a valley; who were repulsed by *Scipio*s speedie coming to assist them, but he had no will to pursue them. Approching soone after to Numantia, he besieged it with two camps; one of the which was commanded by *Q. Fab. Maximus* his brother. There the besieged made many sallies, prouoking the Romanes to skirmish: but the Consul laughed at them, saying, it had bene a great indiscretion in him to fight with desperat and mad men, whom he was assured to take in a short time by famine. He vndertooke to cast a ditch and a rampier of a league and a halfe compass about the towne: for the defence of which worke, hauing set gards in conuenient places, he commanded euery man to be carefull in his quarter, and that when as the enemy should offer to charge in one place, that suddainly they should in the day time hang vp a red cloth on a pike, and in the night make a fire, that he and his brother might come to succour them. This worke being finished, without it he drew another ditch, making a wall with piles, of eight foot broad and ten high, the which he flanked with towers a hundred and twentie foot one from another: and for that there was a marish ground on the one side, he caused a caufey to bee rayfed of the height of this wall, which joynted vnto it. The riuer of Duero running through these rampiers, brought great commoditie to the besieged; for that way men went both in and out, and boats entred by fauour of the wind and swiftnesse of the streame: to take away the vse whereof, *Scipio* built two forts vpon the banks, from the which he cast pieces of timber into the water, from one banke vnto the other, in the which were fastened great pikes of yron, which went very deepe into the water; and these beames were so tied together, as they did turne continually with the force of the streame, so as not any one could passe, either by boat or swimming: for *Scipio* held it a good course to amaze the enemy, to take from him all meanes to haue intelligence from abroad, and withall to cut off his victuals. For the gard of these fortifications hee appointed thirtie thousand men, being the one halfe of his armie; to succour the which, hee ordained twentie thousand more, reseruing the other tenne thousand for a third supplie: which vpon a signe giuen should come vnto their quarters, without confusion. The Numantines attempted often to force these rampiers, but they found too great resistance, the Consul himselfe going the round day and night, and visiting the whole circuit, being almost two leagues; making his account, that the enemy wanting victuals, armes, and succours, could not long hold out. Matters being in this estate, *Rhetogenes*, furnamed *Carannius*, one of the chiefe and most resolute men within the towne, aduentured with fise of his friends, and so many seruants, all well mounted, to come in a darke night vnto the enemies rampiers, where they mounted and slew the enemies sentinels, and with certaine engines which they carried, passed ouer their horses: hauing sent their seruants backe, they dispersed themselves in the country of the Arcuaces, where they besought those people, That as friends, kinsmen, and allies to the Numantines, they would succour them. Many fearing the Romanes, commanded them to depart out of their countries, refusing to heare them: but the young men of Luria, a rich towne, some tenne leagues from Numantia, pitying these poore creatures besieged, did sollicit the people to relieue them: whereof *Scipio* being aduertised by the auncients of the towne, went thither with some troupes, and within eight houres space shewed himselfe about their walls, commanding, That the chiefe of these feditious young men should bee deliuered vnto him, threatening (if they sayled) to sacke their towne: so as no excuse preuailling, about foure hundred were brought vnto him, whose hands hee caused to bee cut off, and the next day returned to the campe. The Numantines prest with hunger and all other extremities, sent fise of their citizens vnto *Scipio*, to vnderstand if hee would receiue them vpon any reasonable conditions. *Maximus*, the chiefe of this embassage, comming before him, began to discourse of the vertues and generous disposition of the Numantines, with high wordes maintaining, That it should not bee imputed vnto them for a crime, if they had so eagefly defended their liberties, their wiues and children, for the which they were now fallen into that calamitie.

Wherefore

wherefore (said he) it is reasonable, & Scipio, that (according to thy singular vertue) thou pardon our brave and valiant race, and that thou proponed unto us such honest conditions, as we may endure them: for it is in thy power to have the towne by this means, or to vie what souldiours (who esteeme their libertie more than their lives) can doe. To whom Scipio made no other answer, but that they must deliuer themselves, their towne, their armes, and all they had, at his discretions, for he was sufficiently aduertised by prisoners, in what estate they were. When this answer was brought vnto the besieged (although they expected no better) they entred into such a rage against these poore deputies, as they cut them in pieces, being jealous that they had made some agreement with the Romanes for their owne particular. Then resolving vpon all extremities, after that their victuals were consumed, having deuoured raw hides, and such like things, in the end they led vpon dead mens flesh: and they fell into such miserie, as the stronger oppressed the weaker, euery man regarding his own particular, being also consumed with pestilent diseases, which grew through the extremities which they endured, and from the corruption and stinke of dead carcases. Wherefore vanquished with all these calamities, in the end they tooke counsell to yeeld, and came and presented themselves to Scipio like hideous suppliants, deformed, filthy, and torne; their haire and beards long, clotted and staring, resembling rather savage beasts than reasonable creatures: whom Scipio commaunded to deliuer vp their armes that day, and the next day they should all yeeld themselves in a certaine place appointed them. To this they demanded a dayes respite, for that many were yet remaining within the towne, being resolved to die rather by the sword or famine, than to yeeld, but vpon honest conditions. So being returned, and having consulted what was to be done, they resolved, after they had once glutted themselves with that small store which remained, they would sallie out vpon the enemy, and die fighting virtuously for their country. But Scipio knowing, that he had to deale with mad men, restrained his souldiours all he could: the which did the more enflame the Numantines, who notwithstanding all that he could doe, issued forth, and forced the Romanes to defend themselves, having great need to bee commaunded by a wife and valiant captain: for they were more than once forced to fight flying: yet in the end the Numantines were repulged, having lost their best men; notwithstanding they retired without disorder: their last remedie was to flye out of the towne with their armes: but that being tope, they shut their gates, and slew one another, by sword, poyson, or fire, and by all other kinds of deaths: so as Scipio entring into the towne, he found all consumed with fire, and not a man living. Others write, That Scipio burnt and rased the towne without the consent of the Senate, and not the Numantines, for the hatred which he did naturally beare to them, which he tooke by force: besides that, by the destruction of such famous townes he made his renowne greater, or else that he held it to be expedient & profitable for the Commonweale: they said also, That but some of them slew themselves, and the rest were sold for slaues, onely fittie were reserved to lead them in triumph.

Thus the taking of Numantia is diuersly written, the which did so long resist the Romans, and gaue them so many routs, hauing in the beginning but eight thousand men, the which in the end were reduced to lesse than foure thousand, which notwithstanding did greatly importune their enemies. The territorie of Numantia was afterwards diuided among the neighbour people; and Scipio (being then Pro-consull) hauing visited the countrey, and done right to all men, punishing the inconstant allies by words or threats, and some by pecuniarie fines, he returned to Rome, where in one year he triumphed of the Numantines, and D. Brutus of the Lusitanians and Gallicians. The Senat deputed ten Senators to go into Spaine, to dispose of the affaires of that Prouince. Thus the troubles were pacified, without any alteration for some yeares.

7 In the yeare 630, Q. Caecilius Metellus and T. Quintius Flaminius being Consuls, the inhabitants of the Islands of the Baleares, which we call Maiorca and Minorca, liuing by pyracie and theeuery by sea, ministred occasion to the Romanes to send the Consull Metellus, eldest sonne to him that was called Macedonius, who after a great slaughter of these theeuers brought them to a more ciuile life; where hauing left some Colonies of Romanes, he triumphed at Rome.

8 C. Marius (he that was afterwards seuen times Consull) about the yeare 640 had the charge of the further Spaine as Pretor, where hee cleansed the whole countrey of theues: which

Briue serie  
of the Barbarians  
and.

Miseries of a  
place besieged.

Numantines  
reduced to ex-  
tremities.

Disposall of the  
Numantines.

Ann. Rome 631

Metellus makes  
warre against  
the Maiorquins.

A which trade those people could not forget, holding it in old time to be very honourable. Q. Seruilius Cæpio was also sent with the like charge, who fought with the Lusitanians, and did triumph. A while after there did arise new tumults among the Celtiberians: for the appeasing whereof Calpurnius Piso was sent, and after him Sergius Galba, Pretors: but for that the Romanes were much troubled with the warres of Italie, as well against the Cimbrians (a nation coming from the borders of the Northerne Ocean) as against the slaues which were in armes againe, and foraged Sicile, they sent certaine Commissioners to pacifie the troubles without armes, if it might be. These Cimbrians being vanquished a little before by the Consull Carbo, had fallen vpon the Gaules and Spaine, from whence they had been repulged, and full Carbo had fallen vpon the Gaules and Spaine, where they defeated the armie of M. Syllanus in the yeare 644 returned againe to inuade Italie, where they defeated the armie of M. Syllanus. B Consull: but the Lusitanians in the yeare 648 (P. Rutilius Rufus and C. Manilius being Consuls) defeated a Romane armie: the Authors speake not of his name that was the Generall, nor of his that was sent to suppress them, in the yeare 652, who subdued them. It may be it was D. Iunius Silanus. And they stayed not long to minister matter of triumph to the Romane captaines, hauing rebelled againe in the yeare 654, against whom L. Corn. Dolabella a Pretor was sent, who vanquished them and triumphed. The Consull T. Didius, at the same time, after that the Cimbrians had been driuen out of Italie, hauing had the government of Spaine about Ebro, slew in battaile 20000 Aureaces and Vaceans, and tooke the towne of Thermise, which was great and strong by situation, commanding the inhabitants for a punishment of their ordinarie rebellion to dwell in the plaine, and not to inwall themselves: after seuen months siege hee also tooke the towne of Colenda, and sold the inhabitants. Other people of the Celtiberians continuing in their theeuery, were by him condemned to die, by the aduice of tenne Commissioners, which were then in Spaine for the people of Rome. Hauing then gathered them together, vnder colour that he would giue them land to manure, he caused them to be enuironed by his souldiours, and cut in pieces: for which deeds he triumphed at his returne to Rome. In the armie of this T. Didius was at that time Q. Sertorius, who was charge of 10000 men, a man of iudgement and valour, whereof he made good proofe, when as vnder this Consull Didius, the Castellonians attempted, with the help of them of Gizeze, to cut his regiment in pieces which wintered in their town, for that during the tumult he rallied them together which escaped the slaughter, with the which he reuenged the death of his souldiours, putting all the conspirators which he found armed to the sword: & hauing attired some of his men with their apparell and armes, he marcht speedily towards Gizeze, where being let in by reason of this disguising, he made a great slaughter of the inhabitants, and sold the rest.

10 The Lusitanians and people of the further Spaine in the yeare 656 drew against them the Consull P. Licinius Crassus, who triumphed in like manner. And in the yeare 659 Fulvius Flaccus being sent against the Celtiberians, who had rebelled, he slew 20000 in battell, and restrained the rest by iustice, euen those which had burnt their owne Senators, opposing themselves against the rebellion which they had intended; raising and demanteling some townes. Spaine by means of these executions remained quiet, vntill the ciuile dissensions betwixt Marius and Sylla, which ministred occasion of new warre.

11 Whilst this Marian sedition continued, M. Crassus hauing seene his father and brother slaine by Cinna and Marius, fled into Spaine, where he had been in time past at the warres with his father, and there had gotten some friends: but finding that euery one stood in feare of Marius, he retired to a country house belonging to Vibius Papias, where he hid himselfe in a caue, causing some to sound Vibius mind, who hearing that Crassus was escaped, he caused him to be secretly fed there eight moneths by a slaue of his, vnto the death of Cinna.

12 After the ciuile warre betwixt Marius and Sylla, the infection of this madnesse past into Spaine, by the means of Q. Sertorius, who hauing held the partie of Cinna and Marius, after the defeats of Carbo, Scipio and Norbanus by Sylla, he retired into Spaine, where he had been vnder the Consull Didius, and there he fortified himselfe against the enterprises of the Dictator Sylla, causing Iulius Salinator to keepe the passages of the Pyrene mountains, with 6000 foot, but it was not long before that Sylla sent C. Annus, who not able to force the enemy in a place of such aduantage, obtained the passage by the death of Salinator, whom Calpurnius Castrinus (that did maligne him) slew in treason. This made Sertorius retyre, who had but three thousand men remaining in new Carthage, from whence he passed into Africke, and

Ann. 648.  
The Lusitanians  
reuels and de-  
feat the Romans,

9  
Thermise taken  
and rased by T.  
Didius Consull

Q. Sertorius,

Fulvius Flaccus  
defeats the Cel-  
tiberians.

A friend is tried  
in need.

Sertorius warre  
in Spaine.

and from thence the barbarians chased him: afterwards thinking to returne, he was repul-  
 sed from landing in Spaine: wherefore he seized vpon one of the islands of Pyrius, in dis-  
 tance of C. *Annus* garison: but he was chased from thence also, so as being accompanied  
 with some foits of Cician pirates, he was forced to put out to sea for some daies. In the  
 end he passed the strait, and put to land about the mouth of the river of Betis, where haueing  
 information by some mariners of the fortunat islands, he began to resolute to liue there in  
 rest: whereupon these pirates disliking his designe, abandoned him, and put themselves in pay  
 vnder a Moore, named *Ascalius*, who contended with an other for the kingdome of the Ma-  
 rufians, whose partie *Sertorius* maintained. Comming to fight *Ascalius* was defeated, and  
 after him one of *Syllas* captaines, called *Paccianus*, who came to succour him: after which *As-  
 calius* was besieged in the towne of Tingis, and taken. By this good successe *Sertorius*  
 augmented his armie with the remainders of the vanquished enemies souldiours, which came  
 to serue vnder him. He did so win the hearts of the Moores, vnto this victorie modestly, as  
 they were afterwards al at his commandment: but as he was in great care what course to take,  
 there came embassadors vnto him from the Lusitanians, intreating him to be their Generall,  
 for that the Romans of *Syllas* partie made war against them, and therefore they had need of a  
 man of iudgement & experience, which honor they did according to his merits offer vnto him:  
 vpon which summons he left Africke, leading with him about 2500 souldiours, which he cal-  
 led Romans, & yet they were for the most part Africans; with the which haueing ioyned 4000  
 Lusitanians and 7000 horses, he made head against foure great Romane captaines, vnder  
 whom there were about 120000 foot and 6000 horses, and had in a manner all the townes of  
 Spaine at their deuotion.

At the beginning of this war, he defeated *Cotta* in a sea fight, neere vnto the towne of Mel-  
 laria, and put to rout *Didius* or *Fidius*, Pretor of Betica, neere vnto the river of Betis, where he  
 slue 10000 of his men: and by the diligence of his Queller *Hirtuleius*, he also defeated *Tho-  
 ranus*, lieutenant to the Confull *Q. Metellus Pius*, to whom that province was assigned in the  
 year 673. Afterwards he had to deale with *Metellus* himselfe, and did so annoy him being a  
 great and an expert captaine, as *Manlius* the Proconfull of Gaule was forced to come to his  
 succours, with three legions and 1500 horse: but *Manlius* being encountered by *Hirtuleius*  
*Sertorius* Queller, was defeated, put to flight, and forced to saue himselfe in a manner alone  
 within Lerida. *L. Domitius* was more vntowardly, who was slain vpon the place in an other in-  
 counter: all which exploits were done by surpris, and in flying or retiring, the Romane cap-  
 tains not being able to draw *Sertorius* to fight in a pitch field: whereupon the Senat of Rome,  
 considering that *Metellus* age (which was somewhat advanced) made him more slow, and  
 therefore not fit to encounter *Sertorius*, who was in the flower of his age, accompanied with  
 souldiours as light as the wind, inured to labour, hunger, thirst, and all the discomforts of  
 war, were of opinion to send *Cn. Pompeius* vnto him, as an assistant & companion with like au-  
 thoritie. In the mean time *Metellus* besieged the towne of the Langobriges, thinking to take it  
 without difficultie, for want of water, knowing there was but one onely well in the whole  
 towne: but *Sertorius* provided for this inconuenience, for haueing provided a reward to such as  
 L would carrie goats skins filled with water, the Moores and other aduenturous people went in  
 with a great quantitie: so as *Metellus* (who had victuals but for few daies) was forced to retire,  
 after that *Aquinius* one of his lieutenants, whom he had sent to forage with 6000 men, had  
 been defeated by *Sertorius*, who lay continually in ambush.

About that time *M. Perenna* arrived in Spaine, with a great armie, the which he ioyned to  
 that of *Sertorius*, not of his owne free will, meaning to make war apart, but by constraint,  
 for that the souldiours haueing a better conceit of *Sertorius* than of him, would not follow him:  
 which made *Perenna* to enue and hate *Sertorius*. With these forces in a manner all Spaine be-  
 yond Ebro, was conquered by him. When as *Pompey* was come to *Metellus* camp, many throug  
 his fame, which was great, began to doubt of *Sertorius* affaires, and manie townes which were  
 allied vnto him began to wauer; but that which hapned at Lauronne did confirme them: for  
 M *Sertorius* haueing besieged Lauronne, & *Pompey* comning thither to raise the siege, when as the  
 armies were neere, & that *Pompey* expected to giue him battel, he perceived that at one instant  
*Sertorius* held both the towne & his armie besieged; for he had lodged 6000 men behind *Pom-  
 peys* army, watching an oportunitie to compass him in, so as he was forced to be more carefull  
 how

*Sertorius haueing  
 made crosse  
 followes to goe and  
 liue at the for-  
 tunat islands at  
 Canaries.*

*Sertorius called  
 by the Lusitan-  
 ans.*

*What forces  
 were against  
 Sertorius in  
 Spaine.*

*Cotta, Didius  
 and Thoranus  
 defeated by Ser-  
 torius.*

*Sertorius de-  
 feates Manlius,  
 and kills L. Do-  
 mitius.*

*Pompey first in-  
 to Spaine to af-  
 fect Metellus.*

*Perenna is al-  
 lied to Metellus.*

*Lauronne be-  
 sieged and taken  
 by Sertorius in  
 Pompeys pre-  
 sence.*

A how to saue himselfe, than to deliuer the Lauronitans, whose towne he did see taken & burnt  
 before his face: the which *Sertorius* did, not vpon any crueltie (for in the whole course of his  
 life he was neuer notted of that excesse, if it were not by constraint) but to let them know (who  
 made so great esteeme of *Pompey*) that he knew more than he; whom he reamed a yong man,  
 and *Syllas* discipule; and in this act of Lauronne, he said, That a wife captaine doth alwaies looke  
 more to that which is behind, than before. And to say the truth, *Sertorius* was one of the poli-  
 tickt captaines of his time, as it appeared in this warre, whereas he maintained himselfe and  
 those he led, alwaies inuincible, being neuer beaten but by his Lieutenants, through whose  
 errors he recieued many prejudiciall losses: the which he repaired afterwards with great ho-  
 nor, as the defeat of *Hirtuleius* by *Metellus*, neere vnto the towne of Italica, where he lost twen-  
 tie thousand men.

B After the taking of Lauronne, the armies of either side haueing wintered (the one in Lufita-  
 nia, the other neere vnto the Pyrenes) they began to seeke one another: and it happened, that  
*Pompey* haueing encountered *Herennius* and *Perenna* neere vnto Valence, he defeated them, and  
 in like sort *Hirtuleius*, who was slaine at that time: wherewith growne proud, he marched to-  
 wards *Sertorius*, and without attending *Metellus* and his forces, he came to fight with him, neere  
 vnto the river of Suero or Xucar, whereas *Pompey* was put to flight, and hurt. *Metellus*  
 neere vnto the river of Suero, whereas *Pompey* was put to flight, and hurt. *Metellus*  
 C saueing, caused *Sertorius* to retire; with whom he did afterwards fight in the territorie of Sa-  
 arriuing, caused *Sertorius* to retire; with whom he did afterwards fight in the territorie of Sa-  
 gunt, whereas *Memmius*, *Pompeys* Queller, was slaine, and *Metellus* wounded: but *Sertorius*  
 seeing that he had the worst, retired himselfe cunningly, suffering himselfe to be besieged in  
 the towne of Calaoire, a strong towne in a mountaine country, where he did more annoy the  
 enemy, than they did him: in the meane time leuying men in the townes of his allies, hee  
 made a furious sally, and dispersed his enemies; so as *Metellus* went to Winter in Gaule, and  
*Pompey* in the territorie of the Vacceans: where haueing besieged Palantia, *Sertorius* made  
 him to rayse his siege. In this countrey *Pompey* found himselfe much distressed, so as he was  
 forced to demand money, clothes, and come for his armie, from the Senat, else hee should  
 be forced to bring it backe into Italie: Whereupon the Confull *Lucullus* gaue order hee  
 should be furnished, fearing, that if he brought his armie backe into Italie, he would fise  
 vnto the people for a Commission to make warre against *Mithridates*, which charge hee  
 D affected.

During the Consulship of *L. Lucullus* and *M. Cotta*, the Proconsuls *Metellus* and *Pompey* did  
 all they could against the townes allied to *Sertorius*; who did so terrifie them, as *Metellus* de-  
 spairing euer to vanquish him with all the force of the Romans during his life, made a procla-  
 mation by the sound of the trumpet, to giue 100 talents to him that could kill him, amounting  
 to 60000 crownes, and besides, 20000 acres of land, if he were a Romane; if a banished man,  
 restitution to all his goods and honours. The banished Senatours of Rome, which followed  
*Sertorius* army, did all malice their Generall, wherunto *Perenna* (alwaies jealous of his glory)  
 did still incite them: wherefore they began to crosse him vnder hand in many gallant designs,  
 abusing the authoritie which *Sertorius* had giuen them ouer the Spaniards, proudly, couetou-  
 E fly and cruelly, vnder colour of justice, exacting extraordinary tributes; so as many townes did  
 mutine, and the loue which they did beare vnto *Sertorius*, was turned into hatred: wherefore  
*Sertorius* was forced (for the suppressing of many tumules which did arise) to shew himselfe  
 seuer, against his owne nature, and at the last became cruel: so as in the end he put to death  
 many children of noble houses, whom he held in the towne of Ofca, vnder colour to instruct  
 them in learning, and to teach them the manners of the Romans; the which (to speake tru-  
 ly) were so many hostages; and others he sold, to punish the infidelitie of the Spaniards,  
 which he discouered daily; the which did much blemish the lustre of his vertues. *Perenna*  
 through his malice drew him to this excesse, and did procure him infinite enemies, as well  
 Romanes as Spaniards, and haueing found many confederats, he conspired with *Ausilius Gre-  
 cinius*, *Manlius*, *Antonius*, and others, to murder him; the which he put in execution, haueing  
 invited him to supper in his lodging, with the whole troupe of conspirators, where they  
 stabbed him with their daggers. Such an end had this great captaine, by the treason of his  
 owne followers; the which being published, all the people of Spaine felt embassadors  
 vnto *Metellus* and *Pompey*, and yielded vnto him. The inhabitants of Ebro attribute the  
 foundation of their towne to *Sertorius*, where there are certaine inscriptions to bee seene,  
 L ij making

*Battel betwixt  
 Pompey and  
 Sertorius, where-  
 in Sertorius had  
 the better.*

*Ann. 679.*

*Sertorius life  
 set to sale, con-  
 uerted to the  
 service of the  
 ancient Romans.*

*Sertorius grows  
 cruel against  
 his nature.*

*Perenna and  
 his adherents  
 murder Sertorius.*



making mention, that he was buried there. He had many times made offer to *Metellus*, to lay aside armes, so as he might be called home by a publique decree: for he protested that he made not warre for the Spaniards greameffe, but to maintaine the people of Rome, whom he loued and honoured: so as there is no doubt but he was of a mild and gentle disposition, but that necessitie had forced him to this contumacie and rebellion, and the violent and ambitious pursuite of his fellow citizens. *Perpenna* thinking to doe some great exploit, made vse of *Sertorius* forces, but hee was deceived: for it soone appeared, that he was not fit to commaund, being in a short time vanquished, taken, and slaine by *Pompey*. This traitor to redeeme his life, offered *Sertorius* papers vnto *Pompey*, where there were many letters from the Senators of Rome, perswading *Sertorius* to passe with his armie into Italy: but *Pompey* tooke these papers, and would not once read them, but burnt them all, and so put *Perpenna* to death, to the end he should not name any one, nor reueale that which was contained in them; the which might haue rayed a new ciuile warre: which was no act of a young man. Of all the towns in Spaine, Auxima, at this day Olima, and Calagurri, held out for a time against *Pompey*: but in the end they were taken by force and ruined; Auxima by *Pompey*, and Calagurri by *Africanus*: and so this Sertorian warre was ended: the last exploits whereof were about Olca and Ilerda in Catalogna, tenne yeares after the beginning thereof, in the yeare 682: in the which, *Metellus* and *Pompey* for their successfull exploits in Spaine triumphed. At that time *Pompey* was but a Roman knight; and they say, That he afterwards erected his trophies in the Pyrene mountains, where he caused to be written the names of 871 townes in his victories, among the which, he would not put that of *Sertorius*. This was the beginning of Pampelone, according vnto some. There were found in those dayes, in the vallies of Andorre and of Altauaca, certaine great buckles of yron, folded into the rockes with lead, which were held to be the trophies of *Pompey*. A yeare after we find mention made of *M. Puppis Piso* Pretor, who triumphed also for some victories gotten in Spaine.

*Perpenna punished for his treason.*

*Pompey's wife came to entertaine the ciuile warre.*

Anno 682.

*Pompey's trophies, and the beginning of Pampelone.*

*Cn. Piso slain in Spaine.*

14

*C. Iul. Caesar's exploits in Spaine being Pretor.*

15

*Pompey persuaded Governour in Spaine.*

13 In the yeare 688 *L. Aurelius Cotta* and *Lucius Manlius Torquatus* being Consuls, *Cn. Piso* a young man, audacious, poore, and seditious, suspected to haue conspired with *Catiline*, was sent into Spaine with charge (vnder pretext to do him honor, but the true cause was to get him out of Rome) where he was slaine, troubling the prouince with exactions, and other exesse: & some say it was plotted by *Pompey*. Then mention is made of *Q. Calpurnius* Pretor in the yeare 692: and after him, of *Tubero* in the further Spaine, who gaue the Prouince to *Gaius Iul. Caesar* his Quæstor, in qualitie of Pretor, *Q. Metellus* and *L. Africanus* being Consuls at Rome, in the yeare 693 of the foundation thereof: whereas in few dayes he subjected vnder the Roman yoke all that was to be subdued in Galicia, Brecaire, and Lusitania: among others, he destroyed Brigantium in Galicia (the which is Bragança, if it be not the Port of Corunga, or the Groine, called in old time Portus Brigantinus:) He dispersed the Herminian mountaineers, inhabiting betwixt the riuers of Duero and Minio, and forced them to retire into the illands of Cincies, which are those of Bayonne of Minio. And if hee shewed himselfe active and valiant in matters of warre, hee woon no lesse honour in administration of justice, and other actions of peace: about all things hee pacified many suites, commenced by vsurers against their debtors; the which he so ordered, as the creditors should haue two third parts of their debtors goods, and the rest they should haue for their maintenance, vntill the debt were payed: and he made many other good ordinances, for the which he was much honoured. After *Caesar's* returne, he being Consull, there was a complot made betwixt him, *Craesus*, and *Pompey*, who diuided the Roman Prouinces betwixt them: whereof Spaine fell to *Pompey*; the which he gouerned by his Lieutenants: then *P. Lentulus* was sent thither as Proconsull, and after him *Q. Metellus Nepos*: in whose time the Gaules of Aquitania made warre against *Caesar* and the Romanes, employing the captaines and Spanish souldiours which had carried armes vnder *Sertorius*.

From that time Spaine was gouerned by *Pompey*, or men of his faction: so as vpon the beginning of the ciuile warre betwixt him and *Caesar*, *L. Africanus*, *M. Petreius*, and *M. Varro* did gouerne it for him: against whom *Caesar* marched, after that he had chased *Pompey* out of Italy; knowing well, that Spaine was a seminarie for souldiours, and if he tooke it not from *Pompey*, his desires would proue but vaine: being well aduertised, that *Pompey* had sent *Vibullius Rufus* thither, to keepe that great prouince at his deuotion, and to oppose him against *Caesar* in those parts.

A parts. The lieutenants vpon *Vibullius* commaund put themselves in order, every one in his gouernment. *Petreius* made a leuie of horsemen in Lusitania: *Africanus* did the like among the Celtiberians, and that part of the Cantabrians, where he commaunded. They joyined their forces together on this side the riuier of Ebro, making their store-houise for the war at Ilerda, hauing in their armies fise Roman legions, almost 80 companies of Spaniards, and about 5000 horse. *Caesar* being resolved to fight with them, and to chase them out of Spaine, had sent *C. Fabius* with three legions to seize vpon the passages of the Pyrene mountains: then he followed with about 6000 Italian foot, which had alwaies serued him in the wars of Gaule, and 3000 horse, and the like number of other souldiours leuied in Aquitania, most of them of the mountaines; of whom he had politickely borrowed all the money they had to pay his armie: where he found, that *Fabius* and the Pompeians were neere, and often skirmished about the riuier of Sicoris or Sigro, whereas *Fabius* had made two bridges, by the which he sent his souldiours to forrage, for all neere vnto him was consumed, *Petreius* and *Africanus* lying beneath the enimie. It happened, that *Fabius* meaning to passe two legions ouer one of his bridges, to seconde his forragers, when as the souldiours were past, & the baggage following them, the bridge was so ouercharged with weight, as it brake; so as *Fabius* armie was diuided, and these two legions ingaged, and cut off by the riuier from the rest of their horse and foot: which the enemies (who lay beneath them) perceiving by the timber and other stuffe which came down with the streame, *Africanus* did suddainly cause foure legions and all his horse to passe, to charge *Fabius* two legions, which were led by *L. Plancus*: who hauing put them into a long forme of battell, least he should be enuironed by these horsemen, he endured the shooke of these foure legions, vntill that *C. Fabius* came to succour him, and to vngage him: for when he saw the bridge broken, he doubted what the enemies would doe, and therefore had caused all the rest of his army to passe by the other bridge, which was a good league about it. Hereupon *Caesar* armed with his armie, and marched towards the enemies to draw them to battaile, but he could not: skirmishing for three daies together vnder the towne of Ilerda, with losse on either side, *Caesar's* armie (which lay then in a country about seuen leagues compass, betwixt the two riuers of Sicoris and Cinga, which were not to be waded through) was most annoyed with raine and tempests that fell, wherewith (the riuers being much risen) the bridges which *Fabius* had repaired were carried away; so as they could not bring any victuals from their confederat townes, nor out of Gaule nor Italie, neither yet goe to forrage: and if any did stray out farre to seeke victuals, they were compassed in by the waters, and could not returne to the campe. And on the other side, *Africanus* and *Petreius* armie liued in abundance: and to encrease *Caesar's* miseries, great store of victuals, stayed by the riuers which were ouertlowne, being conducted out of Gaule, with a good number of foot and horse, were stopped and dispersed by *Africanus*, who departed in the night with three legions and all his horsemen to defeat them. But the Gaules defended themselves so valiantly, as most of them escaped in the mountaines, the which *Caesar* (having found meanes soone after to repaire his bridges) receiued, with their leaders. Many daies were spent in light skirmishes, and to cut off them that went for forrage: in the meane time there were many secret practises; so as *Caesar* drew vnto him fise townes and nations; Olca, Calagurri, Tarracone, the Lacetanes and Ausetanes: and in the end, the Spaniards which were in *Africanus* campe began to disband, and to flye to *Caesar's* campe; yea, whole bands of the Ilurguonians: And after the example of these neere townes, those that were farthest off fled to *Caesar* for his friendship; who making many ditches and trenches, drew the riuier of Sigro or Sicoris into so many streames, as his horsemen might wade through it. *Africanus* and *Petreius* being amazed thereat, resolved to dislodge, and passe the riuier of Ebro, to retire into the Celtiberians cuntry, where they did thinke to get many horsemen, victuals, and other commodities. According to this resolution, they disloded in the night from Ilerda, where they left a good garrilon, and march towards Ebro.

F *Caesar* hauing passed his horse, followed them in the reere, and in the end he was so importuned by the legions, as he caused them to wade through the riuier whereas the horsemen had passed, and made such speed, as he ouertooke the enemies in the morning, so as the armies were again neere together, yet did they neither fight nor march, spending some time to discouer the cuntry: yet *Caesar* in the end found meanes to get (but not without a sharpe encounter) certaine straits, whereby he stopped *Africanus* and *Petreius* designe for their going to Ebro.

*Cesar differs  
Africanus and  
Petreus.*

Whilest they consult what they had to doe, and how to prevent *Cæsars* surprisles, their armie wearie of them, and woon with *Cæsars* fame and reputation, was easily corrupted by the *Cæsarian* souldiers: the which *Africanus* and *Petreus* sought to hinder; yea, *Petreus* vning his absolute authoritie, slew many of them that parled. Thinking afterwards to returne towards *Ilerda*, and to passe the river *Scoris*, but being hindered by *Cesar*, they put their armie in bat-taille ready to fight: but *Cesar* holding them as it were besieged, reduced them to that extremitie, as they demaunded their liues of him, resigning their Legions vp vnto him, and all the Prouince.

*Varro follows  
the time and  
seasons.*

17 *M. Varro*, who was in the further Spaine, hearing the successe of the affaires in Italie, in the beginning, he did hold *Pompeys* ruine to be most certain: wherefore he spake very honourably of *Cesar*, and seemed to desire to be a neuter in these quarrels: but when as he vnderstood, that *Africanus* and *Petreus* were gone to field with so great an armie, and in what difficulties *Cesar* was vnder *Ilerda* for want of victuals, he then changed his mind, and followed *Pompeys* partie; and filling vp two legions which he had, to the which he joyned about thirtie bands of allies, he began to make prouision of great store of corne to send to *Africanus*, and in like manner to the *Marfilians*, whom *Cesar* caused to be besieged: and assuring himselfe of the citie of *Gades*, he caused all the gold, siluer, and jewels which were in *Hercules* Temple, to be transported thither, making *Caius Gallionius*, a Roman knight, Gouvernor thereof, with fix companies of Spaniards, carrying all the citizens armes into his lodging. Then he began to change his speech of *Cesar*, and of his exploits, contrarie to that which he had of late vied: wherefore the citizens of *Rome* being disperfed ouer the Prouince, being amazed, did easily suffer themselves to be taxed in a great summe of money, for the seruice of the Commonweale, not sparing (as it is to be conjectured) the townes which he thought to be affected vnto *Cesar*. And if there were any one which durst speake against them that followed *Pompey*, he did confiscate their goods, forcing every one to take an oath to him and to *Pompey*, and so he prepared himselfe to the warre, making his account to lodge with his two legions in *Gades*, vpon all euents, and to bring all the corne thither, and to gather together all the shipping of that prouince, the which he knew to be too much affected vnto *Cesar*. Finally, he perswaded himselfe, That hee might prolong the warre in this island as much as he pleased. *Cæsars* affaires prest him to returne into Italie, yet holding it necessarie to disarme all those that held *Pompeys* part in Spain, he sent two legions towards *Betica*, vnder the command of *Q. Cassius*, Tribune of the people, after the which he went with some troups of horse, hauing in the meane time order for the calling of a generall assembly at *Cordoua*: whither deputies came from all the townes, and in a manner all the Romanes that were in those marches, being much inclined to do what *Cesar* should command them. *M. Varro* was excluded by the assembly of *Cordoua*, who set gards in their ports and towers, and they of *Carmona* chased away the garrison which *Varro* had placed there, which made him haste the more to bring his two legions to *Gades*, least he should be preuented: but he was not farre aduanced, before he received letters, by the which he was aduertised, That the *Gaditanes* hauing agreed with the captaines of the garrison which was within their town, had forced *Gallionius* to depart, preteffing, That they would keepe the town for *Cesar*: whereupon one of *Varros* legions refused to leaue him, taking the way towards *Seuille*. Wherewith *Varro* being amazed, and seeing himselfe coopt vp in that countrey, so as he had no meanes to passe into Italie, he resolved to yeeld vnto *Cesar*, deliuering vp his legion which remained, with all the money and victuals that was in his power. *Cesar* held an assembly at *Cordoua*, and thanked the deputies of townes, the citizens of *Rome*, and all the captaines and others which had shewed themselves fauourable to his cause: hee restored euery man to his goods that had been spoyled, and filled all men with hope by his promises. From *Cordoua* he passed to *Gades*, and restored to *Hercules* Temple the gold and jewels which had bin taken away: and hauing left *Q. Cassius* with foure legions to gouerne the Prouince, he passed by sea to *Tarracone*, where the deputies of all that part of Spaine attended him: with whom hauing conferred, and disposed of the affaires, he went by land towards *Narbonne*, and from thence to *Marfeilles*, which his lieutenants did besiege. This was in the year 704.

*Varro disarmed  
by Cesar.*

18 At *Marfeilles* *Cesar* had news, That he was created Dictator at *Rome* by *M. Lepidus* the Pretor: after which time Spaine was gouerned in his name by *M. Lepidus* and *Q. Cassius* his lieutenants: But they of *Corduba* oppressed with the crueltie & couetousnesse of *Cassius*, forooke

*Anno Rome 704  
Cassius crucitie  
and couetousnesse  
through Cesar  
into a new warre.*

(with

A (with two legions) *Cæsars* party; whereby the war was reuined in Spain by *Pompeys* children, after the defeat and death of their father, in the year 708. This *Cassius* being courteous, and a great exactor, did incense the fouldiours against him; who hurt him, and had like to haue slaid him with their daggers: The authors of this exccesse were *L. Lucilius*, *Annius Scapula*, and *Minutius Sili*: yet he was cured; and as he thought to passe into *Africke* by *Cæsars* commandement, almost all his fouldiours abandoned him, and did chuse one *Thorus*, of the towne of *Italica*, for their leader. To this *Thorus* (who made a shew to besiege *Cordoua*) *Marcellus* did joyne, but they did misse *Mia* (which is likely to be Monte-Major at this day): thereupon *M. Lepidus* came from *Rome*, where he had proclaimed *Cesar* Dictator, who kept them from forcing and taking *Cassius*. *Marcellus* referred their quarrels to *Lepidus*: but *Cassius* being loath to trust him, was content to leaue the prouince, and to giue place to *Caius Trebonius*. Being imbarqued at *Malaca*, with all that he had gotten in Spaine, to passe into Italie, his ship was cast by a tempest vpon the coast, where it perished, not farre from the mouth of *Ebro*.

These two legions were somewhat pacified by *C. Trebonius*, who succeeded *Cassius Longinus*, yet they feared to be punished for their rebellion: wherefore they solicited *Scipio*, who held *Africke* for the *Pompeyan* faction, to send *Cn. Pompeius*, sonne to the great *Pompey*, into Spaine: who went thitherward: but he staid long at the islands of the *Baleares*, as well to subdue them, as by reason of sicknesse. The legions hearing afterwards of *Scipios* defeat in Italie, and that *Cesar* sent *Didius* with an armie against them, fearing to bee oppressed before

C *Pompeys* coming, they did chuse *T. Quinctius Scapula*, and *Q. Apponius* for their commanders, chasing *C. Trebonius* out of the *Betique* prouince. Hereupon *Pompey* arriued, whom they acknowledged for their Generall: so as in a short time he reduced the further Spaine vnder his deuotion: with whom there came *Atilius Varus* and *Labinus*. *Cesar* aduerted of these things, being in Italie, he sent *Q. Pedius* and *Q. Fabius Maximus* into Spaine: but they were not able to resist *Pompeys* forces: so as *Cesar* being solicited by the townes that were allied vnto him (especially by them of *Corduba*) he went in person into Spaine. Then did *Sextus Pompeius*, the younger of the brethren, hold *Cordoua*, the chiefe towne of the gouernment, with a good garrison, and *Cn.* the elder brother besieged *Vlloa*, into the which *Cesar* found opportunity to put some succours, by the meanes of a great wind and raine, and by the dexterity of *L. Iunius Pacicus*, a Spaniard, to whom he had giuen the charge: which put *Cn. Pompeius* out of hope to take it: whereupon he dilogged, and led his armie towards *Cordoua*, whither *Sextus* his brother, fearing to be forced by *Cesar*, did sollicite him to approach. Hauing in-countred *Cesar* vpon the banks of *Betis*, there were many bloudie skirmishes, with variable successe. *Cesar* dilogged in the night, and went to besiege *Ategua*, whither *Pompey* went, and camped betwixt *Ategua* and *Vcubis*, hauing thirteene legions in his armie; yet he made no account but of three, for all the rest were composed of fugitiues, and men of no value. *Cesar* was much stronger in horse, and *Pompey* had no will to fight, but was willing to prolong the warre all he could: yet being desirous to force a certaine garrison which *Cesar* had set to keepe a peece of ground which was commodious for either of them, there was a great skirmish. *Cesar* committing himselfe to second his men with three legions: so as the *Pompeians* had the worst, and were repulsed. Wherewith *Pompey* being amazed, there being new supplies of horse come to *Cæsars* campe, he dilogged, and retired towards *Cordoua*, being followed by *Cæsars* horse, whereof he slew many, being ingaged in one of his legions. Some past from his campe vnto *Cesar*, among the which were *Q. Martius* and *C. Fundanius*. *Ategua* being sorely battered, and well defended for many dayes, in the end yeelded. So the *Pompey* vnderstanding, he marched towards *Vcubis*, where he caused a search to be made for all the inhabitants which fauoured *Cesar*, cutting off the heads of seuentie foure, and casting many women and children ouer the walls; which made many to flee to *Cæsars* campe, yea captaines, and heads of bands, and the fouldiours of some legions, with some townes. V wherefore *Pompey* fearing that by his delays he should loose both his allies, & his armie it selfe, hauing spent some dayes in turning vp and downe, in the end he resolved to giue *Cesar* battell neere vnto *Munda*. In both armies, besides Romanes and Italian allies and Spaniards, there were many Moors: for *Boechus* a Moorish king, had sent two of his sonnes to succour *Pompey*; and *Bo-gud* another king of the same nation, was in person in *Cæsars* armie: yet the battell was fought in a manner by the Romanes alone. On *Cæsars* side the fouldiours were encouraged by their

*Cn. Pompeius  
gets the further  
Spaine vnto be  
his deuotion.*

*Ategua taken  
by Cesar.*

*Moors in both  
the armies of  
Cesar and  
Pompey.*

Gene.

Battell betwixt  
Cesar and  
Pompey.

A mislading in  
the route of  
Pompeys rime.

Great slaughter  
on both sides.

On Pompeius  
the sonne slaine.

19  
Septimius  
governs  
Spaine under  
Cesar.

Augustus in  
Spaine.

Generals preference, and did wonderfull deeds of armes. In *Pompeys* armie, whereas the fugitive legionaries were, despaire to get their pardon made them to fight resolutely. Being come to joyne, the allies of either part turned their backs presently, so as the Romanes must trie it who should have the better, the which was done with great obstinacie on either side; so as there could no groines nor lamentations be heard, of any one that was dying or wounded, but onely striking and killing, one encouraging another, and shewing themselves more prompt with their hands than tongues. The battell was long doubtfull, neither could *Cesar* or *Pompey* judge which had the better, who after they had long beheld it in great perplexitie, they came among them to encourage their souldiours, whereof there was no great need. King *Bogud* was the cause of *Cesars* victorie, who standing without the battell with his Moores, went vnto the trenches of *Pompeys* campe, to spoyle it: the which *Labienu* perceiving, he went out of his ranke to make head against him: but the rest of *Pompeys* souldiours taking it to be a flight, with the apprehension thereof they were all put to rout; and although they did soone after find their owne errors, yet could they not rally themselves together againe, but some fled to their campe, and some towards the towne of Munde. The slaughter was great on either side, even at the taking of the campe, whereas *Cesars* men could neuer enter, before they had slaine all those that defended it, with like losse of their own men. *Cesar* having gotten the victorie with great difficultie and danger, he said vnto his souldiours, That he had often fought for honour, but now he had fought for his life. There died of *Pompeys* souldiours 30000.

After this rout Cordoua being abandoned by *Sex. Pompeius*, yielded, in the which *Scapula* (who had bene author of the souldiours fedition) caused a slave of his to kill him, and to burne his bodie, with all the treasure he had. Seull, Munde, and other places, were some taken by force, with great slaughter of the inhabitants, and some by composition. Many towns in Spaine (flattering *Cesar*) after these victories, called themselves after his name: Vubis was called *Claritas Iulia*, Ebor, *Libertas Iulia*. At this time *Cesar* did not spare the treasure of *Hercules* temple in Gades, being greatly distressed for money: He took away many of their lands, & laid new taxes vpon those towns which had rebelled, that he might reward his friends.

*Pompey* having escaped by flight, he came to *Carteia*, where he thought to make vfe of the armie at sea, which he had kept readie thereabouts: but he was pursued, and the ships after a great fight falling into the power of *Didius*, were some of them carried away by him, and the rest burnt; so as *Pompey* fore wounded in the shoulder and leg, seeking to flee by land, was pursued, overtaken, and slaine, with many of his men, by the horsemen and some companies of foot which were sent after him. For these victories gotten in Spaine, not against strangers, but against citizens of Rome, *Cesar*, *Q. Fabius*, and *Q. Pedius*, did triumph at Rome, to the great griefe of the people. After that these things had been exploited by *Cesar*, and all civill diffusions quenched, as he thought to enjoy his Dictatorship, suffering kingly honours to be done vnto him, he was slaine by *Cassius*, *Brutus*, and other conspirators. Then was the estate of Rome in greater confusion than ever, by the division betwixt *Octavius Caesar* and *M. Antonie*, and afterwards by the cruell proscriptions of *Octavius*, *M. Antonie*, and *Lepidus*: which *Lepidus* had triumphed for Spaine in the yere 707, I know not for what victories. It is certaine that he governed the hither part of Spaine by *Cesars* gift, but it was by his lieutenants, having neuer done any exploit of warre. *Dis* saith, That he perswaded *Sex. Pompeius* to leave Spaine, promising him restitution of his fathers goods. *Domitius Calpurnius*, *C. Norbanus*, *Flaccus*, and *Asinius Pollio*, were afterwards Gouvernours of Spaine, of whose exploits there is no memorable mention. In the yere 713 *Cornel. Balbus*, borne at Calis, was Confull at Rome: and in the yere 714, the second division of the empire being made betwixt *Octavius Caesar*, *M. Antonie*, and *M. Lepidus*, after the reconciliation betwixt *Octavius* and *M. Antonie*, and the Perusine warre, among other provinces, Spaine fell to *Octavius*; and from that yere the Spaniards began to account their yeares by the Arke or rule of *Cesar*, the which was 38 yeares before the coming of our Sauour, the which they did continue vntill the yere 1383 of our saluation, when as this custome was left, as shall be said.

20 In the yere 726 of the foundation of Rome, *Augustus* being sole Emperour, he undertooke to subdue the Cantabrians, Asturians, and Gallicians, who had alwayes held their libertie, lawes, and auncient customes, to rob and spoyle their neighbours, and would wholly

A wholly subiect them vnder his empire: wherefore he resolved to goe in person into Spaine, where he found those nations assured in their countenances, and full of contempt, relying in the strength of their mountaines, from whence they made many sudden enterprises, verie prejudiciall to the emperours armie, the which camped at *Sigisama* (the which some thinke was that which at this present they call *Veisama*, in *Guipuscoa* or *Biscaye*, and not *Sigisama Iulia*) where he made three troupes of his forces. Having spent many dayes there, and nothing advanced his affaires, *Augustus* fell sicke with care and travell: wherefore having left the charge of the warre to *C. Antistius*, he caused himselfe to be carried to *Tarracona*. The Cantabrians assailed both by land and sea towards *Gaulle Aquitaine*, came to fight with *Antistius* and *Firminus*, by whom they were defeated in many encounters, and their townes taken. A great number of Gallicians having fortified themselves on a mountaine, then called *Medullius*, neere vnto the river of *Minio*, they were besieged, and so pressed as they must of necessity either fight or yeeld: but having not the courage to defend themselves, and being loath to fall into servitude, they all flew themselves. The Asturians being camped neere vnto the river which gives the name vnto their countrey, thought to surpris the Romane armie, and without doubt had defeated them, if their enterprife had not bene discovered. They were afterwards put to rout by *P. Carisius*, but not without great slaughter of his men. Hee also tooke *Lancia*, the chiefe towne of Asturia, being abandoned. So the warre ended, and at the same instant *Augustus* having dismissed the old souldiours, hee gave them leave to build the towne of *Emerita* in Lusitania, at this day it is *Merida* in Portugall. Then also the towne of *Salduba* was first called *Cesar Augusta*, in honor of *Octavius Augustus*, it is now *Saragossa*, the which he did much enlarge with buildings. Five and twentie yeares before the birth of our Sauour, the way was paved from Cordoua to *Astigi* vpon the Ocean. It appears by this inscription which is at Cordoua, on a pillar of greene stone, whereon *Augustus* name is grauen, and the number of twelve miles, which is the distance from Cordoua to the sea.

Imp. Caesar. Divi. F. Augustus  
Cos. V. III. Trib. Potest. XXI.  
Pont. Max. A. Bete. & Iso.  
Augusto. Ad. Oceanum.  
C. XXI.

This Temple of *Iannus* was by all conjectures built by *Augustus* at Cordoua, in signe of a perpetuall peace. After *Cesars* returne *Sextus Apuleius* Proconsull, shewed some proofes of his valour in Spaine, for the which he triumphed: and afterwards *L. Emilius* suppressed the Cantabrians, and Asturians, who rebelled againe: After which time Spaine was governed by Pretors and Proconsuls, the which are sometimes called in Latine *Præsides*, vnto the time of *Dioclesian* and *Maximin*. *Strabo* saith, That in his time, which was during the empires of *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, the province of *Betica* was given vnto the people of Rome, who appointed a Gouvernour or Pretor, having a Lieutenant and a Treasurer; the rest of Spaine remaining at the emperours disposition: who sent two lieutenants, the one in qualitie of Vice-Pretor, the other as Vice-Confull. The Vice-Pretor, with the helpe of a lieutenant or legat, did justice, and had jurisdiction over all Lusitania, from the river of *Betis* vnto *Duero*: the other part, being *Taracconese*, did obey the Vice-Confull, who had a great armie entertained with three lieutenants; the one commaunded the Cantabrians, Asturians, and the countrey of *Gallicia*; the other governed along the Mediterranean sea; and the third had charge of the inner countries. The Generals place of residence was at *Carthage*, or *Tarracone*. The emperours which came after, made first two, and then one Gouvernour of Spaine, and not alwayes of one sort. About the time of *Maximinian* and *Dioclesian*, the Gouvernours were called *Earles*, and their lieutenants *Vicars*: and when as the Gothes began to erect a kingdome, that small portion which held for the Romanes, along the shore of the province of *Carthage*, and the mountaines of the Cantabrians and Asturians, were governed by Dukes, whom they called *Præfetti*.

*Octavius Caesar*, surnamed *Augustus*, had held the empire about two and fortie yeares, when our Sauour Iesus Christ the eternall sonne of God, was borne God and man, of the virgine *Marie*.

Cruell obstinacie  
of barbarians.

*Emerita* founded  
by *Augustus* at  
*Saragossa*.

Gouvernment of  
Spaine under  
the emperours.

*Earles* and *Vicars*  
governing  
Spaine.  
Dukes called  
*Præfetti*.

The first yere of  
Christ,  
752 of Rome.

Marie, of the tribe of Iuda, in the citie of Beth-leem of Iuda, which was in the yere 757 of the foundation of Rome. The night when as the Lord of peace came vpon the earth, was (as some write) as bright and cleere in Spaine, as the noone day. The computation of times shall hereafter be taken from the birth of our Sauour in the 16 yere of whose life *Augustus* died. Then *Sextilius Henna*, a Poet of Cordoua, flourished in Spaine, being now brought wholly to the manners of the Romans.

21 The Spaniards being much affected to *Augustus*, did obtaine of *C. Tiberius Nero*, his successour, leave to build a goodly temple in honour of him, in the towne of Tarracone. This emperor kept the Gallicians, Asturians, and Cantabrians vnder, with strong garisons, having beene formerly subdued by *Augustus*. In his time they of Lisbonne gaue it out, That they had seene and heard *Triton* in certaine hollow rockes, singing and playing vpon a cornet, as they painted him: And *Plinius* reports, that vpon the sea shore a Nereide had beene seene covered with scales, yea whereas she carried a humane shape; and that they had heard the grones and complaints she made dying. Vnder *Tiberius*, *Vibius Sereus* Proconfull of the further Spaine, accused by his owne sonne, and conuicted, was condemned as a tyrant, and banished into the island Amorgos, one of the Cyclades. *Iunius Gallio*, brother to *Seneca* the Senator, was also banished, for that he had propounded in Senat, to honour the old souldiours which had beene dismissed, with higher seats in the Theatre, and at publike shewes; hauing not first spoken thereof vnto the emperor *Tiberius*. The Spanish flatterers, doing idolatrie vnto princes, would also haue made a temple vnto *Tiberius* and to his mother, the which was prohibited; *Tiberius* saying, That he was a man and no god, demanding no other thing of them, but that they would retaine a good and commendable memorie of him after his death.

The six and twentieth yere of our saluation, *L. Piso*, a great oppressor of the people, was slaine in the hither Spaine, where he was Pretor, by a peasant of Termes, who being taken and tortured, would neuer confesse who had made him to commit this murder. This man slipping out of the officers hands which led him to the racke againe, beat his own head so violently against a stone, as instantly he lost both fence and life. In those times one of the richest men of Spaine, called *Sextus Calarius*, was accused, to haue accompanied with his owne daughter carnally: for the which he was cast downe headlong from the rocke Tarpeien: but his great wealth was the cause of his death, more than his crime.

*Tiberius* had reigned seuentene yeares, when as our Sauour Iesus Christ suffered death for the redemption of mankind, hauing finished the three and thirtieth yere of his life.

22 The healthfull doctrine of our redemption by him, was during the empire of *Tiberius* knowne in Spaine, as some hold: but it is doubtfull who was the Apostle. We read in the Epistles of Saint Paul, that he had a desire to go thither, but it is not certaine that he performed that voyage, although that *Epiphanius* and others do beleue it. The Spaniards affirme, That Saint James the sonne of Zebedee, came thither to preach the Gospell in the seuen and thirtieth yere, and that he onely conuerted nine persons: Others, as Pope *Calixtus*, write, That he had many Disciples, but that he had twelve speciall ones, nine whereof hee conuerted in Galicia. Others affirme, That when he preached at Saragosse, hee dedicated to the virgin *Marie*, the temple which is at this day called *Nuestra Señora del pillar*: and that hauing left two of his Disciples in Spaine, he returned into Iudea. Wee comprehend by the holy writ, that this holy Apostle liued almost all his life in Ierusalem, and thereabouts: and wee know, that *Herodes* caused his head to be cut off, in the third yere of the empire of *Claudius*.

The nine and thirtieth yere of our saluation, as some authors write, *Herodes* and *Herodias* (the which incited her incestuous husband, to cut off Saint Iohn Baptists head) retired themselves into Spaine: who (being spoiled of all their goods and dignities, by *C. Caligula*) dyed there for sorrow. *Caligula* was slaine by *Cherea* and other conspirators: But before them *Emilius Regula* of Cordoua, hauing attempted his death, was preuented and executed. This yere *M. Anneus Lucanus* the Poet, was borne at Cordoua, whose father was *Luc. Anneus Mela*, brother to *Seneca* the Philosopher: his mother was called *C. Atilia*, daughter to *Atilius Lucanus* the Orator. This child being but eight moneths old, was carried to Rome.

23 We haue said, That Saint James the sonne of Zebedee was beheaded in Ierusalem by *Herods* commandement, in the third yere of the emperor *Claudius*. The Spaniards and other authors write, That his Disciples gathering vp his bodie and head, imbarqued it at Iop-

pa,

A pa, and carried it into Spaine, for feare of the Iewes; and that they landed at a place called *Iria Flauia*, now said Padron, where they buried it in a secret place, where since it was discouered, and carried to Compostella. In *Claudius* time liued *Pomponius Aetela*, borne at Mellaria, and *Taranus Graccula*. *Anneus Seneca* of Cordoua, banished by *Claudius*, was in fauour of *Agrippina* (whom the Emperour had newly married) called home againe, made Pretor at Rome, and appointed schoolemaster and gouernor to *Nero*. This *Seneca* was a famous Orator and Philosopher, as it appears by his workes, highly honoured for his great memorie, and auditor to *Socion* the Philosopher: *L. Anneus Seneca* the tragical Poet was his sonne. Then did also flourish *Portius Latro*, a Spaniard, an excellent Orator. Vnder the Emperour *Claudius* there gouerned Spaine, on this side Ebro, *Drusillus Rotundus* his Libertine, with the title of Dispenfer, and *Vmbonius Silio* ruled Betica.

In those times, as *Buter* sayes, *S. Saturnin* was sent into Spaine, he who was afterwards Bishop of Tolouise, and preached at Pampelone, where in seuen daies he conuerted fortie thousand persons; a great number for that place: among the which was *S. Fremin*, a citizen of Pampelone.

In the yere 61 of the natiuitie of Christ, *Otho* (who was Emperour after *Galba*) was sent by *Nero* into Lustania: which prouince hee gouerned tenne yeares modestly, and without oppression of the people; the which was strange, considering the disposition of Spaine, the man.

C In the yere 64 *Lucan* the Poet, a confederat of *Pisos* conspiracie, caused his veins to be opened, and died in the 28 yere of his age. His father *Mela* pressing *Nero* with great importunity, for the restitution of his sonnes goods, was accused as guiltie of the same treason, and forced to haue his veins opened, and so die. *Seneca* was brought to the same death by his disciple *Nero*, against the promises which he had so often made and sworne, not to giue care to his accusers, nor to hurt him in any sort: Seeing the blood comelously out of his veins, he hastened his owne death, with poyson taken in a hot bath, the 114 yere of his age, or according vnto some, the 120. *Paulina* his chaste wife, and a rare president of loue to her husband, caused her veins to bee opened, to follow him: but whether through womanish weakness, or that *Nero* hindered it, he suffered them to be bound vp. *L. Iunius Modestinus Columella* liued also in those times, the author of the bookes of Husbandrie, borne in Gades.

In the yere 70, which was the last of the life of *Nero*, *Silius Italicus* was Confull at Rome, being borne in Italica, a towne in the prouince of Betica, not farre from Seuille: and at that time *Clauius Rufus* was in Spaine with some command. The abominable disposition of *Nero* made the Spaniards and many other nations to rebell against the Romane Empire, a little before his death; for the suppressing of whom, he sent *Sergius Galba*: but this old man (who had before time gouerned the prouince of Tarraconese eight yeares) hauing discouered, and that *Nero* had giuen a secret Commission to kill him, he declared himselfe Emperour, and in stead of a iudge, became head and captain of the rebellion; whereunto both the Prouince and the Romane armie did consent: but his Empire lasted not long, nor of his two successors, *Otho* and *Vitellius*: for in lesse than two yeares they lost both their liues and the Empire; one defeating another, to make place for *Vespasian*, who came vnto the imperiall feat in the 75 yere of the Natiuitie of our Sauour Christ, and graunted vnto the Spaniards the priuiledges of the Latines, which were, That they might demand offices, and enjoy some immunities, but not so amply as the citizens of Rome, yet somewhat more than the liberties of other cities of Italie. *Otho* was the first which joynd Mauritania Tingitania vnto Betica in Spaine, making it of the iurisdiction of Gades. At that time liued *Bellile*, a Spanish Christian woman. *Fabius Quintilian* had beene brought vnto the citie of Rome verie young by *Sergius Galba*: about the 90 yere he erected a schoole at Rome, with a publike pension, and had manie schollers; among the which, they name *Iuuenal* and the younger *Plinie*: As for *Iuuenal*, they doubt whether he were a Spaniard, but *Martial* without all question was borne, and died at Bilbilis, seated neere vnto the place where as now stands Calataud or Calataub, of the name of *Amb* a Moore, who built it with the ruines of Bilbilis. *Canius* a Poet, who liued also in that age, was a Gaditane, and *Decian* of Emerita.

After

*Triton* a diuine  
lyffe. *Augustus*.

*Vibius Sereus*  
a yeoman 70  
weener punished.

*Tiberius* doth  
indifferently refuse  
diuine honours.  
Anno 16.

An exacting 20  
carnous slaine  
by a peasant.

Anno 34.

The Gospell pre-  
ached in Spain in  
*Tiberius* time.

Anno 39.  
*Herodes* and *He-  
rodis* died in  
Spain, at the  
Spaniards of-  
fense.

The Spaniards  
opinion of S.  
James bodie.

Anno 61.  
*Otho* a modest  
Gouernour in  
Spain.

24  
The death of  
many learned  
Spaniards by  
*Nero*.

*Galba* sent 90  
suppreß rebels  
in Spaine.

25  
Anno 75.

Anno 81.  
Domitian the  
second persecutor  
of the church,

After *Vespasian*, his children reigned at Rome. *Titus* in the year 81, and two years after *Domitian*, the second course of the Church of God, in whose time lived *Eugenius*, the first bishop of Toledo, Disciple, as they say, to *Denis Arcopagita*. This *Eugenius* was slain at Paris, whither he was come to visit his master. Of the Flavian familie, from whence these emperours were issued, there remained some markes and remembrances in Spaine, by the denomination of many townes, as Flauio Brigo, Flauium Brigantium, Iria Flauia, Flauium Axatantum, Aqua Flauia in Galicia, &c.

A diuision of the  
government of  
Spaine,

*Domitian* did prohibit by a new edict, That they should not plant any more vines in Spaine, fearing least come should faile them. Vnder these Flavian emperours they number eight Romane Colonies, planted in the prouince of Betica: and foure places for iustice, which they termed Colonels, at Gades, Seuille, Aftigis, and Cordoua.

Lusitania had five Romane Colonies, one priuiledged citie called Olisippo, and now Lisbon, and three seats of iustice at Emerita, Pax Augusta, and Scalabis. In the rest of Spaine which was the quiettest gouernment, there were fourteene Romane Colonies, thirteene priuiledged townes, and ieuon courts for iustice. At new Carthage, Tarracona, Saragossa, Clunia, Asturica, Lugo, and Bracara.

Anno 97.  
26

Traian a Spaniard the third  
persecutor of the  
church,

*Cocceius Nerva* came vnto the Empire in the year 97, a prince who seemed to be called by God, to repaire the confusion which *Domitian* had caused in the world, vnder whom the Christians had some rest. The Spaniards will haue him to be of their nation, but it appears not plainly. But he adopted *Vlpium Traian* a Spaniard without all doubt, borne in the towne of Italica, who through error caused the third perfection of the Church, whereof being admonished by *Plinius Secundus*, he moderated his edicts. *Mancius* a citizen of Rome in this tempest suffered death for the confession of the Christian faith at Ebora in Lusitania, vnder the government of *Valerianus*. By the liberalitie and bountie of *Traian*, Spaine was enriched with many goodly buildings, among the which is the bridge of Alcantara, vpon the riuer of Tayo, where at this day are to be seene these inscriptions following.

The bridge of  
Alcantara Traian  
wrote,

Imp. Cesari Diui Nerue F. Traiano Aug. Germ. Dacico. Pontif. Max.  
Trib. Potes. V. III. Imp. V. I. Cos. V. P. P.

Vnder the Arch is in a Table on the one side,

Municipia.	Interannienfes.
Prouince.	Colarni.
Lusitanice stipe conlata	Lancienfes Transcudani.
Que opus Pontis per-	Arani.
fecerunt.	Meidubrigenfes.
Isaditani.	Arabrigenfes.
Lancienfes Oppidani.	Banienfes.
Talori.	Pesufes.

There is place for three other such like Tables, which haue beene taken away.ouer the dore of S. *Iulians* church, at the end of the bridge, is written that which followeth, in Romane capitall letters.

Imp. Nerue. Traiano Cesari. Augusto. Germanico. Dacico. Sacrum.

Templum in rupe Tagi Superis & Cesare plenum.  
Ars ubi materia vincitur ipsa sua.  
Quis quali dederit voto sortasse requirit,  
Cura viatorum quos noua fama iuuat.  
Ingentem vassa Pontem quod mole peregit,  
Sacra litaturo fecit honore Lacer.  
Qui Pontem fecit Lacer & noua Templa dicamit  
Illis se solum Vota litant.

Pontem

Pontem perpetui mansurum in secula mundi  
Fecit diuina nobilis arte Lacer.  
Idem Romuleis Templum cum Cesare Diuis  
Constituit felix vtrique causa Sacri.

C. Iulius Lacer. H. S. F. & dedicauit amico  
Curio Lacone Isaditano.

The aqueduct of Segobia, is also held to be *Traians* worke, where they may easily observe the stately manner of building of the Romanes. This emperor sent two legions (of fourteene, which were appointed to keepe the prouinces of the empire in awe) into Spaine, to put his edicts in execution, and to rafe all the townes and castles which were situated vpon the mountaines or places of strength: with commaundement to the people, to build in the open country, where the access was easie. Sublancia was ruined by vertue of this decree, and a towne built, which then was called Legio Germanica, or Gemina, according vnto some, but now it is Leon, a royall citie. Vnder *Traian* *Plinie* the younger had charge in Spaine.

Edict to rafe the  
townes standing  
on the mountaines

The citie of Le.  
on built.

Anno 118.

*Adrian*, who was emperor after *Traian*, in the year of our Saviour 118, was also borne in the towne of Italica, in the prouince of Betica, as *Eutropius*, *Orosius*, and *Ser. Sulpitius* doe witnesse. *Domitia Paulina* his mother, was of Gades. He had some instruction, or good opinion of the Christian religion. Being at Tarracone (where he had called a generall assemblie of all the people of Spaine) he caused (at his owne charge) *Augustus* temple, which went to ruine, to be repaired. In which towne he was in danger to haue beene slaine by a slaue that was madde, who set vpon him with his sword drawne, as he walked without any feare in a garden. This slaue being taken, when as the emperor vnderstood that he was madde, he layd nothing, but that they must put him into the Physicians hands. Having subdued the Iewes which were rebelled in Palestina, he sent a great number in exile into Spaine, so as from that time this sect was settled there, & had their Synagogues, vntil the raigne of *Dom Fernando* and *D. Isabella*, in the time of our forefathers. Spaine was then diuided into six gouernments, two ruled by vice-Consuls appointed by the Senat, which were Betica and Lusitania; and foure by the emperours lieutenants, which were the prouinces of Carthage, Tarracone, Galicia, and Mauritania Tingitana, where the strait is.

A generous act  
of Adrian.

Adrian people  
Spaine with  
townes.

27

After the decease of *Adrian*, there succeeded in the empire, in the year 139, *T. Aurelius Fulvius Antonius Pius*, whom the Spaniards hold to be of their nation. As for his successor *M. Aurelius*, comming to the empire in the year 162, he was without doubt of a Spaniard race; for his predecessors were of the towne of Succubite in Betica. Hee was the first which had a companion in the empire, imparting his authoritie with *Lucius Commodus Verus*, who was the fourth persecutor in the Christian Church. In the time of *M. Aurelius*, the Moors invaded Spaine, and did infinit harme: whom notwithstanding hee repulled by his lieutenants, namely by *Seuerus*, who afterwards was emperor. This prince was wise, vertuous, and courteous: but as he was indowed with all good qualities, so his sonne *Commodus*, who reigned after him in the year 181, was detestable and vicious. He was the first of the Romane princes, which through couetousnesse sold offices for money. *Vespasian* had done it before him, but through necessitie, finding the commonweale charged with debts, and the treasure exhausted. Vnder *Commodus* were slaine in Galicia, *Facundus* and *Primitius*, holy Christians fouldiours, vpon the banks of the riuer Cea, by *Atticus* the gouernor. After him, about the year 194, Rome lost two emperours in lesse than a year, *Pertinax* and *Didius Iulian*, so as in the year 195, *L. Septimius Seuerus*, a great personage, borne in Africke, he who had gouerned Spaine in the time of *M. Aurelius*, tooke the government of the empire. Vnder him was the first perfection of the Church, especially in Spaine, whereas *Cornelius* was gouernor, who put *Felix* a priest, *Fortunatus*, and *Archilochus* to death at Valence, for that they had preached the Gospell.

Anno 139.

29

L. Commodus  
Persecutor of the  
Church.

Anno 181.

Anno 195.

The first perfec-  
tion vnder

Vnder his sonne *Caracalla*, *Opilius Macrinus*, *Heliogabalus*, and *Alexander Seuerus*, who reigned from the year two hundred and thirteene, vnto two hundred thirtie and eight, the Spaniard historie doth not furnish any thing memorable, although those times did not passe without great exploits, whereof there remaine some obscure markes among the stones and medallies

M

daillies

dailles. At Gades there is the basis of the image of *Mamma*, mother to *Alexander Severus*, where this inscription is to be seene.

*Julia Mammea. Aug. Matr. Imp. Caesaris.*  
*M. Aurely Severi. Alexandri Pij. F. Aug.*  
*M. Caesarum. Col. Jul. Gem. Accitana.*  
*Deot. Nominis. M. Q. Eius.*

But *Maximin* being come to the empire, the sixth persecution began of the Christians, in the which *Maximus* and many other faithfull were slaine, neere vnto *Tarracone*. After *Maximin* vnto *Decius*, the empire of Rome was in great combustion, by reason of the ordinary murders of such as did affect the soueraintie, for the space of fifteen yeres, in the which there perished by a violent death, *Maximin Balbinus*, *Puennus Gordian*, and *Philip*: during which time we find not any thing of Spaine worth the writing, but that about the yere 241, *Antherus* bishop of Rome did write vnto the bishops of the provinces of *Betica* and *Toledo*, admonishing them among other things to be graue and constant, and not to flee from church to church, if necessitie and the publique good did not presse them: whereby it wil appeare by this history, that their successors had small regard vnto this aduertisement, but haue rather sought their priuat commoditie. Many other epistles of holy men are found written to the bishops of Spaine, and to their churches, & among others an epistle decretall of *S. Ciprian* and other bishops assembled at the Councell of *Africk*, by the which *Basilides* and *Martialis*, Idolaters and infected with many vices, were declared unworthy of all Episcopall dignities: and it seemes that the one was bishop of *Legio Gemina*, and the other of *Emerita*. Whilest that *Decius* gouerned the empire (vnder whom began the 7<sup>th</sup> persecution of the Church) the first Councell of Spaine was held at *Toledo*, whereas *Xyste* a Grecian was present, who soone after was bishop of Rome: yet there is no mention made of this Councell but by Spaniards. The Spanish histories write nothing of this time, nor of *Galvus*, *Valerianus*, nor *Emilianus*, which succeeded him. As for *Valerian*, who came to the empire in the yere 256, he was verie cruel against the Christians, and his persecution is accounted the eight. Vnder him and *Decius*, *S. Laurence* borne at *Ofca* in *Catelogia*, was martyred, whom *Xyste*, who (as we haue said) was come to the Councell of *Toledo*, had led with him to Rome, passing by *Sarragossa*, whereas this holy man spent his time in studie. Vnder the same *Valerian*, by the commandement of *Emilian*, the gouernor, there were also put to death for the faith of Christ, *Fructuosus* bishop of *Tarracone*, with *Augurinus* and *Eulogia*, two deacons, of whom *Prudentius*, a Christian Poet, did write hymnes. *Parmentius* was also put to death at *Cordoua*. *Valerian* author of these wicked persecutions, did soone after receiue a worthy reward for his impietie: for he was taken by *Sapor* king of *Persia*, and kept all his life time ignominiously in chains, the which it seemes did moue *Galien* his son and companion, to leaue the Churches in quiet, although he were the most corrupted prince vpon the earth; whose basenesse caused many tyrants to vsurpe the title of Soueraigne, in diuers provinces of the empire, and encouraged barbarous nations to invade them: for in his time Spaine was full of great troups of Germans, Saxons, and French, vnder the conduct of *Anthaire* and *Lothaire*, princes, who ruined *Tarracone*, and poyled the country, almost for the space of 12 yeres. To the former martyres we will adde *Narcissus*, who came to *Girona* to preach the Gospell.

30 After *Galien*, *Claudius* was emperor, vpon whom *Tetricus* vsurped Spaine and Gaule, being the chiefe strength and finewes of the empire. During the raigne of *Aurelian* (vnder whom was the ninth persecution of the Church) and of *Tacitus* and *Florian*, which were from the yere 273, vnto 280, there is no mention made of Spaine. But *Probus* gaue leaue to the Spaniards and Gaules, to plant vines: for good husbands held it not profitable for the common weale, that the land should be too much imployed to this kind of plant: but *Probus* was much affected to it, and therefore he caused the mountaines of *Almus* and *Aureus* in *Hungarie* and *Myfia*, to be planted at his owne charge. In his time the Spaniards did mutine, but *Saturinus* did pacifie them. One called *Bonifus*, borne and bred in Spaine, whose father was a Britan, and his mother a Gauloife, a great drinker, caused himselfe to be proclaimed emperor in *Germanie*, and with one *Proculus* would haue seized vpon Spaine, Gaule, and other prouin-

Anno 241.

*Basilides and  
Martialis con-  
demned by the  
Councell of  
Africke.  
The seventh  
persecution.*

Anno 256.  
The eighth perse-  
cution vnder  
Valerian.

*Saxons and  
French invade  
Spaine.*

The ninth per-  
secution vnder  
Aurelian.

31

A prouinces: but they were defeated by *Probus*. The short empire of *Carus Numerianus* and *Carinus*, make no mention of any thing that belongs to Spaine. *Dioclesianus Iouius*, who succeeded them in the yere 288, & *Maximianus Herculeius*, made companion of the same dignity the yere after, haue left (by their great crueltie against the faithfull) an infamous memory of them, in Spain, & throughout all the world. They made an edict in the yere 306, That all the Christians temples should be beaten downe, and all those that confessed Iesus Christ, tormented and massacred. This was the 10<sup>th</sup> & the cruellest persecution of the Church of God: for during the space of 10 yeres, there was nothing to be seene but burning of temples, running away of poore innocents, murders, and executions of martyres, wherof Spaine (it may be) did furnish as many as any nation in the world, to their great commendation. The names of these constant witnesses of the truth of Christ, I should not be suppressed. In *Sarragossa* there were 13 at one time, of whom the Christian Poet *Prudentius* made a goodly hymne. These were *Optatus*, *Successus*, *Yrhanus*, *Pubius*, *Felix*, *Euentius*, *Lupercus*, *Martialis*, *Iulius*, *Fronto*, *Cecilianus*, *Primitius*, *Quintilianus*, *Apodemius*, and foure *Saturnines*. *Encratia* a noble virgine, daughter to a great nobleman of *Lutrania*, betrothed to a duke or gouernour of *Gaule Narbonoife*, did there also end this fugitive life. *Dacian* was then Gouernour of Spaine, and a diligent minister of these impieties; who residing at *Sarragossa*, and seeing the constancie of the Christians to surpasse his inhumanitie, he caused a proclamation to be made by the sound of the trumpet, that all those that were Christians should depart the towne, and haue leaue to retire where they pleased. The faithfull being joyfull hereof, went forth in great troups, thanking God for this libertie, thinking they would suffer them to depart: but they were not gone farre from the gates, before they were compassed in by armed fouldiours, and cut in peeces. The multitude of those that were thus villanously murdered, was verie great, and therefore in those dayes the Christians by a certaine humane affection, more than for any religion, made account of the ashes, bones, and all things which did belong vnto those holy martyres, and did reuerence the places where they had frequented, or were buried: not for any superstition, but to incite the liuing to imitate their pietie. This cruell Gouernour hauing committed this horrible massacre, sought also to deprime the faithful seruants (if any remained in the country) of all comfort: Wherefore hauing gathered all their bodies together, and murdered vpon them all the offenders, which were committed for any crimes, he burnt them all together, that the ashes (being thus mingled) should not be gathered vp by the Christians: wherupon the bruit was, That God (meaning to giue a testimonie of the innocencie of his people) made the ashes of the faithful to appeare verie white among the rest, the which, with a small shewer which fell, were gathered together in white heapes: wherof those which haue come after, being moued with another zeale than the Christians of those times, haue made their profit. *Lambert* serueng a country man, was also beheaded, for that he would not renounce Iesus Christ. The bruit was, That hauing taken his head in his hands, he went two good leagues, vntil he came vnto the place where the bodies of the martyres aboue mentioned lay, and that there he began to sing, *Exultabunt sancti in gloria*, and that they answered, *Et letabuntur in cubilibus suis*; and then he fell vpon them: the which I will not call into question, considering the end of myracles. There were many others put to death in Spaine, for the profession of the Gospell, during the gouernment of *Dacian*, whose names for breuities sake I omit, being not much pertinent to a historie. *Dacian*, a bloudie instrument of these cruelties, was during these executions slaine with fire from heauen. The like persecutions were in the other prouinces of the empire.

At this time liued *Prudentius*, borne in the prouince of *Cantabria*, of the country which is now called *Alaba*: he was bishop of *Tarracone*, and not the Poet aboue mentioned. There is a decretall epistle extant of *Melchisedech* bishop of Rome, who liued in those times, vnto the bishops of Spaine, touching the Primacie of the *Romane Sea*: but it fauours not of the *Latine* stile of that age, no more than those of *Marcelin*, *Marcellus*, *Eusebius*, *Syluester*, *Marce*, *Iulius*, *Liberius*, *Damasus*, and *Syriscus*: which must bee read with iudgement. As for the politike Artes of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, although they were great, and worthe of memorie, yet the histories of Spaine make no mention of them. They receiued into their companie to gouerne the empire, *Maximus Galerius*, and *Constantius Chlorus*: the last in a good time tooke vpon him the gouernment of Spaine and Gaule, who dying

M ij

The wicked end  
of *Dacian* the  
persecutor.

Anno 288.

Anno 306.

Edict to ruine  
the Christian  
churches.  
of 7 he sends perse-  
cution.

Martyres at  
Sarragossa.

From a humane  
affection the  
ancient Christi-  
ans in growning  
superstition,  
which in the end  
became im-  
pious.

in England, left the dignitie of *Cesar* to *Constantine* his sonne, who leamed the first principles of religion, of a certaine Spaniard, as some write. *Galerius* adopted *Seuerus*, and *Maximian* the young. At the same time *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* resigned the imperiall dignitie at Milan: but *Maximian* repenting himselfe, as he did strive to resume his authoritie at Rome, being rejected by his sonne *Maxence* and the Pretorian souldiours, he fled towards his son in law *Constantine*, against whom he practised treason, and was slaine at Marcellus. *Dioclesian* a strange monster, who caused himselfe to be called, Brother to the Sunne and Moone, and to bee worshipped, lived long a priuie life: but God shewed a testimonie of his wrath vpon him in the end of his dayes; for he died madde, eaten with vermine, and so infected and sinking, as none could endure to come neere him, howling (as *Nicophorus* writes) like a dog. *Galerius* likewise himselfe, as cruell as a butcher; for he had bene from his youth. *Seuerus* was slaine by the faction of *Maxence*, whom the Pretorians had created *Cesar*. *Maximian* the younger died eaten with wormes, having bene vanquished neere vnto Tharfe, by *Licinius*, whom *Constantine* had sent against him. *Maxence*, a cruel tyrant, and therefore hated of the Romans, as he thought to make head against *Constantine*, was defeated in battel neere vnto Rome, and drowned himself in the riuer of Tiber: all cruell and bloudie princes, enemies to the Church of God, remarkable for such as persecute it. After these, *Licinius* and *Constantine* held the empire, the one in the East, the other in the West. But *Licinius* who had married *Constantine's* sister, a cruell and barbarous man, an enemy to Christians and all learning, tearing them a plague to the commonweale, hauing no good thing in him, but that he persecuted the courtians, whom he feared, sought to breake the order made betwixt him and *Constantine*: wherefore after that he had bene suppressed aboue once, and reconciled to his brother in law, by the meanes of his wife *Constance*, he was slaine by his commandement at Thessalonica; so as *Constantine* called the Great, remained sole emperor, who gave peace vnto the Churches, much desired, and (if they could haue vsed it to the aduancement thereof) most happy. This prince did great honour vnto the Christians, embraced the true religion, endowed the churches with rents and riches, caused the Gentiles temples to be beaten downe in many places, assembled by his imperiall authoritie the Councell of Nice in Bithinia, in the year 326, or 328, where there met 318 bishops of diuers countries; among the which was *Osius* bishop of Cordoua, who was also at the Councell of Gangre, celebrated the same year. That of Nice is held the first generall Councell, where the impietie of the Arians was condemned, the which notwithstanding did afterwards infect many nations. That *Constantine* made a donation of the cite of Rome, of Italie, and of all the Westerne empire, vnto *Siluester* then bishop of Rome, or that he had declared him head and primar ouer other bishops, and granted vnto him and his successors, other things contained in that which is called *Constantine's* donation, besides, that Pope *Pius* the second doth yeast at it, there is no receiuable testimonie therof, nor any probable coniecture: besides, the histories of following emperors, do argue the contrarie, euen they of the West. In the time of this emperor the Northerne nations muaded Spaine, and spoiled that part of the countrey which lies neere the Ocean, from Galicia vnto the strait: whither he led a great army, chased away the enemies, & restored the Spaniards (which were fled into mountaines) vnto their houses, and settled an order in the prouince, as well for that which concerned the temporalltie, as the churches. There was a prouinciall Councell held by his commandement at Illiberis, at the foot of the Pyrenees, some call it Eliberis, a towne in the marches of Grenado: whither came *Helena* the mother of *Constantine*, with *Constantine* his eldest sonne, to whom he had assigned the Gauls and Spaine, for his portion. In this Councell Spaine was diuided into five prouinces; that is, that of Tarracone, Carthage, Betica, Lusitania, and Galicia, in either of the which there was a Metropolitan appointed at Tarracone, new Carthage (to whom Toledo hath since succeeded) at Seuille, at Merida, and at Bracara. Some hold, that this Councell was more ancient than that of Nice, among which *Bentley* affirms, That *Constantine* bishop of Cordoua, *Osius* predecessor, was there present: others say, that it was *Osius* himselfe, & *Quintian* bishop of Ebora. Some beleue that the emperor *Constantine* was not baptized vntill he drew neer his death, being deceived by the error of some, which beleued that the circumstance of places gaue more authority to baptism: for he had a great desire to be baptized in Iordan. Many thought, that in the end of his daies he fel into the heresie of the Arians, for that he had banished *Athanasius* by the persuation of the Arians, & that his sister *Constance*

The miserable  
and of tyrants.

Licinius an ene-  
my to learning.

33  
Constantine a  
good prince.

Anno 326.

Nice the first  
generall Councell

A false donati-  
on ascribed to  
Constantine.

Illiberis where  
Gallicia was  
built.

Spaine vnder  
Constantine di-  
uided into five  
prouinces.

A living with him was an Arrian: but it is most certaine, that before his death he commanded that *Athanasius* (should be called home againe, and that he did not beleue the confession of faith, nor the exposition made by *Arrius*, after that he had called him from banishment, but sent it to the Councell of Ierusalem, there to be examined. Of *Constantine's* deeds in Spaine there are many medaillies found in that countrey, and elsewhere, in our time, that beare witness. After him there reigned in the West *Constantine* and *Constantius*, his sonnes, the East remaining to *Constantius* their brother. To *Constantine* was assigned Spaine, Gaule, and the islands of Britaine, or that which the Romans held there. But *Constantine* being a proud and turbulent prince, he would make warre against his brother *Constantius*, and take Italie from him: in which enterprise he was slaine neere vnto Aquileia, in the 25 year of his age: wherefore all the prouinces of his portion fell vnto *Constantius*: in whose time the Poet *Aurelius Prudentius* *Clement* was borne at Sarragossa, or rather at Calaoorra: *Pacian* bishop of Barcellona flourished in doctrine and good life.

The peale of *Arrius*, granted by *Constantine* the great, had caused greater troubles in the Church than before: for being returned into Alexandria, he had confirmed his doctrine, and drawne many bishops vnto him; yea the emperor *Constantius*, who held the empire in the East, was infected with this error, and did persecute the faithfull beleueers: so as *Athanasius* being banished againe by him, and *Paul* of Constantinople, who retired to *Constantius* his brother, they wrought so, as by the consent of the two brethren princes, a generall Councell was called at Sardica, a towne in Illiria; whither came two hundred and fiftie bishops, among the which was *Osius* bishop of Cordoua, who was then verie old, *Ammianus* of Calculo, *Cosius* of Sarragossa, *Domitian* of Augusta (that is to say, Bracar) *Florentine* of Emerita, and *Pretextatus* bishop of Barcellona. There the confession of the faith, or Symbole of the Councell of Nice, was confirmed: But at the same time by reason of the bad agreement which was betwixt the two brethren *Constantius* and *Constantine*, there was another assemblie of the Eastern bishops at Philipopolis in Thracia, who agreed not with any that held with *Athanasius* and *Paul*. And after that there was another held at Syrmium in Hungarie (whither *Constantius* went in person) and others elsewhere. The Councell of Sardica being ended, *Constantius* entreated his brother *Constantine*, to restore *Athanasius*: the which he did, partly for loue, and partly for feare of warre: But *Constantius* being dead, *Athanasius* was forced to saue himselfe by flight, being accused to haue perswaded *Constantius* to make warre against his brother for his sake: and then the Arrian bishops began to persecute them that made profession of *Athanasius* his doctrine, more cruelly than the Dioclesians or Maximians. The Councell of Syrmium, contrarie to that of Nice, was held in the year three hundred and threescore, or three hundred fiftie and six, according vnto some, whereas many wicked decrees were made and maintained, especially by *Photinus*, bishop of that place, who reuined the blasphemies of *Samoatenus*, denying the two natures in Iesus Christ, borne of the virgine *Mary*.

This Councell, to suppress all controuersies, would disguise the tearme and manner of speaking, received in the Church; and in stead of saying, That Iesus Christ was consubstantiall with the Father, or of the same essence, they propounded the tearme of Like in essence: Which two words in the Greeke tongue, doe somewhat symbolize, *homoiousios*, and *homoiousios*. By this disguising, vnder which the poison lay hidden, the good old man *Osius* the Spaniard, hauing constantly maintained the truth all his life time, suffered himselfe to be deceived and wooen: whether that his great age had dulled his vnderstanding, or that he did it for feare of the emperor, who examined him vpon that point, and threatened him in the towne of Rimini, where hee had againe assembled many bishops, causing him to commit this error; saying, That both the one and the other said well. But the Orthodoxes did soone after reject that word of *homoiousios*, as captious and deceitfull. *Osius*, as *Isidore* writes, dyed soone after in his impietie, stricken with the hand of God, in his bishopricke: and that being brought to Cordoua, *Gregorie* bishop of Illiberis, according to the Edict made by *Constantius* the emperor, against the Christians, to force them to the Arians opinion, he refusing to yeld vnto it, *Osius* prest *Clementine* Gouernour of the prouince, to banish him: but he answered, That he could not banish a bishop before he was deposed from his bishopricke, and judged incapable. Whereupon *Osius* richly attyred like a king, meaning to giue sentence against *Gregorie*, who

Constantine the  
young had Spaine  
and other prou-  
inces for his  
portion.

The Councell of  
Sardica.

Councell of Syrmium.

Arrius perse-  
cutes the faithfull

Anno 360.

The error of  
Osius.

The maximian  
did not meddle  
with leges  
men, before they  
were degraded.



*Of the  
wilde heresie  
of Godlyth.*

*Anno 369.*

*The Gothes in  
made the Ro-  
man empire.*

*The impietie of  
Valens.*

*Anno 383.*

*Anno 388.*

*Priscilian the  
heresie belee-  
d at 1 reus.*

*Bishops excom-  
municated for  
that they made  
themselues cre-  
mond parres a-  
gainst an heret-  
icke.*

lay prostrate vpon the earth, praying vnto God, that he would maintaine the glorie of his G name, and his truth, against all Apostats: the which he demanded earnestly, not to saue his life, the which he was ready to loote a thousand times for the confession of the faith, but to the end the simple should not be abused with the deceits of the Apostat *Ofius*. Whereupon it happened, that as *Ofius* was ready to pronounce sentence against *Gregorie*, he fenne downe to the ground, hauing his mouth and necke drawne on the one side, and fo dyed. The Gouvernor amazed at this strange accident, kneeling downe, asked *Gregorie* forgiuenesse, confessing his ignorance, and exculing it vpon the commaundement of the emperor his prince. These things are written by *Ildorus*: but *S. Augustine* giues a better testimonie of *Ofius*, writing against *Parmenian*.

In the year of our redemption 369, there came vnto the bishopricke of Rome, which was not yet soueraigne, *Damasus* a Spaniard, borne at Vimaranes, a place in Portugall, betwixt Minio and Duero, three leagues from Braga: he succeeded *Felix*, who was an Arrian, and therefore not numbered in the catalogue of the Bishops of Rome; for that they would make this sea without all blemish. Among his other qualities, they say, he was a good Poet: Saint *Ierome* was his Secretarie. During the time of *Constantines* children, *Iuuenius*, a Spaniard priest, and Poet, liued. *Constantinus* the emperor was already dead, with *Julian* and *Iouinian* his successours, of whom Spaine hath nothing to speake. And then did *Valentinian* raigne in the West, and *Valens* in the East. Under *Valens* the Gothes chased by the Dacians, invaded the Roman empire, whereas at the first they were received in peace: but the couetousnesse and wickednesse of Governours made them take armes, so as there grew a sharp warre, in the which the emperor *Valens* himselfe was slaine. This nation did erect a kingdome in Spaine, whose race, according to the common opinion, hath continued vnto this day. The emperor *Valens* was addicted to the Arrian heresie, to Negromancie, and other impieties. We read, that being carefull who should succeed him in the empire, he was deceived by the enemy of mankind, a murdurer from the beginning, who shewed him the letters of *E. O. A.* and persuaded him, that his name that should hold the empire after him, should begin with them: Whereof the emperor growing jealous, he cauled all the *Theodores*, *Theodoses*, *Theophiles*, and others, whose names were compounded of *Theos*, to be slaine. But *Theodosius*, who succeeded him, a Spaniard borne, fell not into his hands. Hee was adopted by *Gratian* in the year three hundred fourescore and two, or fourescore and three, according to some, and raigned after him in the East, *Valentinian* the second brother to *Gratian* holding the Westerne empire. His father was called *Theodosius*, and his mother *Thermantia*, and descended from the race of *Traian*. During his empire, there came out of Italie into Spaine, *Paulin* the Poet, a great friend to *Aufonius*, who became a monke, and liued a solitarie life. At the same time *Priscilian* bishop of Auila, published his heresie, mingled with the impieties of the Manicheans and Gnostiques, the which was condemned in a Councell held at Bourdeaux, some time after. He was a sectarie to one *Marke*, a Disciple to *Basilides*, who during the empire of the *Antonines* had brought this heresie into Spaine, where it was received and fauoured by a great ladie called *Agape*, and drew to his opinions *Helpidius* a Rhetorician; so as this mischief lay smothered for a time, vntill that *Priscilian* did publish it: a man issued from a noble familie in Gallicia, eloquent and subtile. The fourth year of *Theodosius* empire, which was in the year three hundred fourescore and fix, or fourescore and seuen, there died at Constantinople in *Theodosius* his court, *Athanasius* king of the Gothes, who was become a friend and allie to the Romanes. *Ildorus* affirmes, That the year following the Gothes, being impatient of the Roman yoke, did chuse *Alaric* for their king. Others hold, that it was 14 yeares after, whereof we will intreat at large in the next booke.

In the year 388 *Priscilian* hauing bene condemned in the Councell of Bourdeaux, he retired to Treues, to a tyrant called *Maximin*, some call him *Clemens Maximus*: who hauing M caused *Eudodius* his constable to hear him, he cut off his head, and of other his sectaries, among the which was *Matronianus* a Spaniard, an excellent Poet. *Ithacius* and *Visigatus*, Bishops, were accusers, and parties against *Priscilian*, by reason whereof they were excommunicated and banished. *Sigebert* saith, That it was taken ill, when as by the accusation of any man a Bishop was put to death. For one hereticke, author of a sect in Spaine, there liued in those times many religious and learned men; as *Lucinius*, *Betius*, *Abigant*, *Abundius*, *Anitus*,

A *Anitus*, *Olympus*, *Audentius*, *Vigilantius*, who although he were a Gaule, yet he did reside at Barcelona; against whom *S. Ierome* did write very vehemently, for that hee did condemne the superfluous honour done vnto the reliques. *Theodosius* hauing in the year 387 made his sonne *Arcadius*, Cæsar; tenne yeares after he aduanced *Honorius* his other sonne to the same dignitie, who after his decaise were Emperours, *Arcadius* in the East, and *Honorius* in the West, by the death of *Valentinian* the second, and of *Eugenius* the tyrant: these two princes were borne in Spaine, as the Poet *Claudian* writes. In their time the Gothes began to disperse themselves ouer the West, where they committed infinit spoiles, vntill in the end they seized themselves in Gaule, Spaine, and lastly in Italie, blemishing the name and maiestie of the Emperours in their rich Prouinces.



## THE FIFTH BOOKE OF the Historie of Spaine.

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*Ofus stricken  
with the hand  
of Godly wrath.*

*Anno 369.*

*The Gothes in-  
made the Ro-  
man empire.*

*The impietie of  
Valens.*

*Anno 383.*

*Anno 388.*

*Priscilian the  
heretic killed  
at Trent.*

*Bishops excom-  
municated for  
that they made  
themselues cru-  
cified parties as-  
gainst an here-  
ticke.*

lay prostrate vpon the earth, praying vnto God, that he would maintaine the glorie of his G name, and his truth, against all Apostats: the which he demaunded earnestly, not to faue his life, the which he was readie to loofe a thousand times for the confission of the faith, but to the end the simple should not be abused with the deceits of the Apostat *Ofus*. When upon it happened, that as *Ofus* was readie to pronounce sentence against *Gregorius*, he fenne downe to the ground, hauing his mouth and necke drawne on the one side, and so dyed. The Governour amazed at this strange accident, kneeling downe, asked *Gregorius* forgiuenesse, confessing his ignorance, and excusing it vpon the commaundement of the emperor his Prince. These things are written by *Isidorus*: but *S. Augustine* giues a better testimonie of *Ofus*, writing against *Parmenian*.

In the year of our redemption 369, there came vnto the bishopricke of Rome, which was not yet fouveraigne, *Damasus* a Spaniard, borne at Vimaranes, a place in Portugall, betwixt Minio and Duero, three leagues from Braga: he succeeded *Felix*, who was an Arrian, and therefore not numbred in the catalogue of the Bishops of Rome; for that they would make this sea without all blemish. Among his other qualities, they say, he was a good Poet: Saint *Ierome* was his Secretarie. During the time of *Constantines* children, *Iuuenius*, a Spaniard priest, and Poet, liued. *Constantius* the emperor was already dead, with *Julian* and *Iouinian* his succellours, of whom Spaine hath nothing to speake. And then did *Valentinian* raigne in the West, and *Valens* in the East. Vnder *Valens* the Gothes chafed by the Dacians, intiaued the Romane empire, whereas at the first they were receiued in peace: but the couetousnesse and wickednesse of Governours made them take armes, so as there grew a sharp warre, in the which the emperor *Valens* himselfe was slaine. This nation did erect a kingdome in Spaine, whose race, according to the common opinion, hath continued vnto this day. The emperor *Valens* was addicted to the Arrian heresie, to Negromancie, and other impieties. We read, that being careful who should succeed him in the empire, he was deceived by the enemie of mankind, a murderer from the beginning, who shewed him the letters of *Eloa* and perswaded him, that his name that should hold the empire after him, should begin with them: Whereof the emperor growing jealous, he caused all the *Theodores*, *Theodoses*, *Theophilus*, and others, whose names were compounded of *Theos*, to be slaine. But *Theodosius*, who succeeded him, a Spaniard borne, fell not into his hands. Hee was adopted by *Gratian* in the year three hundred fourecore and two, or fourecore and three, according vnto some, and raigned after him in the East, *Valentinian* the second brother to *Gratian* holding the Westerne empire. His father was called *Theodosius*, and his mother *Thermantia*, and descended from the race of *Traian*. During his empire, there came out of Italie into Spaine, *Paulin* the Poet, a great friend to *Anselmus*, who became a monke, and liued a solitarie life. At the same time *Priscilian* bishop of Auila, published his heresie, mingled with the impieties of the Manicheans and Gnostiques, the which was condemned in a Counsell held at Bourdeaux, some time after. He was a sectarie to one *Marke*, a Disciple to *Basilides*, who during the empire of the *Antonines* had brought this heresie into Spaine, where it was receiued and fauoured by a great ladie called *Agape*, and drew to his opinions *Helpidius* a Rhetorician; so as this muchiefe lay smothered for a time, vntill that *Priscilian* did publish it: a man issued from a noble familie in Gallicia, eloquent and subtile. The fourth year of *Theodosius* empire, which was in the year three hundred fourecore and six, or fourecore and seuen, there died at Constantinople in *Theodosius* his court, *Athanaric* king of the Gothes, who was become a friend and allie to the Romanes. *Isidorus* affirms, That the year following the Gothes, being impatient of the Romane yoke, did chuse *Alaric* for their king. Others hold, that it was 14 years after, whereof we will intreat at large in the next booke.

In the year 388 *Priscilian* hauing beene condemned in the Councill of Bourdeaux, he retired to Treues, to a tyrant called *Maximin*, some call him *Clemens Maximin*: who hauing caused *Eudodius* his confable to heare him, he cut off his head, and of other his sectaries, accused the which was *Matronianus* a Spaniard, an excellent Poet. *Itacius* and *Priscian*, Bishops, were accusers, and parties against *Priscilian*, by reason whereof they were excommunicated and banished. *Sigebert* saith, That it was taken ill, when as by the accusation of a mean man a Bishop was put to death. For one hereticke, author of a sect in Spaine, there liued in those times many religious and learned men; as *Lucinus*, *Beticus*, *Abigaus*, *Abundius*, *Anitus*,

*A. Anitus*, *Olympus*, *Audentius*, *Vigilantius*, who although he were a Gaule, yet he did reside at Barcelona; against whom *S. Ierome* did write very vehemently, for that hee did condemne the superfluous honour done vnto the reliques. *Theodosius* hauing in the year 387 made his sonne *Arcadius*, Cæsar; tenne years after he aduanced *Honorius* his other sonne to the same dignitie, who after his decease were Emperours, *Arcadius* in the East, and *Honorius* in the West, by the death of *Valentinian* the second, and of *Eugenius* the tyrant: these two princes were borne in Spaine, as the Poet *Claudian* writes. In their time the Gothes began to disperse themselves ouer the West, where they committed infinit spoyles, vntill in the end they seized themselves in Gaule, Spaine, and lastly in Italie, blemishing the name and maiestie of the Emperours in these rich Provinces.



## THE FIFTH BOOKE OF the Historie of Spaine.

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The Gotthes  
come out of Asia  
into Europe.

**B**Eing to treat of the Gotthes kingdome in Spaine, it is fit to know from what region they are come, and by what accidents they first feated themselves in Spaine, Honorius sonne to Theodosius the Great then reigning in the West.

Gotthes, Gotes, &  
Gepides, all one  
nation.

The Gotthes are issued from the Getes, and their first beginning was in Asia: they passed into Europe long before, and did first seize vpon the higher countrey of Thrace and Myfia, which is at this day Bulgaria, Bosnia, Rascia, Seruia, and it may be, a part of Hungarie; and in the end they came to either banke of the river of Danube: and then by degrees peopling all that lyes betwixt that river and the Northerne shore of the Baltike sea, they did in the end hold all that continent, which extends it selfe in manner of an island in the bosome thereof, with all the neighbour islands. They were famous for a long time in Dacia, in those regions which wee now call Valachia, Transyluania, and Moldavia, where they were called Getes and Gepides. In the times of Alexander the Great there were certaine encounters betwixt the Grecians and the Gotthes, not farre from the island of Peuce, aboue Constantinople, at the mouths of Danube, or Ister, as they called it in that place. *Syrmius* reigned ouer that nation at that time. We read also, That *Iysmachus*, one of *Alexanders* successors, was vanquished in battaile, and taken by a king of the Gotthes, whom hee afterwards set freely at libertie, and married his daughter. After which, in tract of time other nations being mingled with them, those which did inhabit the great Peninsule, which the auncients called Scandia and Scandinavia (yet little knowne to them) retained the name of Gotthes and the language; the which, as some affirme, was like vnto that of the Celtes: others hold, That it was the Teuton or Dutch tongue: which languages being corrupted, differ much at this day from those times, when they were in their greatest puritie. From these Northerne regions, which containe at this day the realmes of Suetland and Denmarke, often and vpon diuers occasions there came great troupes of people, who tooke possession againe of the countreies joyning to the Venetique or Baltike sea, and of the islands thereof, chasing away the inhabitants, and aduancing into the maine land, they did repofesse Dacia and Myfia, and ouerun the higher Thrace, vnder *Fithmer*, sonne to *Ganderic*, who was the fift king after this returne. In these countreies they planted their bounds vpon the Danube, and there reigned some ages: they did encrease their fame with great victories, and did giue their name to many nations whom they subiected. They invaded the Ro-

mane

**A** mane Empire in the time of *Decius*, vnder the conduct of their king *Grua*, and did vanquish the Romanes in a great battaile, whereas *Decius* and his sonne were slaine: after which, by many victories they made themselves fearefull to the Romanes, so as the Emperours were often glad to haue them for friends and companions in arms; and by the vertue and valor of their troupes, which they entertained, did often execute great matters.

About the time of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, *Hermanaric* reigned ouer the Gotthes, who vanquished many nations: who notwithstanding yielded to the force of the Hunnes, fathers to the Hungarians, who came at that time out of Asia into Europe, in great numbers, through the fennes of Meotides. *Hermanaric* being dead, and *Vithimir* his successeor slaine in battaile, the Gotthes estate was ouerthrowne, and troden vnder foot by the Hunnes: wherefore such as would not liue vnder the Conquerors subjection, retired themselves into diuers other countreies. *Athanaric*, who had shewed himselfe an enemy to *Valens*, in supporting *Procopius* his rebell, would not trust him, and therefore he tooke his course towards the North, and did inhabit with his troupes in the forrests of Sarmatia. But *Fritigerne* and *Alaun* being followed with a great number of Gotthes, came vnto the bankes of Danube, vpon the confines of the Empire, where desiring to be admitted to dwell with the other subjects, *Valens* consented, supposing that they should serue as a rampier against forraigne nations, that would invade the empire on that side.

Distinction of  
the East and  
West Gotthes.

Then there arriued vpon the same marches *Vithieric*, sonne to *Vithimir*, with his tutors *Alatheus* and *Safrax*, and also *Farnabe*, conductors of other great troupes. Then did the Romanes begin to distrust these people, into Ostrogoths or East Gotths, and Visigoths or West Gotths: calling those which did remaine vnder the domination of the Hunnes, Ostrogoths; and those Visigoths which had passed the Danube, and dwelt in Hungarie, Myfia, and Thracia: the which distinction was ancient among them, according to their countreies and abodes, and was againe practised in Italie, Gaule, and Spaine, when as this nation had crected kingdomes there; whereof the princes were diuided into two families or factions: that is, the *Hunels* or *Amals*, and the *Baltes*.

Christian religion  
among the  
Gotthes.

The name of Iesus Christ had beene many yeares preached among this nation, before the Emperour *Valens* time: for we read, That at the Councell of Nice, which was vnder *Constantine* the Great, among others, there came *Theophilus* a Bishop of the Gotthes: wherefore they were already Christians and Orthodoxes, although there were some idolatrous princes among them, and by consequence, part of the people: so as when they came vpon the territories of the Empire, *Valens* reigning in the East, they had Bishops, whereof the most famous was *Vulphilas*.

The manner how they became Arrians, is reported by *Theodorite*, in the fourth booke of the Ecclesiasticall Historie, saying, That after the Gotthes had passed the river of Ister or Danube, and that they had made their peace with *Valens*, *Eudoxus* who was an Arrian, perswaded *Valens*, who was also infected with this heresie, to draw the Gotthes to his opinions, for that conformance in religion would make the peace more firme. Wherevith *Valens* hauing acquainted the princes & heads of the Gothike nation, they made answer, That they could not chage the doctrine of their ancestors. Then *Eudoxus* addressing himselfe to *Vulphilas*, whom he knew to be couetous and ambitious, he prevailed so with faire words & money, as he got him to perswade the Gotthes to receiue the Emperors confession of faith: the which he did, saying, That they were but childish contentions, and debates for words, and not for doctrine: for this *Vulphilas* was in great credit with the Gotths, and they say, that he inuented the Gothike letters, and translated the Bible into that tongue. Thus were these people governed by their Bishops and Prelates: they were a free people and courageous, and withall, tractable and apt to learning and Philosophie, the which they learned, frequenting with more ciuile nations: hardie and valiant, and yet familiar and liberal; apt to arms, tall and of a goodly stature, strong and patient to endure all the discomforts of warre.

Gotthes made  
Arrians by the  
Romans.

Devotion of the  
Gothike nation.

This new nation being seated in the territories of the Empire, the Emperour was aduised to make his profit of them, and to draw money and other commodities from them for their dwellings, and for the vse of the land, water, and ayre which he graunted them: the which he could well put in practise, especially his gouernors & lieutenants, so as this nation found themselves in a short time oppressed with a harder seruitude vnder the Romane Empire, than their countreymen

The crueltye,  
warres, and  
invasions of  
Arrians of Valens  
and his lieutenants  
against the  
Gotthes.

treymen were vnder the Hunnes: For the Gothes being distressed for victuals, *Lupicin* and *Maximus* Gouvernours of Thrace, invented all the wicked devices they could to make them poore, and to strip them of that they had, making them to eat dogs and other beasts, for every one of which they were forced to give a man to be a slave. Besides *Lupicin* having caused *Fritigerne* and *Alauin*, captains of the Gothes, to come to Martianopolis, to conferre with them vpon the complaints which were made of these inhumanities, hee incensed them with proud and injurious words: so as having cunningly escaped out of his hands, they afterwards declared themselves enemies to the Romane Empire, so as there grew a great and cruell warre betwixt the Gothes and the Romanes, by the which the Emperour and his lieutenants were punished for their couetousnesse and impieties: *Lupicin* seeking to suppress the spoyle which the Goths made, was defeated, and in the end after many vnfortunat encounters betwixt both parties, the Emperour *Valens* having lost a battaile, where the best of his men died, he also lost his life, being burnt by the Gothes in a country house, into the which he was retired wounded, after the losse of the battaile: and without the valour and wisdom of *Theodosius* (whom God raised vp to succeed *Valens* in the East) the Gothes had rooted out the name of the Romanes in that country. But *Theodosius* a Spaniard, a wife and vertuous prince, did suppress them, and afterwards made a peace with them: so as after the death of *Fritigerne*, his successor *Althamarie*, a friend and well affected to the Romane Empire, died in *Theodosius* court: after which, the Gothes remained 14 years quietly vnder the Romane Emperours, without any king of their nation, vntill that *Alarie*, one of their captives, who had served *Theodosius* in his warres against *Eugenius* the tyrant, rebelled, and put the Gothes in armes, *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, sonnes to *Theodosius*, sitting in the imperial seat.

3 The Gothes disdain to be any more subject to the Romanes, and meaning to chuse a king of their owne, there grew a sedition and warre among themselves; some desiring *Alarie*, others *Radagase*: but *Alarie* had the foueraigntie. Wherefore *Radagase* with aboute two hundred thousand of that nation went into Italie, whilst that *Alarie* oppressed Hungarie; against whom *Stilico*, who gouerned the Westerne Empire vnder *Honorius*, opposed himselfe: and finding this armie of Gothes shut vp in the Appennine hills, bordering vpon Tuscane, it was consumed with hunger and pouertie: their leader *Radagase* was taken and strangled, and those which remained, were sold in great troupes, for slaves, at a small rate. This *Radagase* was an idolatrer, and would haue planted idolatrie againe in Italie. It was at such a season, when as the Romane Empire was in greatest combustion, especially in the West: for besides the inuasion of the Gothes in Italie, the Frenchmen, a people of Germanie, bordering vpon Gaule, sought to make a breach there, and entred in great troupes vpon the countrey adjoining vpon the riuer of Rhene: against whom, *Stilico* (who was a Henete or Sclauonian borne) meaning to fortifie himselfe with barbarous nations called into Gaule the Bourguignons, Sueues, Alanes, and Vandales, nations which were chased out of their countries; on the one side by the Hunnes, and on the other by the Gothes: who afterwards raged and spoiled Gaule themselves, and would haue seized thereon; for the which they had many encounters with the Emperours Lieutenants, with variable successe. Great was the vertue and valour then of *Constantius Patricius*, who gouerned Gaule Narbonoise, the which wee now call by the name of Prouence and Languedoc, by whom the Vandales were repulled, and forced to passe into Spaine; where for a time they did ouerrun the countrey, and being afterwards followed by the Alanes and Sueues, they sought to settle themselves there. *Gunderic* reigned ouer the Vandales, *Hermeric* ouer the Sueues, and the Alanes were commaunded by *Resplandian* or *Atee*, according vnto some. These diuided Spaine betwixt them: so as the Alanes should make warre in the countrey of Carthagene, and in part of Portugall or Lusitania, as it was then called: part of the Vandales, called Silinges, should conquer Betica, called since Andalusia: and the other Vandales, with the Sueues, should settle in Galicia.

4 After the defeat of *Radagase*, *Alarie* marched into Italie with a great armie, and demanded to diuide the Empire with *Honorius*; to whom by the counsell of *Stilico*, *Honorius* granted the possession of Gaule and Spaine, who were also in prey to the French and other nations. *Alarie* and the Gothes marching towards the Alpes, doubting no surprize, were charged by an armie which *Stilico* had sent after them, to keepe them from spoyleing Italie,

Defeat of the  
Emperour Valens  
armie, and his  
miserable end.

Theodosius a  
good Prince.

Alarie chiefe  
of the Gothes.

Radagase slain,  
and his armie of  
Goths routed.

The French in-  
uade Gaule.

The Barbarians  
diuide the con-  
quest of Spaine  
betwixt them.

Alarie pusheth  
into Italie.

A Italie, vnder the commaund of a Jew called *Saul*, who had a secret commaundement to see vpon the Gothes armie, when they should be most busied in the straits of the mountaines; the which hee could not put in execution: for the Gothes seeing themselves betrayed, gathered their forces together, and put themselves in battaile as well as they could, defending themselves so valiantly, as the imperiall armie was defeated: wherefore *Alarie* being victor, and full of a furious desire of reuenge, leauing the way to Gaule, he turned backe, and did miserably spoyle the countries, which were since called Lumbardie, Tuscane, and Romania, putting all to fire and sword, euen to the gates of Rome; the which he tooke after a long siege, and sacked it, pardoning the holy places, and those that were fled into them. From thence hee did ouerrun Italie, euen vnto the furthest bounds: then returning towards Rome, hee died suddenly neere vnto Cosence, and was buried in the riuer of Barlette, turned out of her course for that cause, and afterwards drawne againe into her old bed by the Gothes: who after his death made choice of *Ataulphe*, his cousin, for their king, being a very wise man. Having brought backe the armie to Rome, he spoiled all that remained of the first sacke: yet he was somewhat pacified by the loue of *Placidia* Galla, sister to the Emperour *Honorius*, being prisoner whom by reason of her nobilitie and beaurtie, he married at Forly in Romania. From that time hauing some respect to *Honorius*, as his allie, he refused to leaue Italie, and take his way into Gaule, according to the first agreement betwixt *Honorius* and *Alarie*; where hee created the kingdom of the Visigothes, restrained the French within certaine limits, and helped to chase away the rest of the Vandales, Alanes, and Sueues, beyond the Pyrenees, where he afterwards pursued them.

A little before these accidents, one *Constantine*, of a simple souldior being growne capitaine of the Legions which were in great Britaine, hauing laine a tyrant who had seized vpon that island vnder the Roman Empire, called *Gratian*, had passed into Gaule, to vsurpe the imperiall title there, and from thence had sent Gouvernours into Spaine. But two noblemen Spaniards, *Didimus* and *Seuerianus*, or *Verianus*, or *Perinianus* (for this diuersitie is found in authors) rich and mightie men, opposed themselves: and seeking to preferre the prouince for the lawfull Emperour, they gathered some troupes together, of friends and subjects, and seized vpon the passages of the mountaines, to keepe these gouernours and their companies from D passing. Against these Spaniards, the tyrant sent a sonne of his called *Constant*, whom hee had drawne out of a Monasterie, and proclaimed him *Cesar*: who being followed by an armie of Barbarians, which he called Honoriaques, he defeated and slew the two brethren. These Honoriaques being masters of the straits and passages of the Pyrenees by this victorie, and hauing afterwards rebelled with their capitaine *Gerontius*, they (as some hold) deliuered Spaine to the Vandales, Alanes, and Sueues, after the death of the tyrant *Constantine*, and of his sonne *Constant*, whereof the one was taken at Arles, and the other dispatched at Vienna: These nations joyning together to rob and spoyle, Palantia, since called Palenza, was the first towne of Spaine, which fell in prey to these Barbarians, who besieged Toledo in vaine, ransomed Lisbon, and committed infinite spoyle, whilst that E *Maximus*, another tyrant, being rebelled against the Emperour, fought during these contributions to make himselfe king of Spaine of another side: who being taken by them that did yet reuerence the maiestie of the Romane Empire, he was deprived of his vsurped royalty, yet his life was saued.

Spaine for the space of two yeares was thus miserably oppressed, as well by tyrants as by these cruell nations: so as there remained nothing but the mountaines of the Cantabrians, at this present Biscaye and Nauarre, in the quiet possession of the Romanes, maintained by *Constantius Patricius*, who was the Emperours Lieutenant on this side the Alpes: which was at such time as the Vandales, Sueues, and Alanes made the diuision of Spaine. Then did *Ataulphe* passe into Spaine, to dispossesse them, according to the right hee had by an accord made with *Honorius* his brother in law: but as he was at Barcelona, he was slaine, with six children which hee had had by another wife than *Placidia*. The time and cause of his death are not reported alike. *Iornandes* sayth, That he was slaine (hauing reigned three yeares in Spaine and Gaule) being thrust into the flanke by *Vernulphe*, whom he was accustomed to jest at. Some affirme, That he had been chased, and forced to passe into Spaine by *Constantius Patricius* Gouvernour of Gaule.

The

5  
Treacherie of  
Stilico and his  
fear of the emper-  
our's army.

Rome taken by  
the Gothes.

The death of  
Alarie.

Ataulphe Alaric  
his successor  
sacked by  
Placidia.

Constantine a  
tyrant.

Maximus a  
tyrant.

Ataulphe slaine  
by his own men.

Ann. 402.

The first Councell of Toledo.

Learned men in Spaine.

The Christian religion during these troubles and foraine inuasions was not neglected among the Spaniards: for in the year 402 (although others write 420) was held at Toledo the first Councell by 29 Bishops, where *Patron* Bishop of Toledo did preface against the heresie of *Priscilian*. He had bene Bishop of Auila, and had published an heresie mixt with the errors of the Gnostiques, Manicheans, and ancient Philosphers: among other opinions, he maintained, That the soule of man was a portion of the Diuinitie: he was condemned first at a Councell held at Bourdeaux, and from thence he appealed to *Maximus* the tyrant, who caused him to be heard at Treues; then he commanded his head to be cut off, with some of his followers. This Councell notwithstanding gaue place to a single life, and decreed, That priests should liue continually vnmarried. This decree was contradicted by *Prigilantius*, who lived then at Barcelona, who did also write against the abuse of reliques, against whom *S. Ierosme* was very bitter. Many learned men liued at that time in Spaine, as *Lucinius*, *Abigaus*, *A. bundius*, *Auitus*, *Olympus*, *Audentius*, *Turbius*, *P. Orosius*, and others: yet the Church was declined much from her ancient puritie, and then grew in request ceremonies, vowes, meritis, reliques, and miracles; for the clergie was then much infected with couetousnesse and ambition. Then came the Vandales and Gothes, who were all infected with the heresie of Ariian, who did in some sort persecute the good, as we shall heare.

*Astaulphe* being dead, the Gothes did chuse *Sigeric* for their king, who reigned but a year, and was slaine by his owne men, in disdain that he was too desirous of peace. He left many children, *Giseric*, *Humeric*, *Guntermund*, *Trafamund*, and *Hilderic*: yet *Vallia* succeeded him, to the end he should breake the peace with the Romanes: but God had otherwise decreed, for he confirmed it more. With him (according vnto some) begins the reigne of the Vice-Gothes in Spaine.

### Vallia first King of the Gothes.

Ann. 418.

Vallia a friend to the Romanes, makes warre against the Barbarians in Spaine.

Alanes and Vandales defeated by the Gothes.

In the year of Christ 418 *Vallia* was chosen king of the Gothes, whereof next vnto *Narbonne*, *Tolouse* was the royall seat. In his time the French began to erect a kingdom in Gaule vnder *Pharamond*. *Constantius Patricius*, Gouverneur for the Emperour in Gaule and Spaine, was admitted by *Honorius* to the dignitie of *Cesar*, which in those dayes was a degree to attaine vnto the Empire, as in our time the dignitie of king of Romanes, during the life of the Emperour of Germanie. This *Vallia* shewed himselfe a friend and well affected to the Romane Empire. He restored *Honorius Placidia* his sister, widow to king *Astaulphe*, whom he had honoured, and kept in his house since the death of her husband. She was afterwards married to *Constantius Cesar* aboue mentioned, by whom she had *Valentinian* the third, who was the last Emperour in the West vntill *Charlemaigne*. *Vallia* vnderooke by a contract made with *Constantius*, to chase the barbarous nations of Vandales, Alanes, and Sueues, out of Spaine, to the benefit of the Romane Empire, and his owne: whereupon he entred into Spaine, being called by *Constantius* to begin this warre, in the year 420, and assailed the Alanes and Vandales, who held *Betica* and *Lusitania*, slew their king *Atace*, and reduced them to that extremitie, as those few which remained went and joined with *Gunderic*, who reigned ouer the other Vandales in *Gallicia*: the battaile wherein they were wholly defeated, was giuen neere vnto *Emerita*, the which is *Merida* in Portugall. These victories obtained, he meant to passe into *Africke*, but he was put backe by a storme, and therefore returned into Gaule, where hee purchased vnto the Gothes all the country from *Tolouse* to the Ocean, bounded in by the *Pyrenee* mountaines, and the riuer of *Garonne*.

Sometime after the Alanes, which were retired to *Gunderic* in *Gallicia*, shooke off his yoke, being loth to subiect themselves vnto him, and returned into *Lusitania*, *Betica*, and the prouince of *Carthage*, yet not chusing any prince over them: there they obtained certaine lands, and liued tributaries to the Romanes, dispersing themselves as farr as the riuer of *Ebro*, and to the foot of the *Pyrenee* mountaines, where some maintaine, that of their name the country of *Cattologne* was called *Cattalania*, for that they did inhabit there, being mingled with the *Cattes*, a nation of Germanie, which had passed with them into Spaine. In *Gallicia* (which contained at that time part of the realme of Portugall) there grew debate betwixt *Gunderic* king of the Vandales, and *Hermeric* king of the Sueues, fo

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As they fell to armes, and the Sueues were besieged in the mountaines called *Narbascens*: where in Spaine between the Vandales and Sueues, but the Vandales left them there, despising that barren country, and came into the prouinces of *Betica* and *Carthage*, the which they foraged: then passing into the islands of *Majorca* and *Minorca*, they sackt them: returning into Spaine, they tooke and ruined *Carthage*, and brought backe their armie into *Betica*, the which was afterwards called *Vandalusia*, of their name: there they ruined the towne of *Seuille*, and made the country desolate. *Gunderic* died at the sacke of *Seuille*, vpon the threshold of *S. Vincents* temple, which he had commanded should be spoyle: he was sonne to *Godigisique*, after whose decease *Giseric* or *Genserich* his bastard brother was chosen king of the Vandales.

*Vallia* entred againe into Spaine, to suppress the spoyles and cruelties of these Vandales, whither there was also sent by the Emperour a captain called *Castinus*, who should ioyne with *Boniface* Gouverneur of *Africke*, and jointly make warre against the Barbarians. But as *Castinus* had nothing in him but vanitie and foolish presumption, he disdaind *Boniface*, who was a valiant and wise nobleman; against whom hee did also bandie *Estius* Gouverneur of *Galles*, either through emulation and enuie, or for some other cause of hatred: so as when *Vallia* came with his armie of Gothes to set vpon the Vandales, *Boniface*, who was retired into his gouernment of *Africke*, being incensed, sent messengers vnto *Genserich*, to sollicite him to passe the strait, promising to giue him means to lodge himselfe in *Africke* with all his men, in despite of the Emperour; the which fell out happily for him, being oppressed with many enemies: wherefore he left Spaine, but not without blood: for in a battaile which was giuen him by the people of Spaine, subjects to the Romanes, and by the Gothes, he slew twentie thousand of his enemies vpon the place at his departure. The Vandales being then passed into *Africke* with all their families, there remained not any forraigne power to make head in Spaine, but that of the Sueues, with their king *Hermeric*, who being fallen into a grieuous sicknesse, died about that time, after he had languished long. In the meane time *Vallia* incensed against the Vandales, prepared to pursue them into *Africke*, but he was preuented by death, hauing reigned 22 yeares.

### 2. Theodoric or Roderic.

Theodoric succeeded *Vallia*, *Valentinian* the third being Emperour in the West, in the year 440. *Hermeric* about a little before his death had so pacified the people of *Gallicia*, as he reigned ouer them, and of two nations he made one, taking his sonne *Rechilan* for companion, whom he made his heire and successor in the kingdom, and sent him into *Betica* or *Vandalusia* against *Andenot*, a Romane captaine, whom he defeated neere vnto *Singil*, a riuer vpon that continent, where he was much enriched. Returning, he besieged *Merida*, tooke it, and enlarged the kingdom of the Sueues, the which had a beginning about the year 437. *Theodoric* reigning ouer the Gothes, they brake the peace made by *Vallia* with the Emperour *Honorius*, & besieged *Narbonne*, the which was relieved by *Licorius*, Gouverneur in those parts for the Empire vnder the Generall *Estius*: but *Licorius* was defeated soone after by the same Gothes, the which was a great prejudice to the Romanes. By reason of this defeat, the peace was renewed among these potentates.

*Rechilan* being king of *Gallicia* after his fathers decease, hee sought also to enlarge his limits: wherefore he first assailed *Vandalusia*, and the country about new *Carthage*, the which he made subiect vnto his crowne, and did wholly suppress the name of the *Silinges* Vandales in *Betica*. Hee made a certaine composition with the Romanes, to whom he yielded the country of *Toledo* in *Carpetania*, and new *Carthage*, called now *Carthage*.

*Theodoric* hauing also made a peace with the Romanes in Gaule, made a designe vpon Spaine; yet being called backe to ioyne with the Romanes against the Hunnes, who were entred in infinit numbers into Gaule vnder *Attila*: hee was in that memorable battaile, whereas *Attila* was defeated, in the which there died about an hundred and eightie thousand men vpon the field; and among others, *Theodoric* king of the Gothes, hauing reigned fouretee yeares, according vnto some. The cause of this warre, which *Attila* vnderooke; was his bad disposition to ruine the whole world: whereunto he was incited by *Genserich*, king

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Warre in Spaine between the Vandales and Sueues.  
Betica taken also name of Vandalusia  
The loss of Seville and Africke.  
Boniface desired to goe into Africke to see the Vandales.

Ann. 440.

Romanes assailed by the Sueues in Spaine, and by the Gothes in Gaule.

Rechilan 2. king of Sueues in Gallicia.

Defeat of Attila Anno 453.

Five kings in the battell whereof Attila was defeated.

Reccilaire third K. of the Sueues in Gallicia.

king of the Vandales, who was trecherous, cruell, and inhumane, having a desire to ruine the Visigothes in Gaule and Spaine, both for that he had bene chafed and pursued by them, as also fearing that *Theodorice* their king would seeke to reuenge the injurie done vnto his daughter, who being married vnto *Humeric*, the sonne of *Genferic*, had bene sent backe by him vnto her father disfigured without a nose, vpon a suspition which *Genferic* had, that she would haue poysoned him. In this battaile there were five kings: *Attila* king of the Hunnes, Generall of the warre: *Valamir*, of the Ostrogothes, who were tributaries to *Attila*: *Theodorice*, of the Visigothes in Gaule and Spaine: *Ardaric* of the Gepides, and *Meroue* of the French. This was in the yere 453, and was fought in the fields of Maroché, a word corrupted of *Maurice*, otherwise called Cathalaunians: a battaile as remarkable as hath bin since the deluge, in regard of the great number of men that were in arms, and the strange designs of *Attila*, a common enemy of all mankind. Besides those that died in the battell, there was an encounter the night before betwixt the Gepides and the French, in the which there were about 90000 men slaine.

*Reccilaire* died a little before in Merida, being an idolater, and after him his sonne *Reccilaire* reigned ouer the Sueues in Gallicia, who was baptized, and had received the Christian religion. Hee had also married a daughter of *Theodorice*, king of Gothes, whereby he grew proud, aspiring to great matters. He iouaded the *Valscons* country, which is now *Nauarre*, and spoiled it. From thence he went to see his father in law, and in his returne, with the helpe of the Gothes, he sackt *Sarragosse*, and all the country which we now call *Arragon*, the which obeyed the Empire. He spoiled that of *Carthage*, the which his father by a treatie made with the Romanes had yielded vnto them. This past before the defeat of the Hunnes.

### 3. Torismund.

An. 453.

10 A Fter that *Theodorice* had bene slaine in that great battaile, the which was woon by the fauor of God, and to the great glorie of all the countries of Europe, against that cruell tyrant *Attila*, his sonne *Torismund* succeeded him ouer the Visigothes, whose seat was at *Toulouse*. He had many brethren, *Theodorice*, *Frederic*, *Turic*, *Rothemer*, and *Humeric*. *Ætius* lieutenant Generall for the Emperour *Valentinian*, made him jealous of them, least they should seize vpon the realme in his absence, aduising him to goe speedily to *Toulouse*, and to cause himselfe to be crowned. This *Ætius* did, for that he distrusted the Gothes, whom he loued not neere him; yea, he was grieved to see this young prince full of courage after this victory lately gotten against the Hunnes, hauing a desire to pursue the remainder of this defeated army, and to root them out quite; the which *Ætius* held not profitable for the Romanes: for knowing the nature of the Goths to be proud and active, he feared, that being puffed vp with many victories, they should enter into the territories of the Romanes: wherefore he suffered the remainders of the defeated armie of the Hunnes to slip away, which gaue his enemies subject to disgrace him with the Emperour *Valentinian*, who afterwards put him to death: whereby (as some saide) he cut off the right arme of his estate; for he was a wise and valiant captain: yet some say, That betwixt *Torismund* and *Attila* there were some happie encounters for the Gothes. *Torismund* I. hauing reigned three yeares, was slaine by his enemies, as he was let bloud, being sicke. They write, That one stole away his armes, which he kept by his bed, yet hauing a penknife in his hand, he slew some of the murderers which came to assault him. It is doubtfull whether they were his brethren, or others by their procurement. Some say, That the murderers name was *Ascalene*, and that he reigned but a yeare.

*Torismund* slain by his brethren by procurement.

### 4. Theodorice the second of that name.

A damnable desire of reuenge.

11 T *Theodorice* the 2. succeeded his brother *Torismund*, about the time that *Valentinian* the 3. was slaine by the friends of *Ætius*. The Empire of Rome was held by one *Maximus*, who married *Eudoxia* by force, being widow to *Valentinian* that was slaine, thinking by this conjunction to be more respected in the imperial dignitie, which he vsurped; but this woman mad for the wrong she thought was done vnto her, sought to be reuenged of *Maximus*, to the prejudice of her selfe, of Rome, Italy, & of the whole Empire: for by the means of *Boniface* she caused *Genferic* to come out of Africke, who with an army of Vandales, Afrikanes, Moores, & others, entered

A entered Rome, and slew *Maximus*, sacked and burnt the towne, spoiled all Italie, and led away *Eudoxia* and her daughters, with many thousands others, prisoners into Africke: yet afterwards he set *Eudoxia* and her daughters free, except one, whom he kept to marrie to his sonne. This was done by a treatie made with the Emperour *Martian*, who reigned in the East at Constantinople, who also suffered *Theodorice*, in recompence of the succours which the Visigothes had giuen the Romanes against *Attila*, to reigne in Spaine, and to get what hee could from the Sueues.

*Theodorice* then entered into Spaine in the yere 458, against whom, *Reccilaire* king of the Sueues opposed himselfe, reigning in Lusitania and Gallicia: there was a battaile fought neere vnto the riuer of *Vrbic*, twelue miles from Asturica, betwixt Asturica and Leon, in the which the chiefe of the nobilitie of the Sueues were slaine, and *Reccilaire* was constrained to flee himselfe by flight: meaning to passe into Africke, to *Genferic* king of the Vandales, hee was put backe by a tempest to Porto, and there taken and deliuered to *Theodorice*, who caused him to be slaine, although he were his brother in law. Gallicia being come into *Theodorice* in power by this victorie, he left one of his captains called *Acclius* of Auerngne, Gouverneur in his name, whilst that he pursued his conquests: but when as *Acclius* saw that *Theodorice* had turned his back, he caused himselfe to be proclaimed king, and seized vpon the kingdom, forgetting his faith, and the dutie which he ought vnto his master, who had honoured him so much: wherewith *Theodorice* being much moued, he returned, and finding him readie to resist him, he fought with him, and slew him vpon the place.

C The Sueues desirous to be reconciled to *Theodorice*, caused their Bishops to sue for their pardon; the which they not onely obtained, but he also gaue them leave to chuse a king of their owne nation. So the Sueues in the furthest parts of Gallicia made choice of *Masdra*, the sonne of *Masila*, for their king; but being of sundrie opinions, another faction proclaimed *Franta*. *Theodorice* after all this passed into Lusitania, meaning to sacke Emerita or Merida, but either for the respect he bare to *S. Enalite*, or for feare (as they say) he did abstaine. From that time hauing diuided his armie into three, he sent one part into Vandulisia, vnder the command of a captain named Cherula or Ceurila: another into Gallicia, led by *Sigeric* and *Nepotian*; these did much annoy the disagreeing Sueues: and he himselfe with the other third part returned into Gaule Gothique, which was Languedoc, where in few dayes he tooke Narbonne, by the treason of Count *Agrippin* or *Raunernius*, who was Gouverneur thereof: or, according vnto some, hee received it of *Gilon*, who then reigned in Fraunce, during the time that *Childeric* was in exile, meaning by this bounty to fortifie himselfe with the Visigothes against the French, who began to be discontented with his exactions and tyrannies. The maiestie of the Romane Empire in the West was then troden vnderfoot, after the death of *Valentinian*: for in euery prouince the gouernours and captains of armies caused themselves to be proclaimed Emperours, and supported one another: so as Spaine was wholly abandoned to the Visigothes, and the Gaules to them and the French, and to petty tyrants.

E The Sueues being diuided in Gallicia, had chosen (as is said) two kings: one faction would haue *Masdra*, the other obeyed *Franta*, but he died within few daies; after whom, the same faction did chuse *Reccimund*, who hauing made an accord with *Masdra*, they entered jointly with a great armie into Lusitania, and spoiled it. *Masdra* was slaine by his owne people; after whom, that partie created *Frumar* king, but *Reccimund* opposed himselfe: so as these two petty kings impatient one of another, fell to spoyle Gallicia, one on the one side, and the other on the other side. *Frumar* being dead, *Remismund* or *Arismund*, the sonne of *Masdra*, ther on the other side. *Frumar* being dead, *Remismund* or *Arismund*, the sonne of *Masdra*, brought all the Sueues vnder his obedience, and was peaceable king of Gallicia. The Sueues since *Reccilaire* had received the Christian religion, reasonably pure concerning the principall points, and had continued in the same, vntill the time of this king *Arismund*, who received a certaine Gaule called *Aix* an Arrian, thinking ill of the myserie of the holy Trinitie, into Gallicia, who infected the whole country with his heresie, the which was maintained many yeares by many kings, whose names and deeds haue bene buried by writers in hatred of their impieties.

In the same time there had bin ten Emperours in Italie of small fame, and of lesse exploits, who made no great opposition against the Visigothes and French: so as the one seized

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An. 458.

Defeat of the Sueues, and the death of Reccilaire.

Acclius punished for his treachery.

Humanitie of the Gothes to the Sueues was quelled.

Gouernours ambitious and dissyll.

Four kings of the Sueues in Spaine.

Arismund R. K. of the Sueues.

Refignation of  
Bispricke re-  
posed.

upon Spaine, and the other upon Gaule, leaving but very obscure markes of the imperiall authority: it may be for the good of these two rich regions, who were better governed under those generous and free nations, than they should have beene under the Romanes, who were corrupted with all vices, and but a medley of all other nations. In these times the Bishops of Spaine would in their life time chuse successors to their Bishopricks; the which was reproved in a Councell held at Rome, under Pope *Hilarie*. *Remismund* or *Arismund* sought friendship and peace with *Theodorice*, the which he did courteously graunt: and moreover, *Theodorice* made an alliance with him, by the marriage of a daughter of his, the which hee sent him under the conduct of *Salan*, Maior of the palace, with rich presents. *Remismund* growne proud with these honours, he seized againe upon Lusitania, where he tooke Conimbrica, and spoiled it: Lisbon was deliuered vnto him by *Lusides*, who commaunded there: during which things, *Theodorice* was slaine at Tolouse by his brother *Euric* or *Henry*, hauing reigned fouretecn years: vnder him liued *Sydonius Apollinaris*, who of an Earle became a Bishop.

### 5. Henry or Euric or Eoric.

Ann. 471.

Exploits of  
Henry.

Prodigies.

Henric an Arri-  
an a persecutor  
of the Church.

**12** Desire to reigne induced *Henry* to kill his brother *Theodorice*, who (as some say) received that which he had done to another: for some did thinke, that *Theodorice* and *Frederic* had bene authors of the death of *Torismund* their eldest brother. *Leon* was at that time Emperour of Rome, sitting at Constantinople. As soone as *Henry* was seated in the royall throne of the Visigothes, he entred into Spaine with a great army, and seized vpon the whole country on this side Elbro; for he tooke Pampelone, Sarraosse, and other places of the province of Tarracona: then running into Lusitania, and seeing the combustions which were in the Romane Empire, on this side the Pyrenees, he assailed Arles and Marseilles, and joynted them vnto his kingdome, and defeated *Riome*, king of the Britons, who came against him in fauour of the Romanes, with twelue thousand men. *Vindemir*, brother to *Theodomir*, and vncle to *Theodorice*, an Ostrogothe, being king of Italie, brought him forces out of Hungarie, and gaue him means to seize vpon part of Gaule. Hee caused the Gothes lawes to be set downe in writing, who vntill that time had bin governed by customes. Being at Arles, where he held a generall assembly in armes, according to the manner of that nation, they did see the yron of their launces and other weapons change colour, looking greene, red, blacke, yellow, and of diuers other colours; and soone after the king died, hauing reigned 17 years: He was an Arrian, as his predecessors, and did persecute the churches, shut vp the temples, and caused them to be hedged about with thornes, that they should forget the way to assemble. During the reigne of this *Henry*, *Odoacer* a Herule or Saxon entred into Italie, who hauing forced *Augustule* (who termed himselfe Emperour) to leaue his purple robe, he made himselfe king of Italie, the which he held the space of 15 or 16 years.

### 6. Alaric.

Punishment of  
a treacherous  
Governor.

**13** *Alaric* succeeded his father *Euric*, being the second of that name, who reigned ouer the Visigothes at Tolouse, when as *Clouis* the first Christian king reigned ouer the French. In his reigne the Romanes had yet some lands in Spaine, and in Gaule, where they had gouernours; one of the which called *Burdamel*, seized vpon the country which he commaunded in Spaine, and became a tyrant, but he was taken by the Gothes, and burnt at Tolouse in a bull of brasse. *Apollinaris* was also at that time Earle, and gouernor of Auvergne, kinsman to *Sydonius*.

Warre for terri-  
tories betwix  
the French and  
the Visigothes.

Before this time the Visigothes and the French had been good friends: but *Clouis* with most of his people hauing embraced the Christian religion, and left their idols, he thought himselfe bound to pursue those that were not of the same opinion, and to force them therunto by armes. He therefore fell in dislike of *Alaric* and the Visigothes, for that they were Arrians: besides, he tooke an occasion, for that his enemies and the banished men of France had sought refuge at Tolouse and other places belonging vnto *Alaric*: and moreover *Clouis* complained, That a day and place being appointed them to parle, he was aduertised, that *Alaric* had layd an

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**A** ambush to kill him: wherefore there grew a great quarrell betwixt these two princes, the which they would decide by single combat betwixt themselves: but king *Theodorice* (who had newly dispossessed *Odoacer* of Italie, and there erected the kingdome of the Ostrogothes, a wife and valiant prince) reconciled them for that time, and the Visigothes turned the warre into Spaine, where they tooke Tortose, and slew one *Peter* who had played the tyrant there, whose head was carried to Sarraosse.

The hatred betwixt the French and the Gothes encreased daily, so as they must come to blows, and there was a battell fought neere vnto Poitiers, in the plaine of Voglad, 10 leagues from the towne, whereas *Alaric* was slaine, and with him *Apollinaris* Earle of Auvergne. There was also another battell neere vnto Bourdeaux, where there were an infinit number of Gothes Arrians slaine, so as the place is to this day called the field of Arri. Among the spoiles of the Visigothes, there were certaine vessels found, consecrated in eld time to the temple of Ierusalem. This king *Clouis* is by some called *Lodomir*. By means of these victories the French seized vpon Aquitain, & on Tolouse, the chiefe towne of the Visigothes, they besieged Carcasone, and meant to pursue their victorie, but *Theodorice* coming out of Italie, made them to rayle their siege.

At that time Toledo was the royall towne in Spaine. Many Christian Bishops chafed out of Africke by the Vandales Arrians, were retired into Italie; from whence some were sent in to Spaine. At that time liued *Fulgentius*, Bishop of Ruspe, a learned & an eloquent man, who was chased away and persecuted by the Arrian Gothes. *Alaric* (as the Spaniards write) had married *Amalasunta*, daughter to *Theodorice*, king of the Ostrogothes and of Italie, and had a sonne by her called *Amalaric*, who was yet a child, when his father died: wherefore *Geslaric* (who was bastard brother to *Alaric*) tooke the gouernment of the kingdome, his brother hauing reigned 22 years.

### 7. Genfolaric or Gesslaric.

**14** *Genfolaric* was sonne to *Euric*, by a concubine, hee vsurped the crowne at Narbone, *Ann. 508.* his nephew *Amalaric* being yet but five years old. He was bafe and a coward: for being assailed by *Gundebault* king of the Bourguignons (who had also erected another kingdome in Gaule, to the prejudice of the Romanes) after that he had received a great rout neere vnto Narbone, he fled ignominiously into Spain, and shut himselfe vp in Barcelone, vntill that *Ilba* (sent by *Theodorice* king of Ostrogothes, grandfather as they sayd by the mothers side vnto yong *Amalaric*) came out of Italy to chase him from thence. Some make this *Gesslaric* bastard sonne to *Alaric*, and brother to yong *Amalaric*.

This *K. Theodorice* sent 80000 men out of Italie into Gaule against the French, to reuenge the death of *Alaric*. *Ilba* (who was General) joyned his forces with the Visigoths, and defeated the French, where there were about 20000 of them slaine. Prouence remained then vnto the Ostrogothes, and was a member of the realme of Italie, and Languedoc and Gasconie returned vnto the Visigothes, as before. *Ilba* then past into Spaine, to settle the estate of yong *Amalaric*, and chased *K. Gesslaric* out of Barcelone, the third year of his reigne, who fled into Africke to the Vandales, hoping to recover his dignitie by their means, but he labored in vaine: wherefore being returned into Gaule, he was slaine neere vnto Durance.

### Amalaric eight King of the Gothes.

**15** The Spaniards write, That *K. Theodorice* came out of Italie (where he had reigned 18 years) expressly into Spain, to settle his grandchild *Amalaric* in his kingdome, where (as they say) he continued 15 years, and that *Clouis* the French king being dead, and his kingdome diuided betwixt his foure sonnes, they made a peace with yong *Amalaric*, & assured him their sister *Clotilde*, restoring to him Tolouse, or at the least the vniuersity of it. This treatie was made with *Theodorice* his grandfather and tutor.

**16** Under these Arrian princes the Christian religion was somewhat maintained by the Bishops, touching the fundamentall points, although intermixed with superstitions, the which encreased daily. There assembled tenne Bishops at Tarracona, who decreed, That the feast of

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Toledo the chief  
towne of the  
Goths kingdom  
in Spaine.

Ann. 508.

French defeated  
by the Ostro-  
gothes.

Ann. 511.

Councils at Tar-  
racona, Sarra-  
osse, and other  
places.



Sunday should begin on Saturday. From whence it came that in Spain and many other places they hold it a profane thing to work on the Saturday; no not the women to spin. This Council makes mention of the first Monks in Spaine. At Girona was another prouinciall assembly of 7 Bishops: at Sarraçosse of 12: in Illerda at the foot of the Pyrenes of 8: at Valence of 6 Bishops, whereas alwaies the Bishop of that place did preside. These Councils were not very free nor assured in the Arrians jurisdiction: but in those places which the Romans did yet hold in Spaine, the pure Christian religion was fauoured. The counsell of Sarraçosse did ordayne, that no Nun should were a vayle nor be professed before the age of 40 years. *Theodorick* king of the Ostrogoths, regent in Spaine, tooke to wife, as the Spanish authors write, a noble woman of that countrie, at whose intreatie he set at libertie all those of her nation that were in prison, and had by her a sonne, called *Seuerin*, Duke of Carthage, father to *Leandre* and *Isidore*, who were faints. The 15 year of his gouernment, he resigned the kingdom of the Visigoths to his graundchild *Amalaric*, being now of age to commaund, and returned to the taking of the king, and the end of the Vandales royaltie, the which had continued in these countries 113 years. Vnder the reign of *Amalaric* was celebrated the second Council of Toledo by eight Christian Bishops, although the king were an Arrian. He hauing (as we haue said) married *Cloilde*, daughter to *Clovis* king of France, intreated her verie ill, by reason of the diuersitie of religion (for the was well instructed) so as going through the streets, the people cast stones and durt at her in contempt: being retired the wip' t' off the bloud and durt with a handkerchiefe, the which she sent vnto her brethren, letting them vnderstand the disgraces and wrongs which she suffered: wherewith being incensed, they proclaimed warre against *Amalaric*: the armies incountred neere vnto Narbone, whereas *Amalaric* was vanquished, who thinking to saue himselfe in Barcellona, was slaine, being forsaken by his men. The annales of France say, that *Childebert* king of Paris did this execution, and that he tooke Toledo, the royall seat, spoiled the temples, and carried backe into France, 60 chalices, fiftene plates, and twentie little cofers, where they kept the books of the Gospell, al of pure gold, and much other treasure, and that he did distribute these ornaments among the Churches of France. *Amalaric* reigned five yeares and eight months after the gouernment of *Theodorick*. After his death, the kingdom of the Visigoths remained vnto *Amalsuinta* his mother, say the Spaniards, I know not by what title. I cannot concurre with them in this opinion, that this *Amalsuinta* was daughter to *Theodorick* king of Italie, the which we read was married to a prince of the bloud royall of the Visigoths, and of the familie of *Hamels*, called *Euthaire*, and had *Athalaric* by him, to whom *Theodorick* his graundfather dying, left the kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italie. *Procopius* sayes, that the wife of *Alaric*, and mother to this *Amalaric*, was called *Theudisuse*, the which by the report of *Jourdain*, who names her *Theudiscode*, *Theodorick* had by a concubine when he was yet in Misia: others say, that this *Theudiscode* was married to *Gundebault* king of Bourgogne, and that the wife of *Alaric*, mother to *Amalaric* was called *Ostrogothe*, bastard also to this king *Theodorick*. Howsoever it be, it is not credible that *Theodorick* king of Italie, should so much affect the affaires of Spaine, as hee should abandon Italie for fiftene yeares, to remaine in Spaine. And there is lesse likelyhood, seeing that *Athalaric* sonne of *Euthaire* and of *Amalsuinta* succeeded him in the realme of the Ostrogoths, the which hee had of a lawfull marriage, whatsoever the Spaniards write, duke *Seuerin* of Carthage, father to *Isidore* and *Leandre* bishops of Seuille, and others, the which *Seuerin* should rather haue succeeded him in the realme of the Ostrogoths, than his graundchild, the sonne of his daughter. That which others write, that he sent *Alba* with an armie against the French, to reuenge the death of *Alaric* his kinsman, and that he had reteyned for his paines and the charges of war, Prouence (for these princes notwithstanding all their charitie, did not labour for nothing) and that for the loue of consanguinitie, being all of the familie of *Hamels*, hee had sent one of his captaines called *Theude* into Spaine, to be tutor and regent of the yong king *Amalaric* and of the realme of the Visigoths, with his mother *Theudisuse* or *Amalsuinta*, as the was called: that I say comes neere vnto the truth, as we may see by *Procopius*. All the reigne of *Amalaric*, as well vnder his tutors, as alone, is counted by all probabilitye 15 yeares.

Theude

## Theude the ninth King.

SO it is, that *Theude* or *Theodas*, as others name him, reigned after the death of *Amalaric*, if we shal beleue *Procopius*, hauing married a great lady of the countrie of Spaine, who, the Spaniards say, was mother to the deceased king. The resemblance of names hath deceiued them in all their discourses: for at the same time, or therabouts, *Amalsuinta* mother to *Athalaric*, heire of the realme of Italie, married an other *Theude* or *Theodas* (seeing that she was not feared nor respected by the Ostrogoths, for that she was a woman) and made him tutor to her sonne, and regent of the realme, to her owne preiudice, but this hath nothing common with Spaine. At the coming of *Theude* the Visigoth, the French entred into Spaine, and spoiled the countrie of Arragon, and other places thereabouts: but they were defeated by the Visigoths, led by *Theodiscl* their captaine, who sealed vpon all the passages and straits of the Pyrenes. They say, that seeing themselves inclosed, they entreated them to giue them a day and a night to passe away, the which the Goths graunted, and all that remained behind, after that time, were put to the sword: a remarkable victorie, but it was afterwards blemished by the defeat of the Goths in Africke, as we will shew. The French notwithstanding returned, and tooke Sarraçosse, with other townes in Spaine: the Christian religion, if they forced their bodies by armes, being ignorant that religion is a profession of the spirit, the which may well be perswaded by reasons and doctrine, but no waies forced. It was the cause of all the French wars in those daies, ioynd with ambition and the insatiable desire of reigne, which vice they thought to obscure, fighting (said they) for the Christian religion, and enriching the Clergie men of their countrie, with spoiles and other gifts. In the meane time most of the Monks that were then in credit, long in the Churches, and the bishops became like dumbe dogs, following the courts of princes, and armies; a mischief which hath not bene since repaired. In Spaine, whereas the Clergie was not in so good estate, their gouernment was somewhat better: for many of their bishops were learned, according vnto those times, as some writings, which yet remaine, doe witnesse, namely *Aprugius* bishop of Paccence, *Iustinian* of Valence, *Iuste* of Vrgell his brother, *Leandre* of Seuille, and according to some of Toledo, and others, who did often assemble for the affaires of the Church, and held Prouinciall councils: yet they were not without blemishes, busying themselves more than was fit, about seruices, ceremonies and exterior ornaments: from whence sprung many superstitions. *Childebert* brought from Sarraçosse, as some say, Saint *Vincent* his thirt, the which was put at Saint Germain by Paris, where he built a temple to that Saint: and the authors say, that they of Sarraçosse redeemed their towne from spoiles by this iewell, the which is credible, considering the deuotion of that nation. After the retreat of the French, the Visigoths would passe the strait into Africke, to chase away the Romanes, who had surprised the towne of Septe from them: but as this nation possessed with a superstitious feare, would not vse their armes vpon a Sunday, for the reuerence of the day, the Romanes who had no such scruple, fell vpon them, and finding them carelesse and disarmed, they made a pitifull slaughter; so as there escaped not any one to carrie newes. It hapened at the same time that King *Theude* (the newes of this rout being published abroad) was slaine in his chamber, by one that made himselfe a iester, to haue the better access, who stabbed him in the bellie with a dagger. The king feeling himselfe wounded to the death, conured the noble-men that were about him, not to doe any harme to him that had hurt him, saying, that God had sent him a worthy reward for his merits, for that he had also bene the murderer of his captaine. He reigned 17 yeares and fise moneths.

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## 10. Theodiscl.

THE *Theodiscl* (sealed vpon the realme: he was generall or Constable of the Goths armies, as he gaue himselfe to lust and adulteries, polluting honest families and great houses, the which he filled with murders by reason of his excele: wherefore the chiefe of the Goths conspired



doth witnesse: and it is likely that this prince was drawne vnto the true doctrine by *Leandre* G  
bishop of Seuille, and by his wife *Iugunde* a French woman, whom, they say, he, put in the  
beginning of the ciuile warres, into the hands of those that gouerned the lands of the em-  
pire in Spaine, vnder *Maurice* the emperour, being newly brought in bed of a sonne, fea-  
ring the threats and furie of his father: and that after her husbands death the Romanes cau-  
sed her to passe into Africke with her little infant, where she died; but the child was carried to  
Constantinople. *Childbert* king of France, to reuenge the wrong done vnto his brother in  
law, tooke armes against the Gothes, and hoping to recouer his sister and his nephew, hee  
made a league with the emperour *Maurice*. Against the French which did forrage Languedoc,  
was sent *Ricared* the other sonne of *Leouigilde*, who repulst them with great losse of their  
men, entering into their territories, where he tooke a great spoile.

War betweene  
the French and  
the Gothes, for  
the death of  
Hermengilde.

Myracle.

They spake of many myracles during the raigne of this king, which God did in fauour  
and confirmation of the Christian religion, against the Arrians and their sect, the which hee  
had decreed should haue an end with this king *Leouigilde*. The ciuile warre being as we haue  
said) hot in Spaine, the armie of *Leouigilde* pursuing his sonne, and passing by the territories  
of Valencia and Murcia, the Monkes of the Abbey of Saint *Martin* in those marches, being  
terrified, abandoned their Abbot, and fled all into an island of the sea neere adioyning. The  
fouldiours being entred into the Abbey, and finding the Abbot all alone, being a verie deu-  
out and religious man, and crooked with age, they did him many outrages: one of them ha-  
uing drawne out his sword to cut off his head, he fell downe flake dead; the which did  
terrifie the rest, as they presently fled. This being reported vnto king *Leouigilde*, he com-  
manded, that all the goods which had bene taken in that monasterie, should be restored. An Ar-  
rian bishop meaning to decieve the king (who reproached him, that the Arrians did no myra-  
cles) suborned one of his sect, who could counterfeit himselfe blind, causing him to stand in  
the way whereas he knew the king should passe: there this gallant began to crie out, and to  
entreate this bishop which did accompanie the king, that he would make him recouer his sight,  
by his prayers. The bishop approached, and laying his hands arrogantly vpon his eyes, the  
king being present, and attending to see this myracle, it happened, that hee which did coun-  
terfeit himselfe blind, lost his sight in good earnest; and withall was so full of paine in that  
part, as detesting the bishop and his counsaile, hee confessed openly before the king and his  
traine, That the bishop had induced him to act this tragedie, and had corrupted him with  
money. Many other signes are written to haue bene seene in those times, the which we will  
not call into question, for that the end and vse of myracles, is to witnesse, and to giue credit to  
the word of God, and his true doctrine, which was then disgraced by the Arrian princes.

A counterfeit  
begger diuinely  
punished.

Spaine was furnished with many Learned and holy men, whilest that the Arrians did raigne  
in Africke, and did persecute the Christians. They make mention of one *Donat* an Abbot, who  
passed out of Africke into Spaine, with about 70 Monkes, and a goodly librarie, where he was  
the founder of the monasterie *Seruitane*: and that they were entertained by a rich ladie cal-  
led *Minicea*, who then built the first monasterie at *Serabis*, which is *Xatiua*. This *Donat* did first  
set downe certaine rules and orders for a monasticall life among them; for vntill that time  
they were not tyed by any vowes, neither had they liued in cloisters, but were dispersed in  
woods and desarts, leading a solitarie life, from whence he retired them. *Leandre* bishop  
of Seuille, was then famous for his learning and holinesse, a great friend to *S. Gregorie*, whom he  
had knowne at Constantinople: of which friendship, they say, that the image of the virgin  
*Marie*, which is in great, yea in superfluous veneration in these dayes at *Guadalupe*, is a wit-  
nesse, and that *S. Gregorie* lent it to *Leandre*.

As one kind of Antichrist should haue an end, so it was necessarie, that (to exercise the  
Church of God) others should come. Wherefore during the raigne of *Leouigilde*, *Atah-  
mer* the great seducer was borne, with whose doctrine the Arabians did a while after infect  
Spaine; and soone after that grew the quarrell for the Primacie, betwixt the bishops of Con-  
stantinople and Rome. And as among those which made profession of the Christian religion  
there were many abuses which had bene received and embraced, or else dissembled by the  
most learned and religious, the rashnesse of the one, and the negligence of the other, gaue  
place to impietie, the which hath since preuailed in the world, vsing force with the one  
hand, and fraud with the other. This was in the year 580, which the Spaniards account 618  
of

Birth of Mahu-  
met.

Anno 580.

A of their *Æra*: yet others say, That it was in the year of Christ 592, that this scourge of Gods  
Church was borne in Arabia, of the race of *Agar* and *Ismael*. His father was called *Abdalla*,  
or *Abdella*, his mother *Emina*. A little before the death of *Leouigilde*, *Amalaric* the tyrant  
would haue made himselfe king of Galicia, but he was taken by the kings lieutenants in  
those marches.

*Leouigilde* having raigned eighteen yeares, dyed at Toledo: who by the report of Saint  
*Gregorie*, repented himselfe of the rigour and crueltie he had vsed to his sonne *Hermengilde*,  
being desirous to reforme himselfe to the pure religion; and dying, recommended his other  
sonne *Ricared* to *Leandre*, intreating him to instruct him as he had done his other sonne: and  
he commanded *Ricared* to call home the Christian bishops which he had banished. He was  
the first king of the Gothes raigning in Spaine, which vied a robe of purple, or other royall  
ornaments: for vntill that time the kings of that nation were apparelled like vnto the other  
nobles. He first of all began to heape vp treasure, and filled his cofers with spoils of temples,  
consecrations, and other violences vsed to good men, whereof many were put to death  
by him. He corrected the lawes made by *Euric* his predecessor, and reduced them into bet-  
ter forme.

Reputation of  
Leouigilde.

### 15. Ricared.

C 26 *Ricared* being crowned by *Leandre*, as *Luke Tudensis* writes, hee was instructed in the  
true Christian religion, the first yere of his raigne, and preuailed so with mild words  
and strong reasons, as hee perswaded many of the Arrian bishops to leaue that heresie, and to  
follow the better partie; and so consequently the noblemen & common people. He ordained,  
That the goods which had been taken and confiscated for that cause, should be restored; and  
of a destroyer he became a builder of churches. He put *Sisibert* the murderer of his brother  
*Hermengilde* ignominiously to death: he discovered & suppressed the conspiracy of bishop *Sun-  
na*, and of *Sugga*, Arrians, who would haue made themselves tyrants. The bishop was ban-  
ished, and *Sugga*'s hands cut off, and then confined into Galicia. There was another conspira-  
cie auerred of bishop *Flidila*, and of queene *Goswintha*, against *Ricared*, and punished: *Flidila* was  
banished, and *Goswintha* died soone after: she had bene a perpetual enemy to the Christi-  
ans. The French being come into Languedoc with a great armie of about threecore thou-  
sand men, vnder a capitaine called *Desiderius*, and then vnder *Boson*, being sent by *Gunttran*  
king of Orleans, *Ricared* sent *Claude* duke of Lusitania against them, who obtained one of  
the greatest and most memorable victories that euer was, neere vnto Carcasstone: For we read,  
that with 300 men or thereabouts, he defeated all this great power of the French, and tooke  
all their baggage.

An 585.

Ricared of a de-  
stroyer becomes  
a master of the  
churches.

An admirable  
victory, and  
forces credible.

The fourth yere of his raigne he caused a Councell to be called at Toledo, which was the  
third; at the which there were assembled threecore and two bishops of his realme, of either  
side of the Pyrene mountains, or threecore and ten, according vnto some. There he did re-  
E nounce and abjure the Arrian heresie, and *Badda* his wife, with all the noblemen Gothes, did  
the like, all confessing the equalitie of the three persons in one diuinitie. The Metropolitanas  
at this Councell were: 1. *Manfona* of Merida. 2. *Leandre* of Seuille, whom *Luke Tudensis* calls  
Primat and the Popes Legat. 3. *Euphemius* of Toledo. 4. *Pantard* of Bracara. 5. *Nigith* of Nar-  
bona. 6. *Stephen* of Tarracone.

A Councell of  
Toledo, where  
the Gothes ab-  
jured the Arrian  
heresie.

These were the Archbishops and Metropolitanas, by the which the Arrian heresie  
was condemned, with the which the noblemen Gothes had bene abused two hundred  
and thirteene yeares. At this Councell did preside *Leandre* bishop of Seuille, and *Eutropius*  
Abbot of the monasterie of *Serui*, afterwards bishop of Valence. Among other decrees it  
was ordained, That no Iew should be admitted to any publicke charge. The acts of this Coun-  
cell were not only allowed by the king, but also confirmed vnder his hand. Since that time  
the custome is in Spaine, that euerie one that presents himselfe vnto the Communion, is  
bound to rehearse the articles of the Apostles Creed after the priest. This was in the yere  
of our Saviour fue hundred eightie nine, and adding therunto thirte eight yeares, it makes  
the 627 of the Spaniards *Æra*. King *Ricared* being then in peace, and employing his time a-  
bout matters of religion in Spain, he discovered some like trecheries, which did much trouble  
him:

An 589.

*Argemund a  
traitor punished*

him: for a chamberlaine of his, of the number of his captaines, called *Argemund*, attempted against his estate and life, to raigne in his place. The enterprife being proued, his partisans were executed, and he also, after that he had bene whipped, and led vpon an asse through the cite of Toledo, to serue for an example to all subjects, a not to rebell against their princes for ambition.

*Reliques.*

*Council at Se-  
uille.*

*Learned and re-  
ligious bishops.*

The Iewes did what they could to procure the king to abolish the decree of the Councell made against them: and as in a manner all that nation haue euer giuen themselves to the trade of merchandise, and are therefore full of money, they offered a great summe to haue it effected: but the king continued constant, and they must haue patience. This holy resolution of king *Ricared* and his nobilitie, was ill seconded by the Pope and the Prelats of those times, he being already accustomed to make superfluous shewes, and oftentimes merchandise of external things, which were of small vse for pietie. The king sent royall presents to pope *Gregorie* the first, who was called Holy and an Angell vpon earth: and he requited him with reliques, with a linke of the chaine wherewith Saint *Peter* had bene bound by the necke, when he suffered martyredome; of the wood of the verie crosse, of Saint *John Baptists* haire, and such other singularities, with an Archbishops cloke for *Leandre* bishop of Seuille. These were the exercises of pietie, which were then too much vsed among Christians: At that time there was another Councell held at Seuille, of eight bishops, whereas *Leandre* their pastor did preside.

In Spaine there did flourish in those times, besides the aboue-named bishops, *John* abbot of Valclaire, who was afterwards bishop of Gironne, a Goth by race, but borne at Scalabis in Lusitania, who hath written a Chronicle vnto the yeare five hundred and ninetie: *Fulgensius* bishop of Astigi, an vnder of Carthage, brother to *Leandre*, a man well scene in the Greeke, Latine, Arabike, and Syriack tongues, and hath written many bookes: *Senerius* bishop of Carthage, *Licinian* of Malaca, and others. *Florentine* the sister of *Leandre*, was Priorelle of fortie Nunnes in the towne of Astigi.

Queene *Badda*, who was daughter to king *Arthur* of great Britaine, dyed; after which *Ricared* married *Clotilde* sister to king *Childbert* of Mets: by meanes of which marriage a peace was concluded betwixt the Gothes and the French.

*The death of  
Ricared and  
his vertues.*

Pope *Gregorie* would not haue the name of Primat, yet in the meane time he did exercise a iurisdiction in Spaine: for *Iannarius* being depofed from his bishopricke of Malaca, by the praiches of some of his enemies, he sent one called *John* to take knowledge of the cause, who with Apostolike authoritie, restored him to his bishopricke, and punished his aduersaries. *Ricared* hauing held the kingdom of the Gothes in Spaine and in Gaule fiftene yeares, dyed at Toledo, much lamented of all men: for he had reigned verie mildly, so as they called him Father of the people. He reduced the Gothike lawes into order, enlarged his dominions, hauing bene alwayes in armes against the Romanes, and their partisans which remained in Spaine: he was verie deuout and bountifull to the Clergie, so as hee was commended for a verie religious prince, especially for that he had giuen vnto the church of S. *Felix* at Gironne, the crowne of gold which he ware vpon his head: but, that which is of more esteeme, he purged Spaine of all heresies.

## 16. Luiba 2, and Viçterix 17.

*Anno 601.*

*Council of Vi-  
cteric to young  
Luiba.*

*T*O *Ricared* succeeded his son *Luiba*, or *Liuis*, *Maurice* reigning then at Constantinople. Some Spaniards say, That he was a ballard, others denie it, and giue him two brethren, *Suinthila* and *Geila*. *Viçterix* seized vpon the Gothes kingdom, and taking this yong prince, who was but sixteen yeares old, he cut off his right hand, and in the end slew him the second yeare of his raigne. Then dyed *Leandre*, to whom succeeded *Idore* his brother at Seuille.

*Viçterix* was an vnfortunate king, for in many encounters which he had with the Romanes, and those that held their partie in Spaine, he was still beaten. Moreouer hee strived to aduance the Arrian heresie againe, and in these miserable designs reigned feuen yeares. He married his daughter *Hermenberge* to *Theodoric* king of Mets, who could neuer know her, wherefore he sent her back to her father a virgine vn corrupted: and they say that *Ermenichilde*, *Theodoric*s grandmother, had bewitched him, and made him vnable to vie his wife, whom she hated,

*A* hated, *Theodoric* being otherwise verie licentious, and had made good proofe with other women. We read, that during the raigne of *Viçterix*, in the yeare six hundred and fues, *Mahumet* came into Spaine, to preach his doctrine at Cordoua; and that being discovered as they went to seize on him; he fled away so secretly, as no man knew what became of him. But we know, that *Mahumet* proceeded to the publication of his doctrine after a more violent meanes, hauing by money and persuasions corrupted the Arabian theues, whose earnest he employed to propagate his errors, among other nations, vnder the empire of *Heraclius*: yet it is not impossible, that *Mahumet*, being then about fues and twentie yeares old, seruing a rich marchant of Arabia, whose widow he after married, should come into Spaine for his masters affaires, and to haue given some knowledge of the poyson which lay in his breast. King *Viçterix* (whom others call *Deteric*, and some *Bertric*) as he had put the innocent prince *Liuis* miserably to death, was by a just reuenge miserably flaine by his owne people, as he sat at the table: a bafe king, who did nothing aduance the kingdom of the Gothes, but in taking the towne of Sigüenfa from the Romanes.

*The miserable  
end of the ty-  
rannic Viçterix.*

## 18. Gundamir.

*T*HE Gothes after the death of *Viçterix*, created *Gundamir* king, who came to the crowne about the sixt yeare of the empire of *Phocas*, in the yeare 610: his wife was called *Hilduare*. This king at his coming made the churches sanctuaries, forbidding to take or force any criminal person that had fled thither: the which was done at the purluse of a Councell then held at Toledo, of foureteeen bishops, and other Clergie men, *Aurafius* being bishop there: in the which the Archbishop of Toledo was declared Primat of Spaine. All writers make not mention of this Councell, but onely (as the Spaniards say) there are memorials found thereof at Toledo: and it is written, That the rights of this Metropolitan were debated there, where he had his Suffraganes assigned him in all the province of Carpetania, which did comprehend Carthage: so as in this regard the Metropolitan of Toledo had then a greater iurisdiction than at this day. *Idore* of Seuille, *Innocent* of Merida, *Eusebius* of Tarracone, and *Beniamin* of Dumes, among others, assisted at this Councell. Hee had warre against the Valscons or Nauarrois, and against the Romanes or their partisans with happie successe. He reigned two yeares, and dyed at Toledo, of his naturall death.

## 19. Sisebuth.

*Sisebuth* succeeded *Gundamir*, a wife and valiant prince, learned and eloquent (as the Spaniards say.) He chased away the Iewes which would not be baptized, wherewith France was soone filled: but they were againe forced to flie, *Dagobert* the French king hauing made an edit, by the which they were enjoyned to conformance themselves to the Christian religion, vpon paine of death. *Sisebuth* employed his time to conquer the townes, castles, forts, signais and passages of the mountaines, which were yet held by the Romane garrisons, and did in a manner make himselfe master of all Spaine, *Cesaricus* commanding there for the Romanes.

The zeale of religion was great in many at that time in Spaine, but most of them wanted the true knowledge. The Church of Toledo was gouerned by *Heladius*, who of a Courtier became a Monke, and from thence had bene taken and aduanced, in his age, to the Archiepiscopall dignitie, the which was now growne full of state, but not such as it hath been since. *Agapie*, or *Agapie*, being also turned from a souldiour to a Monke, had bene made bishop of Corduba, not for any learning hee had, but for meere zeale. The nourishment he gaue to his diocessans, and his religious exercises, were in the inuention and veneration of relickes of the bodies of martyres: whereunto the world was then more addicted, than to know the grounds of their Faith. Yet there was a Councell held at Seuille, of eight bishops, against the heretikes which were called *Acephali*, or without a head, the which denied the truth of the two natures, diuine and humane, in Iesus Christ, where as a certaine Syriac bishop, a great defender of that heresie, was vanquished by the strong arguments of *Idore*.

*A Councell at  
Seuille.*



Pope Primas

Christendome, no lesse from princes and kings, than from their fellow bishops: wherefore to settle the Primat in Spaine, they were forced to haue a Bull and permission from Pope *Theodore* the first, or *Martin* the first, then reigning; by the which this primacie was referred to the election of the bishops of that prouince. Vntill that time the Archbishop of Seuille had held this ranke, rather of honour than of power: but it falling out, that *Theodisus* the Archbishop, a Grecian borne, a man more learned in the tongues, than religious, seeing himselfe pursued by the other bishops and prelates of Spaine, being accused to haue corrupted the workes of *Isidorus*, who was held a Saint, and therefore depofed from his Archbishopricke in open Councell, he was so transported, as hauing abandoned the Christian religion, he retired himselfe into Africke with the Mahumetists, the Primacie of Spaine was then transferred from Seuille to Toledo, whereas the seuenth Synode was celebrated, by forrie bishops, the first yeare of the reigne of *Cindasunthe*, when as he receiued his sonne for a companion and assistant in the government of his estate, seeking thereby to make the kingdom of the Gothes hereditarie. This young prince was held verie deuout and studious of diuinitie; but about all things he was curious to build and enrich churches. During their reigne there liued another *Eugenius*, successour to the Archbishop of Toledo, about mentioned, famous for his sanctitie of life and doctrine, advanced by force by the king to the Archbishopricke.

King *Cindasunthe* dyed of poyson, as some belecue, hauing reigned ten yeares, or thereabouts: he and his wife are interred in the monasterie of *S. Romane*, at this day called *Hormiga*, betwixt *Toro* and *Tordellas*, vpon the riuier of *Duero*.

## 25. Reccefunthe.

Ann. 675.  
8 Council of Toledo.

36 *Recefunthe* his sonne, reigned alone, and soone after his fathers decesse there was a Councell held at Toledo of eight and fortie bishops, and ten vicars, of such as had lawfull lets and could not conue; there were some abbots, and many earles and dukes did assist there. In those times, earles were of greater dignitie than dukes. In this Councell, being the eight, it was decreed, That they should abstaine from eating flesh in Lent, without leaue, in cases of ineuitable necessitie, vpon paine of excommunication, and not to eat any flesh in a yeare after: so much they did regard these necessaries of religion, confirming and amplifying in the meane time their authoritie with the people.

Irene a chaste virgin.

In Lusitania certaine lewd and cruell persons sought to rauish a virgin called *Irene*, against whom she made such resistance, as being impatient in their damnable lust, they slew her, and cast her into the riuier of *Nabarin*. Her bodie was caried to the towne of *Sa. laris*, the which changed the name, and is called *Saint Irene*; an argument of great sanctitie, seeing she preferred her chastitie before her life. The chiefe of these lustfull murtherers was called *Britand*.

Decease of the 9 Council of Toledo.

*Portamius* Archbishop of Bracar, was not so vertuous: for the celibate of Clergie men being then in request, and the children begotten by them declared incapable to inherit their fathers goods, and were deliuered for slaves to churches, by the ninth Councell held at Toledo, in the seventh yeare of *Recefunthe*, he fell to be loose of life: yet hee did acknowledge it openly in the Councell following, held at Toledo, which was the tenth, and did willingly resigne his Archbishopricke; to whom *Fruetuosus* succeeded, a man of a noble familie, being then bishop of Dume, the founder of many monasteries and chappels. The eight yeare of the reigne of *Recefunthe* Spaine was much terrified, for that there appeared starres in the firmament at noone day, and the Sunne was eclipsed.

Heretikes Hel. nidiou.

There came two heretikes, called *Theude* and *Pelagius*, out of Gothike Gaule into Spaine, who denied the perpetuall virginite of *Mari* the mother of our Sauour; renewing the heresie of *Heluidius*: the which were confuted by *Alphonfus*, nephew and successour to *Eugenius* in the Archbishopricke of Toledo, who wrote a booke vpon that argument. Whereupon the Spaniards say, that the virgin *Mari* appeared vnto him: and to this apparition they adde the gift of a cope, to wear when he should say Masse, the which they ascribe is kept at Toledo, or at Ouidoe; but they know not well at which of these two places it remains

maines

*Alphonfus* it hath remained inuisible. To this Archbishop, they say, that *Saint Leocadia* did also appeare, who reuealed vnto him the place where his bodie was buried, and had lyen many yeares hidden. Such graue testimonies haue they of the holinesse of this Archbishop *Alphonfus*, furnaming him *Chrysostome*, the Anchor of the Faith, attributing vnto him other like epithites, by reason of his learning and pietie.

There is no other thing found written of this king *Recefunthe*, being credible, that hauing no warres, he did not much trouble himselfe, leauing all the affaires of state and Clergie to bee managed by the Prelats and frequent Councells: yet there are some lawes found made by him. Hauing reigned nineteene yeares and three monthes, he dyed at Toledo, leauing two brethren, *Theofred*, who was father to *Roderic*, the last king of the Gothes in Spaine and *Lafila*. He was interred in the towne which in old time was called *Gertic*, and now *Bamba*, in the territorie of *Palenza*.

## 26. Bamba.

37 The famed day that *Recefunthe* dyed, *Bamba* before desired by the noblemen Gothes, was chosen king. Some say, that he would neuer haue receiued this honour and charge but by constraint; and that refusing it absolutely, there was a nobleman among the Gothes, which drew his sword, and threatened to kill him, if he did not yeeld to the Gothes intreaties: whereupon he condescended, more for feare, than for any desire to reigne, and was crowned by *Quirin*, or *Quirice*, Archbishop of Toledo, in our Ladies church; where they report, that there was seene coming out of his head, from among his haire, a vapour like smoke, in forme of a pillar, going vpward. There he made a confession of the Catholique Faith, confirmed the ciuile lawes and ordinances of the kings his predecessours, and receiued a solemne oath from the people. These ceremonies were scarce ended, when as they had newes, That the earle of *Nismes*, called *Hilperic*, or *Hilderic*, contemning the ordinances of the precedent kings of the Gothes, had brought the Lewes againe into the countrey, and made all Gothike Gaule in a manner to rebell against the king. And for that *Aregis* bishop of *Nismes* had contradicted him in this excesse, he had chased him away, and against the canons had consecrated another by two bishops of his faction. *Gumild* bishop of *Maguelone* did counsell and assist him in these actions. Wherefore *Bamba* to suppress the insolencie of this earle, sent a captaine named *Paul*, allyed to the deceased king, but faithlesse and treacherous to his prince; who turned the armie which had bene giuen him, against him, and made an agreement with the enemy, causing himselfe to be crowned king at *Narbone*, where he set vpon his head the crowne which king *Ricared* had giuen to *Saint Felix* church at *Girone*. Hee drew vnto his partie *Rafmonde* duke of *Tarracone*, and *Hildagise*, who was *Gardingue* (which was an office of the Crowne) and vsed all the treacheries hee could deuise against king *Bamba*. He spoyled all the churches of *Languedoc*, and fortified himselfe with men which hee had leuiued in *Fraunce* and *Gascoine*. But as such attempts doe seldom prosper, so this succeeded ill with him: for *Bamba* hauing raised great forces in Spaine, came against him, and in lesse than six monethes did happily end a most difficult warre: He rooke *Barcelone*, *Girone*, and *Narbone*, the which he besieged both by sea and land; then *Magdelone*, *Agde*, *Beziers*, and in the end *Nismes*, whereas the chiefe of this rebellion with the rest of his faction fell into his hands, the same day twelue monethes that hee came vnto the Crowne. Hee repaired the ruines which had bene made at *Nismes*, and throughout all Gothike Gaule, and caused restitution to be made of that which had bene taken out of the churches. At the intreatie of *Aregband* Archbishop of *Narbone*, he gaue the offenders their liues, reseruing to himselfe all other punishment. He repulsed *Loupa* Commander of certaine French bands, neere vnto *Beziers*. These things being happily performed by him, he returned to Toledo, triumphing, and carrying his rebels in pompe before him, hauing their beards and heads shauen, bare legged, attired in sackcloth, and mounted vpon Cammels. Among others *Paul* the chiefe of the rebels, carrying a crowne of pitched leather,

O iij

leather,

leather, followed by a long traine of his confederats, was led in shew, and exposed to be scorned of all men, and in the end they were all put into darke filthie dungeons, where they miserably ended their dayes.

These troubles being pacified, king *Bamba* caused the walles of Toledo to bee built, and fortified them with towers and bulwarkes, in one of the which were written these Latine verses.

*Erexit sanctore Deo Rex inclutus urbem,  
Bamba, sue celeberrimæ gentis honorem.*

And vpon a port neere vnto the bridge called Alcantara :

*Vos Domini sancti, quorum hic presentia fulget,  
Hanc urbem, & plebem solito seruate favore.*

11 Council of Toledo,

He caused the eleventh Council of Toledo to be held, vnder *Quirice*, or *Quirin*, Archbishop of that place, and Primat of Spaine; where there were sixteene bishops present, and many deputies for others that were absent. They had bene many yeares without calling of any Council, wherewith the Fathers had bene much troubled, this was in the yeare 675: there king *Bamba* hauing caused the acts of the kings his predecessours to be sought out, according to that which they had decreed, and with the consent of the Fathers, he assigned to euery diocesse the bounds of his jurisdiction. The bishopricks of Lugo and Leon were declared exempt, and not subject to any Metropolitane, as they had bene vntill that time. Another Council was held at Bracar: these were provinciaall Councils, which were to be held euery yeare; and at certaine times they were to call a generall Council of all the bishops of the Gothes kingdome, of either side of the Pyrene mountains, the which was done at Toledo the chiefe towne.

Provinciaall Councils annual

Arabians first attempte vpon Spaine,

Bamba persecuted by Ervinge.

In this kings raigne the Arabians holding Africke, began to invade Spaine: they had a fleet at sea of two hundred threescore and ten vessels, the which by the diligence and valour of *Bamba* were in a manner all burnt, and the Arabians put to the sword. They did then spoile a great part of the countrey along the coast. There was in the Court a nobleman called *Ervinge*, issued from a daughter of king *Cindaufinthe*, and a gentleman of Grece, called *Ardauasse*, who being chafed from Constantinople, had fled into Spaine, where he had bene well entertained, and honoured with this allyance. This *Ervinge* being ambitious of command, poisoned king *Bamba*, so as he became madde; for the curing whereof there were many remedies applied, both naturall and superstitious, but to small effect: so as *Bamba* (either willingly, finding himselfe vnable, or otherwise) quit the crowne, and retired himselfe into a monasterie, where he liued seven yeares and one moneth, after that he had bene king nine yeares. The place where he passed the remainder of his life, is called Pampliga, neere Burgos. Thus *Ervinge* seized by force, as they say, of the kingdome of the Visigothes in Spaine, the which the Archbishop of Toledo doth affirme: yet it doth not accord well with the acts of the twelfth Council held at Toledo, vnder *Ervinge*, where the election of this king *Ervinge* is confirmed, and allowed as lawfull. But to reconcile these contrarieties, it is to be presumed, that *Ervinge* being king, and hauing power in his hands, gratifying the Fathers in some sort, that he was also gratified by them, as one hand washeth another, or as they say in France, one Barber shaves another.

## 27. Ervinge.

Ann 681.

39 When as *Ervinge* was seated in the royall throne, hee confirmed the lawes of the M kings of the Gothes his predecessours, and did authorize with his name, some made by Saint *Isidorus*: and that to the end it should not seeme, that the Clergie vnder the title of the Church, would vsurpe a ciuile jurisdiction; he rejected many of the plebeians from all dignities and honours, hauing gotten them by money, and other vnlawfull means, to

A to the dishonour of nobilitie: he ordained (but with the aduice of the Romane See) That no Archbishop should be subject to the Primats. To fortifie the beginning of his reigne against *Theofride* the sonne of *Bamba* (whom he feared much) he gaue *Cixilone* his daughter, whom he had by *Luibigotte* his wife, to an Earle who was rich, and of great authoritie among the Gothes called *Egica*, cousin to *Bamba* deceased. And soone after the twelfth Council was held at Toledo, which was in the yeare 681, *Julian* Archbishop of Seuille being President, where there assisted one and fortie Bishops, siue Abbots, and fiftene great Noblemen. By the acts of this Council in the seuenth Article it appears, That the kings of Spaine had power to giue Bishopricks, and that to that collation, the confirmation of the other Bishops of Spaine was required, especially of the Archbishop of Toledo; the which doth also appear by the answer of an Epistle written by *Braule* Bishop of Saragosse, to S. *Isidorus*, where he is admonished to chuse some good man in the place of *Eusebins*, Archbishop of Tarracoe deceased: *Isidorus* answers him, That he did not know the kings pleasure therein. This Council did abolish certaine Bishops newly erected, and created by king *Bamba*, in some townes which were not very conuenient.

12 Council of Toledo, Ann 682.

Confirmation of Bishops belonging to the kings of Spaine.

Three yeares after, in the yeare 684, was another Council held at Toledo, which was the thirteenth, of eight & fortie Bishops, and three Archbishops, of Toledo, Bracar, and Merida; yet the Authors varie in the number of these Bishops: one of the decrees of these fathers was, That neither the king nor any other should marrie the widow of the deceased king, nor defile her by adulterie, vpon paine of excommunication, and to be damned to hell fire. And in the yeare 685 the fourteenth Council was assembled at Toledo, of sixteen Bishops, and many Vicars of them that were absent, to confirme the acts of the sixt Council of Constantinople, begun vnder *Constantine* the fourth, and some yeares after ended, against the errors of *Apollinaris*, renewed then, denying the two natures, diuine and humane in Iesus Christ: which acts the Pope sent into Spaine, that in a generall assembly of the Prelats they might be read, and by their authoritie allowed, and published throughout all the kingdome of the Gothes. The Archbishop of Toledo was then called *Julian Pomer*, of the Lewes race, whose father and mother had made themselves Christians; a learned man, religious, and of a good life. *Ervinge* hauing reigned seuen yeares, died at Toledo of a naturall death, leauing his kingdome to *Egica* his sonne in law. In his time there was a great famine in Spaine.

13 Council of Toledo, Ann 684.

Decree not to marrie the kings widow.

14 Council of Toledo.

## 28. Egica.

40 AS soone as *Egica*, or (as others call him) *Egican* was king, he put away his wife *Cixilone*, for the wickednesse which her father had committed against king *Bamba*; yet he did auow the infant *Vitha* which he had had by her, and caused it to be nourished (in hope to make it his heire) in the towne of Tude or Tuy in Galicia, as if he had giuen it the realme of Galicia, and of the Sueues, for a portion, whilst that he reigned ouer the Gothes. He caused himselfe to be absolved at a Council held at Toledo, in the first yeare of his reigne, of the oath which he had taken against his dutie to that vnlawfull king. This Council was called the fifteenth at Toledo, whereas *Julian* the Archbishop of that place did preside, where there were sixtie one Bishops, or sixtie fix, according vnto some. There *Julian* did maintaine by reasons and good authoritie, what he had written in a confession of the Faith sent to Rome, as well in his name, as of all the Bishops of Spaine; which was, That in our Lord Iesus Christ were the word, the bodie, and the soule; the which had bene rejected by Pope *Benedict* the second, who (as it seemes) did not well vnderstand these things: the Article was allowed by the Council of Toledo, and afterwards being well considered, was receiued at Rome. The acts of this Council were published in Gothique Gaule in the Cathedrall Churches, for that the Bishops of that Province could not come to Toledo by reason of the plague; being enjoyned to receiue them vpon paine of excommunication, and the losse of the tenth part of their goods that should oppugne them. Six yeares after there was the sixteenth Council held at Toledo, *Sigebert* being Archbishop of that place, after the death of *Julian*, and was depofed by this Council for his ill deservings, and in his place was set *Felix* Archbishop of Seuille. *Faulstin* Archbishop of Bracar was aduanced to Seuille, and *Felix* Bishop of Portugallo to

Ann 686.

15 Council of Toledo.

Pope Benedict an hereticke.

16 Council of Toledo.



to Bracar: this alteration being made, they did proceed to the acts. The cause why they G depofed *Sigebert*, was, for that he had attempted to depriue king *Egica* of the realme, for the which hee was degraded, banished, his goods confiscated, and excommunicated; so as hee might not receiue the Sacraments but at the hour of his death: yea, a penaltie was inflicted vpon all clergie men, of what degree soeuer they were, that should attempt against their prince.

19 Council of Toledo, An. 694.

The yeare following, which was 694, the feuenteenth Council was held at Toledo, whereas the king with great humilitie demanded many things of the Fathers: among other, there was a decree made against the Iewes, who being accused not onely to haue reuolted from the Christian religion (in the which they had bene once baptized) but also to haue conspired against the King and the State of Spaine, it was said, That their goods should be confiscated, their persons, wiues and children, and their descendants held for slaues, and dispersed throughout Spaine: That those which had them in seruice, should not suffer them to exercise their Iewish ceremonies: That their children being once seuen yerres old, should be sent away from their parents, and giuen to Christians to bring vp, and then married to Christians, and by all meanes drawne from the conuersation and acquaintance of their parents, and men of their sect: this is to be seene in the eight article.

19th Council of Toledo, An. 694.

These last Councils were general assemblies of the nation, whereas the Clergie held the first place, the which in name and shew were made to determine of matters concerning religion, but in effect they treated of matters of State, whereas controuersies betwixt great men and other politicke matters were there decided: and although there were men of all estates, yea and of the noblest houses, and that there was an order, that regular men should take knowledge of regular causes, and secular causes should be decided by the secular men, yet it is easie to judge, that the soueraigne and last decision depended vpon the authoritie of the Fathers in all things: so as the spiritualitie in the confusion of these two powers did often vanish among worldly fauours, and ciuile policie vsurped by clergie men, became tyrannie, as we shall soone see.

19th Council of Toledo, An. 694.

*Egica* growne old, had settled his sonne *Vitiza* as Viceroy in Galicia, holding his seat at Tuy, then Tude, whither a little before he had confined *Fasila*, duke or gouernour of Biscaye, sonne to king *Cindasunthe*, as some hold, for certaine attempts made against him, whose wife was corrupted by *Vitiza*, who afterwards by her instigation slew *Fasila*, that they might enjoy their loues more freely. This excess happened in a towne which was then called Douzemaens, and now Palatio, neere vnto the riuer Vrbicum. This *Fasila* was father to king *Pelagius*, who restored Spaine, being oppressed and ruined by the Moores. *Egica* hauing reigned about thirteene yeares, died at Toledo, being honoured for a wife and temperate king.

## 29. Vitiza.

Ann. 701.

41 T He dishonour and infamie of the kings of the Gothes was in the person of this *Vitiza*, being full of all excess in his lust, without feare or reuerence of God in his actions, an hypocrite and dissembler: for at his first comming he shewed himselfe mild, liberal, and religious, but soone after he turned to his owne nature. He called a Council of Bishops and Noblemen at Toledo, to consult touching the gouernment of his realme: he caused *Theofred*'s eyes to be pulled out, who had bene confined to Cordoua, least that hee who was beloued of the people, and brother to *Recesuinthe*, should aspire vnto the Crowne. Hee intended to doe the like to *Pelagius*, the sonne of *Fasila*, whom hee had slaine, but hee escaped, and fled into Biscaye, being referred for greater matters. Hee committed manie villanies the first two yeares, yet secretly, but afterwards hee exceeded in all vices, without any shame: he filled his palace with many wiues which he had married, and an infinite number of concubines, the which he would haue publickly allowed vnto all men, and did persuade the Noblemen to follow his example. Hee did likewise disannull the Popes Constitutions for a single life, and by an Edict which he caused to be set forth, suffered Clergie men to marrie, and to haue as many women married or vnmarried

The import and indolence of Vitiza.

18 Council of Toledo.

A vnmarried as they pleased, vnto all the inticements he could to infect them with his licentiousness, least they should oppose themselves against him, and by their censures draw the people from obeying of so filthy and vnchaste a king. And to prevent all rebellions, this man blinded with his lustfull pleasures, caused (vnder the colour of peace, which Spaine did then enjoy) all the townes of his realme to be demanteled; except Leon, Toledo, and *Townes of Spaine* Asturica. Besides hee disarmed the people, and depriued *Sinderede* Archbishop of Toledo *demantled, and the people disarm* (were it iustly or vniustly) of his dignitie, giuing it to his brother *Opas*, who was Archbishop of Seuille: hee disannulled all the immunities and priuiledges of Churches, called backe the Iewes, and restored the banished men to their goods and possessions, giuing them more priuiledges than euer they had before. Finally, as a presage of the future miseries, he shewed (in all sorts of excess and violence contrarie to the lawes of God and men) what princes, ill instructed and ignorant of true pietie, could doe. In the meane time blind *Theofred*, confined to Cordoua, being newly married to *Recilone*, a ladie of the bloud royall of the Gothes, had begotten two sonnes of her, *Roderic* and *Cosila*, to whom *Vitiza* would haue done as much as hee had done to the father; but they escaped, and implored the Romanes aid, as the Archbishop *Rodrigo* doth report, or else of the nobilitie of the Gothes, who in remembrance of *Recesuinthe* gaue them aid, to chase this infamous monster out of the royall throne, which hee did vnworthily hold. Being come to battaile, *Vitiza* was defeated and taken, and according to the president which he had giuen, his owne eyes were put out, and hee confined to Cordoua, without title or honour, where he spent the rest of his life in miserie, hauing reigned tenne yeares. Thus *Roderic* obtained the crowne by the fauour of the Romanes and the suffrages of the people.

19th Council of Toledo, An. 694.

## 30. Roderic last King of the Gothes.

42 T He time was now come when as the kingdom of the Gothes in Spaine must haue an end, being come to the height of their iniquities: for in their Commonweale all things, both holy and prophane, were managed with fraud and violence, and their princes affected confusion, to satisfie their ambition and infamous lusts: wherefore it pleased God to confound them in their imaginations, to blind them that would be blind, to root out the incorrigible, and to take his graces from them that did obstinately contemne him. *Roderic* hauing bene an instrument to punish a tyrant, made no vse of this correction, nor acknowledged the fauour from whence it came, but presently after his comming to the crowne he followed *Vitiza*'s steps, yea, he exceeded him in all vices. He shewed himselfe cruell and inhumane to *Sisibut* and *Elba*, the children of *Vitiza*, whom he pursued with all the indignities that might be, and forced them to flee into Africke, depriued of all their goods, where they were entertained by *Recila*, Earle and Gouernour of Tanger or Tingis. Hee addressed himselfe to the daughter of *Julian*, Earle or Gouernour of Ceuta, called *Caba* or *Caus*, the which was bred vp in the Court, as other virgines of noble families, according to the custome, and rauished her, whilest that her father was in embassage in Africke, for the affaires of the kingdom. The place where he committed this rape is called *Pancoruo*, betwixt *Victoria* and *Burgos*. This was the occasion which made the Moores to invade Spaine. Some authors write, That *Caba* or *Caus* was wife and not daughter to Count *Julian*; yet wee find, that his wife was called *Faldrina*, and that shee was sister to king *Vitiza*. The Earle did wickedly reuenge this priuate iniurie by the ruine of the whole kingdom: for returning into Africke, whither he led *Caus*, causing her to embarke at Malaga, of whom the port of the said towne is yet named, he went to *Musa Abenzair*, Gouernour for the Emperour of the Arabians, whose name was *Vlit*, and promised to make him Lord of all Spaine, if hee would giue him men and meanes to make warre there. *Musa* hauing aduertised *Vlit*, he aduised him not to giue too much credit vnto the Earle, before hee had tried him: Wherefore at that time they gaue him a hundred horse and foure hundred foot, with promise of greater forces.

19th Council of Toledo, An. 694.

19th Council of Toledo, An. 694.

This man transported with the dishonour done vnto his house, led these Moores into Spaine, and hauing joynd with some of the countrey, whom he had corrupted, he spoyled

Count Julian brings the Moores into Spaine. led Ann. 713.

led all the coast along the Ocean, which now is Andalusia and Portugall, and then led them backe into Africke, laden with spoyle for a testimonie of his actions. This first descent of the Moores was in the year 713. The Arabians having made this triall of Count *Julian*'s affection, the Gouverneur *Musa* gave him twelve thousand Moores, vnder the conduct of *Tarif Abu Zarez*; which *Tarif* (according vnto some) had beene in the first passage of the Moores into Spaine. Passing the strait, he landed his men at the foot of the mountaine Calpe: by reason whereof this place changed his name, and was in the Arabian tongue called *Gebel Tarif*, that is to say, the mount of Tarif. And the next towne taken by that captain, which was either the ancient Carteia, or Mellaria, was called *Tarif*. This armie being secretly fauoured by *Sisibut* and *Eba*, the sonnes of *Vitiza*, aided and fortified by *Ricla* Gouverneur of Tanger, and other noblemen Gothes, to whom the present estate was displeasing, being friends and affected, and it may be alke interested with Count *Julian*, ouerran and spoyled all Andalusia, and a part of Lusitania, entring into Seuille, and many other places which had bene demanteled, by the foolish aduice of king *Vitiza*. In these combustions, *Roderic* his successe both in his vices and kingdom, was so vnprouided, as his enemies had meanes to doe what they would, without resistance. In the end hauing assembled some troups in haste, he sent them against the Moores, vnder the command of a kinsman of his, called by some *Inigo*, by others *Sanche*. But the Gothes hauing in a manner forgotten to manage armes, by reason of the long peace which they had enjoyed, could not withstand the Moores force, hauing been for many years in continual warre, so as they were defeated, which made Count *Julian* to grow proud and insolent, and his enterprises to bee more fauoured: so as vpon the newes of this victorie in Africke, an infinit number of Arabians, Moores or Sarafins, and other Africans, passed into Spaine, as to the assured spoyle of one of the richest regions in the world.

*Roderic* seeing this fire to encrease daily, hauing called all the Nobilitie together, and rayed an armie, he marched against his enemies, hauing not all his forces yet joyned (for they of Biscaye and of the Asturias, and in a manner all those on this side the riuer of Ebro, were not yet arriued) finding the Arabians vpon the riuer of Guadalete, nere to Asfidone, which either is Xeres or Medina Sidonia at this day; whereas the two armies standing in view one of another, for the space of eight dayes, they had many bloudie skirmishes, without any great aduantage: but in the end they came to a battaile betwixt Medina Sidonia and Xeres, vpon a Sunday in September, in the year 714, whereas king *Roderic* was a spectator of his souldiours deuoures, being mounted vpon a great horse which they called *Orelia*, in a royall mantle, and a crowne vpon his head, with other rich ornaments, after the manner of the kings of the Gothes in those times, which made his souldiours the more courageous, and was the cause of a great slaughter that day of Sarafins or Arabians: but the multitude of the enemies one supporting another, and the tyred being still relieued with fresh supplies, in the end made the Gothes and Spaniards to quit the field: and it is written, That the sonnes of *Vitiza*, called home by *Roderic*, and to whom indiscreetly he had given the command of two points of his armie, reuoluted during the fight; whereupon all his men were cut in pieces, and all Spaine was thereby lost in few dayes, except the Asturias, Biscaye, and some part of the Pyrenes, whither the remainders of the Nobilitie and people fled, which refused to liue vnder the Arabians government. King *Roderic* was neuer seene more; his horse and spoyle were only found in a bogge: yet in the towne of Viseo in Portugall there is at this day this inscription to be seene in Latine.

An Epitaph  
vpon R. Roderic.

*Hic iacet Rodericus, vltimus Rex Gotorum: maledictus furor impij Iuliani, quia pertinax & indignatio, quia dura, Viscanus furia, animosus furor, oblitus fidelitatis, immemor religionis, contemptor Diuinitatis, crudelis in se, Homicida in Dominum, Hostis in Domesticos, Vastator in Patriam, Reus in omnes: Memoria eius in omni ore amarefct, & nomen eius in aeternum M putrefct.*

The continuance  
of the Gothes  
reigne.

In this king ended the Gothes kingdom in Spaine, the which had continued (if wee account as the Spaniards doe, according vnto *Isidorus*, from *Athanaric*, who reigned in the year 370 in Myfia and Thrace) 344 yeares: but for that hee had no entrance into Spaine,

Spaine, but only *Ataulphe*, who reigned in the year 413, and was the first Gothish king which entred there about the year 417, the Gothes reigne in Spaine had continued but 297 yeares.

After this defeat there was no order nor government among the Gothes, euery man followed what partie did best please him. Some retired into the mountaines of Alturia and Biscaye, and into Nauarre; others went into Gaule: many passed into Italie, Germanie, and England, begging aid from those princes (but in vaine) to restore the ruined estate of Spaine, and elsewhere as God directed them. *Sindered* Archbishop of Toledo (who had been deposed by the violence of *Vitiza*) attended not the end of the warre, but leauing his flocke, fled into Italie. *Oppa* who had succeeded him, tooke part with the Moores, and negotiating for them, lost himselfe in Asturia; in whose place the afflicted Christians did chuse one *Vrbain*, a religious man. The traitors which had drawne in the Moores to reuenge their priuat injuries, were all disappointed of the promises which had bene made them, and did perill miserably in diuers seasons, and after diuers manners: especially *Julian*, after that he had seene his wife stoned by the Moores (who allowed the treason, but hated the traitors) his sonne cast from the top of a tower in the towne of Ceuta, himselfe miserable, being depoyled of all his goods, died in a prison in Arragon, in the territorie of Huefca, as some write. The name of the Gothes from that time was in a manner rooted out from the face of the earth: for since there is no memorie of any Estate, Policie, or Gouvernement of this nation vnder this name, the which in former times was so great and famous, as well in the East as West, since the first remembrance of any people. The losse of one battaile did blemish all the beautie of their posteritie, who had vanquished and slaine that great *Cyrus* king of Persia, and of all Asia: who had made head against the armies of *Alexander* the Great, forraged the kingdomes conquered by him, and carried away the kings (his successeful) prisoners: troden vnder foot the maiestie of the Romane Empire, triumphed ouer Emperours, and ouer so many great Captaines and armies: taking the best townes in Italie; yea Rome, the Queene of all other townes, sackt by them: the which had seized vpon the most populous and richest Provinces of the West; where they had reigned happily for so many yeares, with so many remarkable examples of pietie, iustice, and valour. This braue nation was in one day ouerthrowne, so weak is the support of humane greatness.

The ruine of the kingdom of the Gothes in Spaine hauing caused so great a confusion in all things, as not onely religion, the manners of the inhabitants, the language, and the lawes, but euen the face of the earth, and the seat and names of townes were peruerted and changed, it shall not be from the purpose, if wee make a catalogue of the ancient Bishopricks established by the Christians in that region, whereof mention is made by writers, and namely, in the treaties of Councils, the which haue bene gouerned by many holy Pastors, as well in the time of the Romane Emperours, as of the kings of the Gothes, and were at the entrie of the Arabians ruined wherefoeuer they commaunded: wherein for the more ease of the reader, we will obserue the order of the Alphabet.

These words Tol. Merid. Brag. Seuil. Tarrag. noted in the margin, signifie Toledo, Merida, Braga, Seuille, and Tarracone, Archbishopricks or Metropolitan sees, whereof were Suffragans the Bishops or Bishopricks set in their places.

Abdera, whose Bishop was called *Abderitain*, was whereas now the citie of Almerie stands, or that of Vera, according vnto some. Merid.  
Abula, now Auala, a Bishopricke also in our time. Tol.  
Acci, whose Bishop was called *Acitanus*, is likely to be Guadix in Grenado. Seuil.  
F Agre, and the Bishop *Agragensis*: it is a question whether it were a towne in Spaine or Africke.  
Arcobrica, and the Bishop *Arcobricensis*, in the prouince of Tarracone, not farre from Calatayub. Tol.  
Asludon, the Bishop *Asludonensis*, whereas now Medina Sidonia, or Xeres in Andalusia stands. Seuil.  
Aithgia, the Bishop was called *Astigiannus*, it is held to be Ecchia in Andalusia. Seuil.  
Astu-

Traitors from  
frayes of these  
loyes.

The miserable  
end of count  
twice, the wife  
and children.

The weaknesse  
and want of  
humane great-  
nesse.

- Brag.* Asturica, Astorga, and the Bishop Asturicensis, it is a Bishopricke at this day.
- Brag.* Augusta was a common name to many townes in Spaine: for Bracar, Asturica, and others were so named, yet it is to be presumed, when as they doe simply make mention of the Bishop of Augusta, they meane Bracar or Braga, as they lay at this day.
- Brag.* Aurienfis *Episc.* possiblie it is that of Orense, which is a Bishopricke at this day.
- Tarrag.* Aufonia, the Bishop Aufonienfis, at this present Vic or Vic-d' Ossone in Cattelogne.
- Tarrag.* Auca, a citie not farre from the place where since the citie of Burgos was built: the Bishop *Aucitanus*, in the mountaine Idubeda, vpon that continent which now they call the mountaines of Oca or Auca.
- B**
- Tarrag.* Barcino and Barcinonenfis *Episc.* Barcelone.
- Tarrag.* Bassetania, a region where the towne of Ofca stood, as *Plinie* writes: the Bishop was called *Bassetanus* or *Bistitanus*.
- Tol.* Balthania, Baza at this day, in the kingdome of Murcia, and the Bishop was called *Bastitanus*.
- Tol.* Biaria, Barra.
- Tol.* Bigastrenfis or Bistargenfis, it was a Bishopricke in the prouince of Carthage.
- Merid.* Bigerra, at this day Bejar, *Bigerrenfis Episcopus*.
- Metropol.* Bracar, it is Braga an Archbishopricke, contending for the primacie with Toledo.
- Brag.* Britolenfis *Episc.* it was a towne neere vnto Tuy.
- C**
- Merid.* Cauria, at this present Coria, retaining the name and Episcopall seat.
- Tarrag.* Cesar Augusta, and *Cesar Augustanus Episc.* Saragosse a famous Archbishopricke in these times.
- Tarrag.* Calagurris, it may be Calaoorre at this day, the Bishop *Calagurritanus*.
- Merid.* Columbrica or Conimbica, Coimbra in Portugall, and *Columbrenfis Episc.* or it may be Conimbrenfis, a Bishopricke and famous Vniuersitie at this day.
- Tol.* Carthago noua, *Carthaginenfis Episc.* Carthage, in old time the chiefe towne of all Spaine.
- Seuil.* Castulo, at this day Castlona, *Castulonenfis Episc.*
- Merid.* Catraleuci, people in old time about the riuer of Guadiana, *Catralencenfis Episcopus*.
- Tol.* Complutum, and *Complutenfis Episc.* Alcalá de Henares.
- Seuil.* Corduba, and *Cordubensfis Episc.* it retains the name and Bishopricke at this day.
- D**
- Tarrag.* Dertosa, and *Dertosanus Episc.* Tortosa vpon Ebro, it hath his Bishop.
- Tol.* Dianium, Dianienfis, Denia, now it is no Bishopricke.
- Brag.* Dumienfis, it was a Monasterie neere to Braga, where there is a church to be seene at this day.
- E**
- Tol.* Egarenfis *Episc.* it may be it was of those people which were called Egurti, neere to Medina del Riosecco.
- Merid.* Egitanus *Episc.* or rather Igeditanus: for Igedita was a citie in Lusitania, now a little Bourg called Edania.
- Tarrag.* Egibinenfis, it may be they should haue written Egofenfis: for Egofa was a towne in Cattelogne neere to Gironne.
- Merid.* Eborā is a renowned towne in Portugall, the kings abode; the Bishop was called by the Latines *Elborensis*.
- Seuil.* Eliberis, in old time a great and well peopled citie, neere to Granado, since reduced to a castle, built and inhabited by the Iewes, and therefore was called the Iewes towne: the Bishops of Eliberis were called *Eliberitani*. There was another towne of that name at the foot of the Pyrenes, but the one and the other were by some called Illiberis, and more properly.
- Tol.* Eliocrota, and the Bishop called *Eliocrotenfis*, betwixt Carthage and Castlona: Some hold, that the Vandales ruined it.

Elba

- A* Elna, and *Elnenfis Episc.* in Gaule Narbonne.
- Emerita, Emeritanus Episc.* called *Augusta*, it is Merida at this day: it hath nothing singular, but some ruines and markes of antiquitie.
- Eminium* or *Euminiū*, betwixt Coimbra and Porto, vpon a riuer of that name, *Eminienfis Brag. Episcopus*.
- Ergauica* a towne of Arragon, now called Alcaniz: it is no Bishopricke at this day.
- G**
- Gerunda*, and *Gerundenfis Episc.* Gironne.
- Gerabrita* or *Ierabrica*, betwixt Lisbonne and S. Irene, *Gerabrienfis Episc.*
- H**
- Hispalis*, and *Hispalenfis Episc.* Seuille.
- I**
- Ilerda* *Merida, Ilerdenfis Episc.* in Arragon, now a Bishopricke and an Vniuersitie.
- Ilice, Ilicenfis Episc.* from whence *Sinus Ilicitanus* was named, in the kingdome of Valence, vpon the sea, looking to the islands of Piræus.
- Ilands of Majorque* and *Minorque* had their Bishop.
- Ilija*, a citie in the strait of Betica or Andalusia.
- Illiberis* or *Eliberis*, at the foot of the Pyrenes, neere to Colibre.
- Immotinenfis*, it may be *Immotenens Episc.* there is now no memorie of it: some thinke it is *Merida*.
- Montanches*.
- Imopyreneus*, was called the Bishop of Rhoda: it is Roses at this day, of the diocesse of Gironne.
- Impuritanus*, or rather *Emporitanus* of Empuria, of the same diocesse.
- Iugaltrenfis Episc.* or rather *Iuncarienfis*: Iuncaria was neere to Gironne, Iunquera.
- Iteracienfis*, *Iteracata* was neere to the Astures.
- Iria* flauia had a Bishop called *Iricenfis*, at this day it is Padron: the Bishops See was transferred from thence to Compostella.
- Italia* a citie neere to Seuille, whereof there are not any markes remaining, *Italicenfis Episc.*
- Hispalis* the old.
- L**
- Lambria* and *Lambrienenfis*, neere to the riuer Limia in Portugall.
- Lacobrica*, and *Lacobrienfis Episc.* there were two townes of this name, the one at Cap S. Vincent, the other neere to Palenza.
- Lameca* is a Bishopricke yet in Portugall, *Lamecenfis Episc.*
- Legio, Legionenfis Episc.* at this day Leon, the chiefe towne of a realme, and a Bishopricke, enjoying the priuiledges of a Metropolitan.
- Lucentis Episc.* Lugo in Galicia.
- M**
- Malaca*, and *Malacitanus Episc.* it is at this day a citie and Episcopall See.
- Mentela*, now Montijo, or else Iden in Andalusia.
- N**
- Nouienfis*, *Nouiū* in Galicia, it may be Noya.
- O**
- Olisipo*, and *Olisiponenfis Episc.* Lisbonne, most famous in our time.
- Orcelis*, whose Bishop was at the Councell of Arles.
- Oretan*, and *Oretanus Episc.* Calatraua, where there is an order of knights.
- Oica*, that is Huesca in Arragon, a Bishopricke and an Vniuersitie.
- Offobonenfis Episc.* Offobona was in Algarbe, neere to Pharo, which by the Moores was called Exuba.
- Oxonienfis* and *Oxouienfis*, it is Osona, a Bishopricke at this day: *Vxania, Plinie*.
- P**
- Pacensis Episc.* a *Pace Augusta*: it is now Badaia, which the Moores did call Baxangus, corrupting the word.
- P**
- Palentia

- Tol.* Palentia or Palantia, and the Bishop *Palentinensis*: it is a Bishopricke at this time of the same name.
- Tarrag.* Pampelonenfis *Episc.* or Pampilonenfis, Pampelone, the chiefe citie of Nauarre: it is a Bishopricke at this day.
- Merid.* Placentia, and the Bishop *Placentin*: it is now so called.
- Brag.* Porto or Portogallo, *Portogalenfis Episc.* at this day a good port of the sea, and a Bishopricke.
- S
- Merid.* Salmantica, *Salmanticensis Episc.* Salamanca a Bishopricke, and a famous Vniuersitie.
- Tol.* Segobia, and the Bishop *Segobienfis*, it holds yet the name and dignitie; in old time *Secobia Antonin*, *Segovia Plinie*.
- Tol.* Segobrica, *Segobricensis*, Segobia in Arragon.
- Tol.* Seguntia, *Seguntina Episc.* in the limits of Castille and Arragon: it keeps the name and the dignitie.
- Tol.* Setabis, Xatiua in the realme of Valence, and the Bishop *Setabienfis*: it is now no Bishopricke.
- Merid.* Sarabrienfis *Episc.* in whose place is written in the bookes of Councils, *Sibarienfis*. Sarabis it may be was Zamore or Toro.
- Seuil.* Sitia, *Sitianensis Episc.* it was in Betica, depending vpon Corduba for the temporal.
- Seuil.* Sitalenfis and Sitalenfis, all one.
- T
- Metropol.* Tarracon, *Tarraconensis Episc.* it is an Archbishopricke at this day.
- Tarrag.* Turiaslo, *Turiaslonensis Episc.* Tarrassone in the limits of Nauarre.
- Metropol.* Toletum, *Toletanus*, a well knowne Archbishopricke, Primar of Spaine, in old time Metropolitane.
- Seuil.* Tucca, *Tuccitanus Episc.* it was in Betica, neere to Calulo.
- Brag.* Tude or Tyde, it is Tuy in Galicia, now vpon the riuer of Minio, *Episc. Tudensis*: it holds the dignitie.
- Tarrag.* Tullica, and his Bishop *Tullienfis*, in Cantabria among the Autrigons, whereof Calaguritis was the chiefe.
- V
- Tol.* Valence, a famous Archbishopricke at this day.
- Tarrag.* Valeria, at this day Concia or Cuenca, *Comenensis Episc.* it was sometimes called *Valerienfis*.
- Merid.* Vellenfis or Velienfis, it was a Bishopricke among the Autrigons.
- Tol.* Velsi, *Velsenfis Episc.* it is Viseo a citie in Portugall.
- Tol.* Vrci, *Vrcitanus Episc.* neere Murcia or Almerie.
- Tarrag.* Virgelitanus, it is Virgel in Arragon, a Bishopricke
- Tol.* Vxama.

These townes vntill the destruction of the Gothes kingdome haue beene Bishops seats, according to the order and discipline which was then obserued in Christian churches. Those of Seuille, Toledo, Merida, Braga, and Tarragone, were Archbishops, Metropolitans, and Primats: Diuers names, but of one signification, which did not inferre any superioritie one ouer another, for they were equall in power: and they did preside in Councils, according to the antiquities of their seas.

THE



## THE SIXT BOOKE OF the Historie of Spaine.

### The Contents.

- 1 OF the Moores or Arabians which invaded Spaine, their beginning and manners.
- 2 Mahumets sett his birth, designs, and Empire, &c. of his successors, vnto Vlix the tenth Caliph.
- 3 Conquest of Spaine by the Moores.
- 4 Pelagius the deliuerer of Spaine, and first king of Ouiedo.
- 5 Garcia Ximenes deliuerer of the Christians oppressed in Spaine, first king in Sobrarbre and Nauarre.
- 6 Fasila second king of Ouiedo: many Gouernors Moores in Spaine in his time.
- 7 Alphonse third king of Ouiedo.
- 8 D. Froila fourth king of Ouiedo, the first which vsed the title of Don.
- 9 Abderamen first soueraigne king of the Moores in Spaine, sitting at Cordona.
- 10 D. Aurelle fift king of Ouiedo.
- 11 D. Sillo sixt king of Ouiedo.
- 12 D. Aznar first Earle of Arragon vnder Nauarre.
- 13 D. Garcia Inigo second king of Sobrarbre or Nauarre.
- 14 D. Mauregat seuenth king of Ouiedo.
- 15 D. Bermund eight king of Ouiedo.
- 16 Hizen second soueraigne king ouer the Moores in Spaine.
- 17 D. Galinde second Earle of Arragon.
- 18 Catteloge, the name, and the gouernment of the Christians in that province vnder Bernard.
- 19 D. Alphonse the chapt, ninth king of Ouiedo.
- 20 Invention of S. Iaques his sepulchre, as the Spaniards affirme.
- 21 Haliathan third soueraigne king ouer the Spanishe Moores.
- 22 Expedition of Charlemaigne into Spaine, and the defeat at Ronceaux.
- 23 D. Fortun third king of Sobrarbre and Nauarre.
- 24 D. Sancho Garces fourth king of Nauarre.
- 25 D. Ximen Aznaris third Earle of Arragon.
- 26 D. Ximen Garces fourth Earle of Arragon.
- 27 D. Garci Aznaris fift and D. Fortun Ximenes sixt Earle of Arragon.
- 28 Geoffrey of Aris the stemme of the Earles of Barcelone.
- 29 D. Ramir the first of that name, tenth king of Ouiedo.
- 30 D. Ximen Inigo fift king of Nauarre.
- 31 D. Ordogno eleuenth king of Ouiedo and Leon.
- 32 Muza Aben. Cacin makes himselfe king of Toledo.
- 33 Mahumet fift Miralmumin or king of the Moores in Spaine, the first of that name.
- 34 D. Geoffrey second Earle of Barcelone, succesor to Bernard.
- 35 D. Alphonse third of that name and twelfth king of Leon.
- Toledo reduced vnder the obedience of the Moores kings of Cordona.

P ij

36 D. Inigo

- 36 D. Inigo Arista *sixt king of Sobrarbe and Navarre.*  
 37 D. Garcia Inigo *third of that name, seventh king of Navarre.*  
 38 D. Suria a *Scottishman, the beginner of the Lords of Biscaye.*  
 39 Almundir *sixt Moorish king in Spaine.*  
 40 D. Garcia *first of that name, the thirteenth king of Oviedo and Leon.*  
 41 Abdalla *seventh king of the Moores in Spaine.*  
 42 D. Fortun *second of that name, eighth king of Navarre.*  
 43 D. Salomon *third Earle of Barcelona.*  
 44 D. Geoffrey the *hairie, fourth Earle of Barcelona, and first Proprietarie.*  
 45 D. Ordogno *second of that name, fourteenth king of Oviedo and Leon.*  
 46 Abderamen Alimanor *eighth king of the Moores.*  
 47 The death of the *Earles of Castille among the which was D. Diego Porcello.*  
 48 D. Froila *second of that name, fifteenth king of Leon.*  
 49 The alteration of the *state in Castille, and the government of the Province by two Judges.*

In this sixt Booke there is speciall mention made of the beginning of the Estates of Oviedo and Leon, of Sobrarbe and Navarre, of Cordova, Cattelogne, Castille, and Arragon, and of the Provinces thereof, which were these.

### OVIEDO and LEON. Kings.

- 1 Pelagius.
- 2 Fasila.
- 3 Alphonso 1.
- 4 Froila 1.
- 5 Aurella.
- 6 Silo.
- 7 Mauregat.
- 8 Bermund 1.
- 9 Alphonso 2.
- 10 Ramir 1.
- 11 Ordogno 1.
- 12 Alphonso 3.
- 13 Garcia 1.
- 14 Ordogno 2.
- 15 Froila 2.

### NAVARE. Kings.

- 1 Garcia Ximenes 1.
- 2 Garcia Inigo 2.
- 3 Fortun 1.
- 4 Sancho Garces 1.
- 5 Ximen Inigo.
- 6 Inigo Arjilia.
- 7 Garcia Inigo 3.
- 8 Fortun 2.

### ARRAGON. Earles.

- 1 Aznar.
- 2 Galinde.
- 3 Ximen Aznaris.
- 4 Ximen Garces.
- 5 Garci Aznaris.
- 6 Fortun Ximenes.

### CASTILLE. Earles.

- 1 Nugno Fernandez.
- 2 Diego Porcello.
- 3 Nugno Belides.
- 4 Judges.
- 1 Nugno Razura.
- 2 Flavin Caluo.
- 3 Gonçal Nagues.

### CATTELOGNE. Gouernours.

- 1 Bernard.
- 2 Geoffrey Aria.
- 3 Salomon.
- 4 A proprietarie Earle.
- 5 Geoffrey the hairie.

### MOORES.

There were many Gouernours vnder the Caliphes and Miralumnins of Asia and Africke, vnto Abderamen, who first erected a Soueraignetie at Cordova.

### Kings.

- 1 Abderamen 1.
- 2 Hizen.
- 3 Hali Athan.
- 4 Abderamen 2.
- 5 Mahumet 1.
- 6 Almundir.
- 7 Abdalla.
- 8 Abderamen 3.

The

A

The Arabians Mahumetists which conquered Spaine, were also called I Moores, for that they crossed Mauritania, a region of Africk, which is opposite vnto Spaine, from the which Tingitana is diuided by a small strait, the which when as Tarif passed, was subject vnto the Gothes, and governed by Recila, a friend and partisan to Count Julian. It is therefore expedient to speak something of this nation, whose power in a short time did in a manner surpasse all the Monarchies which have been in the world.

Arabia is a spacious region, diuided into many parts: The ancients made a partition into three; the Happie, the Stonie, and the Defart. Arabia the Happie was so called, in regard of the two other which are barren, little knowne to the ancients, and nothing at all annoyed by the Romane armies. Arabia Petrea or Stonie carried that name of the capitall citie Petra, which had their kings, sometimes friends and allied, but most commonly enemies vnto their neighbours, and often tributaries to the ancient kings of Persia and Ægypt (whereunto they joyne) and afterwards to the Romanes. The Defart Arabia hath not at any time had any certaine policie, and very few townes, whose princes were but leaders of troupes of theues, enemies to all quiet, seeking nothing but warre, mercinarie to kings and princes that would employ them, a people without humanitie, without faith, and without any religion. All this country extends from East to West, almost from the foud Euphrates vnto Nyle, hauing Syria on the North side, and the Ocean to the South. Whilst that the Romane Emperours were in continuall warre against the kings of Parthia and Persia, either partie employed this nation, who went for the most part to the warre on horsebacke, fit to spoyle a country, to seize suddainly vpon a passage, to discover, surprize, or doe any other action of warre, which required expedition, especially if there were more question to forrage & spoyle than to fight. This race is descended from Ismael, of whom it is said, *That his hand should be against all, and all hands against him.*

2 Among these people Mahumet was borne, in the year of our redemption 580 (some say, it was in the year 591, and others 593) to trouble Christendome, and to punish their ingratitude, which teamed themselves Christians, Maurice being then Emperour of Constantinople. The place of his birth was called Itrarip, a little towne neere vnto Mecque; his father called Abedela, was a Pagan and an Idolatrer, and his mother Emima a Iew, a poore begging gille, the which was taken vp by Abedela for loue, for that she seemed faire. At the age of two yeares he was left an orphan; whereupon he was taken by an vncl of his, called Salutslebi, and bred vp in his house by Halma his wife, vntill the age of sixteene yeares, and then hee was carried away by a troupe of Arabian theetes, who met him alone, and sold him to a rich marchant, who said, That he was of the race of Ismael, and was called Abdimonepli, who employed Mahumet some yeares in his trade of marchandise, whereby he had occasion to see many countries, and to tast many religions, especially the Iewish and Pagan, to the which was added the Christian religion, which was then much corrupted, and was made much worse to him by the conuersation of an Arrian Monke called Sergius, who haunted the house of his master Abdimonepli. With this Monke and others he layed a plot to make himselfe famous by a remarkable impietie, and framed a doctrine drawne from the Iewish and the Arrian, mingled with other their inuentions: the which he afterwards brought in, partly by persuasions, partly by money, and partly by force, being enriched with his masters treasure, after whose death he had married his widow called Adegiah; so as about the year 623 he was receiued and acknowledged by the Arabians for their capitaine and great Prophet. Then was Heraclius in the imperiall seat at Constantinople; and a little before there had risen many seditions in Syria and Ægypt, during the which, Mahumet had plotted his designs, and had made himselfe famous among the seditious. And moreover, certain mercinarie bands of Arabian Scenits being cast and sent away with injuries by the Commisaries of Heraclius the Emperour, he drew them vnto him, and with these forces in a short time seized vpon a great part of Arabia, namely, of the townes of Mecque and Itrarip, the place of his birth, the which was afterwards called Medinah-Al-Nabi, that is to say, the city of the great Prophet; and from the day that place was taken, in the year 617, the Arabians and sectaries of Mahumet account their yeares, as we do ours from the Natiuitie of our Lord Iesus Christ.

P iij

Others

Amirau.

Death of Mahomet.

Cacim, Mahomet's sonne, Fatime and Zeinab his daughters.

Ebnubezer Caliph or high Priest of the Arabians in the 11 years. Sarafins why so called.

Homar Caliph the 14 years of the Arabians.

Others say, That Medina or Almedina was another rich towne inhabited by rich Jewes, G whereof *Mabumet* gaue the spoyle to his souldiors, abhorring it about all other sects, for it seemed more opposit to his doctrine than any other; yet it is most certain, that he vsed Jewes to compound his doctrine. And vpon a defeat which the Persians had by the Romanes in those times, he tooke occasion to invade Syria, and seized vpon the countrey about Damas, and then tried to extend his limits all he could, employing in the end of his dayes his Lieutenants to make his conquests, whilst that he rested at Mecque, which was in the beginning the seat of his Empire. In his later daies he made foure capitaines, the which he called the cutting swords of God, the common fort tearmed them *Amirans*; the which were *Ebnubezer*, whom some call *Vbequer*, others *Bubacur* or *Eubocara*; then *Homar*, *Ozman*, and *Aly*. This last was son to *Salutaleby*, *Mabumet's* vncler. *Ebnubezer* was his father in law; for *Mabumet* had many wiues, and *Ebnubezer's* daughter was called *Aixa* or *Aissa*. This monster hauing reigned about ten yeares, hee died at Medinath Al-Nabi, in the house of this *Ebnubezer*, of poyson, as some say: for hauing published among other articles, That he should rise againe within three dayes after his decaile, one of his disciples impatient to attend, and curious to see the experience of his doctrine, poysoned him secretly: and some say, That he kept him 12 daies, and in the end seeing that he was dead, and his bodie so corrupted and stinking, as no man could endure it, this disciple being forced to retire by reason of the abominable smell of carion, and returning soone after, he found the dogs had come in pieces: wherefore hee gathered the bones together, the which were put in a coffin of yron, and in time caused a chappell to be built, vaulted with adamant stone, so as the cofer being put into it, the vertue of the stone drew it vp into the ayre, where it did hang, which seemed miraculous vnto the ignorant: yet such as haue travelled into those countries in our time, say there is no such thing now to be seene. He had one son called *Cacim*, who died before him, and many daughters, whereof *Fatima* is famous among the Arabians, as the stemme of the royall race of *Aben-Alabecy*, & was wife to *Aly*, according to the most certaine. *Zeinab* also, another of *Mabumet's* daughters, wife to *Ozman*, or (as some say) to *Muhannas* (it may be to both successuely) is honoured by this nation, and *Muhannas* her husband (as the beginning of another royall familie) called *Aben-Humeys*. There is mention made of *Imicaultin* and of *Nephissa*, daughters or neere kinswomen to this false Prophet: The sepulchre of the last was found in Caire by Sultan *Selym*, Emperour of the Turkes in our fathers time, and in it about the value of 500000 duckats in gold coyned, with much other treasure, which was giuen and carried thither for almes.

*Mabumet* had decreed, That *Aly* his cousin german, and sonne in law, one of the abouenamed *Amirans*, should succeed him in the realme established by him: but *Ebnubezer* his father in law, who was rich and mightie, and had *Ozman* and *Homar* on his side, brake this ordinance: for he pretended, that *Mabumet* had gotten a great part of that which he enjoyed at his death, by his means, credit, & wealth; & seeing that he died in his house, it was reason he should be his heire. *Ozman* and *Homar* were nothing discontented: for hauing also a desire to reigne, they were more willing the crowne should come to *Ebnubezer* (who they did confidently beleue would soone die, by reason of his age) than vnto *Aly*, who was young and in the prime of his age. *Ebnubezer* therefore reigned, & was created High Priest of the Arabians, otherwise called *Sarafins*, as in the time of the Christian Emperors of the East, who did willingly entertaine this nation, they were commonly called. The name comes of the country *Saracena*, in Arabia *felix*, or the happie, in which region, according to the same author, was the towne of *Saraca*, but farre off from these other people. Howsoever it be, it seemeth this name comes from *Sara*, *Abrahams* wife, notwithstanding they auow themselves to be descended from *Ismael* the son of *Agar*: but they take no pleasure (he should be termed a chambermaid. Hauing reigned 3 yeares, he died, not without suspicion of poyson: after which time these princes entitled themselves Caliphs, that is to say, *Gouernors*, *Rectors*, and *foueraigne Princes*, properly heires and successors.

After *Ebnubezer*, *Homar* held the keeper over the Arabians, being sometimes called *Haumar*, M sometimes *Humar*, *Hemer* & *Homar*, by writers, to whom is attributed the taking of the towne of Bozra, the chiefe of Arabia, of Damas and of Ierusalem, and in the end of all Phenicia, Syria, Mesopotamia and Egypt. And hauing vanquished *Orismada* or *Harfunda*, King of Persia, in battaile, he seized vpon that great and mightie kingdome, to whose succour then came the Turkes from the Caspian ports and straits, but in vaine: so as the name of the Persians was then

ex-

A extinguisht, and they were all called *Sarafins*. He was suspected to be a Christian; for his father *Catab* was a friend and benefactor to the Christians, whom he drew to Ierusalem, and for that cause built the temple which remains vnto this day, with other shewes of superstition. *Homar* being in this esteeme with his people, he was slaine by a seruant of his, a Persian, called *Amigira*, making his prayers vnto God. This prince was hardie and warlike, and did effect great matters: he reigned ten yeares. He died in the yeare of Christ 641, and the 24 of the Arabians rainge.

B *Ozman*, or *Hotman*, *Asman* and *Autamar*, for this diuersitie of names are found in authors, sonne in law to *Mabumet* (for they hold, that he was married to two of his daughters, whereof it may be *Zeinab* was one) was the fourth Caliph of the Arabians. There was already growne great contention among this nation, touching matters of religion, it being vaine and without ground, by reason of many absurdities, which did contradict one another: which was no marvell; for *Mabumet* being ignorant of all learning, could not set downe his conceptions with any good method or order; but as they came into his braine he wrote them downe, and neuer perused them after: so as oftentimes forgetting what he had before set downe, preached, or otherwise published, he ordained diuers things which were repugnant and absurd. Whereunto the people which then followed him, being all giuen to armes, poore, needie, grosse and ignorant, tooke no good regard, their spirit being attentive to the exterior countenance; and if there were any more subtile, force and danger (lopt their mouths. But after some yeares, C they had more libertie and leasure to thinke thereof, and to examine *Mabumet's* doctrine which was taught, so as they grew into many disputes. To remedie the which, *Ozman* caused the papers of the Prophet to be sought out, whereof they found a great cofer full in the house of *Aissa* his widow, with the helpe whereof he caused their Alcoran, or Alfurcan, to be compiled, shewing himselfe verie liberrall to them that laboured therein. Yet some thinke, that this worke was begun by his predecesour *Homar*; and that he did reduce it into a better method, and into chapters.

*Hubs* one of his lieutenants invaded Africke, and ruined Carthage, so as Tunis came then to be well peopled, and soone after Cairoan, an hundred miles vp in the countrey, and somewhat farre from the sea, was built, which since was a royall seat of the Arabians. *Muhannas* also who gouerned Egypt, went with an infinit number of vessels into Cypres, which island he spoiled. This *Muhannas* was the founder of Caire, neere vnto the ruines of the auncient D Memphis, the which from a little burrough came to the greatnesse and state wee haue seene in our fathers time, and by his wisdom and conduct the estate of the Arabians was much augmented. He assailed the Romanes armie vpon the confines of Lycia, and put it to rout, so as the emperour *Constant* then reigning, was forced to flic in a disguised habit. *Muhannas* being putt vp with this victorie, he besieged and tooke Rhodes, beat downe that great Colosse of the Sunne, being 70 cubits high, or 80, as some write, and sold the metall to a merchant Jew, who laded 900 cammels therewith, and carried moreouer out of that island, infinit other goodly and rich workes, for it was replenished with such things, as *Plinie* writes, who

E wimeth, that there hath beene numbered in it 73000 figures, or statues, and an hundred Colosses. After these exploits he sent his armie at sea to the island of Sicile, from whence they were repulled by *Olympius*, Exarch or Gouernour of Italie. He himselfe returned into Syria, and there raised a great armie by land, to invade Capadocia, whither he marched. By these high exploits *Muhannas* was in great reputation among the Arabians, which made him aspire to the foueraigne dignitie, whereunto the death of the Caliph *Ozman* seemed to inuite him, wherefore he brought backe his armie.

*Ozman* died in the twelfth yeare of his rainge, the 653 of our Sauour, and the 36 of the Arabians, being set vpon in his palace by the *Sarafins*, which were of the faction of *Ali* his brother in law, they forced him to kill himselfe, for that hee would not fall aliue into their hands. Some write, that *Ali* himselfe slew him, by the persuation of *Aissa* *Mabumet's* widow.

There was great diffention then among the Arabians, vpon the election of a new Caliph: the competitors were *Ali*, *Muhannas*, and *Mahomet*: *Ali* obtained it by armes against *Muhomet*, but he was to trie it with *Muhannas*, who finding himselfe followed by a great armie of old

Ozman the 4 Caliph the 24 years of the Arabians.

Mabumet ignorant of all learning.

Alcoran of the Arabians.

Cairoan built.

Caire built by Muhannas.

Rhodes taken by Muhannas.

The miserable death of Ozman.

old fouldiers, Egyptians and Syrians, and himselfe being also and expert captain, hee gaue him many crosses for the space of a 11 moneths, so as by a common consent their quarrell was put to the arbitrement of *Alfates* and *Alfasi*, two old men of great reputation among them; who notwithstanding could neuer agree, so as they returned againe to armes, till that *Ali* was slaine by the practises of *Muhauis*, neere vnto the towne of Cufa in Arabia, and there buried: wherefore the place is called vnto this day *Masfad Ali*, that is to say, the house of *Ali*. The inhabitants of Cufa and Aratha, did chuse for Caliph in his place *Alhacem*, eldest sonne to him and to *Fatima*, eldest daughter to *Mahumet*, who in his carriage and behaviour represented his grandfather by his mothers side. Being established, hee marched with an armie against *Muhauis*, but being one neere vnto another, when as euerie man attended a bloudie battell, suddenly *Alhacem*, either moued by feare, or pietie, and his natural mildnesse, came and cast himselfe at *Muhauis* feet, acknowledging him his superiour: so as they entred into Cufa, the which they did ranfome for a great summe of money; and being come from thence to Ictrib, *Muhauis* set the royall diadem with his own hands vpon *Alhacem* head, and would haue him raigne, which he assured himselfe would not be long, for hee dyed within fix moneths after. Thus *Muhauis* being freed from all competitors, raigned alone: he was (according vnto some) sonne in law to *Mahumet*, hauing married his daughter *Zeineb*, as it is likely, in her second marriage, from which marriage the royall familie of *Aben Humeis* is descended. It is hee which changed the Caliphes seat to Damas. He first invaded the Romane empire with happy successe, *Constant* sitting in the imperiall seat, from whom hee did exact a tribute. He ouerrun Africke, from whence there were brought by the Sarafins aboue fourescore thousand persons, slaues: And in the time of *Constantine*, sumamed *Pogonat*, or the Bearded, hee tooke Cizicus a sea towne, from whence afterwards with a great fleet of ships hee infested the prouinces of the empire, yea and Constantinople it selfe, but vnfortunatly for the Arabians: for after great losses both by sea and land, *Muhauis* remained tributary to the Romanes, to whom hee promised to pay yearly three thousand pounds of gold, fourescore slaues, and as many horses, and withall to deliuer 50 Christian prisoners at the emperors choyce. By this meanes there was a peace, or truce concluded for thirtie yeares, betwixt the Romanes and Arabians; during the which *Muhauis* began to trouble the Potentates of his owne sect, reformed and subdued the Persians, and gaue them *Matur* for their Gouernour.

*Muhauis* Caliph of the Arabians.

*Damas* the seat of the Caliphes.

*Arabians* tributary to the Romanes.

*A Councell of Mahumets* first Damas.

*Four* sects in *Mahumets* religion.

*Muhauis* vnlearned.

*Hizit* 6 Caliph

*Mahumets* sect was spread farre into the East, but with great inconstancie, and mingled with heresies: by reason whereof hee called a Councell at Damas, of the Aliaquins of *Mahumets* law; whither hee commaunded to bring all the writings that could bee recovered as well of their Prophet *Mahumet*, as of the Caliphes his successours, and other interpreters: but there was nothing but contention and confusion, without any resolution: Wherefore there were five of the most learned men chosen, that is, *Boar*, *Buora*, *Anoei*, *Asterminde*, and *Dauid*, who were enjoined to gather out of all the volumes (the which as they write would haue laden two hundred cammels) what they thought came nearest to their Prophets will, which they held the truth. These being shut into a house, after they had turned ouer, and conferred these writings, they made six bookes of *Mahumets* doctrine, the which were presented by them, vnto the king or Caliph *Muhauis*, who published them, and by his authoritie caused them to be receiued, vpon paine of death to any one that should dispute the contrary. The rest of the papers were some in peeces, and cast into the riuer. From these six volumes there haue since growne foure sects among them, the Melicians, Alafians, Alambelians, and Buanifians, the which maintaine themselves at this day in the great cite of Caire. After these things *Muhauis* dyed at Damas, an excellent prince, and verie warlike, of an actiue spirit, nature recompensing that which he wanted by art: for he could neither read nor write, to the great griefe of them of his sect, whom they held verie fit to haue advanced it, if he had been learned. He died in the three score and seuenteenth yeare of his age, 678 M of our redemption, and sixtie one of the raigne of the Arabians, hauing raigned 24 or 25 yeares.

*Hizit* his sonne, or *Gizit*, or *Iezid*, was chosen Caliph after him, degenerating wholly from his father: For as he was actiue, resolute, and valiant, so this was base, voluptuous, and a coward: Whereupon *Matur* (whom his father had placed Gouernour of Persia) made himselfe

A himselfe king and Caliph, faining to be a Prophet; and of his race the Sophies which raigne thereat this day are descended. The people of Cufa in Arabia, seeing the vnworthinesse of *Hizit*, chose *Hocem* the sonne of *Ali* Caliph against him; but he was slaine by *Abdalla* the son of *Hizit*, leauing twelue sonnes, which were, *Zemal*, *Abadin*, *Zemal*, *Muamed*, *Bagner*, *Muamed*, *Taguin*, *Muamed*, *Giasfar*, *Cadeneg*, *Giasfar*, *Musfa*, *Ali*, *Mucerali*, *Alle*, *Muamet*, *Taguin*, *Musmet*, *Hal*, *maguin*, *Ali*, *Hacem*, *Asquerin*, *Hacem*, *Muamed*, *Mahadin* alone of all the brethren, is not yet dead, The Persians beleue, that *Hacem* *Muamed* *Mahadin* alone of all the brethren, is not yet dead, and that he will come one day mounted vpon a braue horse, to conuert all the world, and to preach the law to all men, beginning with the towne of Masfad Ali, where his grandfather was interred, where at this day they keepe a horse readie for him, the which they lead vnto their Mosquee, when they doe their seruice, with torches and lights in great pompe.

B *Hocem* being slaine, and *Hizit* dead the third yeare of his raigne, *Abdalla* there raigned: *Ciuite* warres in Arabia. but for that he was a tyrant, they aduanced *Marian* to the dignitie of Caliph, betwixt which the two warre continued two yeares: at the end whereof the Arabians held an assembly, in manner of a parliament, at Cufa, a towne in Arabia the happie, where *Abdalla* being deposed, *Abdimeles* was chosen in his place, who was verie young, of the race of *Ali*, and therefore much honoured by the Arabians: For *Ali* (as we haue said) was appointed heire and successor by the Prophet *Mahumet*, whereas *Abdalla* descended from *Ebubezer*, who had beene an vlturper. There was another nobleman of Arabia, called *Dadac*, which did bandie himselfe against *Abdimeles*, and was vanquished by him: but *Abdalla* did still hold the cite of Damas, and pursued another Caliph which was risen in Mesopotamia, which country is now called Diarbec. Against him *Abdimeles* sent a great captain, a kinsman of his, called *Ciasfar*, who hauing encountered *Abdalla* vpon the riuer Euphrates, returning victoriously from Mesopotamia to Damas, fought with him and defeated him, but with great effusion of blood.

C *Abdalla* being vanquished, thinking to saue himselfe in Damas, hee was kept out by the inhabitants, for his tyrannies: wherefore he fled to Caire, which at that time was not verie great, where they also refused him the entrie. Being therefore chased, and abandoned by all men, thinking to crosse ouer into Greece, he was slaine in a little island, whither a torment had cast him. With him ended the race of the Caliphes of Damas, called by the Arabians, Marau-  
D nians, descending from *Muauia* and *Ebubezer*. *Ciasfar* pursuing his victorie, entred into Damas, and there vied all the cruelties he could against the Marauinians, taking the bones of the Caliph *Hizit* out of his graue, the which he burnt publicly, and cast the ashes into the riuer. Yet one of *Muauis* descendents, called *Abedramun*, escaped, flying into the furthest parts of Libia, towards the West Ocean, into Mauritania Tingitana, whither the Arabians were newly come: For all the length of Asfick, from Nile vnto the Ocean (except some places vpon the sea coast, which were yet subject vnto the Romane empire) had beene ouerrun and subdued by this nation. There this prince being acknowledged by the Sarafins to be of the race of the Caliphes of Damas, was well entertained and honoured by them: Wherefore taking courage, he erected an Estate, and built the towne of Maroc, which was afterwards the head of a great kingdom. He was the first which called himselfe *Miralummin*, that is to say, Prince of the beleueurs. *Abdimeles* nor *Ciasfar* pursued him not, being verie farre off, and for that he had limited his desires and ambition in those remote parts, but about all the attempts of the Romanes, did much trouble *Abdimeles*, so as he was forced to renew a peace with the emperours of Constantinople, and make the Arabians againe tributary to *Iustinian* the 2 then raigning, promising to pay him ten pounds of gold, a slaue, and a horse euery day: by reason of which peace so deere bought, he conuerted his forces against Persia, whereas one *Abdalla* *Zubir* had newly seized vpon that region, after that he had vanquished and slaine *Matur*, who had vsurped it vpon the Caliph *Hizit*. *Abdimeles* sent all his forces against this *Abdalla*, and hauing chased him out of Persia, he recovered that prouince. Then he sent one of his captaines, called *Cagian*, to pursue *Abdalla*, who was retired to Mecque, where hee was besieged, the towne taken, and *Abdalla* slaine by *Cagian*, who then burnt the auncient idole, and the temple there.

D After these things, the Caliph *Abdimeles* was againe engaged in warre against the Christians, by the treacherie of *Iustinian*, who snarred for it: for being defeated with most of the Grecians, *Abdalla* deposed and *Abdimeles* chosen the ninth Caliph.

Race of the Caliphes Marauinians, descended from Damas.

*Abedramun* the first of the kings of Maroc.

*A grievous* tax was paid by the Arabians to the Romanes.



*Remains of  
out of Spaine.*

Grecians, he was forced to save himself by flight, and was afterwards chased out of the imperial seat by *Leonce*, with great troubles throughout all the Eastern empire of the Christians: whereby the Caliph had not only means to recover all the Romans had taken from him in Asia, but also to chase their Gouvernours and armies out of all Africke, so as there was nothing remaining of the Romane name: yet his lieutenants were beaten invading Cilicia, by the care and conduct of *Heraclius*, a Romane captain, about which time *Abdimeles* dyed, having reigned over the Arabians one and twentie yeares. Whilest hee was busie in these warres, the same of the sanctitie and justice of *Abdramon* (who as wee have said had built Maroc) grew so great, as he was held by those Westerne Arabians for Caliph, and more than a Caliph: and the opinion of his vertues passing into Arabia, and throughout all the East, it happened, that dying and leaving his sonne *Plus* successeur of his goods and good fame, all the Arabians with one generall consent chose him for their Caliph in the place of *Abdimeles*, who dyed in the yeare seven hundred and seven. So the race of the Marauitians reigned againe, which was the posteritie of *Zeineb*, daughter to *Mahumet*, ingendred (as some beleue) on *Aissa* the daughter of *Ebubezer*.

*Plus Caliph of  
the Arabians,  
the gouernour  
of the Arabians,  
and the 707 of  
Christ.*

*Plus* was the mightiest of all the Arabian princes, his predecessors, reigning in a manner from the Western Ocean, vnto the river Indus. He gaue the gouernment of Africk to *Musa*, with the title of Admirall, and in a manner absolute power, all which was subject to his empire, except a small portion of the country which the Gothes held neere vnto the strait, whereas the towne of Cepta stands, the which is now called Ceuta: all the rest had bin conquered by his predecessors, Caliphs. You must vnderstand, that the Arabians entring into Africke, they brought in *Mahumets* law, their language and their manners: so as the great number of Christians was much decreased, but not wholly extinguished, and many goodly churches came to ruine: the African tongue was in a manner lost, and the Arabian was made common. Yet there is at this day a certaine people found, which haue preserved the Africaine tongue, as the Biscanians haue done the antient Spanish, as some hold. They dwell in the mountains of the kingdom of Sus, about Cap d'Aguer, towards the Westerne Ocean, and call their language *Thamazet*, the which differs from the Arabian as much as the Biscan from the Castilian: and the Moors of qualitie in that country, learne the Arabic tongue in schools, or in courts, that they may be able to conuerse with them. It hath also appeared since, that many families haue retained the Christian religion, and the holy Scriptures, with some forme of Sacraments, but not altogether pure: for *Ferdinand* the third, called the Holy, reigning in Castille, and since in the reign of *Iohn* the first, there were found in the citie of Maroc, certaine antient families, called *Farfanes*, which retained still the name and profession of Christians, about 680 yeares after that the Sarafins had seized vpon Africk, whereof some came into Spaine, to Alcala de Henares. Moreover, it was seene in our daies, that after that the citie of Tunis had been taken by the emperor *Charles* the 5, from *Haradin Barberousse*, there were many habitations of Christians in that citie, having retained, and as it were inherited from father to sonne, for the space of about 800 yeres, the articles of our Faith, not without great admiration of the diuine providence, who liued in a suburbs without the towne, at the South gate, men much esteemed of their kings, and valiant and hardie in the warres. They had a temple separated from the Moors, who called them *Rabatines*, and of them the gards of the kings perfort did consist. These *Rabatines* were afterwards transported to Naples by the emperor, that they might be instructed in the Romish religion.

*Rabatines Chri-  
stians in Africk.*

3 Whilest that *Plus* reigned over the Arabians, and that *Musa* gouerned Africk, the Moors passed into Spaine, as we haue said, against the kingdom of the Gothes, whereby there followed a lamentable desolation: a nation without doubt fatal to Christendome, which had shewed it selfe rebellious, and to contemne so many graces it had received: For in that age, ambition and tyrannie did tread all diuine and humane lawes vnder foot, and all good order was peruerced, as well in Ecclesiasticall as ciuile gouernments. The bishops did then contend for the Primacie, being growne insolent, by the carelesse of princes, who had referred the whole charge of affaires vnto them, abandoning themselves in the meane time to pleasures and disordnat lulls, with an opinion to be absolved of all their excess, in building of churches, conuents, and retreats for Clergie men, and endowing them with great reuenues, diuiding with them the spoyle they tooke from the people: who for their parts be-

*Faults in the  
vnde.*

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ing ill instructed, and corrupted with the superstitions and traditions of men, could doe no other service vnto God, but set vp Images and altars, seeke out the bones of dead Saints, and such other things, little seruing to true pietie; thinking the paine they tooke in these exercises, a good satisfaction for all their offences. To conclude, there was then so great a confusion (the which is not yet amended) as God being justly offended, gaue scope to the furie of the Arabian nation, the which invaded the Potentates of Christendome with such furie, as in lesse than an hundred yeares they ouerthrew all the power and riches of the Romane empire, of the Persians, and of other Estates. This was not a passage, as that of the Gothes, Hunnes, Lombards, and other nations of Sithia: the which passed soone away, as an overflowing deluge, or if they stayed among vs, they soone conformed themselves to humanitie, pietie, and justice: but this plague was durable, and did still increase; for the Turke empire at this day is nothing but a remainder of the Arabians, mingled with the Hunnes, from whence the Turkes are come. There remaine few certaine families of that Turkish nation which came from the Caspian straits, in the time of *Orismada* the last king of Persia, who was defeated by *Hauumar*, Caliph or king of the Sarafins, and the which did afterwards vanquish them: and yet they grew so familiar with them, as after that time the Turkes and Sarafins were reputed but one nation.

We haue thought it expedient, for the more light of our historie, to make this digression and to seeke out the beginning of this indomptible power of the Arabians, and to relate the succession of that Estate, vntill their entrie into Spaine vnder the conduct of *Tarif*, or *Tarif Aben Zate*, who defeated king *Roderic*, as we haue shewed in the former booke, where this king dyed, and in a manner all the flower of the nobilitie of the countrey, in the yeare of our saluation seven hundred and foureteene, in July, or according vnto some, in September.

Returning then to our historie, we say, That the Arabians, or Moors (as wee will rearme them indifferently hereafter) hauing obtained this great victorie, in a realme without forts, it was then easie for them to rauage and spoile the whole country at their pleasure, seeing there was no force to withstand them. They diuided their armie into many troupes, & at one instant assailed all the places which they thought to be of any strength. One of their armies went against Malaga, and tooke it: another marched to Cordoua, vnder the conduct of a Christian *Kenigado*, called *Magetard*. *Tarif* with another troupe tooke Iacn, then called Mentifa, which defended it selfe to the last extremitie; the which he raied: then he tooke Toledo and Guadala. And passing on, hauing for his guide *Mugnuza*, or *Numatius*, a Goth, hee came vnto the laira. And passing on, he seized vpon Gigion and Astorga. Returning towards Catalogne, vnder the conduct of *Mugnos*, earle of Cerdagne, he made himselfe master of that countrey and left the earle there for Gouvernour. Another armie conquered the countries of Murcia and Granado, but not without resistance: for neere vnto Horiuela there was a cruell battell, the place carries the name vnto this day of the bloody field, yet the Sarafins were victors. Valencia yielded after that the inhabitants had beene beaten in field, yet vpon condition, to leaue a temple to the Christians, which is now that of *S. Bartholomeu*, and was then a colledge of *S. Basil*. Among other riches, mention is made of a table of Emeraude, which they carried away, the which was in a place since called Medina Talmeld, it is Sigenza, or Medina Zelin. It was rather a certaine kind of Indian Iasp, very like vnto an Emeraude, and very common in the East, whereof they hold, that Catin to be, which is so famous at Genua. The greedinesse of spoyle was the reason they wanted not any souldiors, for all Africk posted thither. The taking of Toledo was vpon a Palme Sunday, in the yeare 715, by the treacherie of the Iewes, whilest the Christians were at a Sermon at *S. Leocades* church in the suburbs.

*Musa* Gouverneur of Africk, jealous of the fortunat successe of *Tarif*, came himselfe in person into Spaine, and would haue the best part of the spoile. Afterwards they made war jointly together, notwithstanding that they were deadly enemies, and took Saragoffe & other towne. The reliques of Saints which they had so much reuerenced, and worshipped in stead of God, could neither defend the Spaniards, nor save themselves: for it is to be presumed, that these Barbarians did not bear them any great respect, after they had seized vpon the ornaments and chests of gold or siluer, where they had bin kept: yet if you will beleuee by the care of the Clergie

*Saints in the  
people.*

*Admirable ef-  
fects of the Ara-  
bians.*

*Arabians and  
Moors one na-  
tion in the li-  
berie.*

*Exploits of the  
Arabians in  
Spaine.*

*A table of E-  
meraude.*

*In Moors were  
fringues in  
girdling Spaine.*

*7 he left care of  
fringues in  
religion.*

*Seven churches  
left to the  
Spaniards at Toledo*

*The Moors were  
min followed by  
many Christians  
for spoyle.*

Clergie, and other deuout men, who transported some into Fraunce, others into Germanie, England, and other places, where in the time of our predecessors they were yet worshipped. Some authors write, That the Moores were eight moneths about the conquest of Spaine, others foureteeen, many two yeares; but the most probable, five yeares: for it is not credible, that so great a country, where there were so many Christians, and so many places of strength, at the least by nature, should fall in so short a time into the Infidels power, without any opposition: for they maintaine, That in diuers encounters, assaults, and sieges of townes and castles, there died about seuen hundred thousand Christians. Tarracone among others defended it selfe vntuouly, who shewed by their valour, that it was a true auuntine Colonie of the Romanes. In the end God hauing decreed to punish this people for their sinnes, and to admonish the other profaners of his glorie, it was forced to yield.

All the regions, cities, townes, and castles of Spaine, except some places in the mountaines of Asturia, Biscaie, and Nauarre, were made subiect and tributaries to the Moores; who had no great care at that time to force men in their religion, but did allow them the exercise thereof: and to some townes they granted many priuiledges, for that they would not vnpeople the country, burthening them with great tributes, which was all they fought.

The citie of Toledo among others had seuen churches granted them for the exercise of their religion, which were, *S. Iuste, S. Luke, S. Torquat, S. Marke, S. Eulalie, S. Sebastian, and S. Marie*. Moreouer, it was granted, that they should haue iudges of their owne religion and nation, and be gouerned by the lawes of the kings of Gothes, with other priuiledges. By this means the Moores retained an infinit number of Christian families, which liued and multiplied vnder them, else Spaine had bene left desart, for the Arabians could not people it. The Christians which liued among the Arabians, were called Musarabes (as it is likely) of the name of the Gouernour *Musa*, who would bee famous by this conquest. These Musarabes Christians did celebrate their diuine seruice, as it had bene vsed in the time of the kings of Gothes, and according to the institution of *Isidorus* bishop of Seuille, or of *Leandre*, as they had accustomed to serue God in those times throughout all Spaine, and continued vntill the seruice, called Gregorian, or Romane, was brought in, as we shall shew hereafter. This Musarabic seruice, is entertained at this day for a marke of antiquitie, in the chappell of the companie of Christs bodie, in the great church of Toledo, and in other places of that citie. They hold it for certaine, that all the Moores and other Africanes which past into Spaine, were not of *Mahomet's* sect, but a good number of them were Christians: For it is not credible, that the Africanes, who were made subiect vnto the Arabians, a little before their passage into Spaine, borne and bred in the Christian religion, and vnder Christian princes, should so soone haue changed their religion: But it is probable, that being newly subiect to the Mahometane kings, many followed their armies wheresoeuer they went, without any scruple of religion, although they were Christians, hauing no other end but spoile, as most fouldiours doe commonly.

The kings and Caliphes of the Arabians, did not care to force people newly conquered, to change their religion, but suffered them to liue with libertie, least they should vnpeople the country, and diminish the fruits of their victories. And that Africke had preferred families of Christians, it is verified by experience, as we haue formerly shewed. The like was in Spaine, the which notwithstanding the government of the Moores, did still retaine a great number of Christians, as well borne in the country, as others that came out of Africke to dwell there, holding the Moores partie, the which made the enterprises of the kings of Leon and Castille, and of other Christian princes, more easie to be executed, when following the steps of *Pelagius* (who first tooke arms against the Moors) they began to recouer the country.

### Pelagius first King of the Asturians, the deliuerer of Spaine.

*Oueda  
Pelagius first  
Christian king of  
the Asturias.*

4 *Pelagius* (as we haue said) was the sonne of *Pasila*, Gouernour of Biscaie, whom *Vitiza* before he was king had slain, that he might more freely enjoy his vnchast wife: After whose death *Pelagius* retired himselfe into a place of safetie in the mountaines, and there was pre-

A preferred through the fauour of his kinsmen and friends, by the prouidence of God, who had so decreed to giue a beginning to the deliuerie of Spaine. They say, that the Cantabrians were the last people of Spaine, which were made subiect to the Roman power; and the last also that were drawne away, to vndergoe the Gothes yoke: whom notwithstanding they could neuer so subiect, as they would euer yeeld to any other lawes and manners, than those that were fit for them. During the Moores conquest, it is also to be presumed, that they maintained themselves in some libertie; and in like manner all the other people of Spaine, where as the mountaines, and places of hard access, gaue them any means to defend themselves. Yet we must confesse, that they could not altogether assure themselves from that horrible inundation; but they escaped better then the rest of the Spaniards which were found in the champion countrey of more easie access. The which is euident, by the report which the Spanish Authors make of this *Pelagius*; saying, That after the Moores had reigned five yeres in Spaine, he hauing resolved in himselfe to giue some succours to the afflicted Christians, left his secret retreats, and came into the Asturias of Ouedo, where there was one *Xymastius*, otherwise called *Magnusa*, by corruption of the language; a Christian by profession, but seruing the Moores, and by them made Gouernour of the countrey of Gigion, into whose friendship and seruice he did insinuate himselfe. Wherby we may coniecture, that betwixt the Moores and Cantabrians there was some comenage, some league, and (it may be) subiection, yet vpon honest and tollerable conditions, by reason of the strong situation of their countrey.

As Iust had bene the cause of the ruine of the kingdome of the Gothes in Spaine, so voluptuous desire made the Moores power decrease there. For *Pelagius* hauing a faire and louely sister in his house, this *Magnusa* grew in loue with her; and fearing he should not obtaine her, she being wise, and well bred, her brother being in the countrey, he resolved to giue him a commission, to goe to the great Admirall *Musai* embassade, to Cordoua, during which voyage he forced this Gentlewoman. *Pelagius* aduerted at his returne of what had past, notwithstanding that all might be couered vnder colour of mariage, which *Magnusa* said he had promised to his sister, yet he held this rape and violence done to the contempt and dishonour of his house: but he dissembled it for the present, and when he found a conuenient opportunitie, he retired himselfe with his sister into the strongest parts of the mountaines of Asturia, watching meanes to reuenge himselfe. *Magnusa* incensed, for that he had taken her from him whom he loued, and who he said was his wife, and finding his honour thereby interested, he gaue the Gouernours and Commanders of the Arabians in Spaine to vnderstand, That *Pelagius* made attempts against their State: wherefore thinking it needfull to prevent it in time, they sent great store of souldiers to *Magnusa*, to suppress him, who had almost surprised him: but it was the will of God that *Pelagius* should haue intelligence of this storme which was coming towards him: who hauing past the riuer of Pionia, he retired into the vallie of Cangas, where he found many wandering Christians, liuing in those places in great feare of the Moores. Whose wills he hauing founded, and exhorted them to be courageous, and to fight valiantly for the common cause, and to relie vpon the assistance of God, he found them readie to imploy themselves for the libertie of their countrey; and moreover they were so affected vnto him, as they chose him their captaine and leader in this worthie enterprise, giuing him then the title of King. And within few dayes the butte of this enterprise being dispersed through the mountaines, the Christians which lay hidden, came vnto him from all parts, so as in a short time he found himselfe strong ynough to defend himselfe against any that should come to assaile him. The Moores armie hauing failed at this time, returned to Cordoua.

We may well coniecture, that *Pelagius* was of the Gothick race, yet the Spaniards denie it, hauing no forcible argument, but that the name of *Pelagius* was not vsuall among the Gothes, and they maintaine, without any other proofes, That he was defended of that countrey by long succession, wherof we can speake nothing assured: But whatsoever he were, that honor is due vnto him, as a valiant Prince: for although it seemes that he was forced to take armes for the private iniurie done vnto his sister, and himselfe; yet he shewed great discretion, that he could wisely ioyn the publick cause with his priuat interest, and pursue the reuenge of the one and the other, by all the iust means which opportunitie and the estate of their affairs did allow.

F long succession, wherof we can speake nothing assured: But whatsoever he were, that honor is due vnto him, as a valiant Prince: for although it seemes that he was forced to take armes for the private iniurie done vnto his sister, and himselfe; yet he shewed great discretion, that he could wisely ioyn the publick cause with his priuat interest, and pursue the reuenge of the one and the other, by all the iust means which opportunitie and the estate of their affairs did allow.

Gar-



cannot long containe it selfe in any good order, nor vnder one prince, or lawfull magistrat. G According to their naturall disposition, those which inhabited Spaine, made hauooke of all things by their robberies and thefts: whereupon this Viceroy *Adam* punished many of them by pecuniarie fines, and thereby made himselfe partaker of their spoyle. They say he exacted the fifth part of their substance: the which he did also of the inhabitants of the townes and castles of Spaine, which he tooke by force, and the twentieth part of them which yielded willingly vnto him. He died at Tortose, returning from the spoyle of Tarrasone. At that time the Sarrafines made great conquests in Gaule; they tooke Narbone, and besseged Toulouse, vnder the conduct of *Zama*, who was slaine there. *Eude*, a Goth, a nobleman of Biscaye, Duke of Aquitaine in the right of his wife, kindled this warre, and perswaded *Muniz*, a Moore, making warre in Languedoc, to rebellion against *Abderramen*; giuing him a daughter of his to wife. By reason whereof he was assailed by *Abderramen*, besieged, and taken in Cerdagne, and his head sent with his wife into Africke. *Abderramen* pursuing his victorie, against *Eude*, defeated him neere Arles, and gaue him another rout about Bourdeaux, spoiling and burning all the country betwixt the Pyrenees & the riuer of Loire: Yet in the end they concluded a peace, the Moore fearing the French whom he had incensed by these spoiles.

*Abderramen* fifth  
gouernour of the  
Moors in  
Spaine.

Anno 725.  
*Eucled* Caliph.

*Eude* drayes  
the Moors into  
Spaine, & then  
betrayes them.

An. 730.

*Isabes* 6<sup>th</sup> Vice-  
roy.  
*Isabes*,  
*Alban* 7.  
*Himen* 8.  
*Autun* 9.  
*Albatan* 10.

The second em-  
pire of the  
Moors into  
Gaule.

Ouiedo.  
An. 735.

*Petrus* is not  
always here,  
ditate.

*Eude* died in the year 725, whom *Eucled* his sonne succeeded, and was vnfortunate. During whose raigne, *Eude* Duke of Aquitaine, being threatened by the French, who raigne in Gaule, to whom he was suspect: and fearing their power, he called in against them that great multitude of Arabians, and Sarrafines, which were defeated in Touraine by *Charles Martel*; which some affirme, were aboute four hundred thousand men, who notwithstanding were betrayed, and abandoned to the slaughter, by *Eude*, hauing ioyned with *Martel* the day of the battell, and turned his forces against them who were come, by his persuation, to inhabit Gaule. Their Generall *Abderramen* gouernour of Spaine, was slaine there, with aboute three hundred thousand Arabians. This memorable battell, which saued Gaule and the kingdome of the French from vtter ruine, was fought in the year 730, or according to some Spanishe Authors, 734: who say, That during these practises, Pope *Gregorie* the third then resident at Rome, had sent vnto *Eude* certaine hallowed sponges, the which being cut into small peeces, and distributed among the souldiers, preserved all such as carried them from being wounded, both in that battell, and afterwards in all other encounters.

*Eucled* sent *Isabes* into Spaine for Viceroy, who gouerned two yeares, and was the first, residing at Cordoua. To *Isabes* *Adaisa Alcazax* succeeded, a rash inconsiderate man, and therefore soone deposed: whom *Himen* succeeded, who liued but six monethes; and then *Autun* was aduanced, but he died within foure monethes after. *Albatan* followed him, who was cruell and inhumane, by reason whereof he lost both gouernment and life, by the commandement of the great Emperour or Caliph, *Eucled*, hauing gouerned Spaine two moneths only. It may be it was in his time that the children of *Eude* Duke of Aquitain deceased, being depriv'd of their possessions by the tyranie of the French, called the Arabians and Sarrafines againe into Gaule, who spoiled the whole country betwixt the Pyrenees and the riuer of Loire, Languedoc, and Prouence, and seized vpon many strong places, whereof Auignion was one. The sons of *Eude* were *Hunola*, *Isfar* and *Azner*. The head of the Moors in this expedition, were *Albin* and *Amorthee*: *Albin* was defeated by *Charles Martel*, and being chased out of Auignion, he fled to Narbone: where being besieged, *Amorthee* coming out of Spaine to raise the siege, he was also defeated with all his armie, and pursued and slaine neere to Colible, at the foot of the Pyrenees. *Charles Martel* pursuing his victorie, committed greater spoiles then the Sarrafines and Infidels had done. *Albin* saued himselfe in Spaine, and hauing afterwards past into Africk, he died at the siege of Tanger.

This yere of Christ 735 king *Pelagius* died at Cangas, leauing to succeed him his son *Fafila*, and his daughter *Orsinde*, or *Ormisinde*, the wife of *Alphonso* of Biscaye, one after another; hauing reigned 19 yeres, or 17 according to the most certain. His wife was called *Gaudisela*. M They were interred in the church of S. *Zalala* of Valania.

### Fafila second King of Ouiedo.

*Fafila* sonne to *Pelagius*, second king of Ouiedo, reigned only two yeares. He was not so carefull as his father, to aduance the Christians Estate in Spaine. The Moors in like man-

ner did not arme against him, for they were much troubled with the French warres. Wherefore this king giuing himselfe to the pleasure of hunting, more then was fit for his estate (not yetted) was slaine by a Beare, which he pursued in the mountains, being abandoned by his followers: VVhich some hold was in the year 737, but *Gariay* says, that there is a great error in the computation of these yeares. He was married to a Ladie called *Froleus*, and they are both interred at S. Croix neere to Cangas.

After the death of *Albatan* gouernour of Spain, *Manes* succeeded, who continued not long: then *Mahumet*, who liued but two monethes: After him *Abderramen*, who gouerned three yeares; who being dead, *Abdemele* ruled Spaine foure yeares, who punished some peticie tyrants, and hauing drawne a new people out of Africke, he filled the townes that were made desolate by the aboue mentioned defeats. He was chased out of his gouernement by *Othas*, who held it five yeares: then *Abdemele* returned, and gouerned a yere and a halfe, in whose place *Alcatran* was gouernour: who seeking to free Spaine of many strange souldiers; who were entertained then by the Caliph, he was slaine by them: So as the gouernment was vsurped by *Aben Hax*, who was presently set vpon by the children of *Alcatran*, who hauing vanquished him, he died within 15 dayes after: and then there grew great diuisions and troubles in Spaine; to suppress the which, the Emperour of the Arabians king *Zubeir* with great forces, who pacified all these diffentions, and contented the mutined souldiers with great entertainments: to satisfie the which, he tooke from the Christians (which liued vnder the subiection of the Moors) the third part of their goods. This gouernour *Zubeir* meaning to enter into Gaule, was prevented by the king of the French, who it seemes was *Pepin*, and defeated beyond the Pyrenees. He also sent a captaine against *D. Alphonso* the first, king of Ouiedo: but he was vanquished by the Christian armie; and in this battell were slaine all the Arabian souldiers which had murined. After *Zubeir*, *Abderramen* came to gouerne Spaine: then *Iber* *Vezit*, who liued little, and to him succeeded *Abubacar*, but he was slaine there, and in his place *Reduan* gouerned at Cordoua. It was the seat for the generall Gouernour of all Spain, of whom depended all other Gouernours, Captaines, or Admiralls.

D

### Alphonso, the first of that name, and third King of Ouiedo.

*Alphonso* called the Catholike, sonne to *Peter*, Duke or Gouernour of the Cantabrians, *Ouida* or Biscains (of the Gothes race) descended from king *Ricardo*, succeeded *Fafila* in the kingdome of Ouiedo, in the right of his wife *Orsinde*, or *Ormisinde*, daughter to *Pelagius*, and sister to *Fafila*, in the year of Christ 737, and of their Era 775. It is likely this was the first woman which did inherit the Crowne in Spaine, vnto king *D. Alphonso* were chosen king by the Spaniards, the which is credible: for the right of succession was not then in vse among those people, in regard of kingdomes. It is likely the name of Catholike was giuen to this *Alphonso*, by some writers, for that he was a deuout Prince, and verie curious to enrich temples: yet the title of Catholike which is giuen to the kings of Spaine at this day, comes not from him, the which we know was granted by Pope *John* the eighth, vnto king *D. Alphonso* the third; and by Pope *Julie* the second, vnto the king *D. Ferdinand* the first, in the time of our fathers, for some considerations which we will hereafter shew. This prince was warlike, and tooke from the Sarrafines the townes of Lugo, Tuy, Astorga, and a great part of old Castille, the second yere of his raigne: then Porto, Beia, Flavia, Ledesma, Zamora, Cimancas, Duegnas, Saldagne, Miranda, Segobia, Ofine, Auila, Sepulueda, Birbieca, and all the country of Bureba, Brage, Vila, Salamanca, and others, which at this day belong to Portugal, Leon, Castille, & Nauarre, restoring the Bishops to their ancient sees, cherishing the Clergie, and making libraries in many parts of his country: he also tooke the towne of Pampelone in Nauarre. All which conquests he made, the Moors being not only busied in the warres of France, but in ciuile diffentions among themselves; being also fauored & receiued by the Christians which were the inhabitants in many places, whom they called *Musarabes*, liuing tributaries vnder the Moors. In his time *Cixila* was Bishop of the *Musarabes* of Toledo, a holy and learned man, as they say, who succeeded *Vrbain*, & after him *Peter*, surnamed the Faire, gouerned that church.

*Moors*.

Anno 737

The surname of  
Catholike.

The conquests of  
king *Alphonso*  
the first.

Bishops of To-  
ledo in the time of  
the Moors.

Q. ij

The

Moors.

Anno 753

Three Sunnes  
fene in Spaine.

Ouiedo built.

The estate of the Arabians was full of troubles after the death of the *Mirabumun Enlid*, being in contention for the government: in the which *Gizeis* the third was slaine, and *Euseus* his sonne remained Emperour, who reigned a yeare: After whom *Marnan*, of the race of *Humeis*, reigned six yeares. But there grew great civill warres by reason of these diuisions, the which in the end ruined their Estate. In the year 753 *Tosha* was sent to gouerne in Spaine, a souldier, and a man of worth; but he liued onely a yeare. *Ioseph* was substituted in his place, a great enemy to the Christians: who hauing bene vnfortunate in his warres against king *Fruele*, who slue about 50000 of his men in two battels: he was disdaind by the Moores in Spaine, who called in *Abderramen* to rule ouer them.

At that time there were three Sunnes seene in Spaine, and for the space of two yeres there fell not any raine from heauen, which caused a great dearth of corne, and of all other things: and soone after king *Alphonso* died. Some hold that this king was the founder of the towne of Ouiedo, whereof he intituled himselfe king: others say it was *Pelagius*; and some make it more auncient. He reigned 19 yeares, and liued 64, and was buried with his wife in S. *Maries* monasterie at Cangas. They held him for a Saint, and they say, that at his funeral there were voices heard singing in the aire, this verse in Latine; *Ece quo modo tollitur iustus, & nemo considerat, ablatu est à facie iniquitatis, & erit in pace memoria eius*: Behold how the iust man is taken away, and no man considers it; he is taken from the face of iniquitie, and his memorie shall rest in peace. He had three sonnes by his wife *Ormeisinde*; *Fruele*, who succeeded him in the kingdom of Ouiedo, *Vimarán*, and *Aurelius*; and one daughter *Odesinde*: he had also one sonne called *Maregat*, by a concubine.

## D. Froila fourth King of Ouiedo.

Anno 756.  
Priests forbid  
den to marie.A great defeat  
of Chiores.Nauarre or So-  
brabre.

8 IN the year 756 *Fruele* was king in the place of his father *Alphonso*. They attribute to him, as a holy ordinance, that he did forbid the Clergie of Spaine to marie, the which they had vsed, and it may be abused since the reigne of *Vitiza*, and had made them subiect to the decree of Pope *Gregorius* the first, and the Councell of Rome. This act is written of him as good and holy, although in many other things he shewed himselfe cruell and wicked. *Ioseph* K gouernour for the Moores being in armes against him, and hauing spoyle the confines of Galicia, they came to battell, which *Fruele* won: he slue 54000 Moores, and put the rest with their Commaunder to a shamefull flight.

*Garcia Ximenes*, who (as we haue said) had begun a principallie or royaltie in Sobrabre, tooke to wife a Ladie of a noble house, called *Inigo*; by whom he had one sonne, called *Garcia Inigo*. He intituled himselfe king of that countrey: wherewith the Nauarrois being discontented, they abandoned him, and ioined to the king of Ouiedo. The first occasion which the Christians (inhabiting in the mountaines of Nauarre and Arragon) tooke to erect an Estate, and make head against the Moores, was of an assemblie at the interment of an Hermit which liued in the rockes nere vnto Iaca. This Hermit was buried in the place whereas afterwards the L monasterie of S. *Iohn de la Pognas* was built, the which at the first was a Colledge of Chanoins. *Garcia Ximenes* reigned 42 yeares, and left his pettie kingdom to *Garcia Inigo* his sonne, to whom the Nauarrois submitted themselves againe: but *Fruele* reigning in Ouiedo, forced them by armes to returne to his obedience.

Ouiedo.

Title of Dom  
first vsed.Frailan was her  
his brother.

*Froila* married the daughter of *Eude* Duke of Aquitaine, called *Menine*, or according vnto some, *Memerane*; by whom he had two sonnes, *Alphonso*, called the Chast, and *Bernard*, or *Vermond*, both which reigned, although that D. *Bernard* was made by the Clergie: and moreover he had a daughter by her, called D. *Ximene*, who was mother to *Bernard* of Carpio. This king did first vse the title of *Dom*, which the king and all the Noblemen of Spaine haue euer since obserued. What the furious desire of raigne is, and with what ieaousie kings are often tormented, *Fruele* shewed by the cruell parricide of his brother *Vimarán*, whom he caused to be slaine through ieaousie, seeing him to be a gallant Knight, and generally beloued for his good parts; yet he repented the fact, but too late. For satisfaction whereof, they write, that he adopted the sonne of *Vimarán*, called *Vermond*, to succeed him in the kingdom: the which hath bred some doubt, whether this *Vermond* (which came to the Crowne in the fourth

A fourth place after *Fruele*) were the sonne of *Vimarán*, or of *Fruele* himselfe; who soone after was also slaine by his other brother *Aurelius*, in reuenge of the death of *Vimarán*, hauing reigned eleven yeares and a halfe, or therabouts.

9 During the reigne of this king the Arabians diuided themselves wholly from the Caliphs of Damas, under *Abderramen*, who chased and in the end slew the Gouernour or Viceroy *Ioseph*, made himselfe king, and *Mirabumun* or *Miramonnelin*, and held Spaine with that title 33 yeares, not acknowledging the Emperour or Caliph of Damas in any thing. This was in the year 757 of our redemption, and 138 yeares after the Moores descent in Spaine; by reason of the diuision of the fouraigine dignitie of the Arabians in the East: for against *Marnan*, who had succeeded *Hzet*, Caliph of the Arabians at Damas, there had risen many tyrants, whereof he punished some, but *Asmulin* vanquished him. This was of the race of *Muter*, who had reigned in Persia, and followed his feet, maintaining that *Ali* had bene the true Prophet, and greater then *Mahomet*: he commaunded then ouer the Corsenens, a people in Persia: He was aduised by *Cataban* his friend, to procure the slaues throughout all Persia to kill their masters, and to rob them; the which they did, and came rich with their masters spoyle to *Asmulin*. Soone after being impatient of ease, they diuided themselves into two sects, the Calimes and Lamponites; *Asmulin* taking part with the Lamonites, defeated the others, and with his victorious bands assailed *Iolun*, Gouernour of Persia, vnder the Caliph *Marnan*, whom he vanquished and *Marnan* also, who came against him with about three hundred thousand fighting men, forcing him to flee into Egypt, whither he was followed, defeated, and slaine by *Salin*, the sonne of *Asmulin*, by whom through his victories the kingdom of the Persians was settled in his familie. The rest of *Marnans* familie and followers were disperfed in Affricke, where they erected the kingdom of Fez, and some passed into Spaine, which might be that race of *Abderramen*, of whom we here intreat; who notwithstanding *Alse* affirms was basely defended: and *Garibny* on the other side sayes, that he was issued from the race of *Aben Humeis*, and from *Zaireb* the daughter of *Mahomet*. His father was called *Mosbia*, and his seat was also at Cordoua: he brought his armie before Valence, which resisted him, and tooke it. They say, that the bones of S. *Vincent* were worshipped there, and that many families among these Christians, ill instructed, fearing the coming of this Sarracene king, dilodged, and carried these relikes into the woods and mountaines, which lye betwixt Valence and the mouth of the riuer of Guadiana: and hauing passed vnto that point which in old time was called the holie Promontorie, they were encountered by a Moore of Fez, called *Alibouz*, who rauaged the countrey of Algarbe; he slew these men, tooke their children prisoners, and left S. *Vincent's* bones vpon the field, where they were afterwards found, and thereof this Promontorie was called Cap S. *Vincent*.

C *The Almighty* God (although that he had deliuered his Church into the hands of Barbarians and Infidels, by reason of the prophanation of his name, and that the Spaniards made little vse of their chastisements) maintained alwaies some light of the Gospell among them, raising vp men, who entertained some order and shew of Christianitie, and had the Scriptures and their ceremonies throughout all the towne of the Moores jurisdiction. They make mention of *Venus* Bishop of Seule, at that time a learned man, and of a good life. *Cixilas* was Archbishop of Toledo, to whom P. *Adrian* (as the Spanish Authors say) did write a letter, blaming the custome of the Christians in Spaine to eat flesh on Saterdayes; wherefore they made an order, not to eat any that day but the entrailes, head, and feet of beasts, the which hath bene since obserued.

D *Aurelius* succeeded his brother D. *Fruele* in the realme of Ouiedo, hauing slaine him in the year 767. notwithstanding that, he left a sonne called D. *Alphonso* the chast, with father children: but the hatred which the noblemen of the countrey did beare vnto his father, was the cause of his reiectiō, being then also verie young: whereby it appears, that the right of succession was not in those dayes practised in Spaine. This Prince was politike, and of an active spirit, yet not giuen to armes: wherefore he made a peace with the Moores,

## D. Aurelius fifth King of Ouiedo.

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Moors.  
Abderramen u-  
surpes the So-  
ueraignie in  
Spaine.Asmulin Caliph  
and his victo-  
ries.The Sepulchre  
of Persia dis-  
covered from Asmu-  
lin.whence cape S.  
Vincent in Al-  
garbe took the  
name.The right of  
succession in the  
Crown had  
yet no place in  
Spaine.

Moore, so as during his raigne they did not attempt any thing one against another. The G bondmen in his countrey being mutined against their masters, and in armes, they were suppressed by the wisdom of this king, and reduced to their first condition of servitude. They report a shamefull and abhominable thing of him among Christians, That in his capitulation with *Abderramen* to have a peace, besides that he made himselfe his tributary, he promised among other things, to give euery year to these Barbarians a certaine number of virgins, yet *Pasqu* doth attribute it to *Mauregat*. He married his sister *D. Odefinde* or *Vfende*, to a renowned knight called *D. Sillo*: and having reigned six yeares and six moneths, this king *D. Aureliu* died. All these kings were in a manner buried in the towne of *Languas*, which many write *Cangas*: We does not find that he had either wife or children. H

### D. Sillo, sixt King of Ouiedo.

An. 774. 11 D. Sillo his brother in law, and his sister *Vfende* or *Odefinde*, obtained the kingdome of Ouiedo, in the year 774.

12 In Arragon there was an Earle called *Aznar*, risen in armes: some hold, that he was sonne or grandchild to Duke *Ende* of Guyenne, who comming to serue *D. Garcia Inigo* king of Sobrarbre, tooke *Jaca*, and obtained of him in gift the countrey which lyes betwixt the two riuers, called Arragon, with the title of Earle or Gouernour: dying, he left two sonnes, *Galinde* and *Ximen Garfes*.

As for *D. Sillo*, the beginning of his raigne was troublesome, many refusing to obey him: wherefore to assure his estate, he renewed the peace with the Arabians in Spaine, and subdued his rebels by a victorie which he got of them vpon the mountaine of *Zebbrero* in *Gallicia*. In the end, seeing that he had no children, he resigned the charge of affaires to *D. Alphonso* the chaff, nephew to his wife, and to her, giuing himselfe wholly to a contemplatiue life.

In his time the noblemen Arabians enjoying the townes and prouinces of Spaine, vnder the Miralumin *Abderramen*, impatient one of another, according to the naturall disposition of this mutinous nation, they fell to warre among themselves: *Abubatar Deuisfer*, and others, had chased away *Ibnaballa* of Saragoffe, who is also called *Abi Arabi*, who called in *Charlemaigne* king of France to his aid, and he entred into Spaine with a great armie, besieged Saragoffe, tooke it by composition, and settled *Ibnaballa* in his Seigniorie, making the noblemen Moores that were his neighbors, his tributaries. Among other conditions accorded betwixt *Charles* and the Moores, it was said, that they should suffer (others say heare) the preachings of the Christians, the seruants of God. K

### D. Garcia Inigo, second King of Sobrarbre or Nauarre.

Nauarre or Sobrarbre. 13 IN this growing kingdome of Nauarre, *D. Garcia Inigo* had succeeded his father *Garcia Ximenes* in the year 758, who reigned 44 yeares. This king enlarged his limits by reason of the Moores dissensions, and tooke Pampelone from them; the which we read was also taken about that time by *Charlemaigne*, king of France: so, as it seemes, that being readie to come into Spaine to succour *Ibnaballa*, the pettie king of Saragoffe, he would seize vpon Pampelone, to assure his passage; and then having restored *Ibnaballa*, and defeated *Abderramen*, killing about 30000 of his Moores, as the Spanish Authors report, he demanteled it in his returne into France, so as it was easie for *D. Garcia* to seize thereon. M

### D. Mauregat, seuenth King of Ouiedo.

Ouiedo. An. 783. 14 D. Sillo died in the year 783, having held the royall seat nine yeares and one moneth, and was interred at Ouiedo, in Saint *Iohn* Church, which he had built,

A built, and was afterwards transported to S. Saluador: After whose deace, by a general consent, the realme of Ouiedo was giuen to *D. Alphonso* the chaff: but his vnclie *D. Mauregat*, baltard brother to his father, as he had beene vnlawfully begotten, so he shewed himselfe in his actions and affections, both to him and the State, without law, without pietie, and without honour: for being desirous to reigne, he layed a plot with the Moores, and by their aide, chased *Alphonso* his nephew out of the Asturias and Leon, forcing him to retire himselfe into the countreyes of *Alaua*, and *Biscaye*, where he had many allies, who perserued him from the treacherous practices of this tyrant. The accord he made with the Barbarians, to procure succours from them, was villanous, and vnworthie of a Christian Prince: for hee bound himselfe to pay them a tribute contrarie to all law and honestie, which was, fiftie virgines of noble families, and as manie of baser condition, the which hee should send yearly: this impure and brutish king exposing those poore Christian creatures, by an expresse agreement, vnto the damnable appetite of Infidels: by reason whereof he was hated of all men, and (as it is likely) of God also. He reigned fise yeares and fise monethes, dying without children, and was buried at *Praua*.

In his time *Abderramen* reigning ouer all the Moores in Spaine, he did wonderfully spoyle the Christians, being verie mightie; for he had thirtie thousand horse and two hundred thousand foot in his ordinarie warres: with which forces he draue the kings of Ouiedo into the mountaines of *Asturia*, and brought vnder his subjection *Gallafray* king of Toledo, who made head against him, with manie other noblemen of his sect. He called the *Mesquite* or *Mosquee* of *Cordoua* to be built, of a rich and stately structure. The Cathedral Church of that citie, admirable for the greatnesse and number of goodly pillars: the gardens and castles called *Arizaphe* or *Alixares*, are also his workes. This Prince died in the year 787, and 170 of the Arabians, leauing eleuen sonnes and nine daughters. He was interred in the castle of *Cordoua*, and had for his succesor in Spaine his sonne *Icen*, or *Ixeu*, or *Ismen*, for so he is called by diuers Authors.

### D. Veremond, first of that name, and eighth King of Ouiedo.

15 D. Veremond, or Bermond, the sonne of *Eroila*, reigned after *Mauregat* in Ouiedo and Leon, having beene of the Clergie, and made a Deacon. Wherefore fearing to offend God, if he did forsake his Clericall profession to gouerne the kingdome, he left this dignitie, and resigned it to his brother *D. Alphonso* the second year, or as some write, the third, of his raigne. And moreover, being married to a Ladie called *Imoline*, from that time he did forbear her companie, notwithstanding that he had had two children, *Rather* and *Garcia*: He liued foure yeares and six moneths after that with *D. Alphonso*; and lyes interred at Ouiedo.

16 In his time, *Icen*, *Osmen*, or *Ismen*, the second sonne of *Abderramen*, reigned at *Cordoua*, who seized on the Crowne, to the preiudice of his elder brother *Zuleima*, who gouerned at Toledo. The inhabitants of Toledo, and all that iurisdiction, obeyed *Zuleima* still, who tooke vpon him the title of King, seeing himselfe assured of his people. *D. Hizen* being jealous thereof, came to assaile him, where there was a great and a bloudie battaile betwixt the two brethren, neere vnto a place called *Velches*, in the which *Zuleima* was defeated, and all the passages being stoppt, that he could not fortifie himselfe in Toledo, he fled into *Murria*; from whence he afterwards passed into *Asticke*, to seeke in-vaine for means to recouer that which he had lost in Spaine. *Hizen* after this victorie marched towards Toledo, and did so terrifie them of the towne (who were neither well furnished with souldiors, nor victuals) as they yielded presently, vpon honest conditions for the inhabitants. Thus *Hizen* remained peaceable king of Spaine, being wonderfully proud and haughtie, so as presently after he sought to continue the warre in *Languedoc*, which his predecessors had begun, where he did much annoy the Christians, and carried away great spoyle, with





the warre. Neighbour Princes were amazed at this relick: for we read, that *Charlemagne* (in whose time *D. Alphonso* began to raigne) being aduertised of this invention, posted thither, and afterwards obtained from Pope *Leo* the third, sitting at Rome, That the Episcopall Sea of Iria should be removed to Compotella, vnder the Metropolitan of Braga, from the which it was since exempt, as we will shew hereafter. In king *Alphonso*'s time, and (as some thinke) when *Charlemagne* was in Spaine, there were two Councells held against *Eliand* Archbishop of Toledo, and *Felix* first Bishop of Yrgel, and their followers, infected with *Nestorius* heresie, who imagined a double person in Iesus Christ, as he consists of two natures, diuine and humane: for this cause *Eliand* is not in the catalogue of the Archbishops of Toledo: *Felix* had tryed in vaine to draw vnto his error *Odesinde* widow to king *Sillo*.

Moors.

*Halihatan*  
Fourth King of  
the Moors:  
Warre betwixt  
him and his  
vnckles.

An. 799.

21 *Abizmen* Hizen or *Iseca*, Miralmumin, deceased in the year 794, hauing reigned seuen yeares and seuen moneths; to whom succeeded *Halihatan* his sonne, who either for feare, or for feare and distrust, had an ordinarie gard of five thousand horsemen, part Christian renegado's, part Eunuches. In the year 799 *Zuleima* and *Abdalla* his vnckles hearing of the death of *Hizen*, came out of Affrick into Spaine (from whence they had bene chased) to trie if they might enter into Toledo, whereas *Zuleima* had reigned: they came to Valence, and armed themselves with the forces of that towne, and so went to field, giuing them of Toledo to vnderstand (whom they knew to be affected vnto them) of their coming, and designe: who acquainting other Moores therewith, they tooke armes for *Zuleima*, chasing all such out of the towne, as they thought opposite vnto them and then they did aduertise *Zuleima* how that all went well for him; who preparing himselfe to goe to Toledo, was encountered by the armie of *Halihatan* his nephew, by the which he was defeated and slaine, this year of 799. *Abdalla* fled, but afterwards considering that he had no meanes to rayse his decayed fortunes, he came and yeelded himselfe to his nephewes mercie, who receiued him, and vsed him honourably. So Toledo fayled the second time to be made a royall seat, by the defeat and death of *Zuleima*: yet the inhabitants finding themselves guiltie, would not trust *Halihatan*, but maintained themselves in their rebellion, for the space of nine yeares. *Halihatan* being vnable or vnwilling to trie his forces against so great and well fortified a citie, fought in the meane time to win them by all mild and friendly meanes. Among others, he employed about this reconciliation a Moore, who was a knight, and borne at Toledo, yet then resident at Huesca, and Gouvernour of those marches: who being come into the citie with letters from king *Halihatan*, wrought so wisely, as in a short time the Toledanes returned to the kings obedience, to whom there was promised assurance, and forgetfulness of all they had done; but there was nothing obserued: for this *Hambroz*, to abuse the Toledanes, said, That he would not remaine in the castle, for feare to be surprisid by the kings men, which arrived daily, but caused another lodging to be assigned him, in a street called *Moutichel*, neere vnto *S. Christophers* Church, in the which he made a caue vnder the ground, to murder them that had rebelled against the king. In the meane time, *Halihatan* vnder colour to make warre against the Christians, and to succour the frontier, caused his forces to approach neere the towne, vnder the command of a sonne of his called *Abderramen*, the which by the means of *Hambroz* entred quietly into Toledo, and without any shew to doe harme. *Abderramen* lodged with *Hambroz*, where shewing a good countenance to the chiefe of the Toledanes, Moores, he invited a great number of them to a stately feast which he had prepared for them. As these Moores came one after another, thinking to make good cheere, they were presently layd hold on, and beheaded, by some that were appointed to that purpose, and then cast into the vault. There had bene many dispartch in this manner, when as one of the guests which was invited, discovering some blood, grew amazed, and suddainly slipped out, and gaue an alarme to the towne, crying out, that they murdered the citizens in *Hambroz* lodging. The Toledanes being terrified with these newes, and hauing no meanes to make resistance, and without any captaine to lead them, found no better expedient then to crye out for mercie, but it was in vaine: for then they pursued them openly, so as there was about 5000 slaine, to punish their offence committed against *Halihatan*; against whom, they of Cordoua being also rebelled, he caused 300 of them to be hanged vpon the riuier side: there was a captaine called *Abdelcarin* appointed for this execution, who a little before had subdued Calaoira. *Halihatan* growne proud with this

*Hambroz*, the  
Moore betrays  
the Toledanes.

A cruell re-  
venge vpon the  
Toledanes for  
their rebellion.

A this successe, sent his captaines to annoy the Christians frontiers, who entred into Galicia in the year 812, where he was vnfortunat in many encounters, by the prouidence of king *D. Alphonso*. The like happened to *Ores*, Gouvernour of Merida, who was defeated neere vnto Beneuent in the territorie of Leon. The year after 813, another Moore called *Alema*, Gouvernour of Badajoz, layed siege to Zamorra, but he was forced to retyre. Not content with this, two armies of Moores entred into *D. Alphonso*'s his countrey, in diuers places, against the which he opposed 2 armies; the one led by himselfe, the other by *Bernard del Carpio* his nephew, who was growne of good yeares, in both which he was victor; so as the Moores did forbear for a time to annoy the Christians, and fell to spoile one another: whereupon a great nobleman among them, called *Mahomad*, came out of the quarters of Merida, to seeke redress of king *D. Alphonso*, for that he was violently pursued, and could find no safetie in all the Moores countrey. *D. Alphonso* entertained him, and assigned him rents to liue on in Galicia: but he shewed himselfe ingratefull & trecherous, raising a great armie by the intelligence he had with other Moores, to invade the countrey of his benefactor: but they were readie in time to resist him, and gaue him batteile, where there died about 50000 Moores. *Mahomad* their Generall being taken, was beheaded as a traitor. At that time *Marfil* or *Masile*, successor to *Ibnaballa*, reigned at Saragoffe, who was at the battell of Roncevaux, where the French were defeated. It is certaine, as Authors write, that this batteile was giuen in the time of *D. Alphonso* the chaff, but the year is doubtfull, yet they hold it was a little before the death of *Charlemagne*, who died about the year 815.

An. 813.

A Moore seeks  
redress of *D. Alphonso* for  
trecherie and  
injustice.

Ouiedo.

*Charlemagne*  
made heire of  
Ouiedo, and  
afterwards re-  
sisted.

League of Chris-  
tian Princes  
and Spanis  
Moores against  
the French.

Defeat of the  
French at Ron-  
cevaux.

22 If that which the Spaniards write be true, it is most certaine, that among these Priests ambition went before, and religion followed after. *D. Alphonso* hauing liued chastly, being fortie that he had no children, and for that he had receiued great aid from the Emperour *Charles*, and it may be presumed, that so mightie a Prince was most necessarie to restore Spaine to her beautie, and the Christians to their former possession, or else for some other consideration, he had a determination to make him heire of his estates after his death: but the Nobilitie of Spaine hauing notice thereof, did not allow it, refusing to be vassalles to any foraine Prince: yet *D. Alphonso* had by his letters and embassages giuen great hope thereof vnto *Charles*, who affected it, and had appointed the realmes of Ouiedo and Leon for *Bernard* sonne to his sonne *Pepin*, and did prepare himselfe to come vnto *Alphonso*, vnder colour of succouring him against the Moores, but he had newes from him, that he was forced by his Earles and Barons to recall it, and therefore he entreated him to forbear his coming: the which *Charlemagne* taking for an affront, resolved to force him by armes, to performe his promise: wherefore he raised a mightie armie of French, Germanes, and Italians, which were vnder his Empire, and sent it beyond the Pyrenees, led by his best captaines: yea, some (who haue not duly considered the age of *Charlemagne*, who was then 72 yeares old) say, that he was there in person; whereof the Spaniards being aduertised, they made a league of all the Christian Potentates, of Galicia, Leon, Arragon, Nauarre, and others, and of some Princes of the Moores, to whom the gouernment of the French in Spaine was suspected; among the which was *Marfil* of Saragoffe. All these forces joyned together, stopt the passages, and forced the French to returne into their countrey, but with great disadvantage and disorder, through the straits of the mountaines, whereas the Spaniards hauing seized vpon the passages, the forward and battaille of the French were defeated, and their baggage taken, with such slaughter, as they write there were about 40000 men slaine that day: among the which was *Roland*, as they write there were about 40000 men slaine that day: among the which was *Roland*, and all those whom fabulous writers call Peeres of France, with other great personages. In this action, the valor and good conduct of *D. Bernard* of Carpio, nephew to *D. Alphonso*, was admirable, as also in his warres against the Moores, as the Spaniards write, who was for a long time held for the kings sonne, and he himselfe beleueed it: but being aduertised of his parents, and of the calamitie of the Earle of Saldagne his father, he made many petitions vnto the king, and vsed all the means he could to moue him to pardon the iniurie which he pretended had bene done him, and to free him after so many yeares imprisonment; the which he could not obtaine: wherefore being discontented, he retyred from Court into his countrey of Saldagne, where he shewed himselfe as much as he could an enemy to king *D. Alphonso*.

R

D. Fortun,

## D. Fortun, third King of Nauarre:

Nauarre.  
An.802.

23 D<sup>V</sup>ring the raigne of Ouiedo and Leon, *D. Fortun* was the third king of Sobrabre and Nauarre, who came vnto the Crowne in the year 802, after the decease of *D. Garcia Inigo* his father. He was not onely to make head against the Moores, but also against the French, who spoyled his countie of Nauarre and Arragon, as well as those of the Mahumetists: for souldiours hold nothing holie, but that which is barren, and yeelds no bootie. During the raigne of this king was that famous defeat at Roncevaux, where he was with his Nauarrois, and other confederates, for the Spanish partie, where the French hauing beene defeated and stripped of their baggage, they afterwards did all they could to annoy Spaine. This king was married to *Theude*, daughter to *D. Galinde*, by reason whereof he did inherite (as some say) the countie of Arragon: yet this vnion of Arragon and Nauarre is not receiued by all Authors, but is referred to a later time, and there are memorials found of other Earles in that countrey, after *D. Galinde*.

Of this marriage came the infant *D. Sancho Garces*, successor in the realme of Sobrabre and Nauarre, to *D. Fortun* his father, whom it may be this *Theude* had had to her second husband: for some Authors say, that she had beene formerly married to one of *Charles* his captaines, and of his blood, called *Bernard*, not he which gouerned Cattelogne. *D. Fortun* had great warres against the Arabian Moores, to whom, with the Arragonois, and other his allies, he gaue bataille, at a place called Olcassa, or Olcast, in the which died *D. Ximen Aznar* Earle of Arragon, brother to *D. Theude*, the which some maintaine did happen vnder *D. Sancho*, sonne and successor to *D. Fortun*, who was vanquished and slaine by *Musa Ahen Cacin* or *Hecacin*, king of Saragoffe. The Christians woon this bataille of Olcassa, by the valour of them of Roncal, who had for a testimonie thereof, the title and priuiledges of Gentry, which they enjoy at this day.

## D. Sancho Garces, sixt King of Nauarre.

An.815.

24 D<sup>F</sup> *Fortun* hauing raigned thirteene yeares died, and there succeeded him, in the year 815, his sonne *D. Sancho Garces*, who continued the warres against the Moores with good successe. There is mention made of a bataille he woon against them, in the year 821, nere vnto Ochauiere; in the which the inhabitants of the valley of Roncal behaued themselves so valiantly, as they deserued a new confirmation and enlargement of their priuiledges of Nobilitie. These people although they were subjects of Nauarre, yet they leue an annuall tribute of the French, their neighbours, by an accord made in old time. It is a place vnder the iurisdiction of Sanguesse, situated in the Pyrennee mountaines of Nauarre, confining vpon them of Val Breton, which are of France, from whom they exact three Cowes euery yeare, on the third day of Iune, with certaine ceremonies obserued of old time. Some thinke this tribute grew by reason of the warres which this king had with the Gascoines and French, who being incensed with the Count of Roncevaux, did vsually invade the territories of Sobrabre and Nauarre, who after they had bene vigorously repulsed by him and his successors, they were forced to make the abovementioned peace, and doe the homage.

Arragon.

Diverse Earles  
of Arragon.

25 In Arragon, *D. Ximen Aznar*, the sonne of *D. Galinde*, hauing commaunded with the title of Earle (a gallant knight, who died in the bataille of Olcassa, following the partie of *D. Fortun Garces* of Nauarre, or else in the seruice of *D. Fortun* his sonne, about the year 803) to him succeeded his vnkle, called *D. Ximen Garces*, notwithstanding that he had a brother, whose name was *Endregot*, whether it were by force, or otherwise, the Historians make no mention. This *D. Ximen Garces* liued little, he was wise and valiant, and was slaine

A slaine in an encounter against the Moores. After him *D. Garcia Aznar* was fift Earle of Arragon, who also did not long enjoy his estate, and was slaine fighting valiantly against the Moores in Spaine. *D. Fortun* his sonne did inherite the Earldome of Arragon, who imployed himselfe valiantly in the warres against the Moores: he died without any sonne, so as Arragon was then vnto Nauarre, by the means of *D. Vrraca*, daughter to *D. Fortun*, or as some write, of *D. Endregot Galinde*, who was married to *D. Garcia Inigo*, second of that name, king of Nauarre, sonne to *Inigo Arista*, the which was the first woman which did inherite this Countie of Arragon, and brought in a custome, that the women should succeed.

Succession of  
women in Arragon.

B 26 Another *Bernard*, of whom we haue made mention, who intituled himselfe Earle of Barcelone, Duke and Marquesse of Spaine, gouerned Cattelogne, about the year 796, for the French; after the death of *Zato* the Moore, being their vassile and tributarie. He had beene Gouvernor of Prouence and Languedoc vnder the Emperour *Charlemaigne*. In Cattelogne he made sharpe warres against the Moores, wherein he was assisted by a Spanis knight called *D. Geoffrey*, the haire, which succeeded in the gouernment of Barcelone. This *Geoffrey* was Lord of the castle of Arria, in the territorie of Conflent, and Countie of Barcelone; with the hope of which *D. Bernard* he tooke from the Moores all the countrey which lies betwixt the two riuers of Nogueta and Lobregat: but after the death of *Charlemaigne*, a Gouvernor of Guienne, called *Aymon*, hauing rebelled against the Emperor, *Lewis* his sonne and successor, besides the hurt he did in that Prouince, entred into Cattelogne, and tooke townes and castles, being fauoured by *Abderramen* king of the Moores at Cordoua: and in the year 820, these rebellious French and the Moores hauing joyned their forces together, they came and besieged Barcelone.

Cattelogne.

27 This *Abderramen*, second of that name, had succeeded his father *Halibatan*, who died in the year 819, and of the Arabians 102, hauing raigned 24 yeares, who of many wiues, which *Mahumet*'s law doth allow, had left 19 sonnes and 21 daughters. This warre of Cattelogne was one of *Abderramen*'s first exploits, in the which Barcelone was taken in the year 820, but soone after recovered by the Christians.

Moores.

In the year 824 died *Don Alphonso* the chaff, hauing instituted for his successor *D. Ramir*, sonne to *D. Bermond* or *Veremond* the Deacon, rejecting *D. Bernard* of Carpio his sisters sonne, who was his lawfull heire. This Prince raigned 29 yeares, and was buried at Ouiedo, in *S. Maries* Church, which he had built. He was a great benefactor of the Clergies. Wee find a donation made by him to the Church of Compostella, of about a league of ground about *S. Iaques* sepulchre, but the date of these letters are of the year 835; which agrees not with that which Authors write of the death of this king.

Ouiedo.  
An.824.

Letters of donation  
of *S. Iaques*.

## D. Ramir, first of that name, and tenth King of Ouiedo.

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28 D<sup>F</sup> *Ramir* was sonne to the king *D. Veremond*, called the Deacon, and adopted by *D. Al. Onedo*, *phonso* his vnkle, a generous and worthie Prince, and not inferior to any of his predecessors in vertue. In the beginning of his raigne he married a Ladie, called *D. Vrraca*, borne in old Castille, of which were borne two sonnes, *D. Oradogno* who raigned, and *D. Garcia*. This king did that which all other Princes abhorre, for he receiued his sonne to be a companion with him in the kingdome, and caused his brother *D. Garcia* to raigne with him, so as there were two courts and two kings in Ouiedo and Leon. The first warre which troubled this king was ciuile, by the rebellion of a nobleman of Asturia, called *Nepotian*, against whom *D. Ramir* assembled his armie, in the towne of Lugo, and being come to bataille, he vanquished him, and put his men to flight: himselfe being taken some few dayes after, had by the kings commaundement his eyes put out, and was put into a cloister of Monkes, an vsuall punishment in those dayes for traitors and rebels.

Two brothers  
kings in one  
kingdome, and  
agree well, a  
rare example.

A rebellious  
punished.

In this kings time, the fame of the miracles which *S. Iaques* did at Compostella, began to be spread ouer all Europe, so as many pilgrims came thither both by sea and land, from all parts of Christendome: but about the year 827, the coasts of Galicia were annoyed with Norman

An. 827.

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Norman pyrats  
defeated by the  
battles of  
Gallicia.

An. 828.

Moors.

Christians de-  
feated.

Moors de-  
fected.

Apportion of  
S. Iago's, at the  
Spaniards say.

Ouiedo.

Tribute called  
now payed to  
S. Iago's Church.

man pyrats, a people of the North, who since vnder *Rollo* and other capitaines, invaded France, and planted themselves in the Prouince, called by their name *Normandie*. These pyrats, moved with another zeale than to visit *S. Iago's*, kept the sea, and spoyled the coast with a great number of ships: *D. Ramir* came and charged them at a place called *Fax*, where he made a great slaughter: those which remained, retoured their ships, and came into the mouth of *Guadalquivir*, where having landed, they spoyled *Seuile*, and the country thereabout, and then returned into their countrey. This king *D. Ramir* was troubled with another faction: *Alderred* and *Finial*, two Earles of his countrey, being risen in armes against him in the year 828, against whom he marcht with his armie, tooke these two rebels, slew *Finial*, with his seven sonnes, confounded his rebellion, and caused *Alderred* eyes to be put out, and call him into prison.

*Abderramen Miralmin* in Spaine, had continued long in peace with *Alphonso* King of *Ouiedo* and *Leon*: but some years after his decess, he had a desire (for that he had had some good successe against the Christians in Spaine, and also at the persuasion of *Aldes*, who raigned then in *Cast*) to demand of king *D. Ramir* the tribute of a hundred virgines, which king *Aladregat* had promised to pay to his predecessors, kings of *Cordoua*: the which was denied, as vnjust and vnworthy, by a general consent of the Bishops and Nobilitie of the countrey, assembled to this end in the towne of *Legon*; where by the same meanes there was a warre concluded against the Moors, to abate their pride. King *D. Ramir* having then called all the Nobilitie of his countries of *Asturia*, *Leon*, *Gallicia*, and other places vnder his obedience, and leued great numbers of souldiours, he entered into the Moors countrey, by *Rioie* to *Nogera* and *Aluenda*, and came and encamped neere to *Logrogne*, whither the Moors armie came soone after, where there was a cruell battaile, to the great losse of the Christians; so as without the approaching night it is thought, they had bin all defeated: the king retired to a place called *Clauijo*, where at this day there is a Bourg neere to *Logrogne*. The night gaue the Christians means to retire, and to talke themselves, who by the will of God refused courage in such sort, as the next day they presented themselves againe in battaile. The Moors contemning them whom they had vanquished the day before, came to charge them without any great order; but they found such resistance, as they were forced to leaue the field, and to flye; where they lost (as Histories report) about 6000 men, and as it is set downe in a Charter which is the Treasurie of *S. Iago's* of *Compostella*, in the which mention is made of an apparition of the Apostle to king *D. Ramir*, the night after his man were defeated, who encouraged him to affront the enemy againe, promising him victorie, and that he himselfe would be in the battaile, as Patron and Protector of his kingdom: and they affirme, that the armies being joyned the next day, *S. Iago's* appeared againe, mounted vpon a white horse, carrying a white standard, with a red Crosse, fighting and encouraging the Christians as he had promised. Such apparitions will be receiued according to euery mans pietie and good instruction. There are yet at this day found heads of darts and of lances in the place whereas *D. Ramir* obtained this victorie: by fauour whereof, he tooke *Calorra* from the Moors, with other places along the riuer of *Ebro*; but he returned soone vnder the dominion of the Moors, whose commaund was great at that time in Spaine.

After this victorie, *D. Ramir* being at *Calorra* with his brother *D. Garcia*, the Queene *D. Vrraca*, and the infant *D. Ordoño*, being accompanied with the chiefe Prelates and Noblemen of the countrey, it was held fit to acknowledge the fauour and assistance, which they did beleue *S. Iago's* had done them. Wherefore this king being perswaded either by his dreames, or by his Priests, ordained, That all such as dwell about *Compostella* should pay yearly a certaine measure of corne and wine to that Church, out of their reuenues, for the yow, for so this tribute was called: the which is payed at this day. Moreover, that after any victorie gotten against the Moors, when as they came to diuide the spoyle, *S. Iago's* Church should hold the place of a knight, and haue a share. The letters graunted by king *D. Ramir*, beare date in the year 834, at which time we find by the Histories, that he was not liuing. It is called *S. Iago's* yow, it was confirmed by Pope *Celestin*, then holding his See at *Rome*. Some haue written, That in this kings time the Order of the Knights of *S. Iago's* began, but it was later, as we will shew.

In

*In Catalogne*, the Christians being much oppressed by the Moors, vnder the *Miralmin* *Abderramen* the second, the Emperour *Lewis* the gentle sent an Abbot to comfort them: for he could find them no souldiours (say the Spaniards.) This Abbot was called *Elizachar*, who encouraged the Christians in such sort, as *Abderramen* returning to the siege of *Barcelone*, accompanied with Count *Aymon*, they found such resistance, as they were forced to abandon it, about the year 830. *Bernard* being much esteemed for his valour, he was called home by the Emperour *Lewis*, who made him his Chamberlaine, and graunted him then (as some say) the title of Earle of *Barcelone*, and for this cause is accounted the first Earle of the *Catalaynes*: but it appeares elsewhere, that he had this title of Earle, yea of Duke and Marquess long before, the which was nothing but Gouvernor of the Countrey, or Prouince.

### D. Ximen Inigo, fift King of Sobrarbre and Nauarre.

*To D. Sancho Garret* king of Sobrarbre and Nauarre (who died, as some report, in an encounter of the Moors, led by *Musa Aben Casin*, pettie king of *Sarragosse*) succeeded his sonne *D. Ximen Inigo*, in the year 832. Of the deeds and manners of this king the Histories make no mention, yea many Authors passe ouer these first kings of Sobrarbre, and begin the Historie of this Kingdome with *D. Inigo Arista*, who came afterwards to the Crowne. They hold, that *D. Ximen* is interred in the Couent of Saint Sauior of *Leyre*, with *D. Nugna* his wife.

### D. Ordoño, eleuenth King of Ouiedo.

*Ordoño*, which is as much to say as *Fortun*, sonne to *D. Ramir*, came vnto the Crown of *Ouiedo* and *Leon*, in the yere 833, according to the common opinion. Being entered into the government of the State, he had warre with some people of the mountains of *Cantabria* (which are not specified) whom he vanquished, and brought vnder his subiection. He married a Ladie called *D. Monadona*, or *Munia Donna*, that is to say, *Donna Nugna*, by whom he had five sonnes, *D. Alphonso*, who was king after him, *D. Bermond*, *D. Ordoño*, *D. Odoaire*, *D. Fruela*, and one daughter. He did enlarge and beautifie the buildings of the townes of *Leon*, *Astorgo*, *Tuy*, *Amaya*, and others.

They make mention of a miracle in his time, in the person of a Bishop of *Compostella*, successor to *Theodoris*, and second Prelate of that Church, named *Ataulphe*, who being accused of Apostasie, and that he had revolted from the Christian religion to that of the Moors, being called to Court to purge himselfe, he came to *Ouiedo* vpon a holie Thursday, when as they did bait a Bull with dogs, having an intent to expose the Bishop to the furie of this beast as soone as he should arriue. But the Bishop hauing said Masse (as the Storie reports) attyred in his Episcopall robes, came boldly to the kings palace, and passing by the place where they did hunt this Bull, as he saw him comming towards him, he opened his armes to take him, relying in God and his owne innocencie: but the beast came quietly vnto him, and suffred him to take him by the hornes, who led him vnto the king: whereat the king and all the assistants were so amazed, as they did presently judge that he had bene wrongfully accused. But this holy man leaving his Church and flocke, retired himselfe into the deserts, there to liue with beasts, and became a Hermit. Of this Bulls hornes they afterwards made reliques in the Church of *S. Sauior* at *Ouiedo*. *Sifmand* succeeded in his Bishoprick, and was so vehement to pursue the punishment of such as had falsely accused *Ataulphe*, as he neuer ceased vntill he had gotten a graunt from the king, that all their kinsfolkes should be deliuered for slauies to the Church of *Compostella*, although they were not guiltie.

About the beginning of this kings raigne, there were great ciuile diffentions among the Moors. A nobleman among the, a Goth by nation, but a Moore by profession, called for this cause *Musa Aben Casin*, that is to say, *Musa* of the lineage of the Gothes, rebelled against *Abderramen* *Miralmin*. He raignd at *Sarragosse*, & drew to his partie *Husca* and *Tafalla*, and by his example he caused the of Toledo to take armes, being ill affected to *Abderramen*, by reason

R iij

of

of the rigourous which his father *Habibatan* had vsed against them. This Moore fortified with these townes, rayfed a great armie, and caused a sonne of his called *Aben Lope* or *Lath*, to enter into Toledo, and then to ouerrun the countries of Nauarre and Cattellogne, and so passed the Pyrennees, into the territories of the French. At his returne he caused himselfe to be proclaimed King and Miralminum of Spaine, and tooke a towne belonging to the king *D. Ordono*, called Albayda, fortified it, and put a garrison into it: but his furie was stayed by *D. Ordono*, who came & besieged Albayda, and then with part of his forces he went to encounter him, as he advanced to succour the besieged, fought and vanquished him, killing 12000 horse Moores, and an infinit number of foot, with *Garcia* sonnie in law to *Alonso*; he himselfe escaped, being wounded in three places. The spoyle of this armie was great, and Albayda returned to the Christians: After which rout, *Lope* who had bene left Gouverneur at Toledo, made a league with *D. Ordono*, the which he faithfully maintained both in warre, and all other things during his life. This *Lope* is numbred for the third king of Toledo, being a Moore. *D. Ordono* did soone after assaile *Ceyt*, Gouverneur of Coria, and *Mufres* or *Micanda* of Salamanca, Moores, whom he vanquished, and tooke their Townes and Governements.

Moore defeated.

Aben Lope king of Toledo.

An. 839.

The qualities of Abderramen 2.

About the year 839 *Abderramen* died, leaving by his wiues 87 children, that is, 45 sonnes and 42 daughters, having held the realme of Spaine at Cordoua twentie years. He was in the 222 year of the Arabians. This Prince was full of state, and was much pleased to make great buildings: he caused the places and freets of Cordoua to be paved, and brought a great fountaine thither through pipes of lead, whereof some markes are yet to be seene about the Cathedral Church, which was then the Mosque. He was politicke, and was somewhat inclined to justice: he reformed the vnjust law of the Gothes, by the which the brother did succeed the brother, although he had children: he suffered the Christians which were vnder his command to liue in great libertie, so as in the chiefe citie of Cordoua they had many Churches, as that of the *Asile*, *Zoilus*, *Faulstus*, *Januaris*, *Martial*, *Cyprian*, *Genesius*, and *Eulalie*. And in the suburbs, or neere vnto, there were eight Monasteries; that of *S. Christopher*, of the virgin *Marie*, called *Cuteclar*, *S. Sauour*, *Zoilus*, *Felix*, *Martin*, *Iustus*, and *Pasleur*. He brought the making of silkes, with many other handie trades, into Cordoua: he caused money to be coyned with his name thereon.

Mahomet Miralminum at Cordoua.

Mahomet's victory.

His eldest sonne *Mahomet* succeeded him, who was the first Miralminum in Spaine of that name, and the fifth king of Cordoua. Being fetled, he marcht with an armie into Nauarre, from whence he was repulled: wherefore he turned his forces against Toledo, which was in league with king *D. Ordono*. Wherefore the Christians who desired to abate the power of the Moores, and to keepe them diuided all they could, came to succour the Toledanes, being led by one of the sonnes of king *D. Ordono*: both armies met not farre from the citie, neere vnto the river of Guadalestre, but *Mahomet* had the victorie: there were slaine in this battaile 13000 Moores of Toledo, and 8000 Christians; yet all this could not make him master of the towne. *Mahomet* being victor, he caused the heads of his enemies to be carried into diuers townes, to strike terror into those that would rebell; for it was the custome of that nation at the change of Princes to stirre vp new troubles. This warre continued three years, vnto the death of the king *D. Ordono*.

Cattellogne.

D. Geoffrey Earle or Gouverneur of Barcelone.

Ouido.

33 Cont *Bernard* of Barcelone liued at this time, much fauored in the Court of the Emperour *Lewis* the Gentle, not without enuie, especially of such as had had the government of Prince *Bernard* the sonne of *Peppin* king of Italie, in his youth. He was accused to haue committed adulterie with the Emperesse *Judith*: whatsoeuer the cause were, *D. Geoffrey* of Ania succeeded him in the Countie of Barcelone, in the year 839.

In the year 841, king *D. Ordono* being much afflicted with the Gout, and other infirmities, was withall oppressed with griefe for the rout of his men which he had sent to succour the Toledanes, whereupon he fell grievously sick and died, having gouerned the realme of Leon and Ouido tenne years. The letters and titles of the Church of *S. Iuques* of Compotella, giue longer liues to these kings: for there is one found of king *D. Ordono*, of the year 854, and another of the year 862, year of 874, wherefore there is no great certaintie of the time in the reignes of the kings of Ouido and Leon. These letters and titles differ aboue 33 yeares from the common opinion.

## D. Alphonso

## D. Alphonso, third of that name, twelfth King of Ouido.

44 *Alphonso* the Great, sonne to *D. Ordono*, was but foureteen years old, or ten, as some say, when he began to raigne: a prince endowed with all royall vertues, whose life and gouernment was long. His estate was disquieted by a knight of Galicia, called *D. Froila Bermudes*; who concerning the kings youth, did rise and seile vpon the Crowne. *D. Alphonso* being retired to Alaua, to preferre himselfe against this tyrant, as he was busie to raise an armie of his friends and subiects, he had newes, that *D. Froila* being come to Ouido, the chiefe towne of the whole realme, to be crowned there, he had bene slaine by the Senators and Councillors, which had conspired against him, wherefore he came thither, was received, and recovered his realme in peace. Then was there gouernour in Alaua a knight, called *Eylo*, or *Zeylon*, brother to one *Zenon*, which some Authors say, had bene Lord of Biscaie. This *Eylo*, as soone as *Alphonso* was fetled in his realme of Ouido, rebelled against him, and drew from him all which the kings of Ouido held in that prouince. *D. Alphonso* (who was then at Leon) being aduertised of this disorder, marcht with such forces as he could gather readily together, towards Alaua, where his presence caused him to be generally obeyed. He tooke this gouernor, and carried him to Ouido, where he ended his dayes in prison.

Tyranny and usurpation easily punished.

*Mahomet*, first Moore of that name, raigned then in Spaine; against whom the earle of Barcelone made sharpe warres, but with small success. He sent an armie against the Christians, led by two capitaines, *Imundar* and *Alcama*, the which came and lodged about Leon, as if they would besiege it, in the year 842. But king *D. Alphonso* succoured it, and forced the Moores to retire. In the end of *Abderramen*'s raigne, there had bene a great persecution against the Christians, which dwelt in the Moores countries; whereof their infolencies and rebellions was the cause. They had, as we haue said, libertie of their religion, and they were suffered to build Temples and Monasteries at their pleasures; their Priests and Monkes did freely vse their severall habits: They had Iudges and Rectors among them to administer iustice, vnder the authoritie of the Mahumetane kings: onely they were forbidden to enter into the Mosque, and not to speake ill of their Prophet *Mahumet*. They payed tributes, the which were sometimes augmented, as necessitie required, or according to the passions of their kings. Whereupon many Christians took occasion to murmure, and to make bitter complaints, the which did incense the Moores. Some Christians of more iudgement exhorted the rest to patience, foreseeing the mischiefe, but it was in vaine; yea *Alcassid* a Bishop, and *Sernand* an Earle, who were of these moderators, were condemned by a Councell, and are blamed by the Authors of Histories, who haue made no scruple to put in the number of Martyres those rebels which perished in this massacre, the which was great, and continued ten yeares, for an aduertisement to all others, not to rise against their prince, to whom they are made subiect by the will of God, especially for their temporall goods.

Anno 842. The libertie of Christians among the Moors in Spaine.

In the meane time the quarell betwixt this Miralminum and them of Toledo, continued, and their obstinacie was such, as *Mahomet*, seeing they would not acknowledge him vpon any conditions, he sent a mightie armie against them, vnder the conduct of his brother, or as some hold, of his sonne, called *Almondar*, who spoiled, rased, and burnt all that was within the territorie of Toldo, and yet no man durst make head against him, his forces were so great. King *D. Alphonso* embracing this occasion of the Moores diuisions, being entred into league with the French and Nauarrois, he entred and spoiled their countrey. They hold that *Bernard* of Carpio was chiefe of this armie. *Mahomet* did about all things desire to subdue them of Toledo, the which was a great and strong citie, and therefore hard to be forced: Wherefore he resolved to reduce it to extremitie of victuals, by a long siege, and so force them to yeeld. And hauing raised a great armie in the year 848, he led it himselfe in person against the Toledanes, who issued out of the towne, resolving to fight with him, but it was to their losse and confusion, for they were forced to retire with shame; the towne was besieged, the bridge vpon the river of Tayo (the worke of king *Hifem*) was beaten downe (the Moores call bridges *Alcantara*) and all meanes of succours taken from the inhabitants. Wherefore they began

D. Alphonso spoyle the Moors country.

Anno 848.

Toledo reduced  
under the obe-  
dience of the  
Moors at  
Cordova.

began somewhat to yeeld, and to talke of a composition; wherein they were heard and satisfi-  
fied: so as *Mahumet* entered the citie with great ioy, hauing reduced so great a people vnder  
his obedience: From whence he sent some troupes to spoile the Christians countrey, as far  
as the riuer of Duero; who were charged, repulst, and forced to leaue their bootie, by *D. Ber-  
nard* of Carpio, and others. *Lope*, who called himselfe king of Toledo, saued himselfe, and  
fled with his brethren, and *Abdalla* his sonne, to the king *D. Alphonso*; who receiued them  
courteously, and made such esteeme of these Moores, as he gaue them his sonne *D. Ordago*  
to instruct in armes and ciuillitie. *Abdalla* made no long aboad there, for being thrust on with  
enue against his vnclie, he made his peace with king *Mahumet*, and retired to Cordova, from  
whence he made great spoile vpon the Christians countrey: but he was incourted and de-  
feated at a place called Cillorico, and forced to raise his siege from Pancomio with shame. Af-  
terwards he came to fight with two *Zimels*, the one his vnclie, the other his brother, in the ter-  
ritorie of Toledo, whom he vanquished, and tooke prisoners: And as he was of a stirring spi-  
rit, and enemie of all rest, he drew vpon him both the Christians and Moores, by the surpris-  
e he made of Sarraçosse, where he maintained himselfe, notwithstanding all the forces of *Ma-  
humet*, who sent *Almundar* his sonne, and *Abdaly* a capitaine, against him, with great forces.  
And although that *Abdalla* were on the other side molested with the forces of *D. Alphonso*,  
(who during these warres had sene the monastier of *S. Facende* burnt, the which he after-  
wards caused to be built vp againe) yet his posteritie reigned at Sarraçosse. *Mahumet* hauing  
disposed of this new conquest, returned to Cordova, vnder whose command Toledo reman-  
ed for some yeares.

The works of pi-  
etie of *D. Al-  
phonso*.

After these happie exploits the Moores were content to rest a while, and to suffer the Chri-  
stians to liue in peace, and *D. Alphonso* in the meane time gaue himselfe to works of pietie, ac-  
cording to the inclination and instruction of those times. He caused *S. Iagues* church to be new  
built of free stone, and enriched with pillars and other workes: imploying therein part of  
the spoile which he had taken from the Moores; for this church at that time was but of earth. He  
bestowed great almes of the poore, and widowes. He was solicited by *Bernard* of Carpio, to  
deliuer the earle *D. Sancho*, his father, out of prison, where he had remained for many yeares:  
but (notwithstanding all the great seruices which he pretended to haue done) he could not  
preuaile. Wherefore he resolved to declare himselfe an enemie to *D. Alphonso*, retiring to  
*Salamanca*, where nere vnto it he built a fort, which he called Carpio, of his owne name,  
from whence he did much annoy the Asturians, and them of Leon. It was situated three  
leagues from Salamanca, vpon the riuer of Tormes.

*Bernard* of Car-  
pio neglected:  
his rebellion.

### D. Inigo Arista, sixt King of Sobrarbre and Nauarre.

Nauarre.  
An. 940.

*D. Inigo*, surnamed *Arista*, came to the Crowne of Nauarre about the yere 840. Some  
say he was sonne to *D. Ximenes* aboue mentioned; others (among the which is *Su-  
rites* the Spaniard) affirme, that he was son to the earle of Bigorre, called *Simon*; and that he  
was chosen by the suffrages of the men of war, king of Sobrarbre, by reason of his vertues and  
valour: so little certaintie there is in antiquitie, especially of the beginning of races and fami-  
lies. The name of *Arista* was giuen him, by reason of his vehemencie and heat in war. The Spa-  
niards call a courageous and hardie man *Aristo*. He was the first of the kings of Nauarre, that  
was appointed and crowned after the manner of our kings of France, the which was obserued  
in the other following kings, although some beleeue, that this custome came onely into Na-  
uarre, after they had kings of the house of Champagne. The French, among other Christian  
nations, haue retained it of the ceremonies of the ancient law of the Lewes, by the aduice of  
their Bishops. He tooke for his Armes a Croffe argent in a field azure. During his reigne, and  
some yeares after, the Episcopall seat of Pampelone was in the royall abbey of *S. Saluator* of  
*Leyra*, yet holding the title of Bishop of Pampelone, or of *Iruna*, by reason of the warre and  
spoyle which the Moores made. There is no great certaintie among writers of his deeds, the  
time of his death, nor of his funeralls, nor yet of his wifes familie, whom some call *Oncas*,  
which is to say, *Iniga*; others *Theude*: bringing the one from Pampelone, the other from  
Biscaie. It may be he had two for named.

The custome to  
crown kings  
taken from the  
Highwest.

*D. Geof.*

*Lib. 6.*

*D. Geoffrey* of Arria was earle of Barcelona after the death of *Bernard*, about the yere  
840, by the liberalltie and grant of the Emperour *Lewis* the Gentle. He was married to a French  
lady, called *D. Almaria*, by whom he had a sonne called *D. Giffred*, or *Geoffrey* the haire, who  
was the first preppariar earle after his father, but not immediate. Cattellogne was then vnder  
the soueraigntie of France; and there are priuiledges found, granted by king *Charles* the  
baule sonne to the Emperour *Lewis*, in the yere 844, whereby the inhabitants of Barcelona  
are made as free as the French, hauing libertie to administer iustice, and to liue according to  
the ancient lawes of the Gothes. This Count *Geoffrey* imployed all his meanes to make war  
against the Moores, he attempted the towne of Tortola, but in vaine: yet hee tooke firm  
them and from the tyrant and rebell *Aymon*, that which they had vsurped of his gouernment  
seven yeares before. He was pursued by a Catalen knight, called *D. Salomon*, earle of Cey-  
saga, who enuied him, and slandered him to the king his Soueraigne: wherefore being cal-  
led to Court, as he was going vpon the way, he was slaine in Auvergne, in the yere 858, ac-  
cording unto some.

Cattellogne.

Cattellogne was  
der the four-  
taine of  
France.

Earle of Cate-  
logne mur-  
red.

Ouiedo.

During these yeres king *D. Alphonso* was much troubled with the war which *D. Bernard* of  
Carpio made against him, who gaue him diuers routs; so as he was forced to leaue the Lions  
skin, and to vte the Foxes, at the least there was great shew of deceit: for the king, seeing that  
he could not suppress *D. Bernard*, he offered to releafe his father, who was now verie old, if  
he would deliuer into his hands his new fort of Carpio: the which *Bernard*, by a singular pic-  
tie, did willingly grant, and was ready to deliuer his fort into the kings hands, the which he  
did presently take. Those which went to the castle of Lune, to draw *D. Sancho* out of prison,  
found him dead, as they reported: wherefore *Bernard* holding himselfe abused, made great  
complaints vnto the king; but he was commaunded to depart out of the territories of Ouei-  
do and Leon, and the dependances thereof. Whereupon he retired into Nauarre, and then  
into France: yet some say, that he returned into Spaine, and there died, and that he was bur-  
ied in the monastier of Aguilar del Campo.

Custodie of king  
*D. Alphonso*.

*Zeno* brother to *D. Eylo*, or *Zichon*, whom we had confined into Ouiedo, in the beginning  
of the reigne of this *Alphonso*, who being made earle or gouernour of Biscaie, by the kings  
bountie, would rebell as his brother had done, forcing the king to send an armie against him,  
by the which he was vanquished, taken, and led to Ouiedo, where he ended his dayes in pri-  
son. This *Zeno* left two daughters, the one called *Theude*, was married (according vnto some) to  
*D. Inigo Arista*, king of Nauarre; and the other *D. Iniga*, to the infant *D. Suria*, of whom we  
shall hereafter speake. This was in the yere 856.

Rebellion of the  
youner of  
Biscaie.

All this time, and to the yere 859, there had beene a suspension of armes, betwixt king *D.  
Alphonso* and the Moores; but that yere king *Mahumet* went to armes, and came and belieged  
the towne of Coimbra, belonging now to Portugal: but *D. Alphonso* forced him to raise his  
siege, and not content therewith, entred into the Moores countrey, wasted it, and returned  
with great spoyles, continuing euery yere to annoy them in such sort, as they were constrain-  
ed to accept of a truce for three yeares, with the preiudice of their reputations, and great dis-  
advantage in their iurisdiccions. Then there reigned in Sarraçosse a Moore, called *Aben Al-  
saie*. The rest of *Mahumet*'s reigne vnto his death, was spent in voluptuous lust and idleness.  
In his time there was a great earthquake in Spaine, and a little before his death lighte-  
ning entring into the Mosque, where he was, slew two Noblemen Moores, neere vnto  
him.

Moore.  
Anno 859.

### D. Garcia Inigues, third of that name, and se- uenth King of Nauarre.

About the yere 867, as some Authors write, died *D. Inigo Arista*, king of Nauarre, to  
whom succeeded *D. Garcia Inigues*, his sonne, the third of that name, who vniued the  
countrey of Arragon to Nauarre, by marrying with *D. Pyrraca*, daughter to *D. Fortan*, the last  
earle, or of *D. Endregot Galindo*, of the same house and familie of Arragon. He had two sons  
by this Ladie, *D. Fortan*, and *D. Sancho Abara*; and one daughter, called *D. Sançina*, or *San-  
cha*. They write this fable of *D. Sancho*, That the king going inconsiderately with his queene  
through

Nauarre and  
Arragon united



### D. Fortun, second of that name, eighth King of Nauarre.

Nauarre.

42 **T**HE Scepter of Nauarre, after the death of D. Garcia Iniguez (although that some haue written of an Interregnum of many yeares, whilest that D. Sancho was yet vnknowne, and bred vp in the house of Guenara) came without all doubt to his eldest sonne D. Fortun the second of that name, in the yeare 885; after whose decease there could be no Interregnum, seeing he had a daughter married to D. Ordono the second, of Ouiedo, who without doubt should haue succeeded her father: for the right of succession had euen then taken place, euen of women, about the election, which had been accustomed in all auncient time among those people. There is a testimonie of this king D. Fortun, in a Charter of donation which he made to the monasterie of Leyre, in the *Ara* 939, which comes to be the yeare 901. It is written in the remembrances of the house of S. *Sauveur* of Leyre, That when as the king D. Garcia his father was slaine, he was at Cordoua. Whereby it appears, that the Moores which slew him, were not of the league with the kings of Cordoua, but some thecues, or factious persons, as this nation had bene accustomed to liue in perpetuall diuision and quarels. D. Fortun being king of Nauarre, he was also earle of Arragon, by succession from his mother. There is not any notable thing written of this kings gets, but that he was verie deuout, and did cherish Monkes, and religious persons, to whom he gaue great gifts.

Barcelone.

43 In Cattelogne after the death of Cont Geoffrey, who was slaine in Auvergne, D. Salomon, earle of Cerdagne, who had bene his competitor, and enuied him, was made earle and gouernour. The Spaniards hold, that Cattelogne, and the countie of Barcelone, was then fallen to the Soueraigntie of Prouence and Bourgongne, whereof Charles, sonne to the Emperour Lothaire, and nephew to Lewis the Gentle, was king; by whose grant this earle of Cerdagne did for his life-time inioy that title and dignitie, whilest that the son of D. Geoffrey (who carried the fathers name, and was afterwards surnamed the Hairie) was bred vp in Flanders, in a knights house, to whom king Charles had recommended him. About the yeare 864 kings Charles died, and Prouence came to the hands of the Emperour Lewis the second, his brother, who also died in the yeare 876, and the empire fell to Charles the Bauld, his vnckle, king of France, and by consequence Prouence and Cattelogne, which depended thereon: during whose empire D. Geoffrey the Hairie, being now great, came to Barcelone, whereas the countesse Almira, his mother, yet liued, by whom he was knowne, and made knowne to the chiefe men of Barcelone, who had bene friends to his deceased father: who made no delay to conspire with D. Geoffrey, for the killing of the earle D. Salomon, the which they did presently effect in the place of *Bercu* in the yeare 877: and by that meanes D. Geoffrey the Hairie was restored to his fathers dignitie. VV. Whilest he was bred vp in the house of this Flemish knight, they say, he fell in loue with one of his daughters, with whom he contracted a secret marriage, the which notwithstanding came to the knowledge of the mother, who could well conceale it vntill a fit opportunitie. Finding himselfe settled in his estate and dignitie, at Barcelone, he sent for his wife, and conselt the marriage vnto his father in law, who was nothing displeased therewith; by whose meanes he obtained pardon for the murder which he had committed on the person of Cont Salomon, of the king of France, and Emperour Lewis the Stuttering, successor to Charles the Bauld, his father, by whom the Flemish knight was much fauoured. And the Spanish histories report, That the Emperour Lewis receiued good seruice from Geoffrey the Hairie, in the warres he had against the Normans, whither he led a goodly troupe of horse out of Barcelone, and shewed great proofes of his valour and conduct; so as he was greatly esteemed, and beloued. And as in a certaine defeat of the Normans he had bene wounded in diuers parts of his bodie, so as his Armes were all couered with bloud; shewing himselfe in this estate before the Emperour Lewis, he besought him to giue him Armes, which he and his posteritie might lawfully carrie. The Emperour being glad of his demand, stretching forth his foure fingers, he dippt them in the bloud which ran from the earls wounds, and made foure markes vpon a golden shield which he carried, being plaine, without any deuice; and said vnto him, Earle, hereafter those shall be your Armes. For the which he most humbly thanked the Emperour:

44 D. Geoffrey the hairie, first earle in proprietie of Barcelone.

A Emperour: so as euer since they haue carried foure bloudie strokes, which we call Guenales, in a field Or. This is the beginning of the earles of Barcelone, and since kings of Arragon, although that their beginning was from Cattelogne.

He did likewise serue king Charles the Grosse, who was Emperour after Lewis the third, in his warre against the Normans: but in his absence the Moores entred the territorie of Barcelone, and committed great spoyles. Whereof Cont Geoffrey being aduertised, he demanded leaue, and besought the king to grant him men and money, to repulse the Infidels out of his gouernement: but not able to obtaine it, by reason of the weaknesse of his affaires, he had a better condition: For in consideration of his valour and good seruice, king Charles gaue the countie of Barcelone in proprietie to him and to his heires for euer, in the yeare 884, reseruing onely the foueraigntie to the kings of France: the which continued vnto the time of Lewis the ninth. We will therefore place this earle for the first of them of Barcelone, for that he was a Proprietarie.

Returning to Barcelone with this grant, he brought with him many strange knights, with whose helpe he recovered all that which the Moores had vsurped vpon the territories of Barcelone, and Cattelogne. He is commended for his religion, for that he did build (to burie himselfe and his successors in) the monasterie of our Ladie of Ripol, where his eldest sonne Rodolphus made himselfe a Monke; who, they say, was borne in Flanders, before the mariage was published; and was Abbot of Ripol, and afterwards Bishop of Vergel. Others say, That this monasterie was founded by D. Geoffrey of Arria, his father. He had other children; this Flemish ladie, which was D. Geoffrey, who died of poison, being but young; D. Ar, who succeeded him in the earldome; D. Saner, or Seniofrid, who was earle of Vergel and one daughter. He was founder of the monasterie of Monferat, and did many such like workes.

Cattelogne granted in propriety to Geoffrey the first, under the suzerainie of France.

### D. Ordono, second of that name, and 14 King of Ouiedo and Leon.

D 45 **T**O D. Garcia his brother D. Ordono had succeeded in the realme of Ouiedo, in the yeare 889. The bountie of this prince made the Spaniards thinke that his father D. Alphonso was risen againe, he did so well imitate his vertues in all the course of his life. His religion, after the manner of those times, is commended, for that hee caused Mondogredo to be made a Bishopricke, and did much good to churches. He was married first to D. Munia, whom others call D. Eluira, by whom hee had foure sonnes, D. Sancho, D. Alphonso, D. Ramir, D. Garcia, and one daughter, D. Ximena, whereof D. Alphonso and D. Ramir were kings of Ouiedo. For his second wife hee married D. Aragonde, or it may be, Radeonde of Galicia, whom he did repudiate for certaine causes. Lastly, he tooke to wife the Infanta of Nauarre and Arragon, D. Sancha, or Sanctina, daughter to king D. Garcia Inigo, and of D. Vrraca.

The first exploits of Armes he did, were in Galicia, when as he was but a pettic king or gouernour, ouerrunning the Moores country confining vpon him, euen vnto Andaloufia, and carried backe great spoyles, with the which he retired safely to Visco, which is at this time in Portugal.

At the same time Abderramen, the third of that name, came to bee king of the Moores; hee was surnamed Almanzor, and Ananzer Ladin Alla, which signifies, Defender of the Law of God. Some are of opinion, that he was the sonne of Mahomet the sonne of Abdalla, to whom hee succeeded: against whom D. Ordono raised an armie, and entring the territories of Toledo, came and besieged Talauera, which is now called de la Roine. Hee defeated the succours of Moores which Abderramen sent, tooke the Generall of this armie, and forced the place and sacked it. Wherewith Abderramen being much moued, meaning to reuenge it with assurance, hee demanded succours from Almotarab, king of Mauritania Tingitana, where the kingdomes of Fez and Marocco are at this present. And hauing by that meanes assembled a great armie of Moores,

Moores, Abderramen Almanzor, a king of the Moors at Cordoua.



Moors defeated.  
Anno 894

Moors, Africans, and Spaniards, he spoiled the Christians country, as farre as the river G of Duero, and the towne of S. *Stephen de Gomus*, where there was an encounter, and the Moores vanquished; and the Generalls and Lieutenants of the two kings, *Abderramen* and *Almotaraph*, layne; which incouraged D. *Ordogno* to proceed: so as in the year 894, hee entred the country called *Elstremadura*, crosing the rivers of Tayo and Guadiana, vnto Merida and Badaios, the territories of which townes he spoiled. The Moores inhabiting these townes, not daring to fallie forth, they purchased a truce of some monethes, for a great summe of money.

This losse tormented *Abderramen*, and inflamed him to reuenge; wherefore in the yere 895, he entred Galicia with a great power, where he committed infinit spoyle. In the end both armies being met, there was a bloudie battell, which continued almost a whole day, with vncertaintie which had the victorie. *Abderramen* being afterwards fortified with new succours from Affricke, he came againe to waitt the country of king D. *Ordogno*, and entered by the prouince of Alaua, into the territories of the king of Nauarre, which should be at that time D. *Sancho Abacia*, or rather his brother D. *Fortun* the second, and not D. *Garcia Iniques*, their father, who they hold died in the year 885: And then there was a great battell giuen in the vallie of Ionquera, in the which many braue Christian knights were slaine. The Mahumetists being victors, many townes and forts of Nauarre fell into the Infidells hands.

Battell of Ionquera lost by the Christians.

King *Abderramen* returned victor vnto Cordoua, leading with him many prisoners, and a rich bootie. In this troupe of prisoners were the Bishops of Salamanca and of Tuy. He of Tuy, called *Hermogius*, not able to endure the hardnesse of the prison, being old, laboured to get out, giuing for hostage of his ransom a nephew of his, called *Pelagius*, a goodly young youth, about fourteene yeares old, who had beene bred vp religiously, and in the feare of God. Being come into the Moores hands, king *Almansar* being thrust on with a detestable desire, would haue abused him at his pleasure, and haue persuaded him to follow *Mahumet* sect: the which this holy youth did virtuously resist. Wherefore the king being enraged, he caused him to be murdered with many torments, and to be cast into the river of Guadalquivir, where his bodie being found, it was buried by the Christians: Whole memorie, for his great vertues in so tender yeares, merits to liue for euer.

Pelagius a holy youth cruelly murdered.

Ouiedo and Leon.

Anno 896.

King D. *Ordogno* desirous to repaire the losse which the Christians had receiued in the vallie of Ionquera, entred in the year 896, into the Moores country with great forces, where hee tooke and ruined many townes; and meeting no encounter, hee returned to Zamora. As for the religious deeds of this king, they make particular mention of the building of S. *Maries* church, in his owne royall Palace of Leon, which he made the Cathedrall church of that towne, and indowed it with reuenues, and many iewels; inducing the other noblemen, by his example, to doe the like. He caused himselfe to be crowned in this new Temple with great solemnitie, being the first of those kings which intituled himselfe king of Ouiedo and Leon: for vnto these times they hold, That these kings rearme themselves onely kings of Ouiedo, without any addition of Leon. Before the Cathedrall church of Leon, were those of Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paule*, without the circuit of the walls in those times, the which he did enlarge, and made the towne much bigger, enriching it with many buildings, exemptions, and priuiledges.

We haue said before, That there was a great error in the computation of the reignes of these kings of Ouiedo, and great confusion in conferring them with those that haue reigned in Nauarre, and the other Potentates of Spaine: for the Authors doe ill agree with the Charters and titles of priuiledges, donations, and foundations, which are found in the true stories of Monasteries, and other churches of Spaine: especially it is vncertaine what kings of Nauarre were in the time of king D. *Ordogno*, nor when he married his last wife D. *Sandina*, daughter to king D. *Garcia Iniques* the second, whether in his life time, or during the reigne of D. *Fortun*, and D. *Sancho Abacia*, his children: the fact is cleere, but the time is doubtfull. Some Authors write, That this king D. *Ordogno*, made this league with D. *Sancho Abacia*, king of Nauarre; and that hauing ioyned their forces together, they inuaded the country of Rioje, which the Moores held, and hauing forraged it, they returned with great spoyle, hauing found no resistance.

A 47 The worthie and memorable deeds of this king are blemished with the cruelties hee *Castile* used against the earles of Castille. We haue made mention of Cont D. *Diego Porcello*, or *Lechon*, in the Spanish tongue, who gouerned Castille in the time of king D. *Alphonso* the great: besides there is mention of other earles and gouernors of the country, the which for that it was great, and compassed in by the Moores country, had need of many heads and captains to defend the frontiers of Ouiedo and Leon, vnder whose soueraigntie Castille was. Among others, we find D. *Nugno Fernandes*, who it is likely was father in law to D. *Garcia*, king of Ouiedo, brother to this king D. *Ordogno*, D. *Almondar le Blanc*, D. *Diego* his sonne, D. *Fernando Anzures*: all these commaunded there, and were great noblemen in the said country of Castille, about the year 889, which they hold to be the first of D. *Ordogno*, king of Ouiedo and Leon. It is not verified vpon what subiect they fell in disgrace with this king, if it were not by reason of the practises of D. *Nugno Fernandes*, and D. *Garcia*, against king D. *Alphonso* the great; kings being alwayes iealous of their estates, and enemies to them that attempt against their Soueraigne Princes, the which in some is accompanied with an enuie of their glorie, whom (being their subiects) they know to be aduenturous, fit for great enterprizes, and to execute them happily. So it may be D. *Ordogno* fearing that these earles (who had been beloued, and respected of the people) should grow too great, to the prejudice of his royall Maiestie, he meant to murder them. He therefore called them vpon a safecondukt to a place called Regular, vpon the riuer of Carrion, making thew, that he would treat secretly with them of matters of great importance. Whither being come, he caused them to be apprehended, and carried with good guards to Leon, where some dayes after, without any formall proceeding, he caused them to be murdered in the prison. D. *Diego Porcello*, as some thinke, was of this number. D. *Nugno Bellides* married his daughter D. *Salla*, of whom were borne two sonnes, D. *Nugno Nugnez*, *Razara*, grandfather to the earle D. *Fernand Gonfales*, and the other was *Iustus Gonfales*, grandfather to the Lord of Lara.

A year after this tyranous action, the king D. *Ordogno* died, according to the common opinion, in the year of our saluation 897; but according to the letters and titles of donation of the abbeyes and churches of Spaine, he liued in the year 919, as *Gariyba* saith, who hath made a diligent search: Of the authoritie and truth of which charters we may iustly doubt. This king reigned eight yeares, and was buried at Leon, in the new Cathedrall church of Saint *Marie* the great, the first of those kings which had beene interred at Leon.

## D. Froila, second of that name, and 15 King of

Ouiedo and Leon.

A 48 After the death of D. *Ordogno*, the realme was held by his brother D. *Froila*, who succeeded it from his nephewes, D. *Alphonso*, and D. *Ramir*, sonnes to the deceased. He is not put in the catalogue of the kings of Ouiedo, it may be by reason of the shortnesse of his reigne, or in detestation of his cruelties, which purchased him the surname of Cruell; or for some other considerations. He had married a ladie called D. *Alunina*, or D. *Nugna*, by whom he had three sonnes, D. *Alphonso*, D. *Ordogno*, and D. *Ramir*; and by a concubine, a bastard called D. *Fruela*. Of this bastard issued D. *Pelagius*, called the Deacon, who married D. *Alonso*, grand child to D. *Bernund* the Goutie, whereof we will make mention. King D. *Fruela* was a tyrant, and therefore fearefull and suspicious, so as he vied great crueltie against the noblest personages in Spaine, he put some to death, banished many, and afflicted euerie estate. Among the rest he put to death the children of a noble knight, called D. *Olmunde*, or *Dimunde*, banished D. *Frominio* their brother, who was Bishop of Leon, and committed many other such outrages; yet couered with the cloke of iustice, as tyrants doe usually.

49 The people of Castille incensed at the crueltie vied against their earles by D. *Ordogno*, rebelled against the Crowne of Ouiedo and Leon, and made an Estate apart, chusing two

Judges chosen  
in Castille.

Gouernors or Judges among them, whereof the one should haue charge of the war, and the other should take knowledge of ciuile causes. These were *Nugno Razura*, and *Flauin Calu* his sonne in law. *Nugno Razura* was sonne to *Nugno Bellides*, a German knight, who they say was the first founder of the citie of Burgos, so called by him, of a German word, signifying a habitation of people. This knight coming into Spaine vpon deuotion, to visit *S. Iaques* sepulchre, was there married to *D. Salla*, daughter to *D. Diego Porcello*, and had by her this *D. Nugno Razura*, a knight, who was wise, valiant, and much esteemed, by reason of his modestie. He had one sonne and one daughter by his wife, *D. Gonfalo Nugnes*, and *D. Eluira Nugnes*, or else *D. Theresa Nugnes*, surnamed *Bella*, either for that she was exceeding faire, or to seeme to be so: for the custome of the auncest was to giue their children pleasing names and surnames, thinking they should thereby purchase fauour with men; and that a goodly name gaue some marke or impression to the person conformable to that which it did signifie. This ladie *D. Bella* was married by her father, to *Flauin Caluo*, a knight of Castille, lord of Biuar, by whom descended by five degrees, *Gila, Ruys, Diaz*, who was a wife and valiant knight. By these two Castille was gouerned without opposition: for that the king *D. Fruela* being hared, and ill obeyed, by reason of his tyranie, and tormented with continuall distrust, being also growne a leaper, could not bring any armie against them. Wherefore this manner of gouernement was seled among the Castilians, and the countrey was dismembred from the Crowne of Ouiedo, for a time; and the riuer of Pisorga diuided Castille the old from the kingdome of Leon. *D. Nugnes* determined of ciuile causes with great equitie and iustice. *Flauin Caluo* managed matters of state, and warre.

Mention is made in certain priuiledges given by the first kings of Castille, to certain towns of that countrey, of a volume of the Castilian Lawes, according to the which iustice should be administred, called the booke of Judges: the which was of great authoritie, vnto the time of king *D. Alphonso* the Wise, sonne to *D. Fernand* the third, that the Lawes of the seven parties were brought in, according to the which this realme was afterwards gouerned.

Ouiedo and  
Leon.

King *D. Fruela*, without rest among his subiects, without warre against the Moores and Infidels, without honour in any of his actions, and without health in his person, infected with leprosie, raigned onely foureteeen monethes, and was interred at Leon, in the chiefe church, in the year 898, according to the common opinion: but there are letters in the treasure of *Saint Iaques*, of a donation, of twelue miles of ground to this church, made by this king, dated the 28 of Iune 924, which *Garihey* faith he hath seene.

## THE



## THE SEVENTH BOOKE OF the Historie of Spaine.

### The Contents of the seuenth Booke.

- 1 *D. Sancho Abarca, second of that name, and ninth king of Navarre.*
- 2 *D. Alphonso, fourth of that name, and 16 king of Ouiedo and Leon.*
- 3 *D. Ramir, second of that name, and 17 king of Leon, leauing the title of Ouiedo.*
- 4 *D. Gonfalo Nugnes, Iudge of Castille: his vertues.*
- 5 *D. Fernand Gonfales, first earle proprietarie of Castille.*
- 6 *D. Mir, second proprietarie earle of Barcelone.*
- 7 *D. Ordogno, third of that name, and 18 king of Leon.*
- 8 *D. Garcia Sanches, fourth of that name, and 10 king of Navarre.*
- 9 *D. Senioftid, third earle of Barcelone, sonne to D. Mir.*
- 10 *D. Sancho, first of that name, and 19 king of Leon, called the Fat.*
- 11 *Hali Hatan, ninth Soueraine king of the Arabians or Moores, in Spaine.*
- 12 *D. Ramir, third of that name, and 20 king of Leon.*
- 13 *D. Garcia Fernandes, second proprietarie earle of Castille.*
- 14 *Hizen, second of that name, and 10 king of the Moores at Cordoue.*
- 15 *D. Bermund, second of that name, 21 king of Leon, from whom the citie of Leon was taken by the Moores.*
- 16 *D. Sancho, third of that name, and 11 king of Navarre.*
- 17 *D. Borel, fourth proprietarie earle of Barcelone.*
- 18 *D. Alphonso, fifth of that name, and 22 king of Leon.*
- 19 *D. Sancho Garcia, third earle of Castille.*
- 20 *D. Raymond Borel, fifth earle of Barcelone.*
- 21 *Decay of the Moores power in Spaine, by their ciuile dissensions.*
- 22 *Zuleima and Mahumet, 11 and 12 kings of the Moores at Cordoue.*
- 23 *D. Garcia, fifth of that name, and 12 king of Navarre.*
- 24 *D. Sancho, fourth of that name, and 13 king of Navarre, surnamed the great, who inherited Castille by his wife.*
- 25 *Confusions and ciuile warres among the Moores in Spaine, among the which there reigned, Hali, Cacin, Hiaja, Abdertamen, Mahomad, Hizen, Ioar, and Mahumet, who was the 20 and last Soueraine king of the Moores at Cordoue.*
- 26 *D. Bermund, third of that name, and 23 king of Leon.*
- 27 *D. Garcia, fourth earle of Castille: and the vniou of the earldome to the house of Navarre.*
- 28 *D. Berenger Borel, sixth earle of Barcelone.*
- 29 *Vniou of Leon and Castille in D. Fernand, sonne to the king D. Sancho of Navarre, the fourth of that name.*

S iij

The

**The names of the Kings and Princes of Spaine, mentioned in this seventh Booke.**

**OVIEDO and LEON.**

**Kings.**

- 16 *Alphonso* 4.
- 17 *Ramir* 2.
- 18 *Ordogno* 3.
- 19 *Sancho* 1.
- 20 *Ramir* 3.
- 21 *Bernund* 2.
- 22 *Alphonso* 5.
- 23 *Bernund* 3.

**NAVARRÉ.**

**Kings.**

- 9 *Sancho Abarca* 2.
- 10 *Garcia* 4.
- 11 *Sancho* 3.
- 12 *Garcia the trembling* 5.
- 13 *Sancho* 4.

**CASTILLE.**

**Iudge.**

*Gonsal Nugens.*

**Earles.**

- 1 *Ferdinand Gonsales.*
- 2 *Garcia Fernandes.*
- 3 *Sancho Garcia.*

**4 Garcia.**

*D. Nugens* married to King *D. Sancho* the Great, of Navarre, who inherited the Earldome of Castille, and united it to Navarre.

**BARCELONE, or CAT-TELOGNE.**

**Earls.**

- 1 *Mur.*
- 2 *Seniofrid.*
- 3 *Borel.*
- 4 *Raymond Borel.*
- 5 *Berenger Borel.*

**MOORES.**

- 9 *Hali Hatan* 2.
- 10 *Hizen* 2.
- 11 *Zuleima.*
- 12 *Mahomet* 2.
- 13 *Hali.*
- 14 *Cacin.*
- 15 *Haja.*
- 16 *Abderramen* 4.
- 17 *Mahomet* 3.
- 18 *Hizen* 3.
- 19 *Ioar.*
- 20 *Mahomet* 4.

*We haue apparent Arguments in this seventh Booke, of the religious disposition in auncient Princes, in the resolution which two Kings of this age tooke, the one of Navarre, the other of Leon, to leave their regall Scepters and become Monkes: A president which was not rare in that age, but was afterwards imitated by others. Whether this proceeded from zeale of Religion, grounded upon any certain knowledge, or from baseness, and want of courage, or from meere ignorance of their ranks and royall callings, they can best iudge, who know by good and bolie instructions, what ordinary occasions Kings, and other Soueraigne Magistrates, haue in their lawfull calling, to set themselves, and to be truly religious.*

**D. Sancho Abarca, second of that name, and ninth King of Navarre.**

Navarre.

*D. Fortun king of Navarre, makes himselfe a Monke.*  
An. 901.



After the death of King *D. Garcia Inigues*, his sonne *D. Fortun* being come to the Crowne in Navarre and Arragon, about the yere 885, as we haue said in the former Booke, hauing reigned some years, being moued with deuotion, and seeing himselfe without children, and old, he became a Monke in the monasterie of *S. Sauueur* at Leyre, the which he hold was in the yere 901, leaving the realme of Navarre, and the earldome of Arragon, to *D. Sancho Abarca*, his brother, so called by reason of a certaine kind of breech which he ware: Who, they say, being come with the queene *D. Toda* his wife, to the said monasterie of Leyre, receiued the blessing

of his brother *D. Fortun*, from whom also they receiued a Crowne, with many other precious jewels.

The king *D. Sancho* had by this wife a sonne called *D. Garcia Sanches*, bearing his grandfather's and fathers names together: some giue him three sonnes more, *D. Ramir*, *D. Gonsal*, and *D. Ferdinand*. He had five daughters by her, whereof the eldest, called *D. Vrraca Ximenes*, was wife to *D. Alphonso* the fourth of that name, king of Ouiedo and Leon: the second, *D. Maria*, Countesse of Barcelone, being married to *D. Seniofrid*, the fifth Earle: the third, *D. Therefa*, who was married to *D. Ramir*, king of Ouiedo, brother to *D. Alphonso*: the fourth, *D. Sancho*, Countesse of Castille, the second wife of *D. Fernand Gonsales*: and the youngest was *D. Blanche Velsque*, whose marriage is vncertaine. This was a generous and worthie king, and in continuall warres against the Moores raising in Alaua, and vpon the confines of Navarre, whose lands he did often ouerrun, razed many places, and built others: the particularities whereof are vncertaine, by reason of the negligence or defect of writers of those times: but in generall they hold, that he did subject vnto his Crowne of either side, all the people which were betwixt his confines and the mountaines of Oca, of each side, following the course of Ebro vnto Tudele, and from the mountaine where Huefca: yea, passing the Pyrenes, he conquered from the French that part of Gascoine where the Basques are, which is at the foot of the mountaines: but whilest he was thus busied, the Moores came and besieged Pampelone, thinking to take it before that the king *D. Sancho* should come to succour it; but it happened otherwise: for the besieged were not onely relieued, but the Moores chased away, and pursued farre into their cuntry, with great losse of their men. In these warres the vertue and prowess of them of Sobrarbre and Ribagorfa was great, especially of a captaine called *Centullo*.

*The auncient confines of Navarre.*

**D. Alphonso, fourth of that name, and 16 King of Ouiedo and Leon.**

By the death of king *D. Fruela*, the kingdome of Ouiedo and Leon came to the children of *D. Ordogno*, and *Alphonso* the fourth, called the Monke and the blind, reigned: who hauing held the Crowne little about five yeares, and had had a sonne by *D. Vrraca Ximenes* his wife, which he called *D. Ordogno*, afterwards surnamed the bad, had a desire to become a Monke, and for want of courage to passe his life in idleness, leauing the charge which God had giuen him, to rule and gouerne the Christian people preferred in Spaine: wherefore he gaue his brother *D. Ramir* to vnderstand thereof, who was then resident at Viso, one of the frontiers of the Moores cuntry, persuaading him to come vnto him, meaning to resigne the Scepter of Ouiedo and Leon. These newes were not a little pleasing vnto *D. Ramir*, who presently came to Zamora, where king *D. Alphonso* remained, and was there seated by him in the royall throne. *D. Alphonso* retired himselfe into a Monasterie called *Dominus Sanctus*, at this day Sahagun, vpon the riuer Cea, a house built by king *D. Alphonso* the great, the third of that name.

*Ouiedo and Leon.*

*D. Alphonso leaueth his Crowne to become a Monke.*

**D. Ramir the second, and 17 King of Ouiedo and Leon.**

Thus *D. Ramir* became king beyond his expectation, in the yere 904, of Ouiedo and Leon. From that time the royall title was attributed to the citie of Leon, suppressing *Ouiedo*, for that it was the greatest towne, and best peopled of all this kings Estate. *D. Ramir* had by his wife *D. Therefa*, daughter to king *D. Sancho Abarca* of Navarre, three sonnes, *D. Bernund*, *D. Ordogno*, and *D. Sancho*; and one daughter *D. Eluira*, who was professed a Nunne in the Monasterie of *S. Sauueur*, in the citie of Leon, built by the king her father for her sake. The warres betwixt the Christians and the Moores, which had lyeu long dead, were now reuiued at the coming of this king, for the which he prepared himselfe. *D. Alphonso* (soone

*An. 904. Ouiedo suppresseth the kings title.*

*D. Alphonso repents that he became a Monke.*

*D. Alphonso bridged and taken by his brother.*

*D. Ramir puts out his brothers and his newes eyes.*

*Castille.*

*The commendable and fatherly care of a Prince.*

*D. Fernand Gonfalo, King of Castille.*

(soone wearie of his Monkish life, into the which he had rashly entred) repenting himselfe, that he had resigned his kingdome, meant to recouer it by armes, seizing vpon the towne of Leon, where he fortified himselfe with his confederates. D. Ramir hauing leued a great armie, with a designe to imploy it against the Infidels, was forced to turne head against his owne subjects, and came to the siege of Leon, the which continued two yeeres: in the end D. Alphonso being vnsumished of all necessaries, as well as of judgement, yielded to his brothers discretion, who kept him prisoner.

The children of king *Froila*, by reason of the warres betwixt the two brethren, did rise in Asturia, and the eldest, whose name was *Alphonso*, caused himselfe to be called King: the rest, with most part of the Asturians, did honour and reuerence him as their king. The confederates of this *Alphonso*, sonne to *Froila*, desirous to surprize king D. Ramir, gaue him to vnderstand, That if hee came with a small traine, they would turne to him: but D. Ramir considering wisely what was most profitable and safe, would not goe without great forces, with the which he vanquished the Asturians, and tooke the children of king *Froila*, the which he sent prisoners to Leon, with his brother D. *Alphonso*, whereas soone after he caused all their eyes to be put out, then (as if he had repented him of this rigour) he drew them out of prison, and confined them into the Monasterie of S. *Iulien*, not farre from the citie of Leon, the which he caused to be built for them, and there entreated them honourably, during their liues; where they were buried, with D. *Vrraca Ximena*, wife to king *Alphonso*.

4 These diuisions did the more assure the reuolt of Castille, and the new Estate of that countrey, vnder Iudges elected, whereof the two first being dead in the time of D. *Alphonso* the Monke, D. *Gonsalo Nuges* had succeeded in the gouernment of Castille. This knight was bred vp in all vertue, ciuilitie, and good behauiour, by the care of D. *Xugno Razara* his father, who being wife and vertuous, was carefull to giue him good masters, in all commendable exercises, worthe of a child issued from a noble familie: and moreover, had made all the best families of the countrey parakers of this happinesse, causing the gentlemen's sonnes of Castille to be bred vp with his sonne in the same discipline; so as in a short time the Court of Castille was furnished with as many gallant young gentlemen as any countrey in the world. Thereof grew a great loue and respect of the noblemen and knights, both fathers and sonnes, vnto their Gouernour, proceeding from the bond they had, to haue receiued by his meanes so good education and instruction; a benefit, which to speake truth doth exceed all the gifts and fauours a Prince can doe vnto his subjects. Scories are defective in relating the particular acts of these Earles or Iudges of Castille, although it be most certaine, that they wanted no subject of warre to defend themselues as well against the Moores, as against them of Leon and Ouedo. Their residence and iudiciall seat was at Bourgos, and in another towne of Castille the old, called in respect of them *Vjuefes*. D. *Gonsalo Nuges* had to wife D. *Ximena*, daughter to Cont D. *Xugno Fernandes*, who was slaine in prison, with the rest, by king D. *Ordogno*, and of them was borne the Earle D. *Fernand Gonfalo*, first proprietor of Castille, one of the discreetest and best accomplished knights of his age, who succeeded his deceased father, about the yeare 910, who for his interment caused the Monasterie of Arlanfa to be built, as the Monkes of that place report, who shew many marks and refulonies of this Earle or Gouernour D. *Gonsalo*, and of his wife D. *Ximena*, but ill agreeing with the computation of times, and the truth of the Histories. D. *Fernand Gonfalo* being established Earle and Iudge of Castille, during the time that king D. *Ramir* was at strife with his brother, and the children of king D. *Fruela*, he gouerned the estate of that Prouince in such sort, as peace and abundance lodged there, and the people held themselues most happie to haue such a Commandour. He did wonderfully affect religion, according to the time, and hauing no better instruction from the Pastors in those dayes, then it is to be presumed, he gaue himselfe superfluously to the works of pietie of that age, which was wholly imployed to build Churches, and to giue reuenues, for the entertainment of Priests and Monkes, and of their ceremonies. He had a particular deuotion to S. *Peter* and S. *Emilian*, whom the Castilians had chosen for their Patron and Protector of their countrey, as they of the kingdome of Leon did bye to S. *Jaques*. The Monasterie of S. *Peter* of Cardegna was his worke. He was just of his word, faithfull in his promises, and endowed with manie other

A other good gifts, which purchased him the fauour and loue of all men, and aduanced him to the dignitie of soueraigne Earle of Castille. He married twice: his first wife was D. *Vrraca*, by whom he had one daughter of that name: after whose decease, he tooke to wife D. *Sancho*, Infanta of Nauarre, daughter to king D. *Sancho Abaca*: he had many sons, but it is vncertaine by which of these 2 wiues they were borne, there remaining in a manner no other memorie of them, but the inscriptions of their tombes obserued by writers, at S. *Peters* of Cardegna: the names of his sons are, D. *Gonsalo Fernandes*, D. *Sancho Fernandes*, D. *Garcia Fernandes*, who was Earle after the father, it may be by the death of the two elder, D. *Pedro*, who had two sons, as it appears by the tombes at S. *Peter* of Cardegna, D. *Gonsalo Nuges*, and D. *Fernand Gonfalo*.

*Genealogie of Castille.*

B sales, and for the last D. *Baldwin*. Now this Earle D. *Fernand Gonfalo* began to carrie himselfe as a companion in armes, and no more subject to the kings of Leon: yet king D. *Ramir* hauing (after that he had subdued his rebellious kinsmen) led his armie into the territories of Toledo, taken the towne of Madril from the Moores, of whom (as we haue said) *Abderramen* was Miralumin and king at Cordoua, and razed the walls thereof, the Moores being desirous to be reuenged of the Christians for this affront, being entred with a great armie into the territorie of Castille, which was neere vnto them, and there done exceeding great harme, the Earle D. *Fernand Gonfalo* was forced to entreat K. *Ramir* to ioyne his forces with them of Castille, and to oppose them against the common enemy: the which he did, and hauing encountered the Moores neere to the towne of Olme, these two Princes gaue them battaile, and woon it, with great slaughter of the Infidels. *Aben-Aya* reigned at Saragosse, vnder *Abderramen Almanzor*, and was assailed by the victorious Christian armie, and forced to come to composition with king D. *Ramir*, by the which he made himselfe his vassale, and all his subjects, in the yeare 912: whereof some refusing to submit themselues to the Christians yoke, and rebelling against *Aben-Aya*, were forced to obedience by the Kings and Earles armie, who were no sooner retyred into their countries, but *Abderramen* incited at the reuolt of *Aben-Aya*, ran vpon him with all his power: but the Moore, who had not yielded vnto the Christians, but to avoid the present danger, submitted himselfe presently to the Miralumin, and returned to his seruice and obedience as before: then both together, with a mightie armie, entred the country of K. *Ramir*, spoyling it as farre as the towne of Simancas, whereas the Christians armie presented selfe in battaile, the which was one of the most memorabell that hath beene in Spaine, betwixt the Christians and the Mahumetists, where the Moores were defeated, and so great a number of them slaine, as many Authors affirme, they exceeded 80000. *Aben-Aya* was prisoner, and *Abderramen* forced to saue himselfe by flight with twentie horses onely. They hold, that it was in the yeare of our Lord 914, but there are letters of priuiledge and donation, which they call vow, made by Cont D. *Fernand Gonfalo*, in the Monasterie of S. *Emilian*, for this & other victories dated in the yeare 934, where it appears, that king D. *Ramir* was alone in this first battell, without the Castilians, and that he hauing put to rout a part of the Moores armie, the rest which retyred by Castille, were encountered by this Earle and his armie, who wholly defeated them; and then was the vow to S. *Emilian* accomplished, which seemes had beene made in the beginning of this warre, by all the Christian Princes raiguing in Spaine, for there is a confirmation thereof made by D. *Garcia Sanchez*, king of Nauarre. Eucric familie in Castille payed vnto the said Monasterie, by reason of this vow, some sheepe, some oxen, come, oates, wine, oyle, fish, waxe, cheefe, flax, yron, lead, and other things contained in their letters, from the riuer of Arga, which is in Nauarre, vnto that of Carrion, and from the mountaine of Araboya vnto the Biscane sea; whereby it appears, that that yeare 934 the country of Guisepusa was vnto the countie of Castille, being withdrawne from the realme of Nauarre, to the which it was afterwards annexed againe. The yeare of this battaile of Simancas, the Sunne was darkened for the space of an houre, and the starres were scene glittering, and as it were mouing in the firmament.

*Moores defeated.*

*Battaile of Simancas, and the great victory of the Christians.*

*An. 914.*

*Guisepusa a member of the realme of Nauarre.*

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F King D. *Ramir* after this victorie retyred into his countrey, carrying with him *Aben-Aya*, and a great number of other prisoners, with rich spoyles, but soone after he found himselfe engaged in a new warre by the practices of some knights of Leon, ill affected vnto the king, or ill rewarded by him: whatsoeuer the subject were, they conspired with a captain of the Moores, called *Acipha*, who entring into the countrey by the riuer of Tomes, spoyled all the territories of Salamanca and Ledesma; *Garribay* calls these knights which

*D. Alphonso repents that he became a Monk.*

*D. Alphonso is killed and taken by his brother.*

*D. Ramir puts out his brothers and his nephews eyes.*

*Castille.*

*The commendable and forthright care of a Prince.*

*D. Fernand is the first King of Castille.*

(soone wearie of his Monkish life, into the which he had rashly entred) repenting himselfe, that he had resigned his kingdom, meant to recover it by armes, seizing vpon the towne of Leon, where he fortified himselfe with his confederates. *D. Ramir* hauing leuied a great armie, with a designe to employ it against the Infidels, was forced to turne head against his owne subjects, and came to the siege of Leon, the which continued two yeares: in the end *D. Alphonso* being vnfurnished of all necessaries, as well as of judgement, yielded to his brothers discretion, who kept him prisoner.

The children of king *Froila*, by reason of the warres betwixt the two brethren, did rise in Asturia, and the eldest, whose name was *Alphonso*, caused himselfe to be called King: the rest, with most part of the Asturians, did honour and reuerence him as their king. The confederates of this *Alphonso*, sonne to *Froila*, desirous to surprize king *D. Ramir*, gaue him to vnderstand, That if hee came with a small traine, they would turne to him: but *D. Ramir* considering wisely what was most profitable and safe, would not goe without great forces, with the which he vanquished the Asturians, and tooke the children of king *Froila*, the which he sent prisoners to Leon, with his brother *D. Alphonso*, whereas soone after he caused all their eyes to be put out, then (as if he had repented him of this rigour) he drew them out of prison, and confined them into the Monasterie of *S. Iulien*, not farre from the citie of Leon, the which he caused to be built for them, and there entreated them honourably, during their liues; where they were buried, with *D. Vrraca Ximena*, wife to king *Alphonso*.

4 These diuisions did the more assure the reuolt of Castille, and the new Estate of that country, vnder Iudges elected, whereof the two first being dead in the time of *D. Alphonso* the Monke, *D. Gonfalo Nugnes* had succeeded in the gouernment of Castille. This knight was bred vp in all vertue, ciuilitie, and good behaviour, by the care of *D. Nugno Razura* his father, who being wise and vertuous, was careful to giue him good masters, in all commendable exercises, worthe of a child issued from a noble familie: and moreover, had made all the best families of the country partakers of this happineffe, causing the gentlemens sonnes of Castille to be bred vp with his sonne in the same discipline; so as in a short time the Court of Castille was furnished with as many gallant young gentlemen as any country in the world. Thereof grew a great loue and respect of the noblemen and knights, both fathers and sonnes, vnto their Gouernour, proceeding from the bond they had, to haue received by his meanes so good education and instruction; a benefit, which to speake truth doth exceed all the gifts and fauours a Prince can doe vnto his subjects. Stories are defective in relating the particular acts of these Earles or Iudges of Castille, although it be most certaine, that they wanted no subject of warre to defend themselves as well against the Moores, as against them of Leon and Ouedo. Their residence and iudiciall seat was at Bourgois, and in another towne of Castille the old, called in respect of them *Vijuefes*. *D. Gonfalo Nugnes* had to wife *D. Ximena*, daughter to Cont *D. Nugno Fernandez*, who was slaine in prison, with the rest, by king *D. Ordogno*, and of them was borne the Earle *D. Fernand Gonfales*, first proprietarie of Castille, one of the discreetest and best accomplished knights of his age, who succeeded his deceased father, about the yeare 910, who for his interment caused the Monasterie of Arlanfa to be built, as the Monkes of that place report, who shew many marks and rellunomies of this Earle or Gouernour *D. Gonfalo*, and of his wife *D. Ximena*, but ill agreeing with the computation of times, and the truth of the Histories. *D. Fernand Gonfales* being established Earle and Iudge of Castille, during the time that king *D. Ramir* was at strife with his brother, and the children of king *D. Fruela*, he gouerned the estate of that Province in such sort, as peace and abundance lodged there, and the people held themselves most happie to haue such a Commander. He did wonderfully affect religion, according to the time, and hauing no better instruction from the Pastors in those dayes, then it is to be presumed, he gaue himselfe superfluously to the works of pietie of that age, which was wholly employed to build Churches, and to giue reuenues, for the entertainment of Priests and Monkes, and of their ceremonies. He had a particular deuotion to *S. Peter* and *S. Emilian*, whom the Castilians had chosen for their Patron and Protector of their country, as they of the kingdom of Leon did to *S. Iuques*. The Monasterie of *S. Peter* of Cardega was his worke. He was just of his word, faithfull in his promises, and endowed with manie

other good gifts, which purchased him the fauour and loue of all men, and aduanced him to the dignitie of soueraigne Earle of Castille. He married twice: his first wife was *D. Vrraca*, by whom he had one daughter of that name: after whose deceasse, he tooke to wife *D. Sancha*, Infanta of Nauarre, daughter to king *D. Sancho Abarca*: he had many sons, but it is vncertaine by which of these 2 wiues they were borne, there remaining in a manner no other memorie of them, but the inscriptions of their tombes obserued by writers, at *S. Peters* of Cardega: the Earle after the father, it may be by the death of the two elder, *D. Pedro*, who had two sons, as it appears by the tombes at *S. Peter* of Cardega. *D. Gonfalo Nugnes*, and *D. Fernando Gonfales*, and for the last *D. Baldwin*. Now this Earle *D. Fernand Gonfales* began to carrie himselfe as a companion in armes, and no more subject to the kings of Leon: yet king *D. Ramir* hauing (after that he had subdued his rebellious kinsmen) led his armie into the territories of Toledo, (taken the towne of Madril from the Moores, of whom (as we haue said) *Abderramen* was Miralumin and king at Cordoua, and razed the walls thereof, the Moores being desirous to the reuenged of the Christians for this affront, being entred with a great armie into the territorie of Castille, which was neere vnto them, and there done exceeding great harme, the Earle *D. Fernand Gonfales* was forced to entreat *K. Ramir* to ioyne his forces with them of Castille, and to oppose them against the common enemy: the which he did, and hauing encountered the Moores neere to the towne of Olme, these two Princes gaue them battaile, and won it, with great slaughter of the Infidels. *Aben-Aya* reigned at Saragoffe, vnder *Abderramen Almanzor*, and was assailed by the victorious Christian armie, and forced to come to composition with king *D. Ramir*, by the which he made himselfe his vassale, and all his subjects, in the yeare 912: whereof some refusing to submit themselves to the Christians yoke, and rebelling against *Aben-Aya*, were forced to obedience by the Kings and Earles armie, who were no sooner retyred into their countries, but *Abderramen* incited at the reuolt of *Aben-Aya*, ran vpon him with all his power: but the Moore, who had not yielded vnto the Christians, but to auoid the present danger, submitted himselfe presently to the Miralumin, and returned to his seruice and obedience as before: then both together, with a mightie armie, entred the country of *K.*

*D. Ramir*, spoyling it as farre as the towne of Simancas, whereas the Christians armie presented it selfe in battaile, the which was one of the most memorable that hath bene in Spaine, betwixt the Christians and the Mahumetists, where the Moores were defeated, and so great a number of them slaine, as many Authors asseure, they exceeded 80000. *Aben-Aya* was prisoner, and *Abderramen* forced to saue himselfe by flight with twentie horses onely. They held, that it was in the yeare of our Lord 914, but there are letters of priuiledge and donation, which they call vow, made by Cont *D. Fernand Gonfales*, in the Monasterie of *S. Emilian*, for this & other victories dated in the yeare 914, where it appears, that king *D. Ramir* was alone in this first battell, without the Castilians, and that he hauing put to rout a part of the Moores armie, the rest which retyred by Castille, were encountered by this Earle and his armie, who wholly defeated them; and then was the vow to *S. Emilian* accomplished, which seemes had beene made in the beginning of this warre, by all the Christian Princes reigning in Spaine, for there is a confirmation thereof made by *D. Garcia Sanchez*, king of Nauarre. Euerie familie in Castille payed vnto the said Monasterie, by reason of this vow, some sheepe, some oxen, come, oates, wine, oyle, fish, waxe, cheefe, flax, yron, lead, and other things contained in their letters, from the riuier of Arga, which is in Nauarre, vnto that of Carrion, and from the mountain of Araboya vnto the Bilcane sea; whereby it appears, that that yeare 914 the country of Guipuscoa was vnto the countie of Castille, being withdrawne from the realme of Nauarre, to the which it was afterwards annexed againe. The yeare of this battaile of Simancas, the Sunne was darkened for the space of an houre, and the starres were seene glittering, and as it were mouing in the firmament.

*F* King *D. Ramir* after this victorie retyred into his country, carrying with him *Aben-Aya*, and a great number of other prisoners, with rich spoiles; but soone after he found himselfe ingaged in a new warre by the praides of some knights of Leon, ill affected vnto the king, or ill rewarded by him: whatsoeuer the subject were, they conspired with a captain of the Moores, called *Acipha*, who entring into the country by the riuier of Tornes, spoyled all the territories of Salamanca and Ledesma: *Garribay* calls these knights which

*Genealogie of Castille.*

*Moore's defeat.*

*Battaile of Simancas, and the great victorie of the Christians.*

*An. 914.*

*Guipuscoa a member of the realme of Nauarre.*

which had conspired against their king, *D. Fernand Gonçales*, *D. Diego Xepages*, and *D. Rodrigo*, who did great harme with their owne forces, in the Affaires; but king *D. Ramir* (although it may be he had giuen subject of the rebellions, by his austieritie, or ingratitude) surmounted them: being often scene, that God doth most commonly fauor and support the royall Majestie against rebellious subjects, how iust fouer their cause be, referring to himselfe the immediate punishment of tyrants. Wherefore the Moores were not only repulsed, but also these knights were taken and brought to Leon, and to the castle of Gordon, from whence notwithstanding the king freed them within few dayes after, without any other punishment, than their promises and oathes, to continue loyall and faithfull. So as having been too rigorous against his owne blood, he was too mild and remisse to these, who had conspired with the Mahumetists, enemies of the Christian religion. These things paſt in the year 915.

King *Abderramen* grieved, that the warre againſt the Chriſtians ſucceeded not well for the good of his Eſtate, he began to perfecute the Chriſtians which lived vnder his commaund, yet ſome attribute this perfecution to his ſonne and ſucceſſor *Halihatan*.

The generall Historie of Spaine makes mention of a warre betwixt D. *Sancho* *Arias* of Nauarre, and D. *Fernand Gonçales*, Earle of Castille, grounded vpon the reparation of many damages done by the Nauarrois, passing and repassing through the countrey of Castille, vnder colour of making warre against the Moores: with whom the king D. *Sancho* made a peace, to the prejudice of the Castillans and others their neighbors; the which did much discontent them. Wherefore the Earle D. *Fernand* demanded restitution of the spoyle and excheff which had been committed in his countrey: but his messengers were sent back with injurious words and disgrace; by reason whereof they came to armes, and there was a

A sharpe encounter of two armies, in a place called Era de Gollanda, where there was much bloud spilt. The two Princes D. *Sancho* and D. *Fernandes* encountering during the fight, they ran one at another with such animosities, as both horse and men were overthrowne to the ground. The king D. *Sancho* was found dead with the charge of a lance, and D. *Fernandes* was wounded. This misfortune being knowne in the Nauarrois armie, daunted their courage.

ges, so as the Castellans went the field. The firme general Historie reports, that an Earle of Tolouse being come with a great armie to succour the king D. *Sancho*, being desirous to retouche the death of his friend and allie, and having joyned with the remainders of the forces of Nauarre, he was againe fought withall, vanquished, and flaine by D. *Fernand*, who deliuered the bodies of these Princes thus flaine to their subjects to burie them. Of the time of this defeat, or of the manner of D. *San. Abreca* death, there is no great certainte in that which is related in this general Historie, yett their conjecture it was about the year 920. It is without all question, that he was a valiant and courageous Prince, and so famous, that even at this day there is not so poore a woman in the kingdome of Nauarre, nor any other person (although he be ignorant of the name of other kings) which knows not that of D. *Sancho Abreca*: all which please and make an honourable mention of him, as of a wife and vertuous Prince. He did defende the limits of Nauarre, conquering much on euerie side from the Moores, euen along the riuer of Ebro, whereof a castlle nere unto Saragoße doth beare witness, which carries his name vnto this day. There are many other markes found of him in Spaine: the castlle of Ses, and that of Arrafate (since called Mondragon) in Guipufcoa, (but ruined at this day) are his workes. They hold, that he did people the towne of Logroño in Rioje, and walled it about. There is ample mention made of him in a Charter of priuilege and donation, of the places of S. Vincent and Ledena, to the Monasterie of S. Saluator de Leyre, dated in the year 919, whereby many things which are written doubtfully of this king, are made plain and confirmed: among others, it appears thereby, that he was sonne to D. *Garcia Iniguez*, brother to D. *Fortun*, and husband to D. *Toda*.

About this time, king D. *Ramir* desirous to enlarge his kingdom, and to diminish the power of the Moores in Spaine, led a mightie armie into the countrey of Toledo, so as in the year 923 he befieged Talavera, called at this present, La Roïna: and as the Moores came to succour it, he gaue them battaile, where he slew twelue thousand, and tooke feneuen thousand prisoners. This was the last exploit of warre which this king did. A litle before he had married his sonne D. *Ordoño* to D. *Fruca*, daughter to the Earle of Castille, D. *Fern*...

God is not  
pleased with  
rebellion, no  
though the  
Prince be a  
tyrant.

An. 915.  
Moore's.

**Наметте.**

*Warre betwixt  
Navarre and  
Castille, for in-  
iurie done to  
the ambassadors  
of Castille.*

*D. Sancho A-  
barca king of  
Nauarre slaine  
by the Castillans.*

The worthie  
memorie of D.  
Sancho Abarca.

**LEN.**

**An.922.**

**Moore's defeated**

Lib. 7. **A**mand Confales, and by this marriage he confirmed a peace, and renewed the accords made with the Caffilians. The rest of his dayes, which were but short, he employed in religious works, according to those times, and as he was persuaded by the Pastors and Bishops. This king caused the Monasterie of S. Sauveur of Leon to be built, there to lodge his daughter D. *Elmira*. Moreover, he founded a Monasterie to S. *Andrew*; one of S. *Christopher*, vpon the river *Ca*; one of the virgin *Marie* vpon *Duero*; one of S. *Michel* called Desfrinca, in the valley of *Or-*  
*ne*; in which things he was diligent and prodigall, and alwaies assisted by D. *Theresa* the queen his wife. He died in the year 924 of his natural death at Leon, where he was buried  
An. 924.

6 In this kings raigne, Cont *Geoffrey* the haire died at Barcelone, hauing enjoyed the Principalltie of Cattelgne (since the renoumiation made vnto him of thole lands in propriety, by *Charles* the Groffe, Emperour and King of France) thirtie yeares, and lyes at S. Pabulo. After him, his sonne D. *Mir* was Earle, in the yeare 914, of whom we read no memorable thing. He married somewhat late, and begat three children, the first was called D. *Seniofrid*, who was Earle of Barcelone after his father, the second D. *Olban*, he was surnamed *Cheurette*, by reason of a bodily infirmite, whereunto he was subject; for when he would speake, he must of force scrape the earth, before he could pronounce a word, he had such an impediment in his speech: he had for his portion the Countie of Cerdagne and Besalu, after the decease of his father. The third called D. *Mir*, was Earle and Bishop of Gironne. All his children were young at the decease of the Earle their father, who made D. *Seniofrid*, Earle of Vrgel, his brother, executor, to order his childrens portions: he ruled Cattelogne fifteene yeares, and lyes in the Monastier of Ripol.

D. Ordogno the third, and 18 King of Leon.

7 <sup>LEVI.</sup> *TOD. Ramir* of Leon succeeded *D. Ordogno* his second sonne, in the year 924, but the titles and letters of Monasteries and Churches of Spaine, as of *S. Iaques* of Compostella, of *S. Emilian* of Cogolla, of *S. Felix* of Oca, of priuiledges, donations, and confirmations granted vnto them by king *D. Ramir*, and other noblemen of his time, shew, that he was yet living in the year 934: but there is little certaintie in the computation of these kings reignes, nor in the charters which are produced by men of our time. This Prince *D. Ordogno* is commended by the Spaniards to have bene mild and courteous, so as he was generally beloued of his subjects. He had some croffes in the beginning of his reign, by the flatterers and corruptors of young Princes (an ordinarie plague in Courts) who debaucht his younger brother *D. Sancho*, and perswaded him to rebell against him, who fled into Nauarre, to be assisted with the forces of that kingdom to execute his designe. <sup>Flatterers make Kings rebell against their kingdome brother.</sup>

D. Garcia Sanches, fourth of that name, and tenth  
King of Navarre.

8 **T**Here are some errors which are remarkable in this place in stories; that is, who reigned at that time in Navarre: for some hold, that the young Prince *D. Sancho* had recourse unto king *D. Sancho Abasca*, his grandfather by the mothers side: others say, it was to his sonne *Garcia Sanches*, the which is more probable, the most diligent Authors affirming, that the king *D. Sancho Abasca* died during the reign of *D. Ramir*, father to this king *D. Ordoño*, about the year 920, having reigned twentie years or little lesse over his subjects, and valiantly repulld the Infidell Moores, gouerning in Alaua, and elsewhere in his contries, to whom his sonne *D. Garcia Sanches* succeeded in the realme of Navarre and Countie of Arragon. Wherefore without all doubt Prince *D. Sancho*, brother to *D. Ordoño* of Leon, had recourse unto him, and by his meanes was also fauoured by Cont *D. Fernand* of Castille, the warres being pacified betwixt the Castillans and the Nauarros: of which nations having raised a great armie, these three Princes entred the territories of king *D. Ordoño*, and marcht as farre as the royall citie of Leon: but king *D. Ordoño* had so wisely prou-

provided for his affaires, as they were forced to returne, and to abandon their enterprise, reaping nothing for their paine, but the hatred of the king of Leon; the which did so incense him, as he put away his wife D. *Vrraca*, daughter to the Earle D. *Fernand Gonçales*, and married a Ladie called D. *Eluira*, by whom he had a sonne, called D. *Bernard*, which came to the Crowne of Leon. By reason of these troubles, the Gallegos, or they of Galicia rebelled against king D. *Ordono*; but he soon reduced them to their obedience by armes: and being encouraged by this happy successe, he entered into the Moores country, and passed the riuers of Duero and Minio, wasting the country with fire and sword, euen vnto Lisbonne, finding not any one to make head against him, so as he returned safe with his armie, laden with great spoyle; and without any great stay being incensed with the iniurie which he had received from *Fernand* Earle of Castille, who had fauored and succoured D. *Sancho* his brother, who was rebelled, marcht with his forces towards Castille, with an intent to doe him all the harme he could.

Castille.

The wisdome and dexteritie of D. *Fernand* was such, as of an enimie he made him a friend, so as he returned into his country well satisfied, and after that time they joyned their forces together to annoy the Moores: whose king *Abderramen* residing at Cordoua, desirous to reuenge the outrages which the Christians and their king D. *Ordono* had done in the territories of Lisbonne, and others of those marches, hauing also a new subiect by the taking of his castle of Catranso, by the Earle D. *Fernand*, he rayfed a mightie armie of Moores, in the which they say was about 80000 fighting men: and hauing giuen charge thereof to a Moorish knight much esteemed, whom they called *Alhagib Almanzor*, he sent him into the territories of Castille, the which did much trouble D. *Fernand*, for that all his forces of Castille were small to oppose against so mightie a power as that of the Moores, wherefore he demanded succours, and obtained them from king D. *Ordono*; yet Castille was overrun by the Moores armie, from S. Steuen of Gormas vnto Burgos. In the end, D. *Fernand* did so pursue them, as hee forced them to fight, neere vnto a place called Dozio, where the Moores were defeated, with great slaughter of their men. The Spaniards report, That D. *Fernand* was foretold of this defeat of the Moores by a holie hermit, dwelling neere to Lara, called *Pelagus*, and that the armie being farre one from the other, D. *Fernand* being encamped in that place, he had a desire to hunt, and hauing rowzed a Boare, he pursued him to the hermits cell, where he shut him vp. There was a Chappell and an Altar dedicated to S. *Peter*, for the reuerence whereof the Earle would doe no harme vnto this beast. Whilest he layed there, the hermit arriued, who entreated the Earle to lodge that night with him and his religious, being late, the which he did. In the morning the hermit *Pelagus* revealed vnto the Earle, that he should be victor ouer this great armie of Moores, exhorting him to take courage, and to trust in God, and aboue all to remember the poore Friets, when he had gotten this victorie. So the Earle returned to his armie so full of hope, as no counsell could dissuade him from the Moores armie, being great and mightie, with a handfull of men; and he had the victorie, as we haue said. Returning to Burgos, he remembered the religious, whom he made partakers of the spoyle, and in time build a Monastie for them to S. *Peter*, L vpon the riuer of Arlance, and gaue it good revenues, where this Earle and his successours were afterwards buried. The Moores hauing leuied new troupes, returned into Castille, and were againe vanquished by the Castilians and Nauarros, about the yeare 927, and neere vnto the towne of S. Steuens, vpon the riuer of Duero.

The king D. *Ordono* hauing rayfed a new armie a little before, to invade the Moores, he was surprisid with sicknesse in the towne of Zamora, where he died the fift yere of his raigne, and of our redemption 929, which opinion is not verie certaine.

9 In which yeare they hold, that D. *Mir* Earle of Barcelone also died, and to him succceeded his sonne *Seniofrid*, according to his will and testament.

## D. Sancho the first, and 19 King of Leon.

10 T O D. *Ordono* there succceeded in the realme of Leon D. *Sancho* his brother, who was sumamed the fat, for that he was exceeding corpulent; wherefore it seemes he

D. *Ordono* king of Leon put away his wife D. *Vrraca*.

D. *Bela* of Nagera troubles the king of Castille.

An hermit foretelling the Earle of Castille his victorie.

A monastie of S. *Peter* of Arlance, build by *Fernand* and his religious.

Leon.

An. 929.

Leon.

A he was more carefull to pamper his bodie, then to attempt any great actions: and for that in those dayes the Arabians had the fame to be verie expert in the art of Philicke; and that the towne of Cordoua was full of such people, especially the Court of king *Abderramen*, he entertained friendship with this king, and went to Cordoua, that he might haue aduice and helpe for his indisposition; wherein *Abderramen* shewed himselfe courteous and faithfull, receiving him with all the honour fit for such a king, and furnishing him with the best Physicians of his Court, by whose diligence and iudgement he was freed from the infirmities which had long troubled him.

Arabian Physicians in great request.

Whilest that D. *Sancho* was in the Physicians hands at Cordoua, the Leonois conspired against him, and did aduance to the royall throne D. *Ordono*, surnamed the bad, sonne to D. *Alphonso* the Mouke, whereunto they were sollicitid by D. *Fernand Gonçales*, Earle of Castille, whose daughter D. *Vrraca*, who had bene rejected by D. *Ordono* last deceased, they caused this other *Ordono* to marrie: but D. *Sancho* being aduertised of these newes at Cordoua, he entreated king *Abderramen* to continue him his fauour and friendship, and as he had bene the meanes for the recouerie of his bodily health, so he would also assist him to maintaine his estate and dignitie: Whereunto the king did verie kindly consent, and gaue him great troupes of his nation and sect, with the which he marched towards his country, the which he recovered without any great difficultie, for that the conspirators of the country could not of themselves resist so great forces. And as for the Earle D. *Fernand*, he had toke worke ynough in his owne country, whereas a nobleman, called D. *Bela de Nagera*, had put all in trouble and sedition during his absence, in laying the plot against the king D. *Sancho*, with them of Leon; who being vnprovided of force and counsell, retired with D. *Ordono* into the Asturias, to liue there in the mountaines and places of strength: but D. *Ordono* not finding himselfe safe ynough in those parts, he fled into Castille, to his father in law, who observed in that, and other actions of his, a notable cowardise: whereat, he was so incensed, as he tooke his daughter *Vrraca* from him, and chased him out of his country. So D. *Ordono* not knowing whither to flye, went vnto the Moores, but he was slaine neere vnto Cordoua.

Rebellion in the kingdom of Leon.

D. *Bela* de Nagera troubles the king of Castille.

This partie of the Moores had bene embraced with better successe, a little before, by D. *Castille*. D. *Bela de Nagera*, who had rebelled against the Earle D. *Fernand*, and was expelled by him; who it may be perswaded the expedition which was made into Castille, in the yeare 931, by king *Abderramen*, vnder the commaund of *Alhagib Almanzor*, who had alreadie (to his losse) tryed the force of the Christians, as we haue said: against whom, D. *Fernand* hauing fortified himselfe with the succours of the Biscaines, and of their Lord D. *Lope Diaz*, who was grandchild to D. *Suria*, and sonne to D. *Inigo*, surnamed *Esguerra*, which signifieth deafe in the country language, and with other friends his neighbors, he presented himselfe in bataille neere to Hazines, where they fought three severall daies, with great obstinacie on either side: but in the end the Moores were vanquished, and lost more men than they had done in the former battles. The Spanish writers make mention here of another apparition of S. *Iaques*, fighting for the Christians against the Infidels, to whom they attribute the honor of this victorie.

An. 931.

Moores defeated.

E for the Christians against the Infidels, to whom they attribute the honor of this victorie. The king D. *Sancho* being restored, he married D. *Theresa*, and hauing punished some confederats of this rebellion, he made a generall assemblie of noblemen; both of his subiects and allies, at Leon. D. *Fernand Gonçales* could not well excuse himselfe, wherefore he went well accompanied, and was notwithstanding verie honourably entertained by the king. They reported, That among other exquisite things which D. *Fernand* brought out of Castille, to make shew of in that Court, he had a goodly horse, and one of the best Goshawkes that could be fene, whereof the king was wonderfully desirous, causing some to entreat the Earle to sell them to him, and that he should aske what price he pleased. The Earle answered, That he would willingly giue them vnto the king, but he would not sell them: but the king would not receive them of gift, but made such meanes by his friends to buy them, as in the end there was a price set, which was to be payed at a certaine time, vpon condition, That if the king failed at the day of payment, the summe agreed vpon should be doubled, to the benefit of the creditor: of which accord there were letters drawne and signed. The rest of the time which D. *Fernand* remained in the king D. *Sancho* his Court, was spent in pleasure.

Arsof bergaine made seruise. Princes vnport, and entertained by force.

In



In the end of the Affenbly, there was a particular treatie of the marriage of D. *Fernand*, a widower, with D. *Sancho* the Infanta of Nauarre, daughter to D. *Sancho Abasco*, and sister to D. *Garcia*, then reigning in Nauarre, and Arragon. This marriage was propounded by the Queene D. *Theresa*, mother to the king D. *Sancho Garço*, and sister to D. *Sancho*; not for any loue she bare to the Earle of Castille, but to intap him in the snare which she had prepared for him, in hatred and reuenge of the death of king *Sancho Abasco* her father, whom he had slaine in warre, as we haue said before. The Earle consented to this marriage, and tooke his leaue of the King and Queene, and of the Noblemen of the Court, and went into Castille, to prepare himselfe for his future marriage: but he found, that during his absence the Nauarrois had spoiled his country, and done many acts of hostilitie against his subjects; whereof he complained first by embassages and messages, and demanded restitution of that which had beene taken, but it was in vaine: Wherefore being a Prince full of courage, he went presently to armes, and entred into the territories of Nauarre, where he encountered an armie of Nauarrois, and defeated it, and so righted himselfe.

Warre betwixt  
Castille and  
Nauarre.

Nauarre.

The treatie of marriage was still continued, by the meanes of the Queene mother of Leon, sister to D. *Sancho*, Infanta of Nauarre, who had plotted with the king D. *Garcia Sanchez*, her brother, to entrap the Earle vnder this colour of marriage, and to be reuenged of him at their pleasures. There was such sending on either part, as in the end the Earle was persuaded to goe into Nauarre to conclude this marriage, and hauing agreed with D. *Garcia*, king of Nauarre. That their interview should be at a place called Circuega, either of them accompanied with fise knights only. The Earle being arriued, the king came with fise and thirtie horsemen: wherefore the Earle seeing himselfe thus surprisid, thought to saue himselfe in an hermitage neere adioyning, but the holiness of the place could not defend him, but he was besieged, and forced to yeeld, vpon condition they should not put him to death. Being taken, he was shut vp in a fort called Chasteau Vieil, or the old castle, and but hardly entreated. A while after, an Italian knight of Lumbardie, going in pilgrimage to Saint *Iagues* of Compostella, that way, and hearing that the Earle D. *Fernand* was detained prisoner there, he was verie desirous to see him, for that he had heard so much fame of his vertues and valour, and at length found meanes to speake with him. At his departure from thence, this knight went to the Infanta D. *Sancho*, who was both faire and Iouelie, whose heart he did so mollifie with good words, as she began to loue, and to desire D. *Fernand*'s libertie and companie. This Ladie moued with this affection, wrought in such sort, as one night she deliuered him out of prison, hauing plighted their faithes, and promised marriage one vnto the other, without the priuie of the king D. *Garcia Sanchez*, and together tooke their way to Castille, where they had scarce entred the limits, but they met with great troupes of souldiours. These were the Earles subjects, who vpon the newes of his imprisonment had assembled themselves together in armes, and hauing made an Image like vnto their Lord, they had all taken a solemne oath before it, That not any one of them should returne vnto his house, vntill the Earle were deliuered, and that whosoever should doe otherwise, should be held for a traitor. Being thus resolu'd, they came into Nauarre, when as they had this happie encounter of the Earle D. *Fernand*, and the Countesse D. *Sancho* his spouse, whom they receiued with all the honour and signes of joy, that the place and their furniture would permit.

D. *Fernand* Earle of Castille  
surprisid in Nauarre,  
and detained prisoner.

D. *Fernand* of  
Castille deliuered  
out of prison.

Some of his  
subjects to their Prince.

Castille.

Nauarrois de-  
feated, and the  
king D. *Garcia*  
*Sancho* taken  
prisoner.

The king D. *Garcia Sanchez* being aduertised of his sisters flight, and the Earles deluerie, was wonderfully incensed; he leued an armie, and entred into the territories of Castille, whereas the Earle came to encounter him with a great power, and gaue him battaile, in the which the Nauarrois were defeated, and the king D. *Garcia* taken prisoner, being overthrown with the blow of a lance, by the Earle himselfe, who had fought for him, and encountered him in the fight. So he was led to Burgos, and there remained thirteene moneths in safe keeping. Then at the entreatie of the Countesse D. *Sancho* he was set at libertie, and sent into his country honourably attended. Yet for all this, the quarrels betwixt Castille and Nauarre were not ended: for a while after, the Earle D. *Fernand* being gone to Leon, the

A the king of Nauarre came againe with an armie, by the mountaines of Oca and Bureua, and ran as farre as Burgos, doing what he could to persuaide the Countesse D. *Sancho* to goe away with him, but she would giue no eare to him; wherefore he returned with a great bootie, hauing much spoiled the country. The Earle at his returne being informed of all which the king of Nauarre had attempted, complained first by embassages, and demanded reparation of damages which his subjects had endured, and hauing no reason done him, nor any good answer made, he tooke the course of armes, and led an arriere into Nauarre, where he gaue battaile vnto his enemies on the plaines of Valpierre, neere to Nagera and Brion, where the Nauarrois were manie in number, and well appointed. Those of Castille were in great danger, yet the equitie of their quarrell gaue them force and courage, so as they remained victors, and the Earle had full satisfaction of the wrongs and injuries which the king of Nauarre had done him. Such were the occasions, progresse, and end of the quarrels, betwixt Nauarre and Castille, according to the Spanish Chronicles, to the year of our Lord 934. After this, the country of Castille was in peace for a time, and the Earle D. *Fernand* had no other care, but to gouerne his subjects well, vnder good lawes, when as in Leon there was great trecherie practised against him, by the king D. *Sancho*, who was sorrie that the designs of Nauarre had not succeeded as he desired.

Another defeat  
of Nauarre.

An. 934.

This king made an Assembly of all the Earles and Noblemen, and appointed his Court in the cite of Leon, whither the Earle of Castille was also called: who although he were sufficiently informed, whence all the wrongs came that were done him, and of the little good they wist him in that Court, yet could he find no meanes to excuse himselfe, and (which was worse) there were verie few of his friends. Being come to the gates of the cite, he might easily perceiue that he was not welcome, for that no man came to meet him, as they had done at other times; wherefore he entred into the cite like a private man, and of meane estate. Comming to kisse the kings hands, he was receiued with a frowning countenance, and sower speeches, telling him, that he detained the Earle of Castille from him: Whereupon the Earle seeking to satisfie the king with good reasons, hee was not heard, but put in sure gard, and kept in the cite of Leon, in the year 936.

The Earle of  
Castille kept  
prisoner in Leon.

An. 936.

The newes of his restraint did much trouble all Castille, but especially the Countesse, whom the good and well affected knights of Castille fought by all meanes they could to comfort, promising all their meanes for the Earles deliuerie. This Ladie being of a noble courage, and confirmed by the loyaltie she found in his subjects, put her selfe presently vpon the way, being accompanied by the chiefe of the nobilitie of the country, and going by secret and vnknowne passages, shee came neere vnto the cite of Leon; where shee left her troupes in ambush, and taking the habit of a pilgrime, pretending to goe and see the sepulchre of S. *Iagues*, shee entred into the cite, being accompanied onely with two men. The king being presently aduertised of the Countesses arriuall, he came vnto her, and desirous to doe her honour, being his aunt, he suffered her to see her husband who was prisoner, and to remaine that night with him, and commanded for her sake, that they should take off his yrons, wherewith he was bound. These two lours passed that little time which was allowed them to be together, in comforting one another, and in praying vnto God; and hauing concluded betwixt themselves what was to be done, this vertuous Princess D. *Sancho* gaue an example to all her sex, of what power conjugall loue is in a generous heart: for the attyred her husband so handsomely in her pilgrimes weed, as the keepers of the prison being deceived therewith, let him goe, thinking it had beene shee. The Countesse in the meane time remained prisoner: so as before they could discover the fraud, D. *Fernand* had meanes to get out of the towne, and to come vnto the knights, which lay in ambush, by whom hee was conducted into his country. This fact of the Countesse being reported vnto the king, he was so farre from blaming her, as admiring the force of so holie a loue, he deliuered her, honoured her, and sent her home to her husband, with a traine fit for her calling, although he were verie sorrie that the Earle had so elaped.

A rare example  
of coniugall  
loue.

Pertus is reu-  
enced euen of  
enemies.

T ij

The

The king *D. Sancho* was still a debtor to the Earle of Castille, not onely for the price of his horse and hawke, but also for the multiplication thereof, the day of payment being long before expired: wherefore the Earle sent to demand his money of the king: and hauling neither payment, nor good wordes, he began to spoyle the territories of Leon: whereupon the king commanded his Treasurers to verifie this debt, and to seeke for meanes to discharge it. The summe was so often doubled and multiplied, from day to day, after the terme prefixed; as they reported vnto the king, That all the wealth of the kingdom of Leon would not be sufficient to pay that which was due vnto the Earle of Castille: wherefore after manie consultations and messages sent on either part, the king *D. Sancho* and the Earle *D. Fernand* fell to an agreement, That the king to be freed of this excessive summe of money, did remit vnto the Earle *D. Fernand* the lands and seigniorities of Castille, to enjoy them absolutely, without any reservation of fealtie, homage, nor vassallage to the Crowne of Leon, but freely and as Soueraignes, he, and his in perpetuities, whereof letters were passed in the year 939. This was the meanes, as the Histori-  
 castille exempt  
 from all subdi-  
 tion by a solebly  
 bargain.  
 An 939.

castille exempt  
 from all subdi-  
 tion by a solebly  
 bargain.  
 An 939.

Moors.

This Arabian king, for his last exploit of warre, had sent an armie of Moores into the territories of Leon, which layed siege before the citie, from whence notwithstanding they were forced to retire, by the vertue and good gouernment of those that were within it, as well fouldiors as citizens. Soone after this king died, the which, according vnto some, was about the year nine hundred thirtie nine, and of the Arabians raigne three hundred twentie two, hauing raigned fiftie yeares in Spaine. Hee was a lover of learning, so as in his time, Philosophie, Phisicke, and all other Arts, did flourish at Cordoua.

Hali Hatan  
 a Soueraigne  
 King of the  
 Moors in  
 Spaine.

II *Hali Hatan* his sonne succeeded him, to whom king *D. Sancho* sent a great embassage, to treat a peace betwixt the two kingdomes, whereof *D. Velasco*, Bishop of Leon, was the chiefe, who had charge to demand the bodie of the infant *Pelagius*, slaine by king *Abderamen*, to make a relicke thereof.

Leon.  
 Sedition in Ga-  
 licia.

During this time, there arose a great tumult and sedition in Galicia, vpon certaine priuate mens quarrells, who slew one another cruelly, without any respect vnto the king nor iustice: Wherefore the king *D. Sancho* was forced to lead an armie thither, with the which he did punish some of the mutines, and did force some of the rest to leaue the country. They passed the riuer of Duero, and yet retired into a country which did belong vnto the iurisdiction of Leon, in that quarter, the which was gouerned by an Earle, or Gouernor, called *D. Gonsales*, vnder the king *D. Sancho*. This bad vassale, in stead of supporting the kings iustice against these mutines, tooke armes in their fauour, and was so rash as to oppose himselfe against the kings forces, which pursued them into his gouernment: but remembering his owne follie in time, he had recourse to the the kings clemencie, who pardoned him, making him onely to confesse his fault, and to take a new oath of fealtie: yet this trecherous and ingratefull wretch, smothering in his breast the venome of treason, within few dayes after poysoned his king and naturall Prince with an apple which he gaue him. The king, who distrusted nothing, did presently bite of it, but his heart being suddainely infected with the poyson, he began to shake, and to shew other signes that he was stricken with death; wherefore he made hast to returne to Leon, but he died vpon the way, in the twelfth year of his raigne, and of our redemption 941, and lyes at S. Sauours in Leon. He had by his wife *D. Theresa* one sonne, called  
 D. Ramir,

Notable dispo-  
 sition.

*D. Ramir*, who succeeded him in the realme of Leon. They find it written, That a little before his death there were great flames of fire seene rise out of the Ocean, the which being carried vp into Spaine, burnt a great country, and manie villages, as farre as Zamora.

In the meane time the Earle of Vrgel gouerned in Barcelone and Cattelogne, as tu-  
 Barcelon.  
 tor to his nephewes, sonnes vnto the Earle *D. Mir*, the last deceased, being vnder age, whereof the eldest, to whom the Earledome belonged, was called *D. Senofrid*, as his tu-  
 B Barcelon and Cattelogne was gouerned by him in qualitie of tutor, for the space of  
 twenty yeares.

The religion of Spaine in those times was wholly reduced to the seeking out of Mar-  
 Religio in  
 tyrs bones, and other reliques. The building of Monasteries, gifts, and foundations, were  
 held molt meritorious, as well for the liuing as for the dead. The inuocation of Saints  
 deceased, whose victories, peace, and other prosperities, well knowne to the world, were  
 then in credit. Most of the Bishops and Pastors were either verie prophane, or exceeding  
 superstitious and ignorant.

In the raigne of *D. Ramir*, *Ordogno* the third, and *Sancho* the far, there had bene Bi-  
 shops of Compotella, after *Sisenand* the fourth, *Gundesin*, who was much vnlike vnto his  
 predecessor in holinesse of life, whose health was obtained by the prayers which his mo-  
 C ther (a verie deuout woman) made continually (as the Spaniards say) before *S. Iagues* Se-  
 pulchre, which the Angelicall voices (heard at the Bishops decease) did witnesse; after  
 whom, *Hermigila* was chosen, a very prophane man: then came *Sisenand*, as bad as the other.  
 You may conjecture, that the other Bishoppicks were no better furnished then that of  
 Compotella. These kings made foundations, and gaue infinite priuiledges to Abbots  
 and other Clergie men, for the redemption of their soules, and of their predecessors, as  
 their letters aboue mentioned containe.

*D. Garcia Sanchez*, king of Nauarre, did also confirme the vow of *S. Emilian* in his  
 country, by letters dated in the year nine hundred thirtie foure. The Bishops did the  
 D like for their parts. *Galinde* Bishop of Pampelone, for the great deuotion which he had vn-  
 to the Couent of S. Sauour of Leyra (where sometimes had bene the Episcopall seat of  
 Pampelone) gaue vnto the Abbot and religious of that place all the titles of the Archpre-  
 birene of the valley of Onfella, by an Instrument dated nine hundred thirtie eight. The  
 king *D. Garcia*, and *D. Theresa* his wife, gaue Villar de la Tour, neere vnto Nagera, with all  
 the territorie and iurisdiction, to the same Monasterie, in the year nine hundred fortie  
 three. Moreouer, by other letters, dated in the year nine hundred fortie foure, *D. Garcia*,  
 and the Queene his wife, and *D. Galinde* the Bishop, (who is there called by the King, his  
 lord and master) confirme the donation of part of the titles belonging to the Bishop, of the  
 places aboue mentioned: And besides, there is another donation made of all that the king  
 E of Nauarre should conquer from the Moores, Infidels, and Barbarians.

### D. Ramir, the third of that name, and twentieth King of Leon.

12 IN the year nine hundred fortie one, *D. Ramir* was settled king at Leon: at whose  
 comming the Norman pyrats did much annoy the coast of Galicia. This king being  
 verie young, he was gouerned by the Queene *D. Theresa* his mother, and by *D. Elura*,  
 F filter to the deceased king his father, being a religious woman. The peace which had  
 bene treated with *Hali Hatan*, was confirmed by the mediation of the Bishop *D. Velasco*,  
 who was at Cordoua, at the death of *D. Sancho*, and had brought with him the bodie  
 of the infant *Pelagius*, the which was layed in a Monasterie built to that end by the deca-  
 sed king.  
 Monasterie of  
 S. Pelagius.

T iij

The

The Normanes which came into Galicia, being led by a capitaine called *Gundred*, spoyled all along the sea shore; and entering into the maine land, they burnt townes, villages, and castles, spoyling and putting all to the sword they encountered, holding as it werethe possession of Galicia for the space of two whole yeares, the which the king *D. Ramir* had no meanes to resist, by reason of his onage: yet in the end he was perswaded to send some troupes of souldiours, vnder the command of an Earle called *D. Gonfalo Sanchez*, who watched his opportunitie so well, as he defeated the Normanes, slew their capitaine *Gundred*, and burnt their shippes. *D. Sisenand* second Bishop of Compostella, had bene slaine by these pyrates: he was a turbulent man, and an vnworthie Prelate, of whom Histories report, that for his vices, prodigalitie, and lewd life, the king *D. Sancho* the fat had caused him to be put in prison; in whose place *Rodofinde* was chosen, a holie man and of good fame, a Monke of the Order of *S. Benet*: but after the death of *D. Sancho*, *Sisenana* being gotten out of prison, he came with force to enter his Bishopricke, being resolved to kill *Rodofinde*: the which he had effected, if this holie man had not willingly quit the place, returning to his Monasterie, where he ended the rest of his dayes. Afterwards, *Sisenand* pursuing the Normanes, being more fit to commaund souldiours then to gouerne the Church of Christ, hee was slaine with an arrow neere vnto Fomellos. Such were the Bishops for the most part in those times. The Estate of Leon was by this meanes peaceable, both within it selfe, and in regard of enemies abroad, hauing peace with the Moores.

King *Hali Hatan* being loth that the beginning of his raigne should passe without some famous exploit, being also solicited by *D. Bela* of Nagera, a knight of Alaua, who (as we haue said) had bene expelled by *D. Fernand*, Earle of Castille, and was retired to the Moores Court at Cordoua, hee rayled a mightie armie, the which hee sent to ruine the Earle of Castille (against whom he had a spleene, for the former warres) and tooke from him Sepuluedas, *S. Estienne* of Gormas, and other places, about the year 942, the which the Earle of Castille could not suddenly preuent, whereat he was so much discontented, as within few dayes after he died in Burgos, to the great griefe of all the people of Castille, and was interred in the Monasterie of Arlanfa, which hee founded. There is some reason to doubt of the yeare of his death, for that there is found in the Instruments and Titles of donation made by him, to the Monasterie of *S. Emylian*, of the towne of Saint Marie de Pezuegos, dated in the year 944; to the Church of *S. Martin* of Granon, the year 945; of certaine houses in the towne of Salines; of the Church of *S. Stephen* of Sabredo, dated 947, to the same Monasterie: of the Church of *S. John Baptist* of Ciguri, upon the river of Tiron, the which runnes into the river Ebro, neere vnto the towne of Haro: where it is expressly said, that the Earle *D. Fernand* and *D. Sancho* his wife make this donation to the Abbot and religious of the said Monasterie, and to their successors, for the loue of the glorious Confessor *S. Emylian*, that at the dreadfull day of judgement they might deserve to heare that comfortable voice of the Lord, *Come ye blessed of my father, &c.* In these letters *D. Ferdinand* did intitle himselfe Earle of Castille, of Alaua, and of Nagera.

There are registers and memorials found also in the Monasterie of *S. Emylian*, making mention of the Earle *D. Fernand* and of *D. Vrraca* his first wife, of the year 964, the which without doubt is false and counterfeit, as in truth there is no great certaintie in anything which the Monkes produce of their priuiledges, donations, exemptions, and other graunts of ancient kings. It is to be seene vpon the tombe of *D. Sancho*, Countesse of Castille, in the great Chappell of *S. Peter* of Arlanfa, that she died that year 964; and in the Era 1002, to Cont *Fernand Gonfalo* succeeded his third sonne *D. Garcia Fernandes*, the first of that name in the Earldome of Castille, and other places about mentioned, in the yeare, according to the common opinion, 942.

13 The Moores being masters of the field in Castille, there being no forces together to withstand them, being putt vp with successe, they entred the territories of Leon, breaking the peace which they had with the king *D. Ramir*, without any subiect, and came and besieged the towne of Zamora, the which they tooke, and ruined. Vntill that time, which was about the year 950, the Christians dwelling vnder the gouernment of the Arabian Moores,

*Sisenand bishop  
of Compostella,  
turbulent  
man.*

*Castille.*

*An. 942.*

*Donations, pri-  
uiledges, and  
other titles of  
Monasteries  
vnder saint.*

*Moores.*

*Zamora taken  
and ruined.  
An. 950.*

whom they called for that respect *Musaraber*, had remained in great tranquillitie and peace, without forcing them in their religion in any sort whatsoever: Moreouer, they had iustice duly administred, paying the pensions and tributes which were imposed vpon them, whereby they were assured from all violence. But *Hali Hatan* being come to the Crowne, he was so zealous in his religion, and conceiued so great a hatred against that of the Christians, as he published an edict, by the which all Christians dwelling vnder his iurisdiction, were commanded to abiure the religion of Iesus Christ, and causing themselves to be circumcised, to imbrace that of *Mahomet*, vpon paine of death. Then did the spirit of God quicken in the hearts of many, the fire which had bene smothered by the humane traditions; and instructing them inwardly (seeing that the true religion hath no better meanes of propagation, than persecution: for loue and charitie surmount nature, making the dull quicke witted, causing them which were in a manner dumbe to speake, and giuing force and courage to the simple and weake. Many Christians of all sexes and ages, did virtuously confesse the saluation we haue in Iesus Christ, by his onely merit and satisfaction, before the Inquisitors and Iudges, which were sent by this barbarous king. The names of which holie martyrs are worthe of memorie, to be a president to all the faithfull; but we haue too few of them. In the citie of Cordoua there were put to death, for the testimonie of Christs truth, *Aurelius*, *Gregorius*, and *Felix*, with their wives, *Natalia*, *Crescentia*, and *Liliosa*. In the territorie of Rioje, *Pellor*, borne at Cerezo (who had long defended his fellow citizens from the violence of the Moores) was beheaded. At Bosca, neere to Nagera, *Nunilla* and *Allodia*, two holy sisters, suffered death: Yet by the letters and priuiledges of the kings of Nauarre, giuen to *S. Sanjour* in Leyre (where they say they were buried) it seemes their death was long before this persecution. In Arragon, in the towne of Iaca, the holie virgin *Eurofa* suffered: and many others in diuers parts of Spaine, where the Moores commaunded. Thus were the Christians afflicted both in peace and warre, by armes, and by vnjust proceedings.

The Authors of the Spanish Historie make no mention, that the king *D. Ramir* had any great care to suppress the insolencie of these Arabian Infidels, nor to be reuenged for the breach of peace, and the ruine and euersion of such a towne as Morata was: but they onely say, That about the year 955, being of full age, he married with a ladie called *D. Vrraca*, by whom it is not found that he had any children: and abandoning himselfe to a voluptuous life, he contemned all good counsell: so as the earles and noblemen of Galicia, seeing his follie, and discontented with his vices, they scorned him, and would no more acknowledge him for their king. Whereupon they did chuse *D. Bermund*, sonne to the last king *D. Ordono*, and intituled him King of Galicia: which title and countrey he enioyed ten yeares, notwithstanding all the attempts of *D. Ramir*, who made warre there two whole yeares, with great losse of his best men.

*D. Garcia Fernandes* new Earle of Castille, resisted the Moores valiantly, and being also invited by the baseness of king *D. Ramir*, and it may be by the remembrance of the injuries done by the king *D. Sancho* to the Earle *D. Ramir*, and the wrongs done by him also vnto the Earle *D. Fernand* his father, he entred the territories of Leon, and withdrew some places from him, so as falling to an accord, the river of Carrion was made the bounds betwixt the Estates of Leon and Castille. They hold, That this earle *D. Garcia Fernandes*, did build in Curuas Rubias, the monasterie of *S. Cosme* and *Damian*, and indowed it with great priuiledges, lands and possessions: retaining such a right of patronage, That if any gentlemene of his familie should want meanes to marie them according to their estates, or would liue vnmarried, they should be provided for, and entertained: leaving to the religious which serue in the monasterie, a competent pension to nourish them. This earle did augment the number of horsemen in Castille to six hundred, which at his fathers death were but two hundred. He married twice to French ladies, but vnfortunately: his first wife was called *D. Argentiua*, daughter to a French earle, with whom hee fell in loue, when as in the companie of her father and mother, she past through Castille, in pilgrimage to *S. Iagues* of Compostella, and demanded her of her father: but the proud vnchast, abandoning her selfe to a French knight, who came from *S. Iagues*, and carried her away into France, the earle being sicke in bed, six yeares after their mariage. The Spaniards report, That being cured, and much incensed at the

*A small edict  
made by Hali  
Hatan against  
the Christians  
in Portugall.*

*Martyrs vnder  
the Moorish.*

*The vices of  
princes causes  
of sedition.*

*Galicia made  
a kingdom.*

*Castille.*

*Baseness of  
king Ramir occasion  
of new tumults.*

*A mariage for  
loue vnfortunate*

the wrong this knight had done him, he went out of Castille, and left the gouernement of his countries to *Gilperez* of Bauardillo, and *Fernand Petes*, two of his vassalls; and went into France in a disguised habit, where as this knight dwelt, and enjoyed *D. Argemina*: where he wrought in such sort, as he won the fauour of his daughter, called *D. Sancho*, or according vnto some, *D. Ogra*, with whom he laid a plot (vpon promise that he should take her to wife) That one night he should giue him entrance into her fathers house to reuenge his wrongs: Where as the earle slue those two adulterers in their bed, and so returned into Castille, carrying with him *D. Sancho*, or *Ogra*, his new spouse, whom he married in the cite of Bourgos. The name of this second wife is diuersly set downe by Spanish writers; some call her *Sancha*, others *Ogra*: the inscriptions of *S. Peter* of Arlanca, name her *Abba*. *D. Garcia Fernandez* the earle, had one sonne by her, called *D. Garcia Roldanis*, who died young, as it appeares by the inscriptions of the said monasterie. Moreouer, he had another sonne, called *D. Sancho Garcia*, who was earle. In the inscriptions of *Saint Peter* of Cardegna (where she was buried with her husband) it is said, that she was neece to the Emperour *Henrie*: and in all places called *Abba*, or *Ogra*. Besides these two sonnes, shee had one daughter called *D. Praca*, who was professe in the monasterie of *S. Cosme* and *Damian*, about Arlanca. During the time the earle was in France to seeke meane to be reuenged, and to get his new wife, the Moores entred into Castille, and spoyle all the countrey euen vnto Bourgos: and they wrote, That in the way they forced the monasterie of *Saint Peter* of Cardegna, and slue the Abbot and three hundred Monkes; some Authors write but two hundred, and that the destruction of this monasterie was some yeare before. But this place was redified by the earle *D. Garcia Fernandes*, and enriched with rents and jewels more then before. This happened during the time that *D. Ramir* king of Leon made warre against his rebellious subjects in Galicia.

Generall of  
Spaine.

Agreat floure  
of Monkes  
made by the  
Moors.

Moors.  
Anno 956.

Moors drawn  
into Galicia by  
the faction of a  
Bishop.

14 About the yeare 956 died that cruell enemie of the Christian Religion, *Hali Hatan*, king of the Arabians at Cordoua, the sixteenth yeare of his raigne, and 339 of the Arabians: to whom succeeded *Hizen* his sonne, the second of that name, called by others *Izica*. The forces of this king of the Moores, were drawne into Galicia, by the factions of a Bishop of Compostella, who had bene depose for his vices. The zeale of their ambition was such, as they made no conscience to expose Christians to the crueltie of Arabian Mahumetists. It is written in the Spanish Historicks, that *D. Bermond* raigning in Galicia, by an accord made with *D. Ramir* king of Leon, and making his ordinarie residence in the towne of *S. Iaques*, there came to the Episcopall dignitie of that place, *D. Pelagius*, Bishop of Lugo, sonne to *Cont Roderigo Velasques*: who shewing himselfe a prophane man, and disposing of Ecclesiasticall dignities to vnworthie men, deserued to be expelled, by the king *D. Bermond*, who advanced in his place a Monke of *Saint Benoit*, called *D. Pedro* of Monforio, of a reasonable good life. *Cont Roderigo* and his followers being incensed at this disgrace done vnto his sonne, called the Moores into Galicia, to be reuenged of the king *D. Bermond*. King *Hizen* was verie young at the decease of his father *Hali Hatan*; wherefore a nobleman among the Moores, valiant, and verie famous, called *Abraham ibne, Aben Hamur*, and by surname *Alhabib Almanfor*, took vpon him the gouernement of the realme of Cordoua, and of all Spaine vnder the Moores iurisdiction, the which he held fise and twentie yeares: and they report, that during his life, they entred two and fiftie times into the Christians countrey; and that he was of such credit among the Moores, as all was done by his aduice and counsell, *Hizen* hauing nothing but the bare name. Considering the name and surname of this great capitaine, it is to be presumed he had bene sent out of Affricke, by *Manfor*, Miraluminus of Maroc, then raigning, to gouerne Spaine during the minority of the king of Cordoua: for *Alhabib Almanfor*, is interpreted, Captaine, or protector and defender of his king *Almanfor*: *Almanfor* signifies victorious. The proper name of the Miraluminus was *Baharabo*. The Moores in Spaine drew great succours from Affricke, in manner of a Croisade, and vnder the title of religion. The first passage of the Moores into the Christians countrey, in the raigne of this king, was in the yeare 963, at the instance of *Roderigo Velasques*, into Galicia, where he committed infinit spoyle, and ruined part of *S. Iaques* church. But the plague being in his campe, he was forced to retire, and could not wholly ruine the countrey, as he had intended.

The

The king *D. Bermond*, and the noblemen of Galicia, after the Moores retreat, repaired the Leon. spoyle which they had made, as well as they could. In the meane time the king *D. Ramir* died without children, in the yeare 965: so as the kingdome of Leon came to the king *D. Bermond*. *D. Ramir* was interred at *Deftiana*, a monasterie, of a royall foundation, and a long time after transported to *Athorga*. *S. Iaques* church being repaired, and newly consecrated, *D. Pedro* of Manforio, the Bishop, died; and in his place *D. Pelagius Diaz* was chosen, a lewd man, and a contemner of all religion: wherefore he was iustly expelled, and *Vimane* his brother advanced in his stead, who for his vices deserued by a iust judgement of God, to be drowned in the riuer of *Mioio*. There was another substituted to him of as bad a life, the which was put in prison by the king *D. Bermond*. Thus was the church of *S. Iaques* still furnished with bad Pastors.

Prophane Bi-  
shops at Compo-  
stella.

### D. Bermond, second of that name, 21 King of Leon, called the Goutie.

15 *Don Bermond*, or *Vermond*, or *Bermond*, sonne to king *D. Ordoño* the third, vnto the Leon. Anno 965. two realms of Leon and Galicia, being receiued after the death of *D. Ramir*, without any difficultie.

In the beginning of his raigne, or thereabouts, *Alcorrex* was famous: hee was the first Moore (of whom any mention is made) that was called King of Seuille, since the Monarchie of the Arabians in Spaine: who spoyle all that part of Galicia which now belongs to Portugal, and lyes betwixt the riuers of *Duero* and *Minio*; and passing on he wasted all the countrey vnto *S. Iaques*, the which he sacked, and ruined. His armie was infected with the plague, as that of *Almanfor*, or *Abraham ibne, Aben Hamur*, had bene; who returned into the territories of Leon, and that knight of *Alaua*, aboue mentioned, marching with him, accompanied with a band of Christians his friends and partisans, he defeated the king *D. Bermond* in battell, at the riuer of *Estolle*, beyond *Duero*, and besieged the cite of Leon, from whence he was forced to raise his siege, by reason of the waters and winter. In the Spring he returned to this siege, into the which the king had put an earle, called *Don Guillen Gonfalez*, gouernour of Galicia, who did his best endeour to defend it: for being sicke in his bed, he caused himselfe to be carried in a litter, to the place where as the Moores made their greatest attempt, and defended it three dayes: but in the end, not able to resist to great a power, the towne was taken, *D. Guillen*, and many other braue men, were slaine, and the sacke giuen to the fouldiers. *D. Bermond* had bene carefull to retire the bodies of kings his predecessors, and especially the reliques and other jewels of the temple, the which he caused to be transported to *Ouiedo*. This calamitie happened in the yeare 968, the which fell also vpon *Athorga*, *Valence de Campo*, *Sahagun*, *Gordon*, *Albe*, *Lune*, and other townes which were ruined. Then the Moores entring Castille, they tooke and sacke the townes of *Olma*, *Berlanga*, *Atienza*, and other places, whereof some were ruined and some made tributarie. And with this successe they returned with their victorious armie to Cordoua, with great spoyle, and (which was most lamentable) a great number of poore Christian slaues of all sexes and ages: and to increase their miseries (and to aggravate their guilt, they were for the most part so carelesse of God and all religion, as they betrayed their brethren and companions vnto the Moores, without respect of blood, countrey, profession, or honour.

Division of Chris-  
tians giues an  
entree to the In-  
fidels.

In Castille there was a knight called *D. Ray Velasques*, lord of Villaren, whose sister *D. Sancha* was married to *D. Gonfal Iuste*, sonne to that *Iuste Gonfalez* who was issued from a daughter of *D. Diego Porcellos*; and who enjoyed the Seigniories of *Salas* and of *Lara*. *D. Gonfal Iuste*, and *D. Sancha* his wife, had seuen sonnes, whom they commonly called the children of *Lara*, or of *Salas*, bred vp in all vertue, by a discrete knight, called *Nazmo Salido*, who was valiant and hardie; all which were made knights in one day, by the earle *D. Garcia Fernandes*, vnto whom they were allied: It happened, that *D. Ray de Velasques*, their vncle by the mothers side, married a ladie borne in *Bureua*, the chiefe towne of which countrey is *Bibiesca*: her name was *D. Lembera*, allied also to the earle *D. Garcia Fernandes*: she was young, indifereet, proud, and high minded. Whose mariage was celebrated with great pompe in the cite of Bourgos, whi-

Castille.

Disposition of a  
woman inclined  
to revenge.

A notable trea-  
son and impiety  
of a Christian  
knight against  
his owne blood  
and religion.

A Murther  
done courteous  
to a stranger  
the D. Ray de  
Velasquez a Chris-  
tian, to his own  
blood.

The lamentable  
death of the se-  
uen brethren of  
Lara.

Humanitie of  
king Xerxes in  
his prison.

whither came many knights from Castille, Leon, Nauarre, and other places, and among others, D. *Gonsal Iuste*, and his wife D. *Sancho*, with their seuen sonnes assisted. During the solemnity of this marriage, which continued five weekes, the younger brother of the seuen had some vnkind speeches with D. *Alvaro Sanchez*, cousin to D. *Lambra* the Bride, who were for that time reconciled by the means of the earle D. *Garcia*, and of D. *Gonsal Iuste*, father to one of the contendants. But the new married wife was so incensed for this breach with her cousin, as she conceived a deadly hatred against all the house of *Lara*. The marriage being ended, D. *Sancho* went with her seuen sonnes, to accompanie the married couple to their house at *Barbadillo*, whereas D. *Lambra* epying one day the younger brother (which had the quarrell with her cousin) in an orchard, bathing a Goshawke, he commaunded a groom to call a fithie Cucumber at him, to doe him a despite: wherewith the knight, and his brethren, who were present, being moued, they pursued this groom in such a rage, as thinking to saue himselfe by the fauour of his ladie, he was slaine nere vnto her, who could not saue him.

At the same time neither D. *Ruy Velasquez*, nor D. *Gonsal Iuste*, were with their wives, for they did accompanie the earle D. *Garcia*, who presently after this marriage, went to visit his country, and the sorts of Castille: but when as they were returned to *Barbadillo*, they vnderstood (to their great griefe) of this outrage. Euerie one retires to his own house, D. *Lambra* mad with rage & impatiencie, wept, & exclaimed continually, saying vnto her husband, That if he did not revenge this affront done vnto her selfe, he should neuer liue contented. And such was the importunitie of this woman to her indiscreet & ill aduised husband, as, to satisfie her, he resolved to commit an act, unworthie not onely of a Christian knight, but of any one that carried but the shape of a man: For he had secret intelligence with *Almanzor*, Countable of Cordoua, vterly to ruine this familie of *Lara*. Making thence therefore to haue some businesse of importance with this Moore, and his king *Elzen*, he intreated his brother in law D. *Gonsal Iuste*, to goe to Cordoua, with letters which he gaue him; whereunto he offered himselfe willingly. In the meane time the traitor *Velasquez* had written to *Hizen* and *Almanzor*, That they should put him to death; & moreover, that if he sent any one with a good troupe into Castille, he would deliuer the seuen sonnes vnto him, which were the most redoubted knights, and the greatest enemies to the Arabians, that the earle of Castille had in his Court. D. *Gonsal Iuste* being arrived at Cordoua, and hauing presented his letters vnto the king, he was presently put in prison: for the king being wise, although an Infidell, would not altogether countenance so great a treason. Wherefore he kept this embassadour aliae; yet he sent presently towards the country of *Almanzor* (where these brethren should be deliuered vnto him) a capitaine with a great troupe of souldiers, where (as they write) D. *Ruy de Velasquez* gaue such order, as the seuen brethren fell into an ambush of Moores, being accompanied onely with two hundred horse, which made resistance: but the enemies were so many as one of the brethren called *Fernand Gonsales*, and all the two hundred, with *Nugno Salido*, were slaine vpon the place: the other six escaped, and hauing drawne together three hundred horse more, and returned to the combat, they were againe defeated, and taken by the Moores, who cut off their heads, and sent them all to Cordoua, as well those of the seuen brethren, as that of their Gouernour *Nugno Salido*.

The king was verie glad to see himselfe freed from such redoubted enemies; and to afflicte the father, who was prisoner, he caused these heads to be shewed vnto him: who knew them, and was so opprest with griefe, as he fell downe dead vpon the place. Being taken vp, and reuiued, he made such pittifull lamentations, as euen the barbarous king himselfe was much moued, and thought euen then to set him at libertie, detesting the wickednesse of that traitorous Christian D. *Ruy de Velasquez*.

They say, That whilst D. *Gonsal Iuste* was detained in prison, but not verie straitly, being often visited by noblemen and ladies, that were Moores, there grew so great familiarity betwixt him & one of the chief ladies of the kings house, which, some say, was his sister, as he got her with child: which perceiving about the time of his deliuerie, they tooke good order for the infant, when it should be borne. It was a sonne, whom they called *Madarra Gonsales*: who reuenged the treason of D. *Ruy Velasquez*, committed against his father and brethren. D. *Gonsal Iuste* returned to Salas, with gifts from the Moorish king. As for the bodies of the dead, they were interred, but no man knowes where; for there is some question about it, betwixt the

the Monkes of S. *Peter* of Arlanza, and those of S. *Emilian* of Cogolla; the which we cannot decide, either of them maintaining to haue in their churches and conuents, the tombes of these seuen brethren, their father, and Gouernour, without any great proofe of their assertions, as in other things. Such was the disposition and affection of men of that age, who called themselves Christians. They hold, that these things happened in the yeare 969; some say it was some yeares before, but euerie one to reuenge his priuate quarels, did hazard the publick: and not able to oppresse their enemies by open force, they vied vnlawfull and damnable meanes, to wrong one another, making way for the Moores, or rather insulting them, to invade the Christians country.

In the yeare 975 a great armie of Moores, both Spaniards and Affricanes, led by that famous capitaine *Albabit Almanzor*, invaded the country betwixt Duero and Minio; and from thence into Galicia: so as the towne and church of S. *Iaques* was taken by them, sackt and ruined. Yet the Spaniards say, That the Apostles sepulchre could not be violated, being terrified with a great light which came out of it: but they onely tooke the little bells in the steeple, and carried them away with the rest of the prey to Cordoua, where they made them serue for lampes to their great Mosque. In the meane time (as Authors write) the Moores armie was so afflicted with the plague, and bloudie flux, as being forced to disperse themselves, they were cut in peeces by D. *Bernard*s troups, which he had sent to follow them in their retreat: So God by his power did supplie the defects of indifereet and cowardly Christian Princes.

The king D. *Bernard*, as the Spanish Historiess write, was wise, but withall had great defects. He was light of beleefe, and soone incensed; and withall, so much giuen to his delights and pleasures, as he had both bodie and mind corrupted. He did incestuously entertaine two and his concubines, before he married; by the one of which he had a sonne called D. *Orogno*; by the other a daughter named D. *Eluira*. After which he married D. *Velasquita*, whom he put away after that he had had a daughter by her, called D. *Christina*. To his second wife he married a ladie called D. *Eluira*, by whom he had D. *Alphonso*, who was king after him, and one daughter called D. *Theresa*, who was profest a Nunne, and was borne before her brother D. *Alphonso*. He became full of the gout, by reason of his excessse, so as he was lame of his limmes, and therefore was called the Goutie.

Plagues con-  
rupt both mind  
and bodie.

### D. Sancho Garces, third of that name, and eleuenth King of Nauarre.

There is no great certaintie of the exploits of the kings of Nauarre in these times, either through the negligence of Historians, or the losse of their writings. They coniecture, that the king D. *Sancho Garces* liued vnto the yeare 969; and that he was inttered in the monasterie of S. *Sauicour* of Leyre: to whom succeeded his sonne D. *Sancho Garces*; whom he had by D. *Theresa*, by whom he had also D. *Ramir* his second sonne, who gouerned the province called *Vicaria*. He had daughters, D. *Vrraca*, *Ermesilda*, and *Eximena*. The king had to wife a ladie called D. *Vrraca Fernandez*, by whom he had three sonnes, D. *Garcia*, D. *Gonsales*, and D. *Ramir*.

This king D. *Sancho Garces*, the third of that name, raigning; the king D. *Bernard* seeing the great miseries which fell daily vpon the Christians, by reason of their diuisions, whereof the Infidell Moores made their profit, he sought by all meanes possible to make a good vnion betwixt Leon, Nauarre, and Castille: the which tooke good effect, for all the Princes and Lords of these Estates, shewing themselves readie, and desirous to be reuenged of the wrong which the Moores had done in Galicia, Castille, and elsewhere, they vnted their forces, and came to encounter the Moores with a goodly armie (theirs being not lesse) at a place called *Calcanasor*, an Arabian word, which signifies yoke: where there was a memorable battell, and great effusion of blood, especially of the Moores: and yet the fight hauing continued a whole day, the victorie seemed doubtfull. But *Albabit* the Arabian hauing gathered his forces together, and viewed his great losse, he dislodged in the night, with his great griefe, as he did within few dayes after, at a place called *Begalcoraxor*, or *Borgecorax*. The Christians at the break

Battell memo-  
rable at Cal-  
canasor.



nourable traine of noblemen and knights from the king, he came to Salas, where the father and the sonne had meanes to know and aduow one another, to their great joy and content: and soone after *Mudarra*, hauing left the law of *Mahomet*, was baptized, and made a Christian. Then he came in companie with his father to Burgos, to kille the hands of the earle *D. Garcia*, and to watch an opportunitie to kill his vnkle *D. Ruiz Velazquez*, and to reuenge the death of his house brethren; the which he did execute in time, as *D. Ruiz* went from Burgos to his house of *Barbadillo*: and finally, hee found meanes to get *D. Lambra* into his power, whom he caused to be hung vp, and then burnt her bodie: but it was after the death of *D. Garcia*, earle of Castille, to whom shee was allied. And for that he was verie like to the youngest of the seuen sonnes of *D. Sancho* his mother in law, she did loue him as deere as if she had beene his owne mother.

The Monkes of Saint *Peter* of *Arlansa* shew a tombe in their church, without any inscription, the which, they say, is the tombe of that knight *D. Mudarra*: of whom they make this Genealogie, or descent; which is, That he had one sonne, named *D. Ordago de Lara*, from whom issued *D. Diego Ordago de Lara*, who did fight a combat at *Zamora*, against *D. Arias Gonzales*: from *D. Diego Ordago* descended *D. Pedro de Lara*, and from him the earle *D. Almarie* of *Lara*, whom others call *Mabrique*, or *Manrique*, who was lord of *Molina des Comtes*: and from him, they say, are descended, the *Manriques* of *Lara* in Castille. This earle *D. Almarie*, or *Manrique* of *Lara*, had one daughter, called *D. Malfada Manrique*, who was the first queene of Portugal, wife to *D. Alphonsus Henrie*, king of Portugal, of whom we will speake hereafter.

About the yeare 982, when as king *D. Alphonsus* came to the Crowne of Leon, there were great alterations in Castille; for that *D. Sancho Garcia*, sonne and heire to the earle *D. Garcia Fernandes*, rebelled against his father, and put Castille into factions. Whereupon the Moores failed not to enter the countrey of Castille, destroyed the citie of *A. nula*, tooke Saint *Estienne* de *Gormas*, and *Crugna* in the bishopricke of *Olma*, slew, spoyle, and burnt all where they past.

*D. Garcia Fernandes* being gone to field with those souldiers of Castille whom hee thought to be best affected vnto him, being but few, in comparison of the Moores, hee did hazard a battell, in which fighting valiantly, hee was enuironed by a multitude of his enemies, where his men were cut in peeces, and hee himselfe taken aliue by the Moores, but so sore wounded, as he died within few houres after. His bodie was afterwards redeemed for a great summe of money, and buried in the monastirie of Saint *Peter* of *Cardena*, reedified by him fseuenteene yeares before. This happened about the yeare nine hundred fourescore and ten, or according to the inscription of his tombe, nine hundred fourescore and fise. Then *D. Sancho* his sonne, surnamed *Garcia*, was earle, without any contradiction; and except this diffidence against his father, he was a good Prince, and loued his subiects.

19 Whosoeuer was mother to *D. Sancho*, either *Abba*, *Ogna*, or *Sancho* daughter to the knight which was slaine by *D. Garcia*, or else allied to the Emperour *Henrie*, there is a tragicall act reported of her in the Histories of Spaine: That being widow to her husband *D. Garcia Fernandes*, shee fell in loue with a Prince of the Moores, whom shee had heard was verie sufficient in *Penna* sports: so as shee had a secret treatie with him, to marie him; promising (to the end they might with more ease effect their designe) to make away her sonne, by poyson, vpon the first opportunitie: But God would haue this wickednesse discovered to the earle *D. Sancho*, the day before it should bee put in execution. Wherefore being verie carefull of all things, as the mother and the sonne dined together on the day appointed; the earle calling for drinke, they brought him a cup full of wine, mingled with poyson: Then dissembling what hee knew, he intreated his mother to drinke first; as if hee would doe her honour; but shee refusing it, hee still persisted, and in the end forced her to drinke this poyson, whereof shee died. The generall Chronicle sayes, That thereof grew a custome in Castille, to make the women drinke first, the which is obserued at this day in *Biscaie*, and other parts in Spaine, by way of ciuilitie.

This

O' offices per-  
mised.Posteritie of  
Mudarra Gon-  
zales, from  
whence are dis-  
cended the Ma-  
riques of Lara.Rebells of the  
son against the  
father.Defeat of the  
Castilians, and  
death of their  
earle.

An. 990.

A dishonest de-  
signe of a coun-  
sellor of Castille,  
and her impietie  
against her son.Custom to make  
the women  
drinke first in  
Spaine.

A This accident was the cause which made the earle *D. Sancho* to build the conuent of Saint *Sauour* of *Ogna*, where he placed Nunnes, and made a daughter of his, called *D. Tygrida*, Abbess; thinking thereby to expiate his offence, for that he had hastened his mothers death. Since there were Monks put in this monastirie, and the women were transported elsewhere, by the king *D. Sancho* the elder, sonne in law to this earle *D. Sancho Garcia*, and husband to *D. Nunga*: for the earle had by his wife *D. Prraca*, one sonne, who was called *D. Garcia*, who was earle of Castille after him; and three daughters, *D. Nunga*, who was queene of *Nauarre*, *D. Therese*, queene of *Leon*, wife to *D. Bermond* the third, and last of that name, these two sisters were elder than the Infant *D. Garcia*; and the third was the aboue named *D. Tygrida*, Abbess of this monastirie of *S. Sauour*.

B 20 Whilest these things past in Castille, the Moores entred *Cattelogne* with a great power, about the yeare 986, and gaue a great rout to the earle *D. Borel*, who thought to repulse them neere to *Moncada* and *Matabous*: After which they besieged *Barcelone*, and tooke it by force, with all the pitifull spectacles of crueltie, couerousnesse, and infamie, that was in the like case; doing the like in many other places. Then laden with spoyle, and drawing after them an infinit number of poore Christian slaues, they returned into their countrey. The earle, who was retired into the mountains, hauing gathered together all the horle and foot he could, returned to *Barcelone*, tooke it againe, and recovered all the places which the Moores had taken. *Cattelogne* was againe invaded by the Moores, which held *Tortosa*, *Terida*, *Fraga*, and other places, being ioyned with them of the Isle of *Majorca*, who once againe defeated the earle *D. Borel*: and thinking to saue himselfe with about threecore horle, he was pursued; and being forced to shut himselfe vp in the castle of *Gautha*, neere to *Caldes*, he was forced, and slaine there, with all those that were in his companie, in the yeare 993, hauing bene earle of *Barcelone* six and twentie yeares, where his sonne *D. Raymond Borel* succeeded him. We find, that *Lothaire* king of France (vnder the foueraigntie of which kingdome the earldome of *Barcelone* was at that time) granted a great priuiledge to the monastirie of *S. Cucufat*, in the vallies neere to *Barcelone*, giuen at *Compiene*, in the yeare 987.

But returning to *D. Sancho Garcia*, earle of Castille, he being loath to leaue his fathers death vreuenged, confirmed the league which his predecessor had made with *Leon* and *Nauarre*, and in the yeare 992 entred into the Moores countrey, by the realme of *Toledo*, with a great armie, ruining and spoyleing all where he past, as the enemies had done in *Leon* and *Castille*: passing on into diuers other iurisdiccions, where he had good opportunitie to ruine, burne, kill, and carrie away what he pleased, for that the Arabians were then full of factions for the foueraigntie. There was no head, order, nor council, to oppose against the violence of this incensed earle, so as hee ranfomed many townes, and drew great summes of money from them, as well to spare their countrey, as to redeeme prisoners. Hee tooke the towne of *Sepulveda*, which was then a frontier for the Moores towards the strait of *Suterra*. Hee granted many priuiledges to the inhabitants thereof, restoring them to their ancient iurisdiccions. Hee recouered the townes of *Pennafiel*, *Maderuel*, *Monteio*, *Gormas*, *Olma*, and *Saint Esteua*; which places had bene lost after the battell where his father *D. Garcia* was slaine. The earle did all these braue exploits against the Moores: but some hold, and not without reason, that they were before the death of the countresse his mother; who at the returne of this voyage (which was in the yeare 993) had newes what this aboue mentioned Prince of the Moores could doe with women: of whom the grew so far in loue, as she forgot all pietie, and honour, and in the end lost her life. His name is not written by any Author. If the earle did much annoy the Moores by open warfare, hee did no lesse by secret practises, entertaining factions among them, to trouble their estate, and make them more easie to be spoyle.

F 21 There were great seditions among the Arabians after the death of *Abdemic Abun- dafin*, Captaine generall, or Constable to king *Hizen*: for hauing bene substituted in the place of his brother, called *Abderramen*, and shewing himselfe too seuer and proud in his commands, his place seeming also to be of too great authoritie, he was slaine by the souldiers: which bred great quarels and factions. *D. Sancho*, earle of Castille, and *D. Alphonsus*, king

V ij

Genealogie of  
Castille.Barcelone cald  
and runned by  
the Moors.Earle of Barce-  
lone, slaine by  
the Moors.The exploits of  
Sancho, earle of  
Castille, vpon the  
Moors.



The declining  
of the Moores  
in Spaine, by the  
division.

Zuleima 11  
king of the  
Moores at Cor-  
doua.

Mahamad the  
third, the 12  
king at Cordoua.

Abdalla king of  
Tolida.

Marriage be-  
tween a Chris-  
tian and an In-  
dian, supposed  
of God.

Palace of Ga-  
liens.

king of Leon, fought by all means possible to entertaine these diuisions, sometimes fauouring one partie, sometimes another: so as from that time the Arabians power began greatly to decline in Spaine, as it had bene already dismembred in the East, by their discord and furious desire of raigne, the which we will hereafter relate in a more conuenient place. The Estate of Miralumin *Hizen* was wonderfully troubled in those times, by many which desired either to raigne, or to haue the greatest charges in the kingdome of Cordoua, namely, the dignitie of Alhabib: among the which there was a Moore, called *Zuleima*, stronger than the rest, by the support and fauour hee had from *D. Sancho*, earle of Castille: He tooke and shut vp *Hizen*, after that he had reigned three and thirtie yeares, foure monethes, in the 379 year of the Arabians, and made himselfe king of Cordoua, in the year of our redemption 989. He was an African, or Barbarian, and was much fauoured from beyond the seas. In his raigne was the last rout giuen to the Cartellans, and their earle forced, and slaine, as we haue said. But he did not long enjoy this Estate of Cordoua; for another nobelman of great power, called *Mahamad Alchedi*, or *Almohadi*, of the lineage of *Aben Humeia*, rose vp against him, and deprived him of his kingdome in Spaine, in the year of our Lord 993, which he had maintained foure yeares, with great toyle and difficultie.

In his time there reigned a Moore at Toledo, called *Abdalla*, who was solicited in such sort by *D. Alphons* king of Leon, as they contracted together, and did sweare a perpetuall offensiue and defensive league betwixt them: the which was so strongly confirmed, as *D. Alphons* gaue his sister *D. Theresa*, a Christian, in marriage to *Abdalla*, an Infidell king, and sent her to him to Toledo, notwithstanding that he did contradict it all she could. They say, That this Moore being ready to consummate the marriage, he was admonished by the Ladie, that it was not lawfull to doe it, seeing they were of two diuers religions; and that for so prophane a contempt, he might assure himselfe God would punish him grievously, if he refused to proceed. But notwithstanding all her allegations, the Moore would not forbear to accomplish his desire; but he was presently surpris'd with such a terrour and amazement, as if death had approached. Wherefore repenting himselfe, he sent backe *D. Theresa* to Leon, to the king her brother, with great store of treasure; and rich jewels, for that he would not touch her. This princeesse liued long in Leon, in the habit of a religious woman, and in the end put her selfe into the monasterie of *Saint Pelagus*, where she died, and was interred.

In the meane time *Mahamad* the third, or *Mahumet*, of the race of *Aben Humeia*, surnamed *Almohadi*, settled himselfe in the realme of Cordoua, and was Miralumin of the Arabians in Spaine; who shewed himselfe so cruell in the beginning, against the inhabitants of Cordoua, partisans to *Zuleima* his predecessor, of the lineage of *Aben Alaucci*, that many of them fled out of the citie, and liued in banishment. By reason of this diuision, many other noblemen, Moores, seized vpon places and prouinces in Spaine, of the iurisdiction of the Miralumin of Cordoua: as *Abdalla* did, who (as we haue said) had seized vpon the citie of Toledo, & restored the royall seat there, where he was the fourth king: since which time it continued a royallie, and returned no more vnder the soueraintie of the kings of Cordoua. In some Authors we find a tale of a Gentlewoman called *Guliena*, daughter to *Galsfrey*, king of Toledo, who by her beautie drew *Charlemaine* out of France to Toledo, where he did fight with knight called *Bramante*, that would haue married her: and, they say, that *Charles* being victor, he led faire *Guliena* into France. But there is no great probability, that this happened to *Charlemaine*. It may be that since there was a *Guliena*, daughter to some Governour of Toledo, called *Galsfrey*, famous for some like act: For we find in the citie of Toledo, a place called *Galienas Palace*, where as now the Monasterie of *S. Foy* is: and in like manner at Bourdeaux in Guienne. Which shewes, that some ladie of fame came out of Spaine into France, but conducted by some other *Charles* than he that was king and Emperor Iurnajmed the Great. *Zuleima* being expelled by *Mahumet*, fled from towne to towne, being accompanied by many Moores and Barbarians, who conspired against him, in fauour of a cousin of his called *Almeson*, whom they would chuse for their captain: but being ready to kill him, *Zuleima* being aduertised, and prepared, slue them which pretended to murder him: As for his cousin

roan,

*Almeson*, he saved his life, but he kept him in a strait prison. Being enuironed with so many miseries, chased from Cordoua, a vagabond, and not safe among his owne followers, he had recourse vnto *D. Sancho*, earle of Castille, craving succours from him, to recouer his Estates. Wherewith the earle was verie well pleased, and led a great power of Christians into the Moores country; and with him *D. Raymond*, earle of Barcelona, as some write. *Mahumet* did also make great leues of souldiers, whereof the Alhabib, or Generall, was *Alhabarin Almaharin*, who did reside at Medina Zelim, or Celi; and had commaundement to come and ioyne with the armie, with all the forces he could make. Their forces being joyned of either side, there was a fierce and bloudie battell, betwixt *Zuleima* and *Mahumet*, whereas *Zuleima* (who had the forces of Castille with him) was victor, haniag slaine five and thirtie thousand of his enemies vpon the place: and pursuing his victorie, he chased *Mahumet*, and those which remained, as farre as Cordoua. And whilst that *Zuleimas* men and the Christians were busie at the spoyle of the suburbs; the Alhabib, *Alhabarin* abandoned his king, and tooke his way to Medina Celi, with those that would follow him. It was then a great fort and rampart of the Moores Estate, against Castille, Aragon, and Nauarre. *Mahumet* seeing himselfe defeated, and abandoned, was so faint-hearted, as he shut himselfe vp into the fort of Cordoua, resolving to deliuer king *Hizen*, who was a prisoner there: chusing rather to see *Hizen* raigne than *Zuleima*. The people of Cordoua hearing speake of their true king *Hizen*, made io great an exclamation of joy, as *Mahumet* thinking himselfe lost, and fearing to die, fled and hid himselfe in a Moors house, who was borne at Toledo, and verie confident vnto him, with whom that night he fled to Toledo. Wherefore *Zuleima* entred into Cordoua, and raigned againe, *Mahumet* hauing bene king but one year, which was in the year of our Christ 994, and of the Moores 377. A memorable date, for that this yeare the seuen Princes Electors in Germanie were instituted at the instance of the Emperour *Otho*, and Pope *Gregorie* the fifth.

King *Zuleima* being reestablished in Cordoua, he sent backe *D. Sancho*, earle of Castille, and his men, well satisfied, rewarding euerie one according to his degree. Yet he was not received, nor obeyed, throughout all the townes of his iurisdiction, but some maintained *Hizens* partie, who was prisoner at Cordoua. *Mahumet Almohadi* being come to Toledo, *Abdalla* raigned there, but not verie quietly in the beginning; but the hatred the Toledanes did beare to the kings of Cordoua, made his way the more easie. Neither of these two tyrants raigned long; for *Alhabarin* the Alhabib, who liued at Medina Celi, hearing that *Zuleima* was much troubled to subdue the people of the iurisdiction of Cordoua, which were rebelled against him, he made a leue of souldiers, both Moores and Christians, and came to *Mahumet Almohadi*, at Toledo, who had bene newly made king of that citie; but the manner how is not specified in Histories. There hauing raised a great armie, they tooke their way to Cordoua, to deliuer king *Hizen*, who was prisoner. Whereof *Zuleima* being aduertised, he resolved to defend himselfe; calling all his friends and vassals together, whereof most of them excused themselves, shewing that they were naturally bound vnto king *Hizen*, for whose deliuerie they knew *Mahumet* had taken arms, with *Alhabarin*, and some Christian captaines which were in their armie, whereof two are called *Bermendo*, and *Argomento*. Notwithstanding this refusal, *Zuleima* relying vpon the forces of Barbarie, who assured him that they would neuer forsake him, sallied out of Cordoua, and came and affronted the enimie, nine leagues from the citie, at a place called *Hacatallabalar*; where his first charge was so happy, as he put the formost of the enemies squadrons to rout, and slue so many, as hee thought all had bene defeated, and *Mahumet* dead: but the Christians which were in *Mahumets* armie, rallied their disordered battell, and charged *Zuleimas* men with such violence, as they made them quit the field, with great slaughter of the Barbarian Africans. *Zuleima* saved himselfe with a small troupe in the fort of Casia. They write, that in this battell there died thirtie thousand Moores, and nine thousand Christians; among which were *D. Arnoul*, Bishop of Aufa, *Etius* Bishop of Barcelona, and *Otho* of Girone, who carried armes for the Moores quarels: by the losse whereof *Zuleima* left the realme of Cordoua the second time, where hee had raigned a yeare. *Hizen* a prisoner was restored to his royall Estate by the victors, the people

Cruell warre  
betweene the  
Moores.

Anno 994.  
Institution of  
the Princes Ele-  
ctors in Germanie.

Battell betwixt  
the Moores.

Hizen a prisoner  
restored to his  
realme of Cor-  
doua.

of Cordoua being affected to him, and did mutine to haue him: and *Alahumet* was the more inclined to him, for that he was seled at Toledo. The victor prepared to besiege Casfra, to expell *Zuleima*, and to spoyle the treasure that was within it: but foreseeing the danger, he dislodged, and carried away with him what he could.

The castle being abandoned, was taken by them of Cordoua, and that which remained spoyled, and the soldiers which were found in it, slaine: The bootie which was taken in this castle, was carried to the great Mosque at Cordoua, and there consecrated. This done, *Alahumet* the Alhabib, led the armie against some places in Andalousia, which continued in their rebellion since the former diuisions; he besieged Alherie, which was defended by *Asla*, a Moore of a great house, and battered it twentie dayes: the which in the end was forced, and *Asla*, with some of his children, drowned: The like happened to the townes of Laen, Baeza, and Ariona, the which were kept for king *Hizen*. In this manner did the Moores make warre, being diuided into two factions, whereof the one held the partie of *Hizen*, and of the Moores in Spaine, and the other of the Barbarians, and Moores of Alfrick, of whom *Zuleima* was the chiefe in Spaine.

*Alahumet Almohadi* reigned at Toledo after *Abdalla* very little; for the Historians make present mention of his sonne *Obeidalla*, first king of Toledo: against whom king *Hizen* seeing himselfe now settled in his kingdom, sent his lieutenant with a great armie, to reduce them of Toledo vnder his obedience: who made a sallie vpon them of Cordoua, where there was a cruell combat: but the end was shamefull for the Toledanes, who lost their king *Obeidalla* there, and many of their men: Yet were they not daunted, neither did they abate any thing of their rebellious contumacie against *Hizen*, and the Estate of Cordoua, whom they did hate extremely: For presently after their defeat, and the death of their king *Obeidalla*, they chose another of the same linage of *Aben Humeya*, called *Hurram*, the seventh king in number, who left the Scepter of Toledo to his descendants, vntill it was conquered by the Christians.

This past about the year 1008, when as king *Hizen*, thinking himselfe to be in more quiet and securitie then euer, he found himselfe plunged in greater troubles then before: for the Moores were so greedie of commaund, as those which had any authoritie or power, would make head against whom soeuer that would commaund them. The which was no wonder, for that in the citie of Cordoua, and the iurisdiction thereof, there were infinit families descending from kings of the Moores, issuing from the race of *Aben Humeya*: which grew by reason of their pluralitie of wiues, which their sect allowed; which was the cause of seditions and reuolts, for the desire of rule.

During these ciuile warres, the Carrelans and Barcelonians had bene in peace, and free from the Moores inuasions, and had rather sought to annoy them, or inuade them, either alone, or joyntly with the Castilians. *D. Raymond Borel*, the earle, who had succeeded his father, did burie, in a manner at the entrie of his principallitie, his cousin *D. Oliban Cabrera*, earle of Cerdagne and Belsu, at our Ladie of Ripon, in the year 994: whose Estates were diuided among his children *D. Bernard Brisefer*, and *D. Geoffrey*. This new earle had fortified Barcelone, and repaired all the spoyles which the Moores had made during the warre against *D. Borel* his father; joyning the Monasterie of Montjuhy to the walls of Barcelone, and called it *S. Peter* of the virgines, to gratifie *D. Borella* his sister, whom some call *Engelrade*, Abbess of that place. There is no mention made of him in Histories, but that he had one sonne called *D. Berenger Borel*, in the year 995, who succeeded him after his death.

### D. Garcia, called the Trembling, fift of that name, and 12. King of Nauarre.

*Nauarre.* 23 IN the same yere of the decesse of the earle *D. Borel*, which was 993, died (according to the common opinion of writers) *D. Sancho* the 3. sonne to *D. Garcia Sanches*, king of Nauarre; but it is most vncertaine: for the computation of the liues and raiges of these first kings of Nauarre, Leon, and other Princes and Potentates of Spaine, is so diuers and confused in their writings, as no man can judge rightly of them. *D. Sancho* gaue for the souls

for the health of his sonne *D. Ramiro*, to the Monasterie of *S. Emilian*, the towne of Cardenas, with all the appurtenances. Afterwards *D. Garcia* his sonne, furnished the trembling, succeeded him in the kingdom of Nauarre, and the Countie of Arragon. This surname was given him, for that when he entered the combat, he did tremble, not for feare, but by a natural fault, the which did afterwards come into force and valour, being a little hear. In a certain time he did grand donations made in the year 996, of the towne of Henerio, granted by this king *D. Garcia* to the Monasterie of *S. Emilian* of Cogolla, mention is made of *Alahumet* and *D. Garcia* his nephewes, who were sonnes to *D. Ramiro* his brother, whom they called king of Arragon; it may be it was onely in title: he died in the life time of *D. Sancho* their father, and by his death *Alahumet* their other brother is said also to have reigned in Arragon with *D. Ramiro*, *Quene* mother to these three Princes, and not the children of *D. Ramiro*, the which is a stronger argument that they were but titles. To which place of *S. Emilian*, this king *D. Garcia* and *D. Ximena* his wife make another donation of the water which comes from the valley of Alanson, to water their fields and orchards one day and a night in the weekes; to which titles *D. Ramiro* is alwaies set: for it was alwaies a custome of the Princes in Spaine, for honour sake, to name their mothers and wiues, in all letters of donation and priuiledges which they graunt; for they soule (by they) and that of their father, and they make this donation to *S. Emilian*, whom they call their Patron, as they had bene taught. Without doubt their deuotion in those times to *S. Emilian* had bene verie great. *C* who was called on as an Aduocate and Patron by the Christians in Spaine, from Burgos into the Ocean: of the which there are two Monasteries, the one called the higher, the other the lower.

*D. Garcia* the trembling married *D. Ximena*, and yet there is great diuersitie among Authors touching the name of this Ladie, by whom he had *D. Sancho*, who was king after him. He recommended his education and bringing vp to *D. Sancho*, Abbot of Saint Saluator of Leyre, who was afterwards Bishop of Pampelone. The qualities of this king are little knowen, for want of ancient records, whereof they commend one, the which is questionable, whether it be a vertue or a vice, That he could neuer refuse any thing that was demaunded of him: but they chiefly merit to be held liberrall, when as they giue, with judgement, and measurably to men of merit, otherwise they are reardned prodigall, ignorant, carelesse, and contempters of the chiefe point of their charge, which is, to distribute rewards and punishments equally. There is no mention made of his warres and enterprises. He reigned, as they estimate, seven yeares, and so he died in the thousand year of our Saviour. His bodie, as *Estates* some hold, was buried at *S. John de la Pega*; others say, at *S. Saluator* at Leyre, which place was more famous, and of greater authoritie.

### D. Sancho, the fourth of that name, and thirteenth King of Nauarre.

*E* 24 *D. Sancho* succeeded his father *D. Garcia* the trembling in his Estates, accounted the thirteenth king of Nauarre; a vertuous and valliant Prince, and famous for his great exploits; during whose raigne, the Historie, and especially the computation of times, begins to be more plaine and certaine, than in the time of his predecessors.

25 In the year 1001 of our redemption, and the 384 of the Arabians Empire, and 287 Moores. of their entrie into Spaine, *Zuleima* being abandoned by the Castilians, he had recourse to the king of Saragosse and Carrace, with whose aid he recovered Cordoua, and made himselfe king againe, *Hizen* being fled into Africke; one of whose captaines, called *Hali Hatan*, holding Orichela, called *Hali* Gouvernor of Ceuta, and caused him to passe with some forces into Spaine, in hope to raigne there. These two did besiege and take Cordoua, and *Zuleima* in it, whom *Hali* slue with his owne hands: but it was not long before *Hali Hatan* did rise againe, whom he troubled much for the space of two yeares, and after some batailles against *Hali*, whom he caused him to be secretly slaine in a bath, in the towne of Iawoon and lost on either side, he caused him to be secretly slaine in a bath, in the towne of Iawoon, by some of his Eunuches, whom he had corrupted, in whose place, the noblemen and knights

*Hali* 3. king of Cordoua.

Confusion and ciuile warres among the Moores.

knightes of the Moores which were at Lahen, chose his brother *Casin*, who kept at Seule, in the year 1003, and 386 of the Arabians raigned. Manie African Moores of Barbarie, (some sent for, some voluntaries, to seeke their adventures) passed dayly into Spaine, by reason of these conspiracies and ciuile dissensions; of which, *Casin* the new king had manie which followed his partie, as his deceased brother had. Being come to Lahen, he caused a diligent search to be made for those trecherous Eunuques which had slaine the king, but they could find no more but two, whom he put to death, and then it behooded him to defend himselfe: for *Hali Hatan* seeing that he could not raigne, procured him great enemies, that is, *Abderramen Almorada*, of the bloud royall of *Aben Humeja*, who gouerned in Murcia, sending messagers with all kinds of persuasions, and other meanes, to induce the pettie Arabian kings, which held Sarragosse, Valence, Tortosa, and other townes and forts in Spaine, to ioyne with him, to resist (said he) the Barbarian Moores which came to invade Spaine: wherefore *Abderramen* was created King and Miralumin by them, but he neuer held the chiefe towne of Cordoua. Having raysed an armie of all those of his faction, he besieged and tooke the towne of Lahen, cutting the Moores in peeces, which held it against him, and from thence went to other places, which he seized on, and in a short time became Lord of a great countrey; the which *Hali Hatan* and another captain of his traine, called *Almundar*, *Aben-Alfak*, did verie much enuie, and as they had helped to raise him to that height, so they sought all meanes possible to pull him downe, and not onely to deprive him of his estates, but also of his life, saying, That it was not reasonable any other than themselves should reape the fruits of their labours, and the conquests gotten with the price of their bloods. For the effecting whereof, they filled the kings Court and campe with quarrels and discontents, among the commanders and captaines, watching some fit opportunitie to execute their malicious designe. King *Abderramen* putting his good fortune, came to besiege Grenado, the which at that time was reasonably great, and well peopled, and commanded by a pettie king, a Moore, called *Bedeet*, *Aben Abu*. There these two conspirators, *Hali Hatan* and *Almundar* (making thew to imploy themselves faithfully in any thing that might annoy the besieged) had secret conference with some Moores of the towne, and layed a plot, That they should make a sallie vpon *Abderramens* armie, the which they would fauour in such sort, as most of his best men and hee himselfe should either bee taken or slaine; and having instructed them where they should charge, and of the situation of the kings lodging (which was vpon the side of a hill, called *Senetta*, two leagues from Grenado) they held themselves readie, attending the alarme, the which being giuen verie hot, and at a fit time to strike terrour, they joyined with the Grenadines, where they made a great slaughter of *Abderramens* men, he himselfe being in like manner slaine, and the rest of the armie dispersed and put to flight, abandoning their Engines of batterie, and all their baggage, the which was spoyled, and carried into Grenado, with great joy. This treason was practised by these two captaines through enuie, together with a distrust of king *Abderramens* good successe; wherefore after this goodly exploit, they resolved to send part of the bootie, with manie heads of the chiefe of the Moores, slaine in this surpris, to king *Casin*, in signe of triumph; the which was verie pleasing to this king, who was then at Cordoua, and making vse of this good fortune, he went to field, to reduce vnder his obedience manie townes and forts which had revolted to king *Abderramen*, when as hee was aduanced to that dignitie; the which he did to manie; but he wanted force and time to finish it: for having rayigned scarce three yeares, he died in the year 1007. The Moores of Barbarie, which had for a time followed the partie of the kings of Cordoua, were then in great authoritie in the citie, and therefore had the meanes and credit to chuse *Hijaz*, the sonne of *Mahomet*, for king: the which did much discontent the ancient Moores borne in the countrey, who sought some good opportunitie to be rid of these Berberuzes (as the Spaniards called them) by killing or chasing them out of the towne, to the end that the government thereof might retorne into their hands, as before. A fit occasion was offered: for the new king *Hijaz*, who before his election to be king was resident at Malaga, having a desire to haue that towne at his deuotion, for that it had not obeyed the precedent kings of Cordoua, since their troubles and seditions,

Enuie and treacherie among the Arabians.

A tions, went forth of Cordoua, leading with him great troupes of fouldiours, especially of that race of Moores which came out of Barbarie. Comming to Malaga, he was received without any contradiction: but whilest hee was busie there, the inhabitants of Cordoua, who had intelligence with *Buz* of Grenado, drew certaine troupes, which hee had sent, into their towne, being led by two of his captaines, *Hyran* and *Mogid*, by whose helpe they cut the throats of about a thousand African Moores, who were left for the gard of the citie. At this bruite, king *Hijaz* lieutenant was so amazed, as he got out of the towne, with all the ministers of iustice, and fled to Malaga, to carrie these troublesome newes to the king his master; who within few dayes was slaine by a Moore, called *Ismael*, having rayigned onely three moneths and some dayes. *Abderramen* the fourth of that name was aduanced in his place: he was king but a moneth and seutene dayes, and we doe not read, whither he died, or were expelled his kingdom. After him followed *Alahumet*, great Miralumin of Cordoua, who rayigned not long, for that being rich in treasure, by his good husbandrie, before he came to be king, it was a cause to shorten his life; by the trecherie of his household seruants, who conspired to murder him for his treasure, wherefore they poysoned him, hauing held the kingdom a yeare and foure moneths: He died in the yeare one thousand and nine, and of the Arabians rayigne three hundred nyctie two. He left this place to *Hizen* the third of that name, who liued long at Seule, being desirous to raigne, the which he now obtained. In the meane time a Moore, who called himselfe king of Ceuta, passing the strait, came to Malaga, where he tooke the fort of the towne. He was called *Efraziz*, and brought with him a great number of the Moores of Africke: with whom *Buz*, who reamed himselfe king of Grenado, joyined at Malaga, and called himselfe his vassall, doing him homage. Being thus fortified with the Moores of Spaine, he came to Carmona, the which he tooke: then passing on by Alcaladel Rio, he burnt the suburbs of Triana, and seized vpon Seule. Many other tyrants did rise in diuers places, so as all Spaine, vnder the Moores jurisdiction, was full of seditions, and ciuill warres, and the estate of Cordoua was spoyled by him that could get it: but the kings of Toledo made their profit more than any other, who meddling not with other mens quarrells, kept themselves quiet, and suffered with their owne limits. After the death of *Obeidalla* (as we haue said) *Hyran* rayigned, of the lineage of *Aben Humeia*, who dying left the scepter to his sonne, called *Hizen*, who rayigned in the time of this other *Hizen*, king of Cordoua, and was the eight king of Toledo.

King *Hizen* of Cordoua was of as small continuance as his late predecessors; for the Moores his subjects expelled him, in hatred of the robberies and extortions committed by his Alhabib, or Constable, who from a base place was aduanced to that dignitie: so having held the kingdom twentie moneths and some dayes, he gaue place to *Almondar* folle, in the yeare one thousand and eleuen. *Almondar*, who was of the lineage of *Aben Humeja*, put himselfe forward (being desirous to raigne) in this sedition and popular tumult, and hauing gathered some of his friends and kinsfolkes together, he came vnto the citie, entreating them to receiue him, seeing they would not haue king *Hizen*: Whereupon being aduerted by some one well affected, that he offered himselfe in an vnseasonable time, the people being in armes, and incensed against a king, wherefore hee should doe wisely to retire, and to keepe himselfe from murthering in this tumult: but being mad with ambition, he persisted in his demand, adding thereunto, that he did not care, so as they created him king that day, if they slue him the next. Which words were so odious vnto all that heard them, as without any further delay, or giuing him that fading contentment to see himselfe king that day, they slew him vpon the place, presuming by the words which he had vttered, that he would be an vnprofitable and bad king: such was the reward of his furious desire to raigne. This being done, they did forbear to kill *Hizen*, and being resolved not to haue him for their king, they let him vnderstand, That if he would saue his life, he should quit the fort, and retire where he pleased: whereunto he obeyed, and retired himselfe, with some of his friends, into another strong house of his, joyning vnto the citie, of a contrarie humor to *Almondar*: but the Moores of Cordoua not thincking themselves secure, he being so neere them, and being resolved not to endure any more kings

*Hijaz* 34 king of Cordoua.

*Abderramen* 36 king at Cordoua.

*Alahumet* 37 king at Cordoua.

*Hizen* 38 king at Cordoua.

The furious and vnrestrained ambition of *Almondar*.

Isar to king at Cordoua.

Isar to king at Cordoua.

Mahomet the 20. and last king at Cordoua.

Leon.

An. 1006.

D. Alphonsus king of Leon, a lover of justice.

Nauarre.

D. Sancho Emperor of Spaine.

Genealogie of Nauarre.

kings of the linage of *Aben Humeya*, they besieged him in this house, tooke him, and imprisoned him in Cordoua, from whence he escaped, and fled to Saragossa, where he lived in a priuate estate. Then a Moore of great power, called *Isar of Algazur*, seeing the cite without a king, embracing this occasion, with the helpe of his friends which did assist him, tooke vpon him the title and royall authoritie at Cordoua: but on the other side, one *Hali Casin*, or *Aben Casin*, residing at Seuille, a man of a great house, and mightie, seized vpon the towne of Seuille, where he did remaine with the Moores of his faction, and enjoyed the foueraigntie fifteen years; yet taking no other title vpon him, but as Iudge and Gouernour; but he prepared the way for his succellours to make it a royall feat. *Isar* reigned but two years, and *Mahomet* his sonne succeeded him, being the twentieth and last king of the Moores at Cordoua, and in whom the majestie of the Miralmunis of Spaine (which had beene great) was extinct: from the which grew so many pettie kings, as there was scarce any good towne in Spaine but had a particular king, which made strict alliances among themselves for the preservation of their estates, and maintained themselves vntill the comming of the Almorauides, Moores, which came out of Affricke, as we will shew. This king *Mahomet*, desiring rather to hold that little of the estate of Cordoua, which remained, than to seeke after that which was drawne away, enjoyed it in peace thirteene years; the which fell out, according to the common opinion, about the year 1027, and of the Arabians 415: So as the royall seat of the Miralmunis of Spaine (accounting from *Abderramen* the first, who did begin it) had continued in the cite of Cordoua 269 years. The Moores affaires in Spaine being in this confusion, the Christians neglected this fit opportunitie, to recover all Spaine, and to root out the sect of *Mahomet*: but they had their infirmities in like manner. *D. Sancho* king of Nauarre made some attempts, but as it seemes ill pursued, being not mentioned in the Histories.

*D. Alphonsus* king of Leon, made an enterprize against them that gouerned in Lusitanis, and besieged the towne of Viseo, but as he went inconsiderately about it, to view the place, being vnarmed, hee was shot with an arrow from the towne, whereof hee died soon after: this was in the year 1006, as the Spanish Histories report: But the letters and titles of Chapters and Couents say, he liued vnto the year 1028. A little before his death, he had receiued into his countrey the children of *D. Bela* of Nagera, a knight who as we haue said, had beene chased out of Castille, by the Earle *D. Fernand Gonfalez*: which were *D. Roderigo*, *D. Diego*, and *D. Inigo Bela*, who would neuer be reconciled vnto *D. Sancho* Earle of Castille, their Lord: wherefore hauing liued a wandering and vagabond life for a time among the Moores, and elsewhere, in the end they came into Leon, whereas the king *D. Alphonsus* receiued them, honoured them, and gaue them lands and reuenues, in the quarter of Somocés. This Prince was careful to administer justice to his subjects, and therefore did renew and restore the ancient lawes of the Gothes, and did correct and moderat them with new decrees fit for the time, and all by the aduise of the generall estates, assembled at Ouedo, in the year 1003. He repaired the ruines of the Citie of Leon, and there build a Church to Saint *Iohn Baptist*, whither he caused the body of *D. Bermund* his father, and many others, to be brought, and there interred. In his time liued *Athilan*, Bishop of Leon, and *Florianus* a great Preacher in Galicia, both held for Saints in Spaine. They write, that *Florian* meaning to trie if Sermons were pleasing to God, put burning coales into his mouth, and had no harme.

As for *D. Sancho* fourth king of Nauarre, he was sumamed the Great, chiefly for his great dominions, and for his great exploits, both in peace and warre; by reason whereof he incited himselfe king of Spaine, the which the Gothes with all their greatie and power durst not doe. He married *D. Nagna*, eldest daughter to *D. Sancho Garcia*, Earle of Castille; yet the Histories of Arragon call her otherwise, & say the king had a former wife, which was *D. Caya*, Ladie of Ayuar, the which was rather a concubine, than a lawfull wife, of whom *D. Ramir*, first king of Arragon was borne. By this Ladie *D. Nagna*, he did inherit the Earldome of Castille, and by her had *D. Garcia* king of Sobrarbre, and Ribagorça. He was either in person, or sent to all the warres betwixt the Christians, and the Moores, whose estate was much shaken in his time, by reason of the diuisions of that mutinous nation; and this king was more fortunate abroad, than in his owne house.

The

The Histories which treat of his deedes, say, That being absent in some warre against the Moores, his sonne *D. Garcia* demanded a goodly horse of his mother, out of the kings stable, the which he loued about all the rest, and had straitly commanded his wife not to suffer any one to ride him: yet three desiring to please her eldest sonne, graunted him; but being afterwards dissuaded by a knight, called, *Pedro de Sese*, or as some write *Fernand* of Ordognana, the king had master of the kings horse, thee would haue avoided it, considering the charge the king had giuen her: whereas *D. Garcia* being too much incensed for a matter of no moment, began to imagine that there was some dishonest familiaritie betwixt this Master of the Horse and his mother, whether that he believed it, or did maliciously inuent it, forgetting God, and all filthie respect, he resolved to accuse them of adulterie: and hauing conferred this designe with his brother *D. Fernand* (who was of a better disposition) he would haue forced him to serue as a witnesse, or assultant in this wickednesse, the which he refused, and did often dissuade *D. Garcia* from so vile an enterprize, but it was in vaine. In the end *D. Fernand* youth was vanquished by the importunitie, or rather feare of his elder brother, promising not to reueale the fraud and lye, which he had discovered vnto him. The king being returned to his castle of Nagera, this peruerse sonne *D. Garcia* failed not to accuse his mother: whereas the king was wonderfully amazed, for that he had neuer scene any cause to suspect his wife of any dishonestie, neither would he lightly believe that which his sonne had said, but examining this businesse carefully, he sought by all means to discouer the truth: yet he caused the Queene to be put in prison in the castle of Nagera, then taking *D. Fernand* his second sonne apart, he examined him vpon this fact, who answered the king doubtfully, the which increased his suspicion more than before: wherefore the king called an assemblie of noblemen, and of his Council, to whom he propounded this pittifull case, demanding their aduice. They answered that the Queene must purge her selfe by contrary proofes, according vnto the Lawes, or according to the custome which was then in vse, thee should finde a knight to defend her cause by armes, else she must suffer the punishment due to such an offence, which was to be burnt. The poore Ladie attending this sentence, made her continuall prayers vnto God, to make her innocencie knowne, who heard her prayers: for after some daies, no man daring to present himselfe to defend this princesse honor, *D. Ramir* the kings bastard son offered himselfe to enter combat for the Queene; against any that would maintaine the accusation which was layed against her. As they prepared themselves to the combat, there was a religious man of good fame, and much respected in Nauarre, who doubting of this fraude, or otherwise aduertised by the prouidence of God, came vnto *D. Garcia* and *D. Fernand* the kings sons, whom he perswaded with such liuelie reasons, as they were toucht in conscience, and began to apprehend the foulness of their offence, to haue sought her death who was the cause of their being against all truth, and for a matter of so small moment; wherefore casting themselves at this holy mans feet, they confest their fault, demanding pardon of God, and intreating him to finde some means that this pursute might cease, the Queenes innocencie knowne, and that she might be restored to the kings fauour. The religious man hauing comforted them, went vnto the king, to whom he declared what he had done, and what he vnderstood from his sonnes, intreating him to pardon their offence, whom youth and choler had thus transported. The king being ioyfull of the innocencie of his wife, deliuered her out of prison, and meaning that the fauour which they pretended to recover, should depend wholly of their mother, he sent them vnto her: but the shewing her selfe a true mother, did forget the cause she had to dislike her ill aduised sonnes, and pardoning them with a motherlie affection, shee restored them to the kings fauour: In this action, *D. Ramir* shewed himselfe both vertuous and valiant, wherein hee purchased the more honour, by this circumstance, That hee being sonne of an other woman, would defend the reputation of his mother in law against her owne children: in recompence whereof, the king *D. Sancho*, assigning portions for his children in his life time, gaue after his death the Earldome of Arragon to *D. Ramir* with the title of king. By this diuision of portions made by the king *D. Sancho*, and *D. Nagna*, *D. Fernand* was also graced with a royall title, in the succession of Castille, which fell vnto her by the violent death of her brother *D. Garcia*, as we will shew: Nauarre remaying to *D. Garcia* the elder brother, and the ancient realme of Sobrarbre to *D. Gonfalo*; meaning to

Notable treason of a Queene against his mother.

Queene of a Countess of adulterie.

The seruise of D. Ramir the bastard concerning the businesse of Nauarre.

Queene of Nauarre innocencie justified.

Affection of a mother.

to honour all his children with the names and titles of Kings, which was the cause of great divisions among these brethren, which happily had ceased, if one of them had become made souveraine King over the rest, the which had maintained the Christians estate in Spaine better united, and of more force to repulse the Moores. The time of this action of adulterie is vacante.

Religious deeds  
of D. Sancho the  
great.

The king D. Sancho was a very devout and religious Prince, after the manner of those times: for besides the confirmation of gifts which he and his wife gave to S. Emilian, of the towne of Ventose (annexed to this place by D. Garcia his father and others) he made a vow, to give unto the Coueat of S. Saluator of Leyre, the tenth of bread and wine, and the herbage of such places as he should take from the Moores: and with this hope, in the year 1015, he raised an armie to invade the Infidels by the frontier of Funes: at which place of Funes he gave to the same Monasterie a field of Vines which he had of the inhabitants, for that he had slaine tenne Moores in the time of peace, for the which they ought a thousand solz. for a fine, which were so many crownes, or thereabouts. More, in Falles he gave a possession, house, vine, and other apputenances: and in Nagera, the houses, vines, and fields of king Antrago, but what he was, we have no certain knowledge. These things he gave to the Church of S. Saluator of Leyre. It is not knowne what was the successe of D. Sancho's warre against the Moores, but that by conjecture it was good, for that in that time there is a confirmation made by him, of nobilitie, and exemptions granted by his predecessors to the inhabitants of Roncal. The zeale of this religious Prince was such, as he called a Councell at S. Saluator de Leyre, in the year 1022, but the chiefe decree was, a confirmation of priuiledges granted to this Monasterie by his grandfather D. Sancho, and D. Vraas his grandmother, and D. Garcia and D. Ximena his father and mother; which confirmation was signed by the king and all his children. The year after 1023, there was another Councell held in Pamplone, where the Bishopricke was transferred to S. Saluator of Leyre, where it continued some time. There enquire was made of the ancient limits of the jurisdiction of the Bishopricke of Pamplone. This was the subject of Councells in those dayes. Then was D. Sancho the elder (who had beene schoolmaster to the king) Bishop of Pamplone, and Abbot of S. Saluator, but he could not see this alteration, for that he died this year: but his successor carrying the same name, surnamed the younger, saw it in the year 1026, being the seventh Bishop of that Church, being vacante to what Archbishop it was then subject. In our time it is so that of Saragosse.

Councils in  
Nauarre.

An. 1023.

This year 1026 was borne that great captain, a Castilian, called Roderigo Dias of Bivar, who was afterwards called *Cid Roy Dias*, the Camper, of whom mention shall be made. In the year 1028 they hold (and it is verified by titles and ancient records) That D. Sancho Earle of Castille died, hauing ruled nine and thirtie yeares, and was buried in the Monastie of S. Saluator of Ogna, founded by him. He was an vfortunate Prince in his house, by reason of the miserable death of his mother; otherwise he was wise and valiant, and a great louer of his nobilitie, to whom he gave great priuiledges and exemptions, yea, he dispensed with them from going to the warre without pay and entertainment, and that they should not be taxed for any imposition which should be leuied vpon the publike. And as he was very deuout, after the manner of those times, he made manie reparations and orders, to make the wayes more easie for them that went in pilgrimage to S. Iagues of Compostella: for in the beginning, the ordinarie and most vsuall way was by the Prouinces of Guisulcoa and Biscaye to the mountaine country, then to the Asturias of Sentillana, then to Ouedo, from whence they entred into Galicia; and since the way being mountainous, although it were short, being left, by reason of the difficult and hard passages, they came from France by Nauarre into Alaua, and then through the Asturias; a longer, but a farre more easie voyage than the other: but the Earle D. Sancho caused a way to be made euen, from Nauarre by Rioje and Bureua, to the cite of Burgos, the which is frequented at this day, to the great ease of such as make this voyage to S. Iagues. They call this the French way. This Earle gave Quintanilla to the Monastie of S. Emilian, and did many other works for the redemption of his soule, as appears by the letters and titles of that age.

Castile.

An. 1028.

This year 1028 they hold (and it is verified by titles and ancient records) That D. Sancho Earle of Castille died, hauing ruled nine and thirtie yeares, and was buried in the Monastie of S. Saluator of Ogna, founded by him. He was an vfortunate Prince in his house, by reason of the miserable death of his mother; otherwise he was wise and valiant, and a great louer of his nobilitie, to whom he gave great priuiledges and exemptions, yea, he dispensed with them from going to the warre without pay and entertainment, and that they should not be taxed for any imposition which should be leuied vpon the publike. And as he was very deuout, after the manner of those times, he made manie reparations and orders, to make the wayes more easie for them that went in pilgrimage to S. Iagues of Compostella: for in the beginning, the ordinarie and most vsuall way was by the Prouinces of Guisulcoa and Biscaye to the mountaine country, then to the Asturias of Sentillana, then to Ouedo, from whence they entred into Galicia; and since the way being mountainous, although it were short, being left, by reason of the difficult and hard passages, they came from France by Nauarre into Alaua, and then through the Asturias; a longer, but a farre more easie voyage than the other: but the Earle D. Sancho caused a way to be made euen, from Nauarre by Rioje and Bureua, to the cite of Burgos, the which is frequented at this day, to the great ease of such as make this voyage to S. Iagues. They call this the French way. This Earle gave Quintanilla to the Monastie of S. Emilian, and did many other works for the redemption of his soule, as appears by the letters and titles of that age.

The ancient  
way from  
France to S.  
Iagues.

D. Ber-

## D. Bermond, third of that name, 23. King of Leon.



ON Bermond, sonne to D. Alphons succeeded his father in the Realme of Leon, in the year 1028, being but a young Prince at his first entry to the Crown, he began to follow the religious steps of his father, causing churches, monasteries, & other buildings which had bene ruined by the Arabians in the former wars, to be repaired. And moreover, was very careful to maintaine good orders among his subiects, and to do them justice, punishing the disordered with great severity. An argument that he had good and vertuous men in his Court, and of his Councell, who honored both themselves and their Prince, in the due execution of their charges, and discharging of their consciences: so as it followed, that all the subiects gouerned themselves by their kings example: yea the Noblemen and Knights of his Court. The beginning of which raigne could not but be held most happie. Hee married with D. Theresa, second daughter to D. Sancho, last earle of Castile, by whom he had one son, called D. Alphons C by his grandfathers name, who died before his father.

Row.

A religious  
king and louer  
of iustice.

By the same treatie of marriage with the youngest daughter of Castile, after the decesse of D. Sancho Earle of Castile, by the aduice of the country, there was a marriage propounded, betwixt D. Garcia successor to the sayd earle, and D. Sancho sister to the K. D. Bermond. Both parties being agreed, D. Garcia went to Leon, to consummate this marriage, being accompanied by D. Sancho k. of Nauarre his brother-in-law, who had married D. Nugna the eldest daughter of Castile. The Court being full of Noblemen and Ladies to honor this marriage, which should be performed with state; and the Earle D. Garcia having no other thoughts but to court his mistress; there came vnto him the 3 brethren of Bela about mentioned, who were banished out of Castile, & fled into Leon.

D. Garcia k.  
Earle of Castile

D. Roderigo, D. Diego, and D. Inigo, who making a shew to desire the Earles fauor, came to kisse his hand, offering him all service & homage, as his naturall vassalls, craving pardon for that was past: to whom D. Garcia being courteous, gave good reception; and presuming they had nothing hidden in their hearts, but what their countenances shewed, and their tongues vttered, he assured himselfe of them, going without any guard, like a priuie man that had no quarrell: so as these traitours found oportunitie to murder him, in reuenge that the Earle his father had banished them out of Castile, and confiscated their goods: so the innocent suffered for the offender, if we may call it an offence to do iustice vpon rebels. He that gaue him the first blow with his sword, was D. Ruy or Roderigo his god-father. Such excesses did the Christians then commit. The murderers did then escape, but afterwards they fell into the hands of D. Sancho King of Nauarre, who tooke a worthy reuenge. There was great heauinesse in Court for this wretched murder: but D. Sancho lamented more than all the rest, to see her selfe a widow before she was a wife: who seeing her spouse interred at S. John Baptist in Leon, intreated them that they would burne her aliuie with him. By the death of D. Garcia, the Earle dome of Castile fell to the k. of Nauarre D. Sancho, who had married D. Nugna the eldest sister of D. Garcia, and tooke peaceable possession thereof in the same year 1028.

D. Garcia  
Earle of Castile  
murdered by the  
brethren of  
Bela.

After the death of D. Raymond Borel Earle of Barcelon, which was in the year 1017, D. Berenger his son gouerned this principality, as proprietarie, vnder the Soueraignie of France, being the sixt in number, and was surnamed Borel, as his father, but of a contrary disposition to his father: for by his idleness, he gaue entry to all vices into his Court: war and all exercises of chivalrie were contemned by him, which bred him great troubles. We find that this Earle had three sonnes, the first called D. Raymond Berenger succeeded him: the second, D. Guillen or Guillaume Berenger, was Earle of Manresc, and the third sonne, Don Sancho Berenger Prior of the Monastie of

Genoa of  
Barcelons.  
S. B.

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Saint Benoit of Bages: Who after the decease of D. Guillen the 2. brother, which died A without children, left his habit, and succeeded him in the Conty of Manrese, & died also without children. In the year 1020. D. Bernard Brisefer, cousin to the Earle Berenger, riding through Prouence, was drowned in the river of Rofne: And for that hee was a brave Knight, the Moores having notice of his death, grew so hardie and courageous, as they did ouer-runne the countrey of Cattelogne, entring by Cerdagne: but they were repulled and chased, by D. Geoffrey Earle of that place, brother to D. Berenger. This D. Geoffrey was founder of the Monasterie of Saint Martin of Canigo, and mention is made of five sonnes issued from him. D. Raymond Geoffrey, who was Earle of Cerdagne and Besalu, after the father: D. Geoffrey Guinar, Archbishop of Narbon: D. Berenger Geoffrey, Bishop of Giron: D. Guillen Geoffrey, Bishop of Vigel: and the last D. Geoffrey, Earle of Bergada: Having so goodly an issue, he dyed in the year 1025. and was interred at Saint Martin of Canigo, which hee had built. His eldest sonne and heire in the Countie of Cerdagne, did little enioy it, for hee dyed two yeares after, leaving two sonnes, D. Guillen Raymond Earle, and D. Henry.

Nauarre and Castile.

The Moores by another Inuasion into the territories of Cattelogne, ruined the Monasterie of Ripol: but by the care of D. Oliban, sonne to D. Oliban Cabrifa, they were repulled, and the Monasterie repayed and fortified by him, in the year 1035. in which year the Earle D. Berenger Borel dyed, having gouerned five and thirty yeares without any fyme, being scarce forty yeares old, and the perception of the succession by D. Sancho the Great, king of Nauarre, in the name of D. Nueua his wife, being the first woman which succeeded in Castile, there grew a ywarre betwixt him and D. Bermond king of Leon, who had married the Earles other sister, called D. Theresa: in the which the King of Leon lost the countrey which lyes from the river of Cea, vnto the auncient limits of Castile: but by the mediation of some Noblemen, and good Councillers, these two Princes were reconciled and concluded a peace, by the which there was a marriage contracted betwixt D. Fernand, who cond sonne to the king of Nauarre, and D. Sancho sister to the king D. Bermond, who had bene promised to D. Garcia, Earle of Castile. By this Treatie the lands which the King of Nauarre had taken from the King of Leon, should bee giuen to Fernand: and it was sayd, that the Earledome of Castile assigned to him, should haue the title of a Kingdome, when hee should beginne to enioy it. Thus they were good friends, and maintained peace betwixt these two Estates of Leon and Castile, till after the death of the King D. Sancho the Great: Who about the year 1033. restored the towne of Palence, vpon an opinion which he had to haue bene miraculously cured, (having put his arme out of ioynt, striking at a wild Boare) in the ruines of this towne, which was sometimes destroyed by the Moores, and at a place where as Saint Antolins church had bene. To this place he restored the auncient Episcopall seate, and gaue great gifts vnto it. The Bishops of Palence, call themselves Earles of Pernia since that time. Hee gaue much to other Monasteries, as it was the custome of those times: and that for the deuotion he had to the Reliques of Ouiedo, he went thither as a pilgrim, but he was slain by the way, as we haue sayd, and was buried at Ouiedo, & afterwards transported to O-gna, in the year 1034. After his decease, his children tooke possession of the Realmes assigned vnto them by their father and mother: D. Garcia of Nauarre, D. Fernand of Castile, D. Gonçalo of Sobrabre and Ribagorça, and D. Ramir of Arragon.

An. 1033.  
Palence restored by the king of Nauarre.

Death of D. Sancho king of Nauarre.  
An. 1034.

Thus a great Estate (by reason whereof D. Sancho had called himselfe Emperour of Spaine, and was surnamed the Great) was dismembred, to the great preiudice of Christendome. Being dead, his brother in lawe D. Bermond, would not obserue the conditions concluded by the Treatie of marriage betwixt his sister and D. Fernand the new King of Castile, seeking to take from him the Land which did confine vpon the Riuer of Cea, conquered and ouercome by D. Sancho the Great, the which he afterwards left vnto D. Fernand, and to his wife, his sister, in making of the marriage. D. Fernand hearing that hee prepared and addressed himselfe to Armes, with an intent and resolution to annoy and trouble him, hee also, on the contrarie, put himselfe in defence

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A defence, being supported by his brother D. Garcia King of Nauarre, with great troupes of souldiers, the which he ledde himselfe in person, to a place called Llantada. The two armies encountered neere the Riuer of Carrion, where there was a furious battaile, with great slaughter of either side: But D. Bermond lost his life, being runne thorough with a Lance; by whose death (for that hee had no lawfull children) the succession of Leon and Ouiedo, fell to D. Fernand husband to D. Sancho, sister to the deceased. This was in the year 1037. that the two Estates of Leon and Castile were ynted. D. Bermond was interred at Leon with his wife D. Theresa, who was dead before.

Prinse of Leon and Castile.

The end of the seventh Booke.

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THE

# THE EIGHTH BOOKE of the Historie of Spaine.

## The Contents.

- 1 D. Ferdinand, first king of Castile.
- 2 D. Raymond Berenger, 7. Earle of Barcelona.
- 3 D. Ramir, first king of Arragon.
- 4 D. Garcia, 14. king of Nauarre, the sixth of that name.
- 5 D. Sancho, fift of that name, and fifteenth king of Nauarre.
- 6 Division of the Estates of D. Fernand the first king of Castile, among his children giuing  
Castile to D. Sancho, to D. Alphonso that of Leon, and to D. Garcia, Galicia, with the  
like title.
- 7 D. Sancho Ramires, king of Arragon, 2. and the inuasion of Nauarre by him, wherfore  
he was numbred for the 16. king of Nauarre, and the sixth of that name.
- 8 Estate of the Arabians in the East, their diuisions, and quarrells, from whence sprung  
mightie Monarchies.
- 9 D. Alphonso the sixth, called the Brave, king of Castile, Leon, and Galicia, uniting  
these three Estates.
- 10 Exploits of Cid Ruis Diaz, a valiant Captaine of Castile.
- 11 D. Raymond, eighth Earle of Barcelona.
- 12 Vsurpations of the King of Castile, vpon Nauarre.
- 13 Conquest of the cittie and kingdome of Toledo, from the Moores. Re-establishment of the  
Archbishops seat and primacie of Spaine, and other things belonging to the dignitie of  
that Cittie.
- 14 D. Raymond Arnoul, ninth Earle of Barcelona.
- 15 The royall Seate restored to Cordoua, by Ali-Aben-Axa a Moore, who vniited all the  
Princes and Potentates of that Seate in Spaine, vnder the Empire of the Almorauides:  
his rebellion and death.
- 16 Passage of Ioseph Aben-Tefin, Miralmumin, or king of Maroc in Spaine: reduction of  
all the Moores of Spaine vnder one Empire.
- 17 Henry of Lorraine, or of Besançon, Earle of Linbourg, the Stemme of the royall family  
of Portugall.
- 18 Spaine furnished with French Prelates.
- 19 D. Pedro first of that name, 17. king of Nauarre, and third of Arragon.
- 20 Ali-Aben-Tefin-Miralmumin, or king of the Arabians Almorauides.

This eighth Booke contains the beginning of the  
Realmes of Castile and Arragon, erected by D. SANCHE

4. king of Nauarre, and the continuance of their Princes, and  
other Potentates of Spaine, as followeth:

### LEON. Kings.

- 14 D. Fernand 1.
- D. Alphonso 6.

### NAUARRE. Kings.

- 14 D. Garcia 6.
- 15 D. Sancho 5.
- 16 D. Sancho Ramir 6.
- 17 D. Pedro the first 1.

### CATTELOGNE. Kings.

- 7 D. Raymond Berenger.
- 8 D. Raymond.
- 9 D. Raymond Arnoul.

### CASTILE. Kings.

- 1 The same 2.
- 2 D. Sancho 2.
- 3 The same 1.

### ARRAGON. Kings.

- 1 D. Ramir the first 1.

The same 4.

The same 1.

### PORTVGAL. Earles.

- 1 D. Henry of Lorraine, or of Besançon, first  
Earle vnder the Soueraigntie of Leon.

D. Fer-

D. Fernand, 2. of that name, first  
king of Castile, and 24.  
of Leon.

D. Fernand had reigned 2. yeares in Castile, when as the quarrell grew betwixt Castile  
him, and D. Bermond king of Leon, whereof followed the defeat of Llantada,  
and the death of the king D. Bermond: after which the two breethren, D. Garcia king of  
Nauarre, and D. Fernand of Castile, led their victorious armie before the city of Leon,  
where the remainders were that had escaped from the bataille. The Leonois would  
haue made some resistance against D. Fernand heire to the Crowne: but fearing they  
should not be able to hold out long, they receiued him: and being crowned in Saint  
Mary de la Regle, the Cathedral church of Leon, in the yeare 1037. he reigned in peace.  
Thus these two Estates of Leon and Castile were vniited, about an hundred yeares after  
they had beene diuided, in the time of D. Fernand Gonçales: and they came into the mal-  
culine line of the house of Nauarre, in D. Fernand, the second sonne, by the heredita-  
rie right of women: that is, Castile by his mother D. Nuña, and Leon, in the right of  
his wife D. Sancho, for want of heires males of the direct line in these two houses.  
Before he came to these great successions, during the life of the king D. Sancho his father,  
he had had by his wife D. Sancho, presumptiue heire of Leon, one daughter called D.  
Yrsea, then a sonne D. Sancho, and after him another daughter named D. Eluira, being  
King of Castile, she bare him D. Alphonso, in the yeare, 1035: and for the last of  
all their children D. Garcia: All which were well instructed and bred vp like kings chil-  
dren according to their sexe.

The first royall act which D. Fernand did, was to dispose of Iustice, fortifying by his  
authoritie the ancient lawes of the Goths, with some necessarie additions or reforma-  
tions: he was much renowned, not onely for that respect, but also for his Religion, and  
valour in warre, whereof he shewed good prooffe against the Moores, who inuaded  
his dominions in the yeare 1038, by the frontiers of Galicia, and the countrey which  
is properly called Extremadura, the which lyes vpon the banks of Durio, whence it  
takes the name, not that which they thinke at this day lyes betwixt Tayo and Guadiana  
where the good wood growes. D. Fernand did not onely repulse them, but also pour-  
sued them vnto Merida and Badajos, then entering into the countrey, which is now cal-  
led Portugall, hee tooke from them the townes of Cea, Gana, Viseo, Lamego, the  
cittie of Saint Martin, Taranca, and in the end after a long and difficult sege, the city  
of Coimbra, where his armie was in great distresse for victuals; whereof they were re-  
lieued (as the Spanish Histories say) by certaine religious men of that countrey, who  
had secretly gathered together (if it be credible) great store of victuals, wherewith they  
did furnish the campe. The Spanish Authors write, that the king D. Fernand had (at  
the taking of Viseo) gotten the Moore, which had slaine the king D. Alphonso his fa-  
ther in law, whose eyes he caused to be put out, and both his hands, and one of his feet  
to be cut off, wherein he rather shewed a base, then a generous disposition. In that war  
he layed the bounds of his countrey beyond the riuer of Mondego, which is in the mid-  
delt of Portugall: and leauing for Governour of Coimbra, (being the greatest towne  
in all the countrey) a Knight called D. Sisenand: hee returned into his countrey, and  
went to visit S. Iagres Sepulcher, offering part of the spoiles which hee had taken in  
the warre, as to the Patron and Protector of Spaine, according to the manner of the  
Religion in his time. After which he continued eight yeares without any warres against  
the Moores, who hauing dismembred their monarchie of Cordoua, which had so long  
maintained the name and glorie of the Arabians in Spaine, to the great ruine of  
the Christians, did now busie themselves to make petite Royalties: whereof the  
most famous in those times were Seuille and Toledo; that of Seuille extended his Iuri-  
dictions vnto the countrey called Algarbe, beyond Guadiana.

X 3

2 Other

1037.  
Succession of  
the Estates of  
Castile and  
Leon by women.

Which is the  
countrey of Ex-  
tremadura.



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2 Other Moores neighbours to *Cattelogue*, hauing entred the Contie of Barce- A lone, in the time of *D. Berenger Borel*, were slayed by his son and succesor *D. Raimond Berenger*, whom they called the Elder, for that he had a sonne of the same name, who succeeded him. This Earle was of a small stature; but in this little bodie there lodged a great courage, vnlike therein vnto his father, hauing no delight but in action and arms, of the Townes of Ceruera, Segarra, Tagarra, Verdun, Tous, Lacuença of Odena, and of many other places; and subiected some of the Moores vnto him, and made them Tributaries. With this Warlike vertue, he was wise for the well gouerning of a quiet estate, louing Iustice, being religious, honourable, and liberal to his Nobility, the dignitie of which Estate he did much augment. Hee was twice married: his first B wife, called *Radalmurs*, brought him two sonnes, the one called *D. Pedro Raymond*, who was much hated of his father, for some reasons which we will hereafter shew: The se- G conds name was *D. Berenger Raymond*, who slue his brother; and for that hee was ex- Genealogie of celled *Almedia*, or *Almadis*, a ceeding proud, he lost his Estate. To his second wife he had *D. Raymond Berenger*, who was Earle after him, furnished (for that his haire was white and thicke) faxen haire.

## D. Ramir, first King of Arragon.

Arragon.

3<sup>a</sup> The Arragonois their neighbours, began at that time to haue Kings, the coun- C tric hauing that title giuen it, in fauour of *D. Ramir*, a Bastard of Nauarre, in the yeare, 1304, the Country hauing continued with the title of an Earledome about 250. yeares, by which means it was diuided from Nauarre. This title of a King was confirmed to *D. Ramir*, by Pope *Benedict* the ninth, and the Armes of these first Kings of Arragon, weare a Crosse argent in a field azure. *D. Ramir* did soone after scaze (I know not by what right) of the Realme of Sobrabre, and Ribagorça, by the death of *D. Gonçalo* his brother, who had beene made King by the will of *D. Sancho* their father, he being slaine passing the bridge of Montclus, by a household seruant of his, called *Raymonet*, and left no children. This succession did more rightly belong to *D. Garcia*, the lawfull sonne of *D. Sancho*, and brother by father and mother to *D. Gonçalo*. What- S euer they say, that *D. Ramir* was a Prince indowed with great vertues, yet would hee haue dispossessed his brother *D. Garcia*, who was at Rome, of the kingdome of Nauarre, where their father died. For the effecting whereof, hee demanded succours from the Moores, which held Tudella, Saragoffe, and Huesca, and besieged the towne of Ta- fallá, but *D. Garcia* arriuing at that instant, had meanes to make *D. Ramir* to raise his siege with dishonour and losse. He had to wife *D. Ermisende*, daughter to the Earle of Bigorre, by whom he had *D. Sancho Ramires*, who was King of Arragon after him, *D. Garcia*, Bishop of Iacca, *D. Sancho* Countesse of Tholouia, *D. Thersa* Countesse of Prouence, wife to the Earle *Guillen Bertrand*, and one Bastard sonne, called *D. Sancho*, Lord of Ayuar and Xauierre. The time of this Kings Raigne, or the manner of his death, whether it were in warre, or by sickness, is doubtfull amongst Authors, the common opinion is, that he died about the yeare 1063, being at the sege of the Castell of Gra- dos, or Iraos, of a wound which he receiued, being in armes against the Moores of the Country: for that leauing the protection of Arragon, they had put themselves vnder that of Castille, and that he is interred at *S. Iohn de la Pégna*.

Sobrabre and Ribagorça con- nited to the Crowne of Arragon.

Genealogie of Arragon.

D. Garcia

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D. Garcia Sanches 6. of that name, and 14.  
King of Nauarre.

4<sup>a</sup> AS for *D. Garcia* heire of the Realme of Nauarre, he came to the crowne as his A other brethren in the yeere 1034, the Queene *D. Nuala* his mother, yet liuing: he was surnamed *Sanches* of Nagera, for that he was bred vp there, & made his ordina- ry residence there vntil hee died; and was buried there. The portions giuen by *D. San- cho* the Great, their father, were very preiudiciall vnto him, for that as the elder, the so- B uerainty of all those Estates did belong vnto him, of all which *D. Garcia* had nothing but the crowne of Nauarre, the country which is from Bureua and Ogna, run- ning from the country of Frias, conteyning seuen iurisdiccions, in ancient time called Castilla the old, and moreover Alaua, Nagera and a part of Biscay. In the beginning *D. Garcia* was in reasonable good termes with his brother *D. Fernand* King of Castille, and did assist him as we haue sayd, in the warres he had against *D. Bermond*, to settle him in the Realme of Leon: but afterward there grew diuisions betwixt them, as also be- twixt him and *D. Ramir*, so as during his life they were neuer reconciled. Hee was married whilest hee was Infant of Nauarre, to a French Lady called *Estienne*, of the house of Foix, as the Spaniards say, yet is it doubtfull, for there is no mention in those times of any Earles of Foix, it may bee shee was of the house of Carcaffone, or Beziers, from whence the Earles of Foix did afterwards descend. By this wife hee had foure sonnes: *D. Sancho Garcia*, who was King after his father: *D. Ramir* Lord of Cal- laorra, Torrefilla, de los Cameros, Riuafranca, Lea, Villoria, Trebejan and others: *D. Fernand* the third Lord of Iubera, Lagienilla and other places, and *D. Raymond* the fourth Lord of Murillo, Agon and Agoncillo, and foure daughters, *D. Ermisenda* or *Ermisenda*, who was Lady of Villa Mediana and Mattes: *D. Ximena* Lady of Corcerous and Hornos. The third *D. Mayor* of Ianguas, & *D. Yrraca*, or according vnto some *O- gunda*, Lady of Aluerite, Lardero & Mucrones, such was the issue of *D. Garcia Sanches* of Nagera: During whose raigne the Spaniards set vp the inuention of the image of the Virgin *Mary* of the royal Monastery, in the towne of Nagera; in honour of whom, *D. Garcia*, and his wife *D. Estephana*, or *Estienne* caused the Conuent of the order of Saint *Benet* to be built: and moreover the King did institute the order of the knights of the Lilly, for that in the same picture there was a pot of white Lillies, and would haue the Knights carry vpon their cloakes, Lillies imbroided with the needle. This was the deuise of the Knights of the order of Nauarre, wherewith the Kings children, and many Knights of Nauarre and strangers were honoured, the which continued in this house of Nauarre.

The bounds of the realme of Nauarre vnder D. Garcia Sanches.

Genealogie of Nauarre.

Knights of the Lilly in Na- uarre.

The King *D. Garcia* did greatly honour his nobility, and did confirme in the yeere 1043, the preiudges of the gentlemen in the Valley of Roncal, in testimony of their perpetual fidelity to the Kings of Nauarre their Princes, who had done him great ser- uices against the Moores his neighbors. He tooke Calazorra from them, in the yeere 1044, a more fortunate warre, out of doubt, then that which hee had against *D. Fer- nand* King of Castille his brother, a fatal man to all his kinsfolkes and allies. Enuy which torments man, by reason of an others prosperity, breed a hatred in *D. Garcia*, against his brother *D. Fernand*, the which was augmented by some dispute that was betwixt them for the towne of Nagera in Rioje, whereas *D. Garcia* kept his Court, and the Lands of Bureua, which *D. Fernand* maintayned did belong vnto the crowne of Castille. The first and most vnworthy effect, whereby this hatred was discovered, was a treason plotted against *D. Fernand* in the towne of Nagera; for being come in brotherly loue to visit *D. Garcia*, who was sicke in bed, hee was aduerted that by his com- mandement they ment to stay him, and in truth hee had beene put in prison if hee had not escaped: this did so incenle them one against another, as falling to armes, it was one of their deaths.

Garcia's be- traythe the Kings of Cas- tille and Na- uarre.

D. Garcia's traithe against his bro- ther.

This treacherous part was long dissembled by *D. Fernand*, attending some opportu- nity

nity of reuenge, notwithstanding any excuse D. Garcia could make, seeing his designe A had failed. Thus the King of Nauarre liued in continuall hatred with his brethren. D. Ramir, and D. Fernand, as hee had purchased by his bad disposition, the dislike of his father and mother: a Prince in truth vnworthie to make warre against the Moores, for the aduancement of the Christian religion: against whom (notwithstanding that hee was in bad termes with his brethren) hee sent an army, and tooke from them the towne of Punes, in the yeere of our Lord 1045. For the recovery of his health, hee had sent messengers to all the famous Bishops and Abbots of Spaine, that by their prayers to God hee might bee cured: with this deuotion hee caused himselfe to bee carried to the Monastery of Saint Sauueur of Leyre, where hee did beleue that by the prayers of those religious men, his health was restored; in recompence where. B of, hee gaue to that house the Conuent of Centurifontes, and many other things: all this did nothing abate the spleene hee had against his brother D. Fernand, who would not bee surprized.

Castille.

Being returned into his country, dissembling the wrong which had beene done him, he made warre against the Moores, vpon the frontiers of Castille, where he tooke the townes of Gortuas, Vado del Rey, Aquilera, Berlanga, and other places, passing vnto Tarrassone and then hee returned by Medina Celi, ruining the forts, and watch-towers which the Moores had built in those countreies: hee did with lesse difficulty for that the Moores estate was in great confusion, by reason of the seditions and tiranies which were practised amongst them. They write that this Prince did also that yeere C (which was 1047) chase the Moores out of the mountaines, of Ora and Ouan. Some time after, continuing the warre against the Mahumetists, hee past the mountaines with his army into the realme of Toledo, he spoiled the country about Talamanca and Vzeda, whereas the ruler of Henares passeth to Alcala, and Guadajara: he entred the territory of Madrid, and made such a general spoile of townes and people, as the King of Toledo, a Moore called *Aly Maymon*, was aduised to pacifie him by presents, yea to promise him tribute: the which hee did, sending home D. Fernand rich with gold and silver, and of all other spoiles, into his countreies of Leon and Castille.

Moore.

This King *Aly Maymon* was the ninth of those which had rained at Toledo the royall race of *Aben Humeya*, sonne to King *Hizen*, and grand-child to *Hayran*. Hee had one sonne amongst others, carrying his grand-fathers name *Hizen*, and one daughter called *Casilda*, who was a Christian, as you shall heare. At that time there dwelt many Musarabes in Toledo, who God left not vnurnished of Pastors, among the which *Ar- chiques* the Arch-deacon is famous, who encouraged the Christians of that city, and instructed them in the grounds of their faith: arts and liberal sciences were in like manner maintained and honored among the Arabians, and in those daies their liued many learned men of that nation, whereof the most renowned were *Haly Albunsem*, and *Aly Aben Ragel*, very learned in Astrology. The occasion which drew the Princess *Casilda* to the Christian religion, is thus related by the authors of the Spanish History. She fel (say they) very sick of a bloody flux, for whose recovery her father had in vaine im- ployed the skill of all the Arabian Physicians, and others that were expert in that facul- ty: but in the end shee had a reuelation, that if shee did wash her selfe in the waters of Saint *Vincent*'s Lake, which is in the territory of Bureua, nere vnto Biriuesca, she should be cured: the which she presently declared to the King her father, who was very well pleased: and hauing written to the King D. Fernand, hee sent this Virgin well attended vnto him, and presently for many Christian slaues, at liberty, vpon this occasion D. Fer- nand entertained her with great honor, & caused her to bee furnished with all things ne- cessary. Being bathed in those waters she recovered her health, wherevpon the Spani- ards say, she would returne no more to Toledo, but caused her selfe to be baptized and built an Oratory with a little chamber vpon the Lake, where shee made her aboad, and there spent the remainder of her daies, in prayers and other religious exercises, and was there buried after her decease.

Cast de a Prin- cess of the Moores hap- ping.

But the same author said, that being at Toledo, before she came into Castille she was full of charity and compassion to Christian captiues, to whom she gaue great almes, which

A which was a signe that there were in her some good seeds of better instruction, the which by the recovery of her health was confirmed. There was also an other Prince of the Moores called *Aly Maymon* (not he which was King of Toledo) against whom D. Garcia King of Nauarre had a sharpe encounter, at Ricorbaleca, where the Moore was vanquished and slaine.

Nauarre.

These Christian Kings, ambitious and treacherous one against another, not sparing their owne blood, thought to expiate all their offences, in building of Churches, and indowing them with great reuenues, in enuy one of another, with this opinion, D. Garcia gaue many gifts, and granted many preuiledges to the Church of Saint *Mary* the Royal of Nagera, which hee had caused to be built, for his funeral: declaring that these gifts were for the health of his soule, of his fathers, of the Queene his wiues, and of his children, with the approbation of the chiefe noblemen of his Realme: which dona- tions and preuiledges, hee thought should continue vnto the end of the world, vpon a penaltie, to him that should breake them, of a thousand tallents, to bee ap- plied to the Monastier. In these termes they are exprest in the letters which are found in the sayd Monastier, dated in the yeere of our Lord 1052. and scene by Garibay.

Donations to Churches.

By the like perswasion, D. Fernand King of Castille built the Church of Saint *Isidore* in the city of Leon. And to make that place of more authority, hee resolved to get his body, which hee thought was yet in the city of Seuille, where he had beene Bishop, C for this cause hee proclaimed warre, against *Almuncamus*, called by others *Benabey*, *Aben Amet*, who at that time was King there, waiting and spoyling his country, on this side the riuer of Guadiana, towards Portugal, where hee tooke the towne of Montemaior, and pursuing his enemy, hee fort him to the like conditions, as hee had done *Aly Maymon*, King of Toledo, and besides hee made him to deliuer Saint *Isidore*'s bodie, or some thing in stead thereof, the which was received by D. *Auio* Bishop of Leon, and D. *Ordengo* Bishop of Astorga, which relike hee caused to bee carried to Leon.

Castille.

This King D. Fernand at the sute of his subiects of the Kingdome of Leon, caused the towne of Zamora to bee new built, which had remayned a heape of stones, since the raigne of D. Ramir the third. D. Garcia King of Nauarre did in like manner build the towne of D Peralta, and other workes. And to returne to the hatred which continued betwixt these two brethren, it burst forth in the yeere 1054. so as the King D. Fernand being false side at Burgos, he requited D. Garcia in the like manner: for D. Garcia being come vnto him, to visit him, and to take from him all suspicion that hee had attempted against him, hee was seized on and caried prisoner vnto Cea.

1054.

D. Garcia wrought in such sort with good words and money, as his gard suffered him to escape, and so being full of wrath and indignation, he returned into Nauarre, where hee leuied a mighty army of his subiects, of Gascons and of Moores, allies or mercen- aries, the which he led by the mountaines of Oca, vnto Atapuerca within foure leagues of Burgos: whereof the King D. Fernand being aduertised, he had rayfed great troupes E in Castille, Leon and Asturia to resist him. Yet before they came to ioyne in battaille, hee did solicit the King D. Garcia, by many messengers to retire, intreating him to forget all things past, and that from thenceforth hee would remaine his good brother and friend: but D. Garcia was so incensed, as he would not giue eare to any good counsell, wherefore both armies aduancing, there was a furious battaille, in the which there was much Christian blood spilt: but D. Garcia was so vnfortunate as he was incourted in the charge, by two Knights of Nauarre, who being discontented with him, had retired to D. Fernand's army; these two ranne vpon him and slue him; wherevpon the Nauar- rois army was soone put to route, and defeated. The King D. Fernand did greeue at D. Garcia's death, and deliuered his bodie to his people to bury it, leaving to pursue a- ny King the Moores, who were come to this warre. Such was the end of D. Garcia F King of Nauarre, in the yeere 1054. hauing reigned twenty yeeres. His bodie was interred at Saint *Mary* the royal in Nagera. Hee intituled himselfe King of Pampelo- ne, Nagera, Alaua, Oca, Bureua, of Castille the Old, and of Biscay, where in truth he held ypoll part of the country.

Detection of D. Garcia King of Nauarre in a double.

Nauarre.

D. Garcia's death. King of Castille.

Death of D. Garcia King of Nauarre.

In witnesse whereof there are letters found, conteyning, that in the yeere 1052. D. *A. Nugno Sanchez* Earle of Durango, and D. *Legunia* his wife, indowed a church of Saint *Augustine*, the which is now called Saint *Augustine* of Echauri, nere vnto the place whereas long after the towne of Helorio was built, which letters were confirmed by the King D. *Garcia*, as raining in that country.

Castille.

Conspiration of  
the King of  
Castille upon  
Nauarre.

After this victory the King D. *Fernand* seized vpon all Castille the Old, of the territory of Bureta, of Mont Oca, and of part of Rioje, vnto the waters of the floud Oja, which fall from the mountaine of Eucimi, where now stands Saint *Dominique* dela Calçada, and fals into Ebro at the towne Haro. In confirmation of the Monkes good husbandry, mention is made, of a controuersie betwixt the deceased King D. *Garcia* King of Nauarre and Saint *Dominique*, called of *Silos*, who was a religious man, borne at Cagnas, in Rioje, and of a sheapherd became a Monke; hee was bred vp in the Monastery of Saint *Emilian* of Cogolla, where hee tooke the habit of the order of Saint *Benedict*, and liued there so religiously as he was made Abbot: but for that he was a stout protector of the rights of the Abbay, and of their exemptions, he fell in disgrace with the King, who expelled him out of all his dominions: the which hee afterwards repented.

D. Rodrigo  
Diaz de Bivar  
a valiant  
knight.

This good father went into Castille, where D. *Fernand* receiued him courteously, and gaue him commission for the restoring of the Monastery of Saint *Sebastian* of *Silos*, in the valley of Toblatello, the which had bene destroyed by the Moores. In those times there beganne to bee great fame of the valour of D. *Rodrigo Diaz*, called by the Arabians, *Cid Ruis Diaz*, against whom he made long and sharpe warres, being a new knight desirous of honour, and ready for all virtuous exercises. After that D. *Fernand* had subiected vnder his obedience, the territories of Rioje and Mont Oca, which had bene held by the Kings of Nauarre, the Moores made many roades ther, being their neighbours, and did daylie carry away great spoiles, whereof they were often stript by *Cid Ruis Diaz*; and amongst others mention is made of a route which he gaue them vpon Mont Oca, where he tooke five of their commanders or petty Kings, the which hee afterwards deliuered vpon ransome, and promise of a yeerely tribute. This *Cid Ruis* had a quarrel with D. *Gomes* Lord of Gormes, the which had bene conquered by D. *Fernand* from the Moores, few yeeres before, so as entering into Combate, D. *Gomes* was slaine; hee left one daughter called D. *Ximena Gomes*, who made great and continual complaints for the death of her father: but soone after shee her selfe intreated the King to make a marriage betwixt her and *Cid*, the which hee did, and so this Lady was comforted. Hee purchased this name of *Cid*, which in the Arabian tongue signifies Lord, in the towne of Zamore, when as the messengers of these five petty Kings, aboue mentioned, bringing the tribute contracted with them, presented it in the presence of the King D. *Fernand*, they called him *Cid Ruis Diaz*: wherefore the King would haue this braue Knight carry this title still, who by his right name was called *Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar*.

Cid a title gi-  
uen to Rodrig-  
go Diaz.

Race of Cid  
Ruis Diaz.

The towne of Calaoarra being taken by the Moores, and recovered againe by the King D. *Fernand*, there grew some controuersie betwixt him and D. *Ramir* King of Arragon, for that place; for the deciding whereof either should bring a knight to the combat, vpon condition that the victor should purchase the right to his party. For D. *Fernand* *Cid Ruis Diaz* was armed, and for the King of Arragon came a knight called *Martin Gomez*, the author (as they say) of the houle and family of *Luna* in Arragon: Who being vanquished and slaine vpon the place, Calaoarra remained in the iurisdiction of Castille. The race of this knight D. *Rodrigo Diaz*, descended of *Elain*, whom others call *Layn Caluo*, Iudge of Castille, sonne in law to *Nugno Nugnes Refore*, who had by his daughter D. *Eluira Nugnes Bella*, or *Theresa Bella*, as some say, four sonnes, *Fernand*, *Bermond*, *Layn* and *Diego*, surnamed *Laynes*. Of *Fernand* the eldest was borne, *Layn Fernander*, of him *Nugno Laynes*, who begat *Diego Laynes*, father to *Cid Ruis Diaz*: whose mother was called D. *Theresa Nugnes*, daughter to D. *Rodrigo Aluarez* Earle and Gouvernor of the *Asturies*, by others called D. *Nugno Aluarez Almayas*. Of *Cid Ruis*, and of D. *Ximena Gomes* aboue named was borne D. *Diego* *Rodrig*.

A *Rodriguez*, who died in his fathers life time, in the warres against the Moores. And moreover they had two daughters D. *Eluira*, and D. *Sol*, whereof mention shalbe made in the relation of the affaires of Castille and Nauarre.

### D. Sancho Garcia the fifth of that name, and the fifteenth King of Nauarre.

B *D. Sancho Garcia*, succeeded D. *Garcia Sanchez* his father in the realme of Nauarre, who could not stoppe the course of D. *Fernands* conquests, having after the battaile of Atapuerca, taken from him a good part of the country which his father enioyed: wherefore he made a league with his vnkle D. *Ramir* King of Arragon, against D. *Fernand* King of Castille. By this alliance the Spanish authors say, that these Kings gaue diuers townes and forts in pawne one to another, and that the King of Nauarre did quit to him of Arragon, and to his for cuer, the townes of Sanguella, Lerda and Ondues. This King had to wife a Ladie called D. *Plaisance*, by whom hee had children, but there is no certaine mention made of them. Hee was of little valour, and therefore D. *Fernand* of Castille his vnkle, had meanes to restraine him in his Realme of Nauarre, at his pleasure, were it either right or wrong.

C In the meane time the King D. *Fernand*, to purge and expiat these outrages, gaue bountifullly to the Cathedral churches, colleges, parishes and monasteries of his realme, and to others without it; for they say hee gaue euery yeere to the Abbay of Clugny, a thousand peeces of gold, out his treasury and infinite almes deeds to the poore in particular. The tribute which hee demanded of the King of Toledo, was denied him a little before his death: but hee went in person against him, forced him to acknowledge him for his Lord, and to doe him homage, and in like manner the other Moores, who after his example had rebelled: and they hold that hee also led his army along the riuer of Ebro, by the confines of Cattelogne to Valence, where D. *haing* taken great spoiles from the Moores, which rained in those Marches, hee returned victorious into his country. His residence was for the most part at Leon, for certaine reasons.

And although that homebred examples did warne him to keepe his Estates vnited in one bodie, to haue the more power and authority, to withstand the attempts of all enemies, yet hee was resolu'd to assigne his children their portions in his life time: To D. *Sancho* hee appointed the realme of Castille, vnto the riuer of *Pisuerga*, towards Leon; and towards Nauarre limited by the riuer of Ebro, as hee had augmented it on that side, with the preiudice of his Nephew D. *Sancho Garcia*: To D. *Alphonso* his second sonne, he assigned the Kingdom of Leon in the *Asturies*, and *Tramiera*, vnto the riuer *Deua*, which passeth by *Ouides*: and moreover hee gaue him part of Campos, and the towne of *Astorga*, and other lands in *Galicia* with the towne of *Zabero*: To D. *Garcia* the youngest the realme of *Galicia*, withall that hee had conquered in Portugall. Hee did also indowe his two daughters, assigning to D. *Urraca* the eldest the city of Zamora, and to D. *Eluira* the youngest, the city of Toro: but this diuision was not allowed, nor kept by his sonne D. *Sancho*, after his death, the which many say, was in the yeere of our Lord 1059.

A remarkable yeere by the credit which was giuen to the Cardinals of Rome, by the diligence of Pope *Nicholas* the second, a Sauoyard borne, who hauing called a councill at Saint *Iean de Latran* in Rome, provided that from thence forth the Pope should not be chosen but by the suffrages of the Cardinals, grounding this decree vpon the corruptions, troubles and seditions, which grew ordinarily vpon the election of Popes; holding it lesse dangerous to haue these indirect courses practised by few, then by the whole Clergy, or the people of Rome. This Decree is infered in the three and twenty distinction, and begins. *In nomine domini &c.*

The

D. Fernand  
King of  
Aragon.  
His title  
pertains to  
the Kingdom  
of Castille.

His title  
pertains to  
the Kingdom  
of Castille.

An. 1059.

The writers of the Spanish History are not very certaine of the time of *D. Fernando*, A death; for those which seeme most exact, prolong his life vnto the yeere of our Lord 1067. The place where he died is also very doubtfull: but all agree that he was interred at *Saint Isidore* of Leon, dying so full of contrition and repentance for his finnes, as they hold his body for a holy relike, in the Kings chappell in that church. By this computation he should haue reigned two and thirty yeeres in Castille, and thirty or thereabouts in Leon. Wee finde no other thing touching the affaires of this King with foraine Princes, but only a contention betwixt his Ambassadors, and those of the Emperor *Henry*, at the councill of Florence, vnder *Victor* the second, the Emperor pretending that the Kings of Spaine should acknowledge his Maiesty and doe him homage as to their soueraine: but this question was decided by the councill, where it was sayd, B that seeing the Kings of Spaine had defended and conquered their Realmes by armes, without any aide from the Emperors, they were free and exempt from al acknowledgment or subiection to the Empire: whereof wee may read the glosse, vpon the Chap. *Adrianus Papa*, Distinc. 63. the like prouidence haue the Kings of France, the State of Venice, the Kings of England, and some others.

The Kings of  
Spaine doe not  
acknowledge  
the Empire.

Castilgne.

*D. Raymond Berenger* the elder, Earle of Barcelona, a wise and valiant Knight, of whom we haue made mention, defended his country by his armes and wisdom; and enlarged his limits to the preiudice of the Moores, by the fauour of the other Christian Potentates of Spaine, which made warre against them, and the diuisions which were among these Arabian *Mahumetists*. At that time was Seneschall in Cattelogne (which was a dignity equall to that of the Constable or Marshals in France) one called *Raymond Myron*. In his time *D. Guillen* the fat was Earle of Besalu, sonne to *Bernard Briffier*, who dying in the yeere 1052. *D. Bernard Guillen* his second sonne succeeded him: at the same time was Earle of Cerdagne, *D. Guillen Raymond* son to *Cont Raymond Gressy*, who held it long, and had two sonnes, *D. Guillen Stradain*, who was Earle after him, and *D. Bernard Guillen*, who was also Earle of Cerdagne: and to make cleere the alliances of this house of Cattelogne, we finde that *D. Almodis*, wife to Count *Raymond Berenger*, was issued from the house of the Earles of Carcassone, being strongly allied, especially with the Lords of Bearne and Narbone, and the Earles of Tolouse, Bigorre and other great houses of France. From the same house of Carcassone, was issued *Emengarde*, married to the Vicont of Bessiers, both which in the yeere of our Lord 1068. yielded vnto *Raymond Berenger* Earle of Barcelona, all the interest and right which they might pretend vnto the Earldomes of Carcassone, Tolouse, Cominges, Rodes and Minerue: by meanes whereof, this house of Barcelona, had great Siegneuries, and pretensions in France, and from that time did enioy the towne of Carcassone: about which time the towne of Perpignan was built.

### D. Sancho Fernandes the second of that name, and the second King of Castille.

E

Castille.  
An. 1067.

6. IN the yeere of our redemption 1067. the realmes of Castille, Leon and Galicia, were diuided betwixt the children of *D. Fernando* deceased, and Castille fell to *D. Sancho Fernandes*, surnamed the valiant. Leon to *Alphonso Fernandes* the second, whom they called the Braue: and Galicia to *D. Garcia*, with that which hee had conquered in Portugal. Adding vnto these *D. Sancho Garcia*, who held the Kingdome of Nauarre, and *D. Sancho Ramirez*, reigning in Arragon, wee finde that at one instant there were reigning in Spaine, siue grand-children to *D. Sancho* the Great, King of Nauarre. The Kings of Nauarre and Arragon last named, made a league against *D. Sancho* King of Castille, but their quarrels and exploits are obscure and vncertaine, at the least they did him no great harme. Whilest that *D. Sancho*, the mother of *D. Fernando*: F three children liued, they continued in reasonable good termes, for thee remained at Leon her owne inheritance, so as *Sancho* durst not attempt any thing against *D. Alphonso*.

*D. Alphonso*, to whom it was assigned, thee being dead, which was the second yeere of *D. Sancho Fernandes* King of Castille; they fought all occasions to spoile one another. *D. Garcia* King of Galicia began first, taking from his sister *D. Vrrata*, Lady of Zamora a part of her territorie, the which hee vsurped. *D. Sancho* King of Castille, who demanded no better subiect, embraced his sisters quiettel, and set her cause resolved to make warre in Galicia; but the Noblemen and Knights of his counceill, were not of opinion; that hee should goe to armes, for a matter which might bee reconciled by some milder course. Amongst those which did contradict the Kings ambitious desire, were *D. Garcia de Cabra*, and *Cid Ruiz Diaz*, saying, that if contrary to their aduice, hee were resolved to inuade Galicia, hee should first provide to bee in good termes with *D. Alphonso* King of Leon, that hee might haue free passage for his army through his country, and to conduct his vituals and munition from Castille into Galicia. To this end the two Kings had two enterueues at Sahagun, where in the beginning *D. Alphonso* seemed vnractable: yet in the end hee yielded to giue his brother *D. Sancho* passage, and whatsoever hee demanded: wherefore in the yeere 1071. warre was begunne against the King *D. Garcia* who had recourse vnto his brother. *D. Alphonso* of Leon, to bee aided by him; but hee excused himselfe, saying that hee would remaine indifferent, and not deale, for the one nor the other: so as *D. Sancho* entring Galicia with great forces, after many encounters hee became master thereof, dispossessing his brother of all his country, and tooke him prisoner. So the raigne of this King ended the fourth yeere after his coming to it: yet some authors say, that this was done, after *D. Sancho* had dispossessed his brother *D. Alphonso* of the Kingdome of Leon, and forced him to become a Monke, and to take vpon him the habit of *Saint Benet*: the which they report after this manner: *D. Sancho* being discontented with the diuision of portions which *D. Fernando* had made betwixt him and his brethren, thinking that they had done him wrong to take from him the souerainety of these Kingdomes, being the eldest. As soone as *D. Sancho*, their mother was dead, hee set vpon his brother *D. Alphonso* King of Leon, and at his first entry wonne a battaile at a place called Plantaca: but the Leonois rallied againe together, they gaue an other battaile to *D. Sancho*, and defeated him vpon the riuer of Carrion neere to Gulpejora, whereas the King *D. Alphonso* commanded that they should not pursue the Castillans.

Vrrata be a  
twice the  
three brethren  
successors to  
D. Fernando,  
King of Ca-  
stille.

D. Garcia  
King of Gal-  
icia dispossess-  
ed.

D. Alphonso  
King of Leon,  
dispossessed by  
his brother.

Then was *Cid Ruiz Diaz*, in *D. Sancho*'s army, as his vassall, who excusing this losse with good reasons, and comforting his King, hee reuiued his courage: so as hauing gathered his troups together, he came and charged the Leonois the morning following, being heauy with sleepe, hauing made good cheere for their victory gotten the day before, and not doubting any enemy, putting them all in disorder, and to a shamefull flight, hauing slaine and taken many; then hee pursued this advantage in such manner, as hee besieged the King *D. Alphonso* in *Saint Maries* Church of Carrion, where he thought to saue himselfe, and carried him away prisoner to Burgos.

A while after at the sute and instance of *D. Vrrata*, sister to these Kings, and of *E. D. Pedro Ansures*, hee was set at liberty vpon condition: that hee should goe into the Monasterie of Sahagun, and take vpon him the habit of *Saint Benet*: but hee staid not long there, being forced to enter into it: for by the aduice of the same *D. Pedro Ansures*, hee left Sahagun, and went to Toledo, to King *Almon* a Moore, who receiued him verie courteously, and intreated him honourably, whilest hee remained with him, hauing taking an oath of fidelitie of him.

Hospitality of  
King Almon  
a Moore,

Hee lodged him in a faire great house, neere vnto his Palace, which they imagine was in that place where as now the Monasterie of religious women of the conception doth stand, to the end that hee might there enioy the company of the Christian Musarabes, which dwelt in that city.

There came three Knights, sent from his sister *Vrrata*, to keepe him company. *D. Pedro*, *D. Goncal* and *D. Fernando Ansures*, brethren, of the country of Leon, who brought with them many other Christians, the which were entertained by the King *Almon*: During this exile *D. Alphonso* gaue himselfe to hunting and country

country sports : and taking great delight in a certain place of the territory of Toledo, A where there were the ruins of old buildings, the King D. *Almenor* to gratifie him, gaue him leave to build them vp againe, and to plant it with Christians, the which is at this day called *Bribuega*, yet D. *Alphonso* grew to be suspected of the Moores, who feared that hee sought meanes to seize vpon the citie of Toledo, whereupon *Almenor* was persecuted to kill him, notwithstanding hee would not violate the lawes of Hospitality, although hee was a *Mahumeticke*, but was content onely to take a new oath of him.

While that the King D. *Alphonso* pass his time thus in exile, D. *Sancho* his brother, made himselfe master of the citie, and of all the Kingdome of Leon, where hee caus'd himselfe to be crowned King. Hee beeing thus dispossest, they say hee went against D. *Garcia* King of Galicia, to intreat him after the same manner. The diuision which was then in Galicia, betwixt the King and a great part of his Nobility, made the enterprise more easie; for D. *Garcia* beeing growne a tyrant, spoyleing and intreating his subiects unworthily, hee gouerned himselfe after the appetit of a slave more then was fit. This woman (who some say, was a slave enfranchised) put the Nobilitie and gentrie, in fauour or disgrace with the King (most commonly by false reportes) as shee pleased, which was the cause of many inconueniences: So as in the end growing insupportable, certaine knights slue her in the Kings presence.

Upon this occasion the Nobilitie was diuided, and the Realme full of troubles and factions, some following the Kings party who would reuenge this murder, and others snorting the murderers. The affaires being in this Estate, the King D. *Sancho* conuered Galicia with a mighty army, against whom D. *Garcia* finding himselfe too weak, hee abandoned his country, and had recourse vnto the Moores, demanding aide of them for the recovery thereof, promising to make them flatters of that which hee should get from D. *Sancho* his brother: but the Moores answered him wisely, that hee who had not the heart to defend his owne, should not bee able to invade another: yet the Moore being liberrall and courteous, gaue him rich presents, and sent him backe, refusing to ingage himselfe in that action. D. *Garcia* hauing gathered some men together, but not sufficient to effect any matter of importance, doubtfull what course to take, hee fell to spoile his owne country, and making his retreat into Portugal, where hee had recovered some places, hee did mightily annoy D. *Sancho* his garrisons, but it continued not long: for D. *Sancho* hauing raised an army, came against D. *Garcia*, fought with him, defeated him, and tooke him prisoner, neere vnto Saint Iren, and sent him to the castle of Lune, with a good guard, from whence hee departed not vntill his death, the which happened in the time of D. *Alphonso* his Nephew about the year of our Lord 1081. who commanded hee should bee buried with irons on his feete, at Leon, in the Church of Saint *Isidore*: by this means the King D. *Sancho* remained Lord and Maister of all Galicia, and other lands of that partage. By this it appeares there is difference in the time, and in the means of their dispoſſeſſing. All this did not satisfie D. *Sancho* his ambition, for hee would in like manner stripp his sisters, D. *Urraca* and D. *Eluira*, of the lands and places which they held, by their fathers will, and laide siege to the towne of Zamora.

*D. Garcia King of Galicia made a prey to his enemy, by reason of his tyrannies.*

*D. Sanchez  
ambition stay  
ed by the judg-  
ment of God.*

*Lib.8.*

A variety of humane enterprises, and that there is a greater power which controules them. This death happened in the yeere of our Lord 1073. having reigned in Castille about six yeeres and nine monethes: by reason whereof the army disbanded, every one returning to his home, except the Castilians, who would needs continue the siege before Zamora for a time. The Kings body was carried to the Monastery of Saint Salvador of Oña. The inscription which is in that Monastery shewes that hee died six yeeres later, but there is an error, for that *Garibay* affirms, that hee had beene ancient writings, witnessing that D. *Alphonso*'s brother reigned then in Castille.

If the Castilian brethren were at discord, they of Nauarre had as little charity amongst them: for betwixt *D. Sancho Garcia*; and *D. Raymond*, there was enuy and feare hated, the which burst out in time: for *D. Raymond* holding some strong places, and some in his brothers gouernment, and hauing by his bounty drawne many vnto him, who were discontented with the present Estate of the realme, he rebelled, meaning to defende these places he held: but the King *D. Sancho*, and the Nobility of Nauarre did easily expell him. But there fell out a new trouble for the Nauarrois, to demand reason of the Kings of Castille, who detained: from him the territory of Bureau, Castille the old, and other places.

D. *Raymond* being thus expelled, had no recourse to any Christian Princes his  
 neighbours, who (as hee doubted) would detest his attempts, but hee fled vnto the  
 Moores, the enemies of our faith, and making warre with them against his brother  
 there was a battaile giuen neere to Rueda, or Penalen, in the which *D. Sancho* was slaine:  
 this was about the yeere of our Lord 1076, hauing raigned two and twenty yeeres: he  
 had by his wife *D. Plaisance*, amongst other children, *D. Ramir Sanchez*, and two *D. Garcia*;  
*D. Ramir* being very young, vpon the newes of his fathers death, put himselfe vnder  
 the protection of *D. Sancho Ramirez*, King of Arragon, whom also the Noblemen  
 and Knights of Nauarre called to raigne ouer them, by reason of the minority of their  
 King to oppose him against the enterprises of the bad. *D. Raymond*, who purified his  
 designe to make himselfe King of Nauarre, and had already seized vpon *Pamplona*,  
 and viurped the title of King there, but hee was vertuously repulst, so as being de-  
 ceaued of his ambitious hopes, not knowing what to resolue, hee retired to the King  
 of Sarrogoe, a Moore, where hee past his banished life, and by the bounty of this Pa-  
 gan, enioyed certaine Lands and places, which defended afterwards to a Neece of his  
 called *Marquesa*, wife to *Aznar Lopez*, a Knight, who made a donation of Saint *Maria*  
*Maier*, to the Collegiall Church of Sarrogoe, in the time of *D. Alphonso* King of  
 Nauarre, called the Warrior: the two *Garcia* brethren, sonnes to the deceased King  
 of Nauarre, fled into Castille, to the King *D. Alphonso*, the mightiest Prince at that time  
 in Spaine,

*D. Sancho*  
*King of Nauarre*  
*slaine,*  
*An. 1076.*

*D. Raymond*  
*King of Sarrogoe,*  
*a Moor,*

D. Sancho  
King of Navarre  
slaine.

S. D. Raymond of  
Nauvoo re-  
fers to the  
Moors.

D. Sancho Ramires the second King of Arragon,  
and chosen sixteenth King of Nauarre.

7. **D.** *Sancho Ramirez* had reigned some yeeres in Arragon, when as hee was called to the crowne of Nauarre. Hee had married a Lady, daughter to the Earle of Vrgel, called *D. Felicia*, by whom he had three Offnes. *D. Pedro* who succeeded in his Kingdome, *D. Alphonso* who reigned after his brother, and *D. Ramir*, a religious man in the Monastery of Saint Ponce of Tomeres, neere to Belfers, and afterwards King by the decease of his brother *D. Alphonso*, who left no children. He had also one bastard, called *D. Garcia* who was bishop of Iacca. In this Prince the two realms of Nauarre and Arragon were vniited, 42. yeeres after the separation thereof: he was warlike and politique, and withall very zelous in the Romaine religion: for hee changed the ceremonies of the Gothes, which the Christians vsed, and brought in those of the Romish church, it may be by the council held at Iacca, vnder this King, when as the Bishopricke

Arragon and  
Nimorre united.

*Genealogie of Arragon and Navarre.*

of Arragon was first established there: to enrich which seat, besides the tithes, there were certain portions appointed out of the conquests which they should get from the Moores of Sarraçosse and Tudela: and in stead of the ciuill Lawes of the Gothes, hee brought in the common law of the Empire into his iurisdiction. There is a volume extant of particular lawes, given by this King to them of Iacca, which is inserted amongst the customes of Nauarre at this daie: but the chiefe acts of religion done by him, and other Princes in his time, were to indow churches; for the Monasteries, Colleges and Bishopricks of Spaine, haue thousands of preuiledges, donations and exemptions granted vnto them.

Cattellogne.

There is mention made of a counceill assembled in the towne of Barcelone at the p[er]suise of D. Raymond Berenger, the elder, and at the request of D. Almodia his wife, whereas Cardinal Hugues, Legat of Pope Alexander the second, or Gregory the seventh did precede, for the certain time is not set down, but it is only said, that it was celebrated about the yeere 1071. there it was decreed that Clergy men should liue chastly, for that (as the History saies) many of them were married, according to the introduction of King Vitiza the Goth: and after the example of the Arragonois, the seruice of the Musarabes was left, and the Romaine of Saint Gregory receiued in Cattellogne. In the same counceill they treated of secular affaires, as of the gouernment of the country of Cattellogne, of the Earles house, of the Estate of the Nobles, of their names and titles, distinguished by this Earle, into Viconts, Barons and Vauassours: and such like. During the assembly of this counceill D. Pedro Raymond, eldest sonne vnto the Earle D. Raymond Berenger, poisoned D. Almodia his mother in law, feating that shee should labour to deprive him of his fathers succession to aduance her owne children: whereupon hee was iustly disinherited: thus the wicked reaped what hee feared. In the same country died D. Armingol Earle of Vigel, in the yeere of our Lord 1075: to whom his sonne succeeded, carrying the same name: and the yeere following 1076, died the Earle D. Raymond Berenger, the elder, hauing gouerned in the county of Barcelone longer then any of his Predecessors, that is one and fortie yeeres. Hee diuided his Earldome betwixt his two sonnes, D. Raymond Berenger, and D. Berenger Raymond, to the great hindrance of the commonweale, giuing moreouer vnto D. Raymond Berenger the Earldome of Carcaffone. By this Earle D. Raymond the customary lawes were ordained, taken out of the volume of the old Gothique lawes, amended and reformed.

Arabians.

Seditious, rebellious, and factions among the Arabian Princes.

8. The diuisions of the Moores in Spaine, aboue mentioned, doe admonish vs to speake some thing of the turbulent Estate of the Arabians in the East, and in like manner of them of Maroc, which was the cause of a great alteration in Spaine. Returning then to the Caliphe Marwan, who was in armes against Salin, the sonne of Asmulin, who had seized vpon the Regions of Persia and Syria: wee say that by the defeat of Marwan, and his death, Egypt was also conquered by Salin: so as all that which the Arabians held in the East, did obey Asmulin and Casaban his companion and counsellor.

They being dead, Abubalan surnamed Muamat, was Caliphe of Persia and Syria, and Salin the sonne of Asmulin kept Egypt to himselfe, and gaue the beginning to a soueraigne seat in that country, the which hee established at Caire, causing himselfe to be called Caliphe. Against Abubalan, did rise many enemies in Syria and Arabia, of the faction of Marwan, whom they did beleue was yet liuing, so as there died great numbers of that nation, in diuers encounters.

After the death of Abubalan, his brother Abdala succeeded in the Easterne Empire of Sarrazins or Arabians, but an other of the same name aspiring to that dignity, lue him, and held the throne about the yeere 756. at which time there were great troups of Turkes beganne to disperse themselves ouer all Armenia, the which did ouerrunne and spoile the Sarrazins country, who incountred them in diuers sharpe and bloody batailles. After this Abdala, who reigned about some twentie yeeres, his sonne Madi Amadi was Caliphe, who held the Royall seate nine yeeres, and Mosef his sonne succeeded him, who liued but two yeeres, and left the place and dignitie to

A to Aaron Caliphe, who they write was very iust and charitable to Christians, and had fought the friendship of Charles the Great, King of France, of Alphonso the Chast reigning in Spaine, and of other Christian Princes of his time, to whom hee sent Ambassadors and presents, and they to him.

Hauing reigned three and twenty yeeres, he left, after his death, the dignity of Caliphe in question betwixt his two children, Muamat and Abdala, who after great effusion of blood, agreed to raigne with equall title and authority. Muamat transported the seat of his Empire to Bagadat, a towne built by him, neere vnto old Babylon, and would reside no more at Damas. At that time the Empire of the Arabians and Sarrazins was diuided into foure great Potentats, whereof that of the East and of Bagadat retained the title of Caliphe, which signifies King or ruler. That of Egypt called himselfe Sultan, which is as much to say, as Emperour. At Cairon, a great and mighty towne, built within the country of Affricke, in the time of Osmen, some five and twenty leagues distant from Tunis, reigned an other Caliphe, and at Maroc (which Estate was come to them of the family of Aben Alabeci) reigned a Miralmumin, from which great Potentats did afterwards grow, the Kingdomes of Fez, Alger, Tunes and others. After Mahumad tained Imprael, who left the Empire of the East to his sonne Mamum, who held it with great reputation: but after him the Sarrazins power began to decline in the East, by their continuall seditions and ciuill dissensions, whereby the Turkes had meanes to settle a Monarchie, the which beganne about the yeere of Christ one thousand, being called by Mahumet Prince or Gouernor of Persia, who made warre against the Caliphe of Bagadat, in which they serued him: but falling afterwards to quarrel with him, they defeated him, and seized vpon Persia, where they did choose for their first King, their General Tangrolipix, and fence partly by force, and partly by an accord, they delt so with the Sarrazins, as their power declining, the name and Empire of the Turkes hath continued to firme and mightie, vnto our daies. The Miralmumins of Maroc, being farre from these tempests of the East, maintained their dignity in their race and nation, but not without the like furies and inraged appetites of rule; so as hauing beene held many yeeres by them of the lineage of Aben Alabeci, they were set vpon and subdued by an other race of Princes Moores, called D. Almorauides, whereof Iosiph Aben-Tefin was the chiefe, who made himselfe Monarke in Affricke, ouer all the Kings and Potentats which did raigne there, about the yeere 1068. and extended his power into Spaine, as we will shew.

Foure great Potentats of Mahumet, set in Asia and Affricke.

### D. Alphonso the sixth of that nation, the third King of Castille, and five and twentieth of Leon.

E

9. D. Sancho Fernandez, King of Castille, being slaine as we haue sayd, by the treason of Peldides Dolphos, or Ataulphe: D. Ferrac did presently aduersite her brother D. Alphonso, who remained at Toledo vnder the protection of King Almenon. This Moore hauing many spies amongst the Christians, had already intelligence of the murder, and obseruing the actions of D. Alphonso, hee was resolved to stay him, if hee should offer to depart without his priuity and leaue. D. Alphonso was wonderfully perterbed by D. Pedro d. Ansuarez (who walking about the towne had by chance met the messenger which brought him the newes of the death of the King his brother) so depart as secretly as hee could, fearing some treachery in the Moorish King, but D. Alphonso did otherwise, wherein he wrought wisely for himselfe, for he doubted that the King Almenon hauing aduice of what had past, did watch him at the passage: wherefore comming freely vnto him, hee read D. Ferrac's letters in his presence, demanding his aduice, leaue and aide, to goe and take possession of the Realme of Castille. King Almenon was much pleased, in that hee did not distrust him, imbraced him a verie





left his wife and children at Saint Peter of Cardegna: but he was followed by about 300. horse, and a great number of foot, who loved him in particular: and with this troupe began to make violent warres against the Moores. He entred their countrie by Atiença, and wonne Castrejon by an ambush, which hee layd for the Moores, whilst that *Aluaro Ianes Minaya* his cousin, did ouer-runne the countrie vnto Alcalá de Henares, from whence he returned to Castrejon with great spoiles. And for that Castrejon was vpon the frontiers of king D. *Alphonso*, and for some other respects, *Cid* abandoned it, and went vnto Hariza, Cetua, and Alcocer, and striking great terror in all the countrey of Calarajub, Teruill and Tietar, hee surprised Alcocer in Arragon.

At that time the towne of Valencia did belong to the king of Toledo, and was governed for king *Almenon* by a More, called *Abubacar*, to whom the Inhabitants of Calarajub, and the countrey thereabouts, made their daily complaints of the wrongs and losses they received by *Cid*, demanding ayde from him: whereupon *Abubacar* sent them two Captaines, called *Faris* and *Galuc* with good troupes; but that could not defend them: for *Cid* ioyning with them, defeated them, and put them to a shamefull flight, carrying great spoyles to Alcocer, which was his retreat; from whence he sent to king D. *Alphonso*, by his cousin D. *Aluaro Ianes Minaya*, thirty horses, with as many swordes tyed to the saddles. This did somewhat pacifie the King, who did willingly see *Aluaro Ianes*, but for all this he did not call *Cid* from banishment: yet he suffered all men freely to go to the warres with *Cid* against the Moores, except Toledo. *Cid* desirous to make warre, and wanting meanes, hee tooke money vpon the castile of Alcocer, and crossing to Xalon and Monreal, he stayed there some dayes.

11 About this time D. *Raymond Ber nger* the elder, Earle of Barcelona, being deceased, his sonne D. *Raymond* called *Flaxen-head*, succeeded him, in the year 1076. When as neere to Cattelogne, D. *Armengol*, Earle of Vrgel, wonne from the Moores, Sanahuya, Guizona, Balager, and other places of that countrie.

The same yeare dyed *Almuniz* king of Seuille, leaving his Realme to his sonne of the same name, who reigned also at Cordoua, and in a manner ouer all Andalusia: so the discord betwixt these Arabians made Cordoua (which had bene lately Princesse ouer other cities) to be subiect and flauie to Seuille. *Cid* hauing taken some good order for his affaires, and assembled good troupes of souldiers, hee began to torment the Moores of the streight of Sarragoffe, & pressed them in such sort, as *Almundafar* king of Sarragoffe, made a treatie with him greatly to his honor, and receiued him into his citie, by whose meanes he drew many Christian Knights, which did willingly receive pay of these Moores, when they were in armes one against another, that they might helpe to defeat them. Thither D. *Aluaro Ianes* came vnto him with a good number of souldiers, being desirous to march vnder the command of so valiant a Captaine as *Cid* was; who vnderstanding of the good reception which the king had made vnto D. *Aluaro*, and how he had receiued his presents, was wonderfull glad. This yeare died *Almenon* king of Toledo; for whose quarrell *Cid* had bene banished out of Castile: A Prince who had governed the kingdome long, and with whom the king D. *Alphonso* entertrayned true and firme friendship whilst he liued, and with his sonne, and successor *Hazen*, who reigned onely one yeare, and died in the year, 1078. after whom a brother of his called *Haya Cadurville*, obtained the Crowne of Toledo: A Prince of a bad disposition and cruell, numbered the 11. king of that citie, and the last of the Arabians or Moores.

12 During these things, the king D. *Alphonso* discontented, that the Nauarrois had called D. *Sancho Ramires*, king of Arragon to raigne ouer them, rather then him, who had a better title, being cousin germaine to the king D. *Sancho Garcia* deceased, by the lawfull line, whereas the king of Arragon descended from a bastard: seized vpon the towne of Nagera, and of all that iurisdiction, which was in the Prouince of Rioje, of which he made Gouvernor D. *Garcia de Cabra*, called *Crespo de Granon*, and intitled himselfe king of Nagera. The people of Guipulcoa, Biscay, and Alaua, who were neighbors vnto it, hearing of this exploit, and considering the greatnesse of D. *Alphonso*, they thought good to leane vnto him, and to leaue the kings of Nauarre, who were of lesse power

A power: thus his iurisdiction increased, so as hee commanded from the towne of Saint Iagues, vnto Calaoarra. In this felicity he began to restore and re-people many towne of his countrie, destroyed in former warres, as Salamanca, Auila, Legouia, Medina del campo, Olmedo, Coca and Cuellar.

D. *Sancho Ramires* king of Arragon, hauing no good title to the Realme of Nauarre, for that D. *Ramir Sanchez*, sonne to the deceased king was yet liuing: and by the same reason the king D. *Alphonso* hauing no good reason to pretend it, they agreed together, to the preiudice of the pupill: by which accord Pampelone, with all the appurtenances (except Nagera and the other countrie whereof D. *Alphonso* was seized) remained to the king of Arragon, but vpon condition, that he should acknowledge himselfe vassall in that respect to the king of Castile. This king had made warre against the Moores, whilst he was king of Arragon onely, and before he had obtained the kingdome of Nauarre, he had chased them out of the mountaines of Arragon, Sobrabro and Ribagorça, and moreover had made warre against *Abderramen* King of Huelca, and taken the towne of Barbalro, at which seage *Armengo* Earle of Vrgel his father in law dyed. Hauing made his profit of the Realme of Nauarre, and in good termes with D. *Alphonso*, he continued his enterprises and conquests against that sect, and tooke from them the castell of Mugnonas about Secastilla in Ribagorça: then hee seized of Cobin and Pitilla, and had a great and cruell bataille neere vnto Sarragoffa, and tooke from them Bolea, a place of great strength: to supply the charges of which warre, this king was sometimes forced to vie the revenues of the Clergie, his treasure being not able to furnish so great a charge: but the bishops of his countrie, who affected nothing more then to enrich their order and estate, opposed themselves against him, and assisted him in such sort, as putting him in a vaine feare, that he was damned for this cause, they made him do penance, and to confesse publicly in the church of Roda, before S. Vincent's altar, in the presence, and at the poursuite of D. *Raymond Dalmaze*, Bishop of that place, and D. *Garcia* the kings owne brother, Bishop of Iacca, that he had grievously offended. Thus these good fathers insulted ouer their Soueraigne: This fell out about the year, 1083: at which time D. *Ramir* sonne to D. *Sanso Garcia*, moued with great deuotion, gaue a new, and confirmed that which he had giuen to the monastierie of Saint Mary of Nagera, which were the places of Torrefilla, Cameros, Treuxcan, Ribafreica, Lea, Villoria, and S. *Pelagius* of Cerezo, S. *Peter* of Torrefilla, Saint Mary of Veraça, and other places and churches, making the Monkes and Abbot of that place where he is interred, his heires generall. The King D. *Sancho Ramires* did in the year 1083, winne the castell of Graos, the which he presented to the Monastierie of Saint *Vithorian*, to free himselfe of a certaine vow made by D. *Ramir* his father, and also for a satisfaction to the Clergie: but some write that soone after hee received a great overthrow about Roda, where they say, that the king D. *Alphonso* carrying a secret spleene, for that the King of Arragon did enioy the Realme of Nauarre, gaue secret ayde and fauour to the Moores, and was the cause of this defeat of Christians.

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E *Almundafar* King of Sarragoffa being dead, he had left two sonnes, *Zuleima* who was king of Sarragoffa, and *Aben Alfay* in Denia, who being at disention, set to armes: either of them drawing Christian Noblemen and Knights to his partie. *Cid Bais Diaz* was for *Zuleima*. D. *Pedro* of Arragon eldest sonne to the king D. *Sancho Ramires*, and Count *Raymond* of Barcelona fauoured *Aben Alfay*. Being in armes, and ouer-running the countrie, *Cid* comming from Huelca and Montaban, incountried the troupes of the Earle of Barcelona, with the king of Denia, whom he defeated, taking Count *Raymond* prisoner, who was soone after freely set at libertie by *Cid*, yet the Earle of Barcelona ioyned againe with the king of Denia, who came to bessege the castell of Almenar, whilst that *Cid* was at the seage of Elscarpe: but he comming vpon them which were before Almenar, he put them againe to route, and returned victor to Sarragoffa: after which he spoiled the countries of Mançon, Onda, and Burriana, notwithstanding that the Arragonois fought to hinder him, being their allies. On the other side, a More of Andalusia, called *Almufar*, tooke from *Ador*, another Moore, the castell of Graos, for the recouerie whereof, the king D. *Alphonso* went to armes, and besseged

Grados:



Townes yielded  
to D. Alphonso.

Gouernor put  
into Toledo.

Family of  
Toledo in Castile.  
Primacie re-  
stored to To-  
ledo.

Riches of the  
Church of To-  
ledo.

Debate for  
the primacie  
of Spaine.

Moorer,

tion) would grant those articles above-mentioned to the Moores, especially to leaue A the great Mosque for the exercise of their superstition. By the conquest of this great citie, there came into the King of Castiles power, without any resistance, the townes of Magueda, Ecalona, Illecas, Canales, Olmos, Talauera, Coria Confluegra, Mora, Buytrago, Hira, Medina Celi, Atienza, Berlanga, Guadalajara; and by this means were also assured the townes of Salamanca, Aulia, Segobia, Olma, Sepulueda, Coca, Cuellar, Roa and Olmedo, the citie of Toledo seruing as a rampar and fort, to all that lies betwixt it, Atienza, and Medina Celi, and by consequence to Palencia, Coria, and city Roderigues: so as all that was within that circuit began to be repaired and re-edified, the inhabitants being freed from their great feare of the Moores.

The first worke which the king D. Alphonso did after the taking of Toledo, was to re- B payre the castell, forts, and bridges, giuing the gouernement thereof to *Cid Ruis Diaz*, with a garrison of a thousand Gentlemen Castilians. The house and family of them of Toledo, which is famous in Spaine, is deriued from a Grecian knight, called *Peter Paldogne*, who came to serue D. Alphonso, at the seerge of this city: but there are appa- rent arguments, that the name of the family of Toledo is more ancient: for there is a tombe to be seene in the royall Monasterie of Ogna, of a knight called *D. Gutierez Roderigues* of Toledo, who had bene Chamberlaine to D. Sancho Earle of Castile, who died in the yeare 990, of this D. Peter, they say, issued a sorne called D. *Illian Petes*, of him D. *Peter Illian*; of D. *Peter*, D. *Estuan Illian*, whose image is to be seene on hors- backe in the church of that citie. Don *Estuan* begat Don *Jean Esteuanez*, from whom issued Don *Gonzalo Jaime* of Toledo, who lyes buried in Saint *Romaines* church, C built in the highest part of the citie, by D. *Estuan Illian*, D. *Vrraca*, the King D. Alphonso sister being deceased this yeare 1083, Zamora whereof she was Ladie, was re-united to the crowne of Castile.

As king D. Alphonso desired nothing more, then to order things belonging to reli- gion, and the seruice of God: in a great assembly of Noblemen and Prelates, made to that end, restored the Primacie and Archiepiscopall seate of Spaine, to the church of Toledo, as it had bene in the time of the Gothes: and there was chosen for Archbishop a reuerent religious man, of the Order of S. *Bennet* called *Friar Bernard*, a French-man borne, who had bene sent some yeares before into Spaine, by *Hugo* Abbot of Clugny, at the request of D. Alphonso, for the reformation of the Mona- sterie of Sahagun, which at that time was the chiefe of all the Monasteries of Spaine: this *Friar Bernard* was found so sufficient for his learning and integritie of life, as he was held worthy to be preferred before all the Bishops and Abbots of the countrie, to the primacie of Spaine; which sea beginning by this King D. Alphonso, was so intiched by all the kings and chiefe Noble-men of Spaine, as besides the primacie and head Chan- cerie of Castile which it hath gotten, we may now say, that next vnto the Pope, hee is the richest Prelate in Christendome. Since that time the church of Toledo hath bene in great credit and authoritie among all those of Europe, and is serued with an incre- dible number of Clerkes: for besides the Archbishop, 14 dignities, 40. Chanoins with Prebends, and 70. Portionists, and other extraordinary Chanoins, there are so many Priests, Chaplaines, Clerkes, Chantres, and other Officers that haue fee, as they ex- ceed 600, being very rich moreover of indowels and plate. The first Arch-bishop of To- ledo is called *Eugenius* the Martyr, from whom to *Friar Bartholomew Carranca* of Mi- randa, who was in our times; they number 76. The Archbishops of Tarragone and Bra- ga, contend with him of Toledo for the primacie, neither will the Archbishops of *S. Ja- gues* & Sarragossa, acknowledge him for primacie, which quarrell heaue vnto themselves.

To returne to our Historie, after that king *Hiaja Alcaduribile* had lost Toledo, he went F into the territorie of Valencia, the which was held by *Abubacar*, terming himselfe king of that place, being but Gouernor some yeares before, vnder the kings of Toledo. This *Abubacar* was discreet and wise, and had gouerned that towne vprightly many yeares: who to assure his viurped estate, had giuen his daughter in marriage to *Amet Alen-Hut* king of Sarragossa, successe to *Zulerna*. About the taking of Toledo or soone after, he died, leauing two of his sons for successors, who fell to so great discord, and by reason of them

A then, the people, as *Abu-ge Aben-Lope* Capraine of the fort, fore-seeing the ruine of thieftwo young Princes, & fearing that these diuisions would make them fall into the hands of the kings of Castile, was readie to abandon the place, and to retire to Morue- tiro, and other lands in that quarter; which were his: but being better aduised by a Se- cretarie a Moore, called *Mahomad Aben-Hay*, hee stayed still to see what would bee the end of these factions of Valencia: some were of opinion rather then to yeeld vnto their aduersaries, to giue themselves vnto the king of Sarragossa; others to him that had bene king of Toledo; to whose father *Almenon* they had bene subiect: Thist troubles made work for *Hiaja Alcaduribile*, who lost neither time nor opportunitie, but came be- fore Valencia with such Mores as he could keep together, with whom soone after those

B Ioynd which king D. Alphonso sent him, according to the treatie, vnder the conduct of *Aluaro lones Minaya*. Being thus camped, and rather solliciting the towne by good words and promises, then attempting it by armes, in the end they were received, and King *Hiaja* acknowledged for their lawfull Prince, to whom *Abu-ge Aben-Lope*, the capraine of the Fort, yeelded vp the keyes, and purchasing by that present the Kings fa- uour, and assured his estate and life: for king *Hiaja* hated him, for that he had bene al- waies of the faction of *Abubacar* his rebell: notwithstanding knowing him to be wise, and a man of good seruice, hauing also performed so good an office, as to yeeld him vp the fort, he received him into grace, and honored him, leauing him in the same charge.

C At the same time *Hamer Aben-Hut*, king of Sarragossa died, to whom succeeded *Ioseph Aben-Hut*. King *Hiaja* liued in such continuall distrust, as he would neuer giue leaue to *Aluaro lones Minaya* and his souldiers to returne home into Castile: for the intear- ning wherof, this king was forced to ouer-charge his subiects with insupportable taxa- tions. There was a Captaine of the Moores in the towne of Xatua, called *Aben-Magor*, who would not present himselfe before King *Hiaja*, being notwithstanding in all other things obedient vnto him, but the king not satisfied therewith, would haue him: where- fore he led an army of Moores and Castilians before Xatua, and battered it in valine: for besides that the beleaged defended themselves valiantly, they called vnto their suc- cours the king of Denia their neighbor, who seized vpon the place, and kept it in de- spite of king *Hiaja*, who was forced to retire, hauing lost, by ouer-pressing it, that which D he might haue enioyed with a litle patience.

Whilst that D. Alphonso disposed of the affairs of his new conquest, & that the Mores more diuided then euer, not able to discern the miseries which pursued them, continued their spoiles, and to stir vp new troubles among themselves, D. *Sancho Ramirez* king of Nauarre and Arragon, being loth to liue idle, and to let slip such good occasions to enlarge his dominions, and to aduance the Christians power in Spaine. Hee won a bat- tell of the Moores, nere vnto a place called *Pierra Pisada*, took from them the towne of Argueda, and defeated them in another battell nere to Tudela: and fought with them the third time about Morella; which Incounters fell out happily for the Christians, in the yeare 1084. And the yere after, seeing that he had made great conquests in the cham- pion countrie, he gaue to his eldest son the realm of Sobrabre and Ribagorça, with the title of King, and a while after the Queene D. *Felicia* died, who was intetred at S. Iean dela Pagna.

The estate of Barcelona, after the death of Cont *Raymond Berenger* the elder, was in great combustion by the emulation of his two sons D. *Berenger Raymond*, and D. *Raymond Berenger*, called *Flaxen head*, wherof the eldest held a part of the countrie of Cata- logne: but D. *Raymond Berenger* the younger commanded the greatest part. So as the Moores were not molested in their estates by them; but D. *Raymond Berenger* followed the partie of the Morish king of Denia, against him of Sarragossa, who enuid the o- thers estate, as we haue sayd. Yet some hold opinion, that it was D. *Raymond Berenger* the elder, their father, who carried armes against the King of Sarragossa: and that on the other side, D. *Raymond* *Flaxen head*, was his friend and ally. Only *Armines* Earle of Vr- gel, did vertuously make war against the Mores, vpon the frontiers of Catalogne. D. *Raymond* *Flaxen head* had married a most vertuous Lady, called D. *Almodia* daughter to *Robert Guichard* duke of Pouillia, by whom hee had D. *Raymond Arnould* which suc- ceeded him.

Seditious and  
trecheries am-  
ong the  
Moorcs of  
Spaine.

Nauarre and  
Arragon.

Ar. 1084.

Barcelona.

The

Particid be-  
twixt the  
Princes of  
Castile.

The Spanish Authors shew a great argument of this Ladies holiness and religion, A for that in her husbands life time, she built the Monastier of *Valde Mary*, of the Order of *Saint Benet*, in the Vicountie of *Cabrera*, and another of *Saint Daniel*, of the same Order neare unto *Gironne*, where she professed her selfe, and lived a Nunne. After the decesse of the king, her husband: in whose life time, some people of the County of *Cerdagne*, reuiued the *Arrian* heresie, for the prevention whereof *D. Guillem* brother, Earle of that place, was much troubled. The ambition of raigne was such betwixt the two Earles of *Barcelone*, as the eldest (due the youngest by treason, watching him as he went from *Ostarrit* to *Gironne*: this *D. Raymond* flaxen-head, hauing raigned onely six years; a religious, mild, courteous, and bountifull Prince, and of a goodly presence, and therefore lamented of all men. This fratricide seeking to dissemble his treason, did B weep much before the world, but he could not so well disguise his offence, but the truth was knowne.

Wherefore the *Carrelans* reiected him, and in the yeare 1082. *Chose Don Raymond Armoûd*, the son of the deceased, for their Earle, chasing away *D. Berenger Raymond*, who thinking by treachery to take away another mans, lost his own patrimonie: and being poore and dishonoured, and moreover, by a iust iudgement of God, hauing lost his speech, he died in *Ierusalem*, whither he went in pilgrimage. During the infancy of this young Count *Raymond Armoûd*, some tyrants of *Prouence* & *Langue- doc* did invade the territories of *Carcaffone*, giuing the Earle of *Barcelone* to vnderstand, that they would hold it in fee of him, and do him homage, and restore it vnto him, when hee should come of age. This Earle *Raymond Armoûd* was a great personage, C as wee shall heare hereafter.

Castile.

An. 1086.

Returning to *Toledo*, after that the king *D. Alfonso* had giuen order for all things that were necessarie for the good of that citie, he returned to *Leon*, leauing *Cid Ruiz Diaz* for Gouvernor: and for the ecclesiasticall and ciuill gouernement, *Queene Constance* his wife, falsely called by some *Beatrice*, with the Archbishop *D. Bernard* and others during the kings absence, this Prelate being very zealous in his religion: and discontented that the Moores remaining in *Toledo*, did enioy the Mosquee maior, a rare and stately building, among all them of Spaine, layed a plot with the Queene to deprive them of it, and without any respect to the promise and oath made by the king, he seized the theron, and forbad the Moores the vse and entrie into this temple, the which D he did consecrate the Cathedrall church the fifth of October, 1086. All this was done suddenly, and without the kings priuie: the Queene and Archbishop knowing well, that it would much displease him, but their hope was, that what had bene done would not be easily vndone, by reason of the respect the king carried to Prelates, and to the Christian religion; for the honouring whereof they had undertaken it, the which succeeded according to their conceits: for the king being returned, and seeing that of force they would make him persiured, being somewhat discontented with the Queene and *D. Bernard*, in the end he was pacified with such perswasions, that it was an vnworthie thing, that in an Archiepiscopeall citie, and the first in dignitie in Spaine, that infidels should enioy the greatest and most stately Temple, there to exercise their impieties and blasphemies, to the great dishonour of the king, and the name of Christians: and the griefe of pastors and holy Ministers of the Church. Wherefore it was expedient he should aduow the fact; the which was not done rashly, but with great zeale, and by diuine inspiration. He runto, they say, were added the supplications of the Moores, that it would please the king to suffer things as they were, and not to discontent the people: and that for their parts they would willingly exercise their religion in a place of lesse shew. For the Moores spake an *Alfaguai* of their lawe, whose image is to bee seene cut in stone, in the great chappell of that church.

Gotique ser-  
uice changed  
in Spaine.

The seruice called *Gotique* or *Isidorus*, for that *Isidorus* had brought it in, and afterwards called *Musarabic*, for the Christians liuing among the Moores had main- tained it, was in vse, vntill that time as well at *Toledo*, as in *Castile* and *Leon*: but the King *Don Alfonso* desiring to shew himselfe in all things an affectionate sonne to the Romish see, would haue it changed, and in stead thereof the *Gregorian* seruice received,

A received, so called of the author *Gregory*; for which effect hee caused a Bull to be sent from the Pope then raigning, commanding that the seruice of Rome should be from thenceforth celebrated in all the Churches of Spaine, as they did in France, by reason whereof, it is called by some Spaniards, *Galliscan*. This done, the Archbishop new cho- sen, went to Rome, where he entred, when as *Urban* the 2. entred his Popedome, and there tooke his oath, receiued the Archbishops cloake, and was confirmed Primate of Spaine; and not onely of Spaine, but of *Gotique* France, as the limits of the Primacie of *Toledo* had bene in the time of the king of the *Gothes*: in witness whereof the Spaniards write, that (to shew his rights and prerogatiues) at his returne from Rome, he called a Councell at *Tholoufa*, where the Archbishop of *Narbonne* did assist, with B other bishops of those countries, suffragans, and subject to the Iurisdiction of the Pre- lates of *Toledo*.

The Metropo-  
litane of Lan-  
guedoc was  
the Primate of  
*Toledo*.

Councell at  
*Tholoufa*.

During his absence, *Richard* Abbot of *Saint Victor* of *Marcellis*, was Legate in Spaine (being sent some yeares before by *Gregory* the 7. Predecessour to *Urban* the 2.) who tooke great paines to bring in the new *Gregorian* or *Romish* seruice, and to abol- ish the *Musarabic*: for which consideration, and to put in execution that which had bene decreed, the Arch-bishop *Bernard*, at his returne called a nationall Councell at *Toledo*, whereas the Clergie, Knights, and people of *Toledo*, *Castile*, *Leon*, *Asturia*, *Galia*, and *Portugall* were assembled, or their Deputies in great numbers. *D. Bernard* presiding the King being present, there grew great controuersies among them, C the Spaniards refusing to leaue their ancient manner, to receive a new seruice, so as not able to be satisfied by any allegations and reasons, they came to a furious and brut- ish manner of trial, by combat, which was much vied in those times: there were two knights brought to field, the one for the king, and others who desired alteration of the seruice, the other for the knights and commons, which would keepe the *Musarabic*: for these came *San Ruiz*, of the family of *Matanza*, who vanquished him which fought for the *Romane* seruice, whose name is vnkowne. Yet the importunitee of the King, queen, Arch-bishop, and others of that partie was such, as the businesse was referred to another kind of trial, which was by fire: wherefore hauing brought two bookes, the one con- taining the seruice after the *Romane* vse; the other, the ancient and *Musarabic*, they D were both cast into a great fire, whereof the *Romane* booke leapt presently out (as they say) and the other lay still, and was nothing burnt.

Controuersies  
for Ecclesiasti-  
cal matters  
decided by  
armes.

Trially fire  
in Clergie  
matters.

Wherefore they did coniecture, that either of them was pleasing vnto God: and for this cause it was ordained, That they should retaine the ancient manner of seruice in fixe parishes of *Toledo*, and that in the great Cathedrall church and others the new *Gregorian* seruice was brought in; and likewise in all the rest of *Don Alphonso*'s Kingdome, the which was granted more by force, to please the king, and to obey the Pope, (who confirmed and allowed it), then for any good will. Yet the *Musarabic* Office continued long after, in many Monasteries of Spaine: and in the same great church of *Toledo*, euen at this day they sing Masse all after the *Musarabic*, euery E day in a Chappell called *Corpus Domini*.

The fixe Parishes of that Citie, where as this seruice was maintained, had bene held by the Christians *Musarabes*, whilst that the Moores did raigne there, which are *Saint Iust*, *Saint Luke*, *Saint Antolin*, *Saint Marke*, *Saint Enalata*, and *Saint Sebastian*. That the *Musarabic* seruice aunciently vsed were that which they hold at this day, and that it was not reformed and corrected, I will not doubt: for in matters of Religion, it is most certaine, that all things haue bene fitted to the time, and to the dispositions of those which liued from age to age, especially in that which concerned the ecclesiasticall discipline. The day of the reception of this *Romish* seruice, is quoted by the Spaniards the one and twentieth of May, in the yeare 1091, at the third hower.

F Matters concerning Religion being ordered at *Toledo*, *Don Alfonso* gaue many honourable titles, dignities, and priuileiges to the Citie, to their great aduantage. For first of all by reason of this conquest intitled himselfe Emperour of Spaine, hee would haue *Toledo* called and denominated the Imperiall and Monarchicke city, a name which hath remained and continued vnto this day. And to giue the Christians occasion

*Toledo* called  
the Imperiall  
city.

occasion to come and dwell there, (for the greatest part of the inhabitants were Moors) he granted rights and priuiledges to the citizens, as follow, being drawne out of the letters which are in their Registers.

*Priuiledges  
granted to the  
city of Toledo.*

1 First, he obtained for a priuiledge to that citie, that all controuerfies amongst the citizens should be iudged there, according to the lawes and ordonances written in the booke called *Of Iudges*, appointing a Councell of fixe of the most sufficient men amongst them, to assist the Iudge: all which together should take knowledge of the peoples causes, exempting the Castilians, who might decline from that seate, and desire to be sent before their ordinarie Iudges. According to which booke of Iudges, all the inhabitants of Toledo, and that iurisdiction should be iudged in matters of crime: expressly exempting the wiuces and children of offenders, (not culpable) from the pains, and fines due for all offences, namely, for high treason, or practises against the city.

2 That the inhabitants of Toledo might appeale from all other Iudges, & demand to be sent to the Iustice of Toledo, declaring all decrees against it to be void.

3 That the Inhabitants of Toledo should not be apprehended, nor put in prison for murder, vnlesse it were wilful, if they put in caution, or that the truth were apparent: and whereas they could not giue caution, they should not be put in any other prison, then the *Dulcida*.

4 All controuerfies betwixt Christians and Iewes, or Moores, should be decided by the Christian lawes, and before a Christian Iudge.

5 Exemptions granted vnto Church-men seruing God, of the tenth peny in all their inheritances.

6 Exemption of all taxes granted to souldiers, and to all such as had bene prisoners amongst the Moores.

7 All inhabitants of Toledo, as well Christians as Musarabes, should equally enjoy all royall grants.

8 The widowes of souldiers deceased, should enjoy the honors, and priuiledges of their husbands, and the children of their fathers, yea the sons should haue their arms & horfes.

9 The laborers and trimmers of vines should pay vnto the king for all tribute and seruice, the tenth peny, or portion of their corne and wine, and not bound to any other charges either in peace or war, except it were to succor the city of Toledo, being assailed by foes, in which case they should be bound to assist it with all their means.

10 The like exemptions were granted to the inhabitants of Toledo, for all lands, which they should hold in any other iurisdiction of the kings of Castile.

11 Liberty granted to the inhabitants of the said city, to build milles vpon the riuer of Tajo, against their lands and possessions, and to sell them, exchange them, and otherwise dispose of them at their pleasures.

12 No Iew nor Moore should haue commandement ouer Christians in the city of Toledo.

13 That the city of Toledo might neuer be alienated from the Crowne, nor giuen vpon any title whatsoever, to man, woman, or child.

14 No man, that had not his ordinarie residence in the sayd city, might enjoy any inheritance within the wals thereof, which inhabitants might enter into their lands and possessions, from whence they had bene chased by the Moores, in such townes and places as should be recovered from them.

15 The common treasure of the city should be employed, especially, in the building and reparations of the wals, and the fortifications thereof.

These were the priuiledges granted by the king *D. Alphonso the 6.* to the city of Toledo, the which were afterwards confirmed by *D. Alphonso the 9.* an 101 years after: so as by means thereof, it was in a short time peopled with Christians, which came thither from all parts of Spaine, and other countries: and the kings of Spaine haue bin alwaies very careful to honor this city. *D. Alphonso* leauing the city of Toledo in this estate, in the gard of *Cid Ruis Diaz*, he went to Leon, with the Archbish. *D. Bernard*, where there was a councell called, in the presence of *Regner* the Popes Nuntio; where amongst other things, it was decreed, that the Scribes and Notaries should no more vie the

*Goique char-  
acters abo-  
lished  
in Spaine.*

ancient

A *ancient* Gothique characters, intitented (as they say) by *Vifilas* their Bishop, otherwise called *Toledans*: but those letters which are now vied in Castile, were at that time not put in practise. About that time died *D. Theresa*, the kings sister, wife to the Earle *D. Garcia de Cabra*, and soone after *Queene Beatrix* the 2. wife of *D. Alphonso* being deceased, he took to wife a Princess Moore, daughter to *Almuntamuz Aben-Amel*, king of Seuille, called *Caida*, or *Zaida*, the which was christened and called *Mary*. He receiued for her dower the townes of Cuenca, Huete, Ocagna, Vcles, Mora, Volera, Consiuegra, Alarcos, Caracuel, and other places. By her the king had one son, named *D. Sancho*, who died before the father, and the mother liued not long after him.

*Marriage of  
D. Alphonso  
the 6. King of  
Castile with a  
Moore.*

This alliance caused great familiarity betwixt the king *D. Alphonso*, & the Moores, both in Spaine and Affricke, the which notwithstanding turned to the Moores ruine, and especially of his father-in-law *Almuntamuz Aben-Amel*, K. of Seuille: for to do him a pleasure, and to satisfie his ambition, and desire to be soveraign Lord ouer all the Moores in Spaine, King *D. Alphonso*, who was in great credit with all the Princes and Potentates that were neighbours to *Aben Tefin*, who was of the house and family of the *Almorauides*, to ayde and assist his father-in-law in this enterprise, and to fend him succours of Moores and Africans, the which he obtained to the prejudice of them both, as we shall here. But it is fit to vnderstand, first what these *Almorauides* were: Wherefore leauing a litle the affaires of Spaine, we will returne to that which we haue handled of the succession of *Mahumet*. The which (as we haue sayd) being fallen to two of his daughters

*Arabians:*

C *Fatima* and *Zeineb*; of *Fatima* descended the house and family of *Aben Alauy*, and of *Zeineb*, that of *Aben Humeja*. These two races were in perpetual dissention for the Soveraigntie of the Arabians, both in Asia, Affricke, and Europe, whereupon grew many alterations: so as in the end the Arabians of Affricke being diuided from them of Asia, the Crowne of Affricke continued in the race of *Aben Alauy*, for the space of 310. yeres: but as this nation was neuer faithfull within it selfe, and could not subsist without tumult and treasons: about the year 1068. there rose vp a noble family amongst them, called the *Almorauides*, or *Lampunkas*, which descended not from *Mahumet*, the which took the scepter from the race of *Aben Alauy*, and seized vpon the soveraigntie, and regall power ouer the Moores in Affricke: 450. yeres after that *Mahumet* had made himselfe

*Mahumet  
descended.*

D Lord and Emperour ouer that nation. The first of this race which was chosen and declared king, and great Miralumin, was *Abu Texifen*, to whom *Ioseph Aben Tefin* above-named his sonne succeeded, who forced the others to quit the Scepter, and transferred it into his family, where it continued 79. yeres: the second yere of his raigene, Ambassadors came vnto him from king *D. Alphonso*, for the cause above-mentioned: so as within three yeres after, all the Moores of Spaine were vnto them of Affricke, as they had bene long before. *Ioseph Aben Texifen* the Miralumin, considering that if he sent forces into Spaine, it must needs increase the Moores estate and reputation: he sent a Captaine of great esteeme, called *Ali Aben-Axa*, his Algezil-maior, or Lieutenant in the countrie of Maroc, who with a great power of men of this race of the *Almorauides*, and other Africans, came and landed in Andalusia, and ioyned with the

*Moors of Af-  
ricke drawne  
into Spaine by  
D. Alphonso  
the 6. King of  
Castile and  
Leon.*

E king of Seuille: but they stayed not long together, for being giuene into some controuersie, it drew them into sedition and armes: so as their forces being diuided, and ioyned in battaile in the open field, *Almuntamuz Aben-Amel* king of Seuille, lost his life; and this new-come Moore not onely leaued vpon his lands and Segneuries without any difficulty, but also made all the other Moores of Spain subiect vnto him: saying, that they had rather keep the Arabians Camels, then the Swine of the Christian Spaiards. *Ali Aben-Axa* was so fortunate in his proceedings, as he grew exceeding proud, not respecting his king any more: but rebelling openly against him, hee setled the royall seat at Cordoua, and caused himself to be called Miralumin of Spaine: by means whereof all the treaties of peace which had bin contracted betwixt the Moores and Christians

*Moores in  
Spaine vnto  
under Ali A-  
ben-Axa.*

F of Spaine, were then broken: and moreover, this new king of the Moores, thought to recouer the countries which had bin held by the Moores, namely those, which *D. Alphonso* had had in dowry with *Q. Caida* his last wife: so as the king *D. Alphonso* thinking to enjoy an assured peace, hee found himselfe suddenly engaged in great and dangerous

Z 3

warres;

warrs: for *Ali* entering into the Realme of Toledo, he spoyle the countie at his pleasure, having gotten two great victories, and put two mightie armies of *D. Alphonso* to bloudie routes: so as the lands of *D. Caido* dowrie, with others, came into his power, the which was the more easie to effect, for that they were in a manner all inhabited by Moors. Yet in a third expedition, whereas *D. Alphonso* went in person with all the flower of his kingdomes, the conquerors furie was stayed, so as he was forced for feare (seeing this great preparation made against him) to keepe himselfe within Cordoua, and so abandon his countie to the spoile, not daring to defend it, and in the end came to a composition and treaty of peace with *D. Alphonso*, by the which he made himselfe his vassall and tributarie, giving him rich presents, and great sums of money, wherewith the King and his armie being enriched, they returned victoriously into Castile. From thence King *D. Alphonso* hauing gotten new courage, led his armie to subdue *Sarragossa*, and did so presse it, as the Inhabitants did offer to hold it in fee of him, and to do him homage, the which he refused, demanding the city: but whilest he was busie at this enterprize, behold there arrives in Spaine a great cloude of African Moores, which stricke a greater terror in Spaine then had beene in many ages. It was *Joseph Aken Tefar* the Miralminin, who incensed at the trecherie of *Ali*, was come out of Affricke with a greater armie of Moores, then had bin seene in long time, to take reuenge of his trecherie.

16 The presence of this king stayed the siege of *Sarragossa*, brake the accord made betwixt *Alphonso* and *Ali*, and was the cause of many great alterations. Hee besieged and forced *Ali* in the city of Seuille, and as a traytour, cut off his head: he seized vpon *Cordona*, in the which was a sonne of *Abercatus*, and in a short time hee brought all Andalusia vnder his obedience, and in a manner all the Noblemen and townes which the Moores held in Spaine: he drew vnto his seruice some Earles and Noblemen Christians, with many souldiers; whome gaine, or their disordered passions, commanded more then religion. One of these Earles was called *D. Ordoñez de Lara*: So the Moores of Spaine ioyned with them of Affricke, vnder one *Miralminin* in the yeare, 1089, hauing bene diuided 334. yeares, they of Affricke being subiect to the race of *Aben-Humja* from *Abderramen* the first: This king stayed some time in Spaine, to dispose of his new conquests, not respecting any more the friendship of King *D. Alphonso*, who first had invited him to come into Spaine; and then he returned into Affricke, where hee had seiled his imperiall seat at Maroc or Marroxx. Then began there a difficult war betwixt these two Potentates in Spaine: by reason whereof King *D. Alphonso* sought the friendship and succours of other Christian Princes: vpon which occasion there came many valiant Knights into Spaine, to winne honor by armes, and moued also with zeale of religion; among the which were three Princes, whereof mention hath bene made in the beginning of this raigne: that is, *Raymond* son to *William*, brother to the Earle of Bourgoigne; *Henry* of Lorraine or of Belançon, and his vnkle or cousin *Raymond* of Thoulouze, and of *S. Giles*: with these and other braue souldiers, as well Spaniards, as of other nations, *D. Alphonso* made head against this Arabian king: so as he stopt his course, and ouer-run his country newly conquered, taking great spoiles, and carrying away many prisoners, without any opposition.

Portugal.

Henry of Lorraine, first duke of Portugal.

Portugal held the first of the Crown of Leon

17 At that time *D. Alphonso* (for the good seruices hee had receiued from these three personages, and to bind them the more to defend the Christians estate in Spaine) gaue them his daughters in marriage: to *Henry* of Lorraine, whom some call Earle of Limbourg, *D. Theresa* his bastard, to whom bearing a private affection, hee gaue the countie of Portugal, which he had conquered from the Moores, with the hereditarie title of an Earle, for him and his heires lawfully begotten; and withall making him a promise to adde vnto his Seigneuries whatsoeuer he should conquer from the Moores in those parts, with the same right of hereditarie succession. These goodly gifts did King *D. Alphonso* bestow vpon *D. Henry*, vpon condition, that they should acknowledge the kings of Leon for their Soueraigne Lords, and hold them in fee of them, do they them homage, and present themselves at the kings court at Leon, whensoever they should

A should call there vassals; and serue them against their enemies: Moreouer they should furnish three hundred horse, with some other duties: This was the beginning of the Siegneury of Portugal, and of the royall posterity of the possesseurs of that countie. To *Raymond* Earle of Tolouze and Saint Giles, King *D. Alphonso* gaue *D. Elvira* an other of his bastards; and to *Cont Raymond* of Bourgoigne *D. Præcia* his lawfull daughter, with the Government of Galicia; & the title of an Earle, which was the ordinary title of great dignities in Spaine, in those times.

*D. Sancho Ramirez*, King of Nauarre and Arragon, did all hee could to annoy the Moores, vpon his borders: from whom hee tooke about the yeere of our Lord 1089, the towne of Montçon, yet with great difficulty, by reason of the fort, and the obdurate defence of the garrison. The same yeere the priuiledges of Nobility, with all exemptions, were confirmed to them of the valley of Roncal, as a testimony that they had bene alwaies valiant and faithfull to their Kings.

In the yeere 1091, hee forced *Abderramen* the Moore, King of Huesca, to pay him tribute: he sent succours to his cousin *D. Alphonso* of Castille, in the warre which hee made vpon the marches of Toledo; and hauing a designe to besiege *Sarragossa* in time, hee beganne a fort neere to the riuer of Ebro, five leagues from *Sarragossa*, the which hee called *Castellar*: hee wonne afterwards from the Moores, *Ollalla*, *Almenara* and *Nauai*, and hee peopled *Luna*, from whence is descended the family of *Luna*; and to copee vpon the King of Huesca, hee fortified the castles of *Marcuello*, *Loarre* and *Algueçar*, vpon the Marches of Sobrabre, and subiected all that is betwixt it and *Montaragon*, within a league of Huesca: wherefore King *Abderramen* seeing himselfe restrained daily more and more, hee had recourse vnto *D. Alphonso* King of Castille, offering to pay him a greater tribute, then hee did to him of Nauarre, if hee would take him into his protection: wherewith *D. Alphonso* gaue care, being glad to make himselfe great by what meanes soeuer, of such power is ambition in the hearts of men, who sparing not the King *D. Sancho* his cousin, hee had wrested from him the Siegneury of Guipulcoa, which had euer bene vntied to the crowne of Nauarre, and had made Earle and Governour, in his name, *D. Lopes Diaz* of Haro, Lord of Biscay. This manner of proceeding did much displease *D. Sancho Ramirez*, who for this cause hauing

D sent some troups of soldiers, to the frontiers of Alaua, to entertaine the Castilians, he went to the siege of Huesca, being resolved to take it at what price soeuer: hee was accompanied by his sonnes *D. Pedro*, King of Sobrabre, and *D. Alphonso*, with the forces of Nauarre and Arragon: but as he proceeded in this siege, with to great vehemency, it happened that going to view the weakest places, with his captaines, he was shot with a Moorish arrow vnder the arme-hole, as he lifted vp his arme, to shew some one that was neere him, a place where he thought fit to make his battery. The blow was mortall, the which *D. Sancho* feeling he retired to his tent, dissembling his paine as much as hee could: being there, hee caused *D. Pedro* and *D. Alphonso* his children to sweare, not to depart from the siege, vntill they had taken the towne; and soone after hee died, as

E they drew the arrowe out of the wound. Hee was a valiant Prince, and had happily enlarged his dominions by conquests against the Moores; but his neighbors Christians were not very faithfull, euen *D. Alphonso*, King of Castille. Hee laued iustice and Government: the towne of Estella was begonne by him, the which at this day is one of the three cities of Nauarre, and the second in dignity: He affected religion much, according to the practise of those ages, for besides many donations made by him to churches and monasteries, and the re-edifying of them that were ruined, hee made *D. Ramir* his youngest sonne a religious man, of the order of *Saint Benet*, in the monastery of *Saint Ponce* of *Torreilles*. *D. Pedro* his eldest sonne succeeded him, in the realme of Nauarre and Arragon, in the yeere of our Lord 1094: about this time many monasteries of France, obtained exemption from the jurisdiction of Bishops, the Monks being desirous to enjoy greater liberty, and their Abbots to adorne themselves with crosses and miters like Bishops.

About that time *D. Theresa*, countesse of Portugal, had a sonne by *Henry* of Lorraine, or of Belançon at a place called *Guyon*; his name was *D. Alphonso*, as the King

Nauarre and Arragon.

An. 1091.

Fort of Castellar.

D. Sancho Ramirez, King of Arragon, first duke of that countie.

An. 1094. Portugal.





of Sigüenza and in the end Bishop of Saint *Jagues*: Peter also of Agen, second Arch-deacon of Toledo, and since bishop of Segobia: *Raymond* of Agen, who succeeded in the Bishopricke of Ofina, and in the end to the same D. *Bernard* in his dignity of Toledo: an other *Peter* who was Bishop of Palence, and *Ierome* of Perigueux, whom hee made Bishop of Valencia, arriving in that city soone after that D. *Roderigo Diaz de Bivar* had conquered it; to whom he was an assistant to order clergy matters. Hee carried with him also one *Bernard*, who was bishop of Zamora: and besides a Limosin called *Bourdin*, who was Arch-deacon of Toledo, and afterwards Bishop of Coimbra, and successively Arch-bishop of Braga: but this *Bourdin* became a *Judas* to the church of Rome, and would haue made himselfe Pope, against *Calixtus* the second, which caused a great scisme.

All this feed the Archbishop of Toledo brought out of France into Spaine, at his returne from Rome, & furnished Spaine with these Prelats, in recompence of the vow which he did not performe to goe to the holy war: and moreover he re-built churches and other apparient places in the towne of Tarragone, with the money which was prepared for his voiage, and there established *Berenger* Archbishop, having beene Bishop of Viad: Aulone, leaving the temporality of that towne to *Raymond Arnould* Earle of Barcelona.

Barcelona.

This Prince was left young at the death of his father, who had beene cruelly murdered by his owne brother, desirous to rule alone in Cattelogne. He was much troubled with diuisions and factions betwixt the Noblemen of the country, and was spoiled of Carcaffone and other Lands which he had in France, by tyrants, as it happens often during the minority of the Prince or Lord. His mother the Contesse *Almodia*, a widow, gaue ouer al government, and professed herselfe a Nunne in the conuent of Saint *Daniel* of Gitone: so as hee remained in the hands of *Armingel* Earle of Vied, the Earle of Cerdagne, and some other of his bloud, who beeing imploied against the Moores, got for themselves, and did not much attend the good of their pople, yet did he grow both in vertue and valour: Cont *Armingel* died in the yeere of our Lord 1092, and D. *Guillen* for dauid of Cerdagne, went to the warres of Syria with *Gedfrey* of Bouillon, where beeing dead and soone after his brother D. *Bernard Guillen* his successor, leaving no heires of their bodie, the Earle D. *Raymond Arnould*, as neereft allied did inherit the Earledome, whom God did so fauour, as that *Bernard* of Aton who had usurped Carcaffone, was growne so haresfull to them of the country, as they chased him away, and deliuered the towne to D. *Raymond Arnould* their naturall Lord. So he not onely recovered that which they had taken from him, but also augmented his Estates and Siegneuries with the towne of Tarragone, and the county of Cerdagne. We haue sayd before, that he was in a certaine encounter against *Cid Ruiz Diaz*, during the warres betwixt Valencia and Denia, and that hee was repulled and vanquished by him: but became afterwards good friends, after that *Cid* had taken Valencia about the yeere of our Lord 1096.

God the Father of the Father of the Father.

Castille.

Marriage of the daughters of Cid Ruiz Diaz.

To returne to which conquest, we will say that *Cid* did presently send to King D. *Alphonso* his Lord, a hundred goodly horses richly furnished, with other great presents, who being in Palenza, receiued them with great contentment. He sent other presents to D. *Ximena* his wife, whom with his two daughters, D. *Eluira*, and D. *Sol*, he caused to come to Valencia with the lease of King D. *Alphonso*. The Almorauides of Affricke staid not long before they past the seas, to defend their new conquest in Spaine, and came into the country of Valencia with a great power, but they were repulled by *Cid* with great losse and dishonour: of the spoiles of which victories *Cid* sent two hundred horses vnto his King, richly furnished, and at euery saddle did hang a sword of great value. The King D. *Alphonso* was at that time at Valledor in Castille, who receiued this present graciously: There beganne the treaty of marriage for the daughters of *Cid*, with D. *Diego* and D. *Fernand Gonçales*, sonnes to D. *Gonçales* Lord of Carrion, for the effecting whereof, the King, *Cid*, and the parties came to Requena, whether the King brought the two young Noblemen, to whom *Cid* promised his daughters; and afterwards the marriages were celebrated at Valencia with great pompe. But in the

god

A end of this feast there happened an accident, which did much trouble these two houses, so inconstant and shorie are humane pleasures; and the counsels and iudgements of God inscrutable. There was a Lyon bred vp in *Cid*'s house, the which by the negligence of the Governour, or otherwise, getting loose, came into the hall; where there was a great assembly of Noblemen and Ladies, with the married coples, and strooke a great terror among them, where as about all others the two *Gonçales*, newly married showed themselves faine hearted, whereas they were, ashamed, seeing themselves soe disgraced, both by their father in law, and by the other knights there present. From that time they conceived a mortal hatred against *Cid*, thinking that this Lyon had beene soe loose by his commandment, to try them and feare them, loas they refused to be scutenged vpon soe high occasion. There was no main argument of their banelles, seeing a Lyon vpon the lodaine (although that an unexpected accident, might amaze the most hardy being an ordinary thing in nature, as hee moved at lodaine things) for soone after they came a more ample testimony of their want of courage, in a battaile against the Moores, who were come against Valencia: where they carried themselves, badly yet by the wisdom and valour of *Cid* these Infidels were vanquished. After al this, these two base Knights would carry their wives home to their houses, but hauing their hearts full of poison, and fearing they should not be able to hurt their father in law, they reuenged themselves inhumanly vpon their innocent wives, and intreated them so it before they came to Carrion, as they left them for dead vpon the way, at a place called *Robledos de Corps*, neere to Berlanga, where these poore Ladies being cherished by the good people of the country, they had meanes to aduertise *Cid* their father of their misery. The messenger whom they sent, was encountered by *Cid*'s men, going to the King D. *Alphonso* with foure score horses, and other rich presents, of the spoiles of the last victory obtained against the Moores. Complaint was made by them vnto the King of this villanous act committed by the sonnes of the Lord of Carrion against their wives; wherevpon the King assembled the Noblemen and Knights of the country of Toledo, and kept a court (whereas *Cid* appeared, hauing retired his daughters to Valencia) and Iudges were appointed to doe right vnto the parties, vpon soe great a controuersie, among the which D. *Raymond* of Bourgoigne, the Kings sonne in law was one: Their sentence was that their quession should bee decided by armes, betwixt Knights chosen of either party; such was the lustice in those daies among Nobles, a custome which is not lost amongst Christians at this day. The campe where they should fight was chosen in the towne of Carrion, whereas there appeared *Pedro Bermudes*, *Martin Antolinez* and *Nugno Gussor*, Knights for *Cid*, who vanquished, the two sonnes of Carrion, with their vncle a partisa of their villany, called *Suero Gonçales* who were proclaimed infamous and traitors; and degraded of al honor and title of nobility. These two Ladies were afterwards happily married into the house of Nauarre, that is D. *Eluira* to D. *Ramirez*, sonne to the King D. *Sancho Garcia*, and D. *Sol*, to the sonne of D. *Pedro*, then reigning in Nauarre and Arragon, called also D. *Pedro*, who died before his father. After these last marriages *Cid* growne old, did nothing that was memorable.

Conservation of Cid's sonnes in law.

Reparation of Cid's sonnes by consule.

Alfonso a great Duke of the Moors met his beque.

Death of Cid Ruiz Diaz.

E He fetled the Estate of Valencia as well as he could, with the aide of the Princes of Nauarre and Arragon his allies. And the better to assure it, he chased away diuers families of the Moores, which were suspected vnto him. A captaine of the Moores, who was also a Doctor of the law of *Mahomet*, called *Alfaraxi*, a great friend to *Cid*, took vpon him the Christian religion, being held a man of great valour and iudgement. The authors place the death of *Cid Ruiz Diaz* of Buar in the yeere 1098, the towne of Valencia being annoyed by the Moores, which held their campe about it: yet notwithstanding they say that the widow accompanied with D. *Ierome* the Bishop, went out of the towne, conducting her husbands body, to bury it at Saint *Pedro de Cerdagne*, where it was laied: the Monkes of that place at this day shew many jewells and other things which they say had beene giuen by that great captaine to their Monastery. After his death, the Christians which were at Valencia fearing they should not bee able to resist the forces of the Moores Almorauides, abandoned the towne, which came into the Infidels power againe, and so continued 140. yeeres.

D. Pedro





*D. Vrraca*  
Leone of Ca-  
stille and Leon  
married to D.  
Alphonso of  
Nauarre.  
An. 1104.

Death of D.  
Alphonso the  
sixth King of  
Castille.

Conversion of  
Alphonso a Jew.

yet this made the King to thinke, that it was fit to marry his daughter, and therefore hee A  
made choise of D. *Alphonso* Infant of Nauarre and Arragon brother to the King D. *Pedro* for his sonne in law, the which hee did by the aduice of D. *Bernard* Archbishop of Toledo, which marriage was accomplished according vnto some, in the life time of the King D. *Pedro*, others say it was after his deccase, D. *Alphonso* hauing already succeeded him to the crowne of Nauarre and Arragon, in the yeece 1104. for that the King D. *Pedro* sonne, of the same name, was dead without children, and D. *Isabel* his daughter was also dead a virgin. This King D. *Pedro* and his children were buried at S. *Jeau de la Pegna*, the last of the Kings which were interred there. He had reigned in Nauarre and Arragon ten yeeres and three monethes.

As for King D. *Alphonso*, he liued vnto the yeece 1208. being afflicted with great in- B  
firmities, with the which he languished to the age of 73. whereof hee reigned foure and thirty yeeres and eight monethes, after the deccase of his brother D. *Sancho*, his bo- dy is interred in the Monastery of Sahagun, D. *Alphonso* his son in law succeeded him, in the right of D. *Vrraca* (the only lawfull daughter of the deceased) in all his realmes of Castille, Leon, Toledo and other Siegneuries. A little before his death, one *Moyse* a Jew, very learned in the tongues, in Philosophy and the holy Scriptures, was baptized, and the King D. *Alphonso* was his god-father, wherefore hee was called *Pedro Alphonso*. His conuersion was profitable to many Iewes and Moores, whom by disposing and writing hee brought to leaue their sects, and to imbrace the name and profession of Christians. At the same time florished *Dominike de la Calçada*, whose practise was to reuise the pilgrimes which went to Saint Iaques, and to direct them in their way. At C  
the place of whose aboade there was since a city built of that name: he caused a Chap- pel to be built there in honour of the Virgin *Mary*, and a little from thence, fise yeeres before his death, he made his sepulcher: for at that time they buried not any in holie ground. Now it is a Cathedra Church.

*The end of the eight Booke.*



## The Contents of the ninth Booke.

1. *Vision of the realmes of Castille, Leon, Nauarre and Arragon, vnder the King D. Alphonso the 7. of that name in Leon, and 2. in Castille, and the first in Nauarre and Arrago.*
2. *Serge and taking of the city of Sarraçosse from the Moores, the which was afterwards the chiefe of the realme of Arragon.*
3. *The County of Prouence annexed to the house of Barcelone by hereditary succession.*
4. *D. Alphonso Henriques 2. Earle of Portugal, and the bad government of the Countesse D. Theresia his Mother.*
5. *The licentious life of the Queene D. Vrraca heire of Castille, her diuorce from King D. Alphonso her husband, and the miseries which happened in Castille.*
6. *Conspiracy of the Nobility and States of Castille and Leon, against the Queene D. Vrraca, and the establishing of her sonne D. Alphonso.*
7. *Raymond in the royall dignity, accounted the 8. of that name, and the 27. King of Leon, and 5. of Castille.*
8. *Disordered and prodigious testament of D. Alphonso the 7. King of Nauarre and Arragon.*
9. *Vsurpations of townes and Lands in Nauarre by King Alphonso Raymond of Castille.*
10. *D. Garcia Ramir the 19. King of Nauarre and 7. of that name.*
11. *D. Frere Ramir the 5. King of Arragon and 2. of that name.*
12. *Kings of Nauarre and Arragon, forced to acknowledge the souerainty of Castille.*
13. *Vnion of Cattellogne to the crowne of Arragon, by the marriage of the Earle of Barcelon: D. Raymond Berenger, with D. Petronille.*
14. *Accord betwixt D. Raymond Betenger, Prince Regent of Arragon with the Templers and Hospitallers, vpon the testament of King D. Alphonso.*
15. *The Earle of Portugal takes the title of King.*
16. *Change of the State in Affrike, and the new raigne of the Almohades.*
17. *Taking of Lisbon, and other townes from the Moores, by the new King D. Alphonso Henriques.*
18. *D. Sancho the 20. King of Nauarre 7. of that name.*
19. *Change of Religion among the Moores in Spaine, and persecution of Christians by the new sectaries.*
20. *D. Sancho the 6. King of Castille 3. of that name.*
21. *D. Fernando the 2. of that name 28. King of Leon.*
22. *Institution of the Order of the Knights of Calatrava.*

*Th*



*This ninth booke contains the rest of the Kings of Nauarre, Arragon, Leon and Castille, and the erection of the Earldome of Portugal to a Kingdome by D. Alphonso Henriques as followeth.*

NAUARRE. ARRAGON. LEON. CASTILLE.  
18. Alphonso Emperour. 1.---4. the same. 1.---26. the same. 7.---4. the same. 2.  
19. D. Garcia Ramir. 7. 5. D. Fr. Ramir. 2. 27. D. Alphon. Ra. 8.---5. the same. 3.  
20. D. Sancho. 7. D. Petronille and 28. D. Fernand 2. 6. D. Sancho. 3.  
D. Raymond Be-  
renger unites  
Arragon and Cas-  
telagne.

PORTUGAL.

D. Alphonso Henriques. 2. Earle and the first which tooke vpon him the title of King.

D. Alphonso the eighteenth King of Nauarre.  
Emperor of Spaine.

Nauarre, Ar-  
ragon, Leon  
and Castille.  
An. 1108.



Let the Christian Kingdomes of Spaine were vnited in one body, in the yere 1108. by the succession of Leon, Castille, Toledo and other conquests, fallne to D. *Priaca*, wife to D. *Alphonso* King of Nauarre and Arragon, intituled Emperor of Spaine by a better right then his Predecessors: notwithstanding that some Chronicles will not haue him put in the linke and number of the Kings of Castille and Leon, for that it was D. *Priaca* his wife, and not hee which was heire of the sayd realmes D. *Pedro Ansures* during the Kings absence, who was in Nauarre and Arragon, gouerned, and was Viceroy in Castille; in which time the Moores went to field, and did great harme vnto the Christians, taking the towne of Coria, with other places. D. *Alphonso* King of Nauarre, entred with an army into Castille, leading with him D. *Priaca* his wife, but there needed not any force, for all obeyed him, both the townes, forts and Noblemen of the country, whom hee gouerned with all mildnesse, humanity and iustice, and repulsd the inuasions of the Moores on the frontiers of his wiues dominions: but hee made sharper warre against them vpon the conquests of Nauarre and Arragon: in Castille hee repaired Villagades in Rioje Berlanga: and vpon the riuier of Duero, Almanan and Sofia. The surname of warrior was giuen him by reason of his deeds of armes, and the battailes wherein he was during his raigne: The Historie report that he did fight 39. times in a pitch field, & was victor in them all, except in the two last battailes, which were fought nere vnto Fraga. Having gotten footing in Castille, he began to foresee what might happen, if his wife should die without children by him; wherefore he put gononors and captaines of his countries of Nauar & Arragon in al the strong places of Castille, that if he were forced to quither the realms of Castille, Leon, Toledo & their depédañces, he might keep those people in some awe, and

D. Alphonso  
sees, to al-  
sur, is not life  
of Castille.

A and leaue it with his honor and aduantage: the which did somewhat estrange the Noblemen of Castille. He knew also, that his wife D. *Priaca* was proud, ingrate, inconstant, and not very continent, and therefore with good aduice he armed himselfe for all euents. This woman vpon a light occasion, conceived a great hatred against the Earle D. *Pedro Ansures*, Lord of Vailledolit, who had nourished her, and had kept her Estates after the death of the king her father, onely for that in his letters written to the king her husband, & her, aduising them to come and take possession of her inheritance, he had intituled her husband King of Castille. Whereupon she fought to take Vailledolit, and other lands from him, but the King did presently restore them: and to the end he should be the more secure, against the rage of this woman, hee sent him into Arragon, with D. *Elo* his wife, giuing him the gouernement of the young Earle of Vrgel his Cousin.

The first expedition which he made against the Moores, was about the yere, 1110. vpon the frontiers of Nauarre and Arragon, where he tooke from them the towne of Exea, in which warre he was assisted by many voluntarie Noblemen and Gentlemen of France, being desirous to winne honor by bearing armes against the Mahumetists. Running along the riuier of Ebro, he tooke Tihaut, Borja, Magallon, and other places of those marches: so as the happy successe of this enterprize gaue him courage to effect that which his predecessors Kings of Nauarre had long before designed; which was, to reduce the citie of Sarragossa vnder his obedience, the which as he made shew to be seige, spoiling the countrie round about it King *Abuslen* came with a great power, and presented him battaile, neare vnto Valtierra, where the Moore was vanquished, and slaine vpon the place. By meanes of this victorie, King D. *Alphonso* took Morcella, and resolved to be seige Sarragossa, wherefore he put a strong garrison into the fort of Castella, of old fouldiers, called at that time in Spaine Almograbes, who were continually entertained vpon the Moores frontiers. This seige was long and dangerous, for the Moores defended this citie courageously, being great, full of men, and well fortified.

In the armie of king D. *Alphonso*, there were many Noblemen of France, which had vowed to carrie armes against the Infidels, among the which were *Galton* Lord of Berne, the Earle of Cominges, and *Rotron* Earle of Perche, by whom the Towne of Tudele, seated vpon Ebro, betwixt Sarragossa and Calaoarra, was taken by surprize. The Moores which were there in garrison, did much annoy the campe; for that they spoiled their victuallers and merchants, and cut off their victuals: whereupon D. *Alphonso* sent Count *Rosron* with good troupes of foot and fixe hundred horse. The Earle kept himselfe close in certaine valleys, couered with woods, neere vnto the towne, and sent forth some men into the open plaines, to get some spoile, and to driue away their cattell; who being discovered by the Moores of the fort, they sallied forth with all their forces, to the end that not any one of these runners should escape. While they were in skirmish, the Earle came out of his ambush, and cut off their retreat to the towne, the which he found ill garded, so as he seized thereon without any difficultie. The king D. *Alphonso* to reward the Earle of Perche for this prize, which was of so great importance, for that seige where he was, gaue him this place of Tudele, the which was afterwards annexed to the crowne of Nauarre. The Moores amazed at this losse, began to faint in many places: so as Moncajo, and other neighbour townes, were made subiect to D. *Alphonso* within few dayes. The Sarragossians were much assisted by the Moores, which commanded at Lerida and Fraga, as well for the danger which did threaten them, as for their conformity in Religion.

During this seige, the king D. *Alphonso* being in the citie of Barbastro, there came vnto his Court Count *Bertrand* of Tholouise, sonne to Count *Raymond*, and D. *Eluira* his daughter to the deceased King D. *Alphonso* the 6. This young Prince had bin dispossessed of all his Estate by the Earle of Poitiers, who being graciously interrayned and honored by king D. *Alphonso*, to the end he might bee ayded by him, to recover his Estate, he made himselfe his vassall, acknowledging him for his Soueraigne Lord of all he did, or should possesse (according to the Spanish Historie.) The King received

The had qual-  
ties of D. *Pri-  
aca* Queene  
of Castille.

Expedition  
against the Dis-  
turbance.  
An. 1110.

Moores defend-  
ed by D. *elo*  
shon.

Sarragossa  
besieged.

Noblemen of  
France in the  
campe before  
Sarragossa.

Tudele taken  
by the Earle of  
Perche.

received him into his protection, & gave him good hope, it was about the year 1116. A  
 yet this did little avails Cont. *Brerand*; for the continuall warre which *D. Alphonso* had  
 against the Moores, would not suffer him to attend the affaires of Tholouza, besides  
*William* Earle of Poitiers was the kings friend, and came himselfe in person to the war  
 against the Moores in Spaine, and was at the siege of Sarragossa, with the Earles of  
 Perche, Cominges and Bigorre, the Lord of Beam, the Vicount of Lauedan, Bishop  
 of Escar, and many other Noblemen and Knights of France, whereas also were all the  
 Noblemen of Navarre and Arragon, both Ecclesiasticall and secular; among the which  
 those of greatest make, were *Diego Lope Ladrón*, *Ximen Fortunes de Lect*, *Simon Fortu-*  
*nes de mont Castell*, *Pedro Momello*, *Lope Ximenes Torella*, *Lope Sancho* of Ogabre, *Pedro*  
*Ximenes* Iustice of Arragon, *Jean Galindio d'Antilia*, *Lope Fortunes* of Albero, *Pedro*  
*Ay* Entenza, *Raymond Peres d'Erille*, N. of Almoravid, and with them many of Cas-  
 tile and other places of Spaine. About the year 1118. Almudebar, a strong place and  
 well furnished, was taken by the French; the which strucke such a terror into the Moores  
 thereabouts, as they abandoned Sarrigena, Salce, Robres, Zeura, and Gurrea, the  
 which were seized on by the Arragonois, whilest that the French with the other forces  
 did batter Sarragossa, with all violence, the which the Moores defended valiantly, the  
 king *D. Alphonso* being then gone into Castile. The Spaniards write, that the French  
 seeing this siege to grow tedious, and being out of hope to take the citie, they re-  
 tired in a manner all home to their houses, except the chiefe Commanders, to whom  
*D. Alphonso* brought new supplies, about July this year 1118. The besieged begin-  
 ning to doubt that they should not be able to keep the citie long, they employed all  
 their money, meanes, and credit, intreating the Moores that were neere and farre off,  
 to succour them in their great necessitie. Who sending a capitaine vnto them called *Te-*  
*min*, with men and victuals: he was encountered and defeated neere vnto Daroca, by  
 the king *D. Alphonso*, and the Earle of Prouence, who (according vnto *Swrites*, the  
 Writer of the Historie of Arragon,) was there with sixe hundred horse; contrarie to  
 that which the Spaniards say: so as the Moores despayring of all succours, began to  
 parle, and to treat of conditions to yield. Some notwithstanding to do more honor  
 to the Clergie of those times, say, that *D. William Gasson*, Bishop of Pampelone, ge-  
 nerall of the souldiers of Navarre, behaued himselfe so in his quarter, as hauing made  
 a great and spacious breach, he entered the towne by force, the Moores making won-  
 derfull resistance, with their king *Almosuen*, who was slaine among the ruines. This  
 great citie was taken in December, in the aforesayd year 1118. where the king *D. Al-*  
*phonso* entering, he lodged in the pallace of the kings of the Moores, called *Açuda*, neere  
 vnto the Port of Toledo, beginning to settle the estate thereof, to make it the Capitall  
 citie of all the Realmes which he enjoyed, or that he might conquer hereafter, intui-  
 ting himselfe king of Sarragossa. His chiefe care was to settle the Clergie, and to in-  
 rich that Order, which had serued him much in the siege of the towne: wherefore the  
 Mosque Maior was then consecrated for a cathedrall Church, vnder the name of *S. Sa-*  
*uueur*, and one *Pedro de Libana*, was chosen Bishop, confirmed by Pope *Gelasius*. E  
 then reigning. They found many Christians Musazabes in Sarragossa, who had liued  
 there among the Arabians, with great liberty of their Religion, the which they did ex-  
 ercise in a very ancient church, called *Nostre Dame del Pilar*; we reade in the Historie  
 of Arragon, and in the writings of *Ierom Swrite*, that the Lords of Bearne, and the earls  
 of Perche did long enioy very great priuileiges in the citie of Sarragossa, by the grant  
 of *D. Alphonso*. This king and Emperour of Spaine granted great liberties and pri-  
 uileiges to this citie, to prouoke strangers to come and dwell there, namely, the pri-  
 uilege of gentrie, and the lawes and Iustice of Arragon: and in time of factions and se-  
 ditions to chuse for their Councell certaine Syndics, Protectors of the people.

As for the dignitie called Iustice of Arragon, which was vsed in the time of *D. Pedro F*  
*Ximenes*, it is a Magistrate, the gardien and protector of the publike libertie, against the  
 violence of great men, yea to suppress the exccesse and tyrannies of Kings, with soue-  
 raigne iurisdiction, instituted in the infancie and beginning of principalities and Chri-  
 stian Estates in Spaine, after the inuasion of the Moores, when as the kings, not by  
 succession

Almudebar ta-  
ken from the  
Moores.

Sarragossa ta-  
ken.

Episcopal seate  
referred to  
Sarragossa.

Dignitie of  
chiefe Iustice  
in Arragon.

A succession of blood and birth, but by their valour and vertues were chosen, to be ready  
 and faithfull Gouernors of the affaires, as well of warre, as of Iustice, according vnto  
 certaine simple lawes, and as then militarie, propounded vnder the title of the court  
 or law of Sobrarbre. This Magistrat was first called Iustice maior, entertained and  
 augmented both in dignitie and authoritie from time to time by good kings. There  
 were great gifts and fees given also by this great king vnto the Earle of Bigorre, in re-  
 compence of the good offices he had done him in this warre. These things thus done,  
 hee went and layed siege before Tarrasone; the which made no great resistance, see-  
 ing that the neighbour places were come into the power of the Christians. Being yel-  
 ded, it receiued the ancient Episcopall seate, and one *D. Michel* was chosen Bishop.  
 B This towne which in former times had belonged to the Crowne of Navarre, by this  
 last conquest was annexed to that of Arragon.

*D. Alphonso* continuing his conquests, tooke the places and forts which were along  
 the riuier of Xalon, and in the end tooke the towne of Calarajub, into the which he put  
 a great garrison; as a place which fronted vpon the Moores on the mountains of  
 Cuenca, Molina, Valencia, and Castile, he cleauid that which remained of the Moo-  
 rish faction vpon the riuier of Xiloca vnto Daroca: he repaired and peopled Montreal,  
 whereas this deuout king instituted an Order of Knights in imitation of the Templers  
 of Ierusalem, which was called *S. Saluator*, assigning them rents and reuenues, to the  
 end they should employ themselves courageously to roote out the Infidels in Spaine,  
 as he had propounded. King *D. Alphonso* did these great exploits vnto the year 1120  
 at which time the Moores were dispossessed of all which doth now belong to Arragon.

But in Carlelogne there yet remained the king of Lerida and Fraga called *Aben*  
*Gams*, whose forces were not to be contemned; and the which were as a thorne in the  
 foot of the Estates of Arragon, but more to *Raymond Arnould* Earle of Barcelone,  
 who was a good and a valiant Knight; and who had receiued no small blessings from  
 God: hauing by vnexpected meanes recovered the lands which were vlsurped from him  
 during his minority, and augmented his Estates by new successions of the Earldome  
 of Cerdagne, of the towne of Tarragone, and euen newly of the County of Besalu, by  
 the decaile of *D. Bernard Guillen*, by reason of which prosperities he intitled himselfe  
 D Marquis of Spaine, Earle of Cerdagne, Besal, and afterwards of Prouence and Ai-  
 millan, by the death of *Gilbert* his father-in-law, who had no other heire then *D.*  
*Douie*, wife to *D. Raymond*. It is likely, that by this meane he got the Countie of Prou-  
 ence, whereof (as a fee of the Empire) he was inuelted by the Emperour *Henry* the 5.  
 as we haue sayd. As for those lands which he held in Languedoc, as Carcaffone and  
 others: some Authots write, that the vicious *Bernard* of Aton, hauing vsurped them,  
 vnder a counterfeite promise to hold them of him, and to do him homage, hee after-  
 wards made this acknowledgement to *William* Earle of Poitiers, vsurper of the Con-  
 tie of Tholouza: but *D. Raymond* forced him by armes to submit himselfe vnto him.

In Portugall Cont. *Henry* had defended his country against the Moores wisely and  
 valiantly, and had gouerned with all iustice and honor, vnder the souerainetie of the  
 King, or Emperour *Don Alphonso*, vntill the year 1112, that he died in Galicia, in the  
 towne of Aftorga, and was interred at Braga in *S. Maries* church, leauing for heire  
*D. Alphonso Henriques* his eldest sonne, about eightene yeares old. *D. Therefa* the  
 Countesse widow, to whom the Earldome of Portugall did belong in proprietie,  
 shewing her indiscretion, married soone after to a knight of a noble house, called *Don*  
*Bernard Paez de Transmara*, with whom hauing liued some time, by a disordered  
 appetite, or some other damnable occasion, she left him, and married againe with a  
 brother of his called *D. Fernando Paez* of Transmara; *D. Bernard* being thus forsaken,  
 and as it were struing with his wife who should be most incestuous, hee married  
 her eldest daughter, and sister to *D. Alphonso Henriques*, called *D. Therefa Henriques*.

F These goodly exploits were done among Christians, in the house of Portugall, which  
 was but now growing: for expiation whereof, they say, that *Fernando Paez*, who had  
 taken away his liuing brothers wife, built a Monasterie at Sobrado in Galicia, nine  
 leagues from *Saint Iaques*, a pennance and satisfaction taught by the pastors of those  
 times,

Tarrasone ta-  
ken from the  
Moores.

Order of  
knights at S.  
Saluator.

Carlelogne or  
Barcelone.

Portugall.

*D. Alphonso*  
*Henriques*,  
Earle of Por-  
tugall.

The desolate  
marriage of  
the Countesse  
of Portugall.

times, to miserable contempters of Gods lawes and ordonances. The young Earle A Don *Alphonso* being much troubled with these excesses, and moreover seeing himselfe condemned, and out of all credit and fauour, for that the adulterous and incestuous *D. Fernando* intitled himselfe Earle of Portugal, in the right of his wife, he went to armes against him, the event you shall heere hereafter.

*Navarre, Castile, Arragon, &c.*

If this Countesse were vnchast in her feuerall marriages, her sister *D. Vrraca* shewed her selfe as loose and disloyall to her husband King Don *Alphonso*: so as this Prince who was endowd with great vertue and wisdom, was forced to restrain her in the fort of Castellar, neere vnto Saragossa, from whence shee sought by all means to escape: as shee did, with the helpe of some discontented Noblemen of Castile; with whom shee retired into her inheritance, where shee tooke counsell to bee diuorced from the King her husband, making her pretext, that shee had bene married against her will, and by constraint; and moreover, that shee was his cousin germaine removed, and therefore the marriage could not be lawfull, without dispensation from the church of Rome; the which in those dayes was not much vsed. Of this Councell were the Arch-bishop of Toledo, the Bishops of Bourgos, Leon, Palence and others, who were all dissatisfied, chased away, and banished by *D. Alphonso*, and with them the Abbot of *S. Feposeli*, chased away, and banished by *D. Alphonso*, and with them the Nobles, *audes*, whose Abbey was giuen to *D. Ramir* the kings brother. Wherefore the Nobles and Estates of Castile, considering what troubles and miseries would ensue, if this desseigne were put in execution against the king *D. Alphonso*, they would not giue their consents, but took their Queene with all respect, and conducted her into Arragon, to her husband; who dissembled the wrongs shee had done him, receiued her into fauour: but as she continued her leud life, forgetting more and more the honor of her selfe & house, which should haue bin more deare vnto such a Princeesse, then her life, the king in the end caused her to be conducted to the towne of Soria, chased her from his company for ever: notwithstanding he kept still many strong places in Castile, not caring much for the gouernment of the Realme.

*Queene D. Vrraca vnchast.*

*D. Vrraca chased away by the king D. Alphonso her husband.*

*Castile separated.*

*Magnanimity of King D. Alphonso.*

Without doubt this king was of a great courage, and gaue good proofes, that he did more esteeme vertue and his honor, then all worldly goods, dispossessing himselfe of all great iurisdiccions, as those of Castile, Leon, Toledo, and others, which *D. Vrraca* had brought him; who being settled in her countries, began to shew some tokens of amendment, gouerning her selfe by the aduice and counsell of *D. Pedro Ansuere*, and other knights of greatest wisdom and fame among the Nobility of Castile. Having then assembled her estates, she complained that many forts were kept from her, demanding their aduice and ayde to recouer them: Those which were kept by Captains and gouernors Castilians, were presently yielded vnto her, without attending any commandement from the king *D. Alphonso*, in hatred that he had chased away the Queene. Among others *D. Pedro Ansuere*, presently after the restitution of some places by him, went to the king, who was at Castellar; where coming before him, being mounted vpon a white horse, and clad all in scarlet, hee lighted, and holding a halter in his hand, hee layed vnto him, That hee had done vnto his Queene (the naturall and foweraigne Princeesse of Castile) the dutie of a faithfull vassall: yet having failed vnto the king, to whome hee had sworn fealtie and homage, hee had brought vnto him both hand and mouth, the instruments of the oath which hee had made vnto him, to the end that his Maiestie might dispose of them, and of his whole bodie at his Highnesse pleasure and command. King Don *Alphonso* (alwaies like himselfe) although (vpon sufficient grounds) he were discontented with the yielding vp of these forts, shewing no good countenance vnto the Earle, yet vpon his first speech hee pardoned him, yielding to the counsell of the wife, who commended much the loyalte and integritie of this knight, the which should serue as a President to posteritie: wherefore he was sent backe with honor into Castile.

After this, *D. Vrraca* did nothing of merit: for falling to her old desseigne of diuorce, she obtained it by the authoritie of Pope *Pascall*. Of whose commandement and Bulls, Don *Diego Gelmirio*, Bishop of Compostella, was minister and executioner. Thus finding her selfe without restraint in her lust & luxuriousnesse, she exceeded strangely.

Since

A Shee had familiar and dishonest conuersation with *D. Gomes*, Earle of Candespina, who had in former times pretended to be her husband, who was secretly deliuered of a sonne, gotten by him, and was for that cause called *D. Fernando Hurtado*, from whence as they lay, is descended the house of Hurtados, a noble family of Spaine. Although that some doubt hereof, yet it is most certaine, that the Earle *D. Gomes*, had in a short time the whole gouernement of all the affaires, both of warre and peace at his pleasure, conuersing as familiarly with the Queene, as if shee had bene his wife: and yet another Knight called *D. Pedro de Lara*, sonne to Don *Ordono*, Earle of Lara, who entred combat at the siege of Zamora, against the three sonnes of *Aria Goncalo*, after the decease of the king *D. Sanecho*, did insinuate himselfe in the Queenes fauour, and was in a short time one of her greatest minions, whereof the earle *D. Gomes* was very iealous. The dissolute and vnchast life of *D. Vrraca* was so publickly knowne to all the world, as king *D. Alphonso* (moued with a iust disdain, both for it, and for the aboue-mentioned diuorce) resolved to enter into Castile with an armie, putting all to fire and sword, being much incensed as well at the dissolute life of the Queene, as at the Castilians basenesse, who obeyed her, bearing them also a spleene, for that they had deliuered her those places which he had giuen them in gard.

*Queene D. Vrraca vnchast.*

There went against him to field the Queenes two fauorites, *D. Gomes*, and *D. Pedro*, with the forces of Castile and Leon, who hauing incourted the kings armie, consisting of Nauarrois and Arragonois, they came to fight neare vnto Candespina, and not farre from Sepulveda. *D. Pedro* who led the foreward, was first charged, who abandoned his men basely vpon the first encounter, and retired to Bourgos, where the Queene, was carrying newes of the route which he had no leysure to see. The army of Castile was defeated and put to flight, and many good Knights slain and others taken, namely, *D. Gomes* Earle of Candespina, with a brother of his called *Diagomes* died vpon the place. The valour of one of the house of Olea was great, which carried the Standard of the Earle *D. Gomes*, who being ouerthrowne from his horse, and both his hands cut off, he held his Standard fast in his armes whilst hee liued, crying out with a loud voyce, *Olea, Olea*. After this victorie, *D. Alphonso* past vnto Leon, by the territorie of Campos, making a cruell spoyle and murder, wherofeuer his armie went, vpon *D. Pedro's* faction. And for that his treasure failed him, the souldiers abandoning themselves to the spoyle, committed infinit thefts and sacrileges, sparing nothing, were it holy or prophane.

*Castile separated.*

King *D. Alphonso* hauing past into Galicia with the like disorder, the Nobilitie of those countries, assembled all that were fit to carrie armes, and came to meet with this furious enemy, bringing in the armie young *D. Alphonso Raymond*, the sonne of *D. Vrraca*, and of Cont *Raymond* of Bourgonne her first husband. There king *D. Alphonso* had another battaile, neere vnto a place called Carrera of Anguas, betwixt the townes of Leon and Astorga, where the Nauarrois and Arragonois had the victorie. So as hauing slaine a great number of Leonois, put the rest of the army to flight, and taken *D. Pedro de Traus* prisoner, *D. Alphonso Raymond* was forced to saue himselfe in Portugall. King *D. Alphonso* past no farther, but returned with his victorious armie, ruining all those which followed *D. Pedro de Lara's* parties: who with their Queene shut themselves vp in a place neere vnto Palenza, called Mencon, which was the retreat of them that had fled: and so returned into his owne country, with many prisoners, and great spoiles.

*Loyalte and integritie of D. Pedro Ansuere.*

6 The Queene being freed from so great a danger, continued her lustfull and vnchast life, with her minion *D. Pedro*, with as little shame and respect, as shee had bene accustomed; who playing the king, yea the very tyrant, incensed the Nobility in such sort, as many of them conspired to abandon the Queene, and to call vnto the gouernment, *D. Alphonso Raymond* her sonne, who by hereditarie succession ought to haue succeeded her. The chiefe of these conspirators were *D. Gutiere*, *Fernandes de Castro*, and *D. Gomes de Moncande*, who with their confederates (hoping that the infant *D. Alphonso* should draw great ayde from his vnkle Pope *Calixtus*, who then gouerned the Church of Rome) they caused *D. Alphonso* to come vnto their assembly; and in despite of

*Magnanimity of King D. Alphonso.*



of the Queene his mother, and her Minion D. Pedro, made him king of Castile and A Leon, in the year 1122. D. *Alphonso* King of Nauarre hauing reigned in those realms, almost 14. yeares, in continuall troubles and care.

This Pope *Calixtus* of whom we haue spoken, was before called *Guy*, brother to Cont *Raymond*, and Cont *William* of Bourgogne, who being Archb. of Vienna, had bin aduanced to the see of Rome, after the deace of *Gelasius* the 2. in the year 1120. in the Abbey of Clugny, where *Gelasius* died, flying the fury of the Emperor *Henry* the 5. This *Calixtus* was to contend against *Maurice* Archb. of Braga, a Limosin, called *Bourdin*, who had bene chosen Pope by the Emperours faction, against the election of *Gelasius*, and caused himselfe to be called *Gregory* the 8. Hee had bin brought into Spaine by D. *Bernard*, Archb. and Primate of Toledo, with a great opinion of his holines and wife-dome, and therefore he made him bishop of Coimbra, and afterwards Archb. of Braga: but he sought to make him a bad requital, perswading Pope *Pascall*, who was Predecessor to *Gelasius*, to deprive D. *Bernard* of his dignity, and to choofe him in his place, offering him a good summe of money. The Pope who was exceedingly courteous, took his money, and put him in hope, but he did not any thing. Wherefore there growing great diffention betwixt the Pope and the Emperor *Henry*, for the nomination of Prelates, *Bourdin*, who had changed his name, & taken that of *Maurice*, to his promotion to Braga, ioyned with the Emperor, and ceased not till he was made Pope of Rome, whilst *Gelasius* liued, who soone after died, leauing this quarrell to bee decided by *Calixtus*.

Then might you haue seene Christs Vicars command armies, place guards, giue the word, be in battels armed, giue the bodies and goods of miserable Christians in prey, and to countenance the most horrible infolencies which warre could produce. *Gregory* the 8. going from Sutri, where he had assembled his forces, prest Rome by acts of hostility, spoiling pilgrims which went to get pardons, according to the Romane doctrine. On the other side, *Calixtus* sending many souldiers out of Bourgogne, vnder the conduct of *John de Crema*, Cardinall of S. *Christogene*, he himselfe followed after in person, with other troupes, so as he entered Rome with great effusion of blood, and there suppressed *Gregory*; where making him a ridiculous spectacle vnto the people, mounted vpon a Camell, with his face backward, holding the tayle in his hand, for a bridle, he put him in perpetuall prison, where hauing renounced his Popedome, he ended his dayes. Thus were Ecclesiasticall charges executed among Christians in those dayes. Pope *Calixtus* hauing preuailed ouer his aduersarie about the time that D. *Alphonso* *Raymond* his nephew was chosen in Castile to raigne in stead of his vnchast mother, it was likely this election should be confirmed and supported by the authority of Rome, against all that should contradict it.

The citate of Portugall was troubled with the like disorder, and D. *Alphonso* *Henriques*, and the Portugals were prest with the like difficulties, by the disordered appetites of their Countesse, D. *Theresa* his mother, who was then enioyed by D. *Fernand* *Pace*: against whom D. *Alphonso* armed, pursuing him as a Tyrant and incestuous adulterer, their armies ioyned neere vnto Guymaranes, where D. *Alphonso* was vanquished, being too hasty to fight, and would not attend some supplies, which D. *Egas* *Nagues* (who had bred him vp, and governed him in his infancie) brought vnto him: by whome he was then sharply blamed for his rashnesse, proceeding from want of experience and heat of youth. Hauing recovered new forces, there was a second bataille fought, whereas D. *Alphonso* had the better: for D. *Fernand* *was* put to route, and himselfe with the Countesse put in a safe prison, from whence D. *Fernand* was afterwards deliuered at her intreatie, with promise neuer more to stile himselfe Earle of Portugall, but to be a perpetuall subiect and vassall vnto D. *Alphonso* *Henriques*, who by this meanes remayned a peaceable Earle in Portugall. These fruites did the two vnchast and incestuous sisters reape, being Daughters to king *Alphonso* the sixth, and in a manner at the same time.

D. *Alphonso* the 7. left raigning in Castile, where he had some places at his deuotion, held by a Nauarrois garison: during whose raigned S. *Dominike* of Calçada in Rioje, who

The Papacie  
disputed by  
armes.

Portugall.

VParre be-  
twixt the Mo-  
ther and the  
son in Portugall  
The Countesse  
D. Theresa and  
her vnchast  
husband taken  
prisoner.

Castile.

A who was reputed a Saint: hee was buried in the tombe which hee had made in his life time. He had bene a Monke of the Order of Saint *Benedict*, at Valbanera, and after in the Monasterie of Saint *Aemilian*, where they did not much esteeme him: wherefore he gaue himselfe to a solitarie life, and to follow the doctrine of *Gregorie* bishop of Ostia: for he was a man without any learning. At the place of his Sepulcher, there is at this present a towne built with a Cathedrall church, and Episcopall see, carrying his name, vntil at this present to that of Calaoorra. He was much honoured in his life time, and after his death his memorie was reuerenced: Monkes being then admired, which gaue themselves to a monastick and solitarie life. At that time there was giuen by the king D. *Alphonso*, to the Monasterie of Saint *Mary* of Valbanera, the church of Leuador, to that of Saint *Saluador* of Leyre, halfe the towne of Aralco: in imitation of whome other Noblemen gaue gifts vnto Churches, where they had speciall deuotion, every one choosung for his Patron, Aduocate, and Protector, that Saint of whom the churches and Monasteries were named. This was the ordinarie doctrine of that age to win Paradise.

In the meane time the Bishops intruded themselves into the Councels of Kings, to manage affayres of State, and to maintaine their Ecclesiasticall priuiledges, rights, and reuenues, they led armies, and were many times too forward to fight, as wee reade of D. *Pedro* of Roda, Bishop of Pampelone, who about the year 1115. meddling with the quarrels of some souldiers in the Towne of Tholoufa, receiued a blow on the head with a stone, whereof he died a Martyr, as the Spaniards say: an aduertisement for the rest to containe themselves in their vocations. D. *Mayor Garcia*, daughter to the Earle D. *Diego* *Ordognes*, and of D. *Pyraca Garcia*, daughter to the king D. *Garcia*, gaue vnto the Monasterie of Nagera about that time, certaine possessions which she had in Calaoorra. D. *Fortun* *Velaz* a knight, at that time one of the most renowned in the Kingdom of Nauarre, gaue vnto the same Monasterie, the place of *Alecon*, to furnish lights at the Altar of the Virgin *Mary*: so great and so constant was the opinion of men in that age, that by gifts vnto the Clergie, they might redeeme their soules from eternall damnation, as they did not spare the principall townes of their Estates: D. *Raymond* *Arnould* Earle of Barcelona, at the same time, gaue vnto D. *Alderis* the Archbishop, the citie it selfe of Tarragone, which the Archbishops did enioy in full proprietie, for the space of foure and thirtie yeares. The foundation of the Hospitall vpon the Pyrene mountains, at the passage of Ronceuaul, seemes to be a godly worke, the which was done by D. *Sancho de Rofas* Bishop of Pampelone, about the year 1122. but it was onely for Pilgrimes, going out of France to Saint *James*, wherein King D. *Alphonso* assisted him with money. This Hospitall was built neare vnto the place which was called *Charlemagnes* Chappell, a place which was much subiect to winds, and continuall stormes: whereupon it was afterwards built lower in Ronceuaul where it is now.

As soone as D. *Alphonso* *Raymond* was crowned King of Castile and Leon, by the meanes and direction of D. *Pedro de Trauas*, a Nobleman, who was allyed in Cartellogne, to the Earles of Virgel, and had bred and gouerned that Prince, hee beganne to pursue his mother, and D. *Pedro de Lara* her minion. D. *Pyraca* fortified her selfe in the tower of Leon, where he beleaged her: but by the mediation of some Noblemen, who were al of the new Kings partie, a peace was made vpon condition, that she should giue ouer all gouernement of affaires, and be content to liue a priuate life, hauing a pension fit for her estate and calling. As for D. *Pedro de Lara*, after that hee had wandred long vp and downe, in the end he left the countie, and being as coldly entertrayned in Nauarre and Arragon, as in Castile, he made his retreat into Barcelona.

The exercise of  
Bishops of those  
ages.

The city of  
Tarragone gi-  
uen in proprie-  
ty to the Arch-  
bishop of that  
place.

Accord be-  
twixt the king  
of Castile and  
his mother.

B b

D. Al-

D. Alphonso the 8. of that name, and the 27.  
King of Leon, and the fifth  
of Castile.

An. 1122.  
Cafite and  
Leon.

Modestie of  
greater force  
than arms.

Exploits of K.  
D. Alphonso  
the 8. against  
the Moores.

The virtues of  
King D. Al-  
phonso the 8.

Zamora made  
a bishopricke.

An. 1125.  
S. James of  
Compostella  
made an Arch-  
bishopricke.

7. *D. Alphonso* being thus dispossessed, *D. Alphonso Raymond* carried himselfe for king of Castile and Leon. After which he thought vpon the recouerie of the forts of Castile, which his father-in-law, *D. Alphonso* King of Nauarre detayned from him, wherefore he rayed a mightie armie to vie it, if he might not recouer that which he pretended without armes: with these forces he marched towards Nauarre and Arragon, which were not vnprovided for the King had also taken armes to crosse him, if he should proue insolent, and was alreadie entred into Castile by Rioje, when as the Prelates of both kingdomes, foreseeing the great miseries which would insue, if these two great Princes should once enter into warre, they laboured to make a peace and to make request vnto the king of Nauarre and Arragon, to restore him his townes and forts; the which was of such force, as without any difficulty, King *D. Alphonso* being glad that he had taken so modest a course, did louingly restore vnto him all that he held in Castile, retaining only the countrie which is from Villorodo to Calacorra: for *D. Alphonso* his father-in-law, since the decease of Don *Sancho Garcia* king of Nauarre, and by the same reason, the Provinces of Guipuscoa and Alana remained to the crown of Nauarre. Thus they layed downe armes of either side, and retired into their countries: *Alphonso Raymond* King of Castile, seeing himselfe settled in peace, he beganne to make warre against the Moores, his first enterprise was vpon Coria, which towne had beene surprized, during the inter-regne or absence of the king of Nauarre and Arragon after the decease of King *D. Alphonso* the Braue, his grandfather. This was a worke of few dayes, for he easily recovered it; but not content herewith, hee past on into the few dayes, for he easily recovered it; but not content herewith, hee past on into the countries of Extremadura and Portugal, held by the Moores, the which he wasted, and brought away the spoyle, not any Moore appearing to make head against him. This good successe of his affaires, gaue him courage to greater attempts, and were as a spur to the natural vertue and bonnie wherewith God had endowd him, as much as any Prince of his time: for he was active, hardy and valiant, and withall wife, mild, capable, and very deuout.

In his time flourished the Order of Cisteaux, and the religion of *S. Bernard*, of the which he was carefull, and a great benefactor, so as they attribute to him the building of most part of the Monasteries of that habit which are in Spaine: and hee was no lesse carefull to repaire the ruines of many townes, and castles, which had beene destroyed by the continuall courses of the Arabians; he built and peopled new, and made many good lawes and ordinances, for the administration of iustice, and gouernement of townes: so as for these excellent vertues he was fauoured of God, beloued and respected of his subiects, and greatly feared of his enemies. It was about his coming to the Crowne, that his vncke *Calixtus* erected an Episcopall see at Zamora: wherof *D. Bernard*, Arch-deacon of Toledo was the first Bishop, whereas now the Sepulcher of *Bernard*, Arch-bishop of Toledo, is worshipped with diuine honours, found as the Histories say by a shepherde, a testimony worthe of the inuention: At the same time (which was about the year 1125) the church of *S. James* in Galicia was made a Metropolitan, by the same Pope *Calixtus*, in fauour of his nephew King *D. Alphonso*, who shewed great deuotion to this Saint, for that he had had his breeding and past most of his youth in Galicia. The first Archb. of that place was Don *Diego Gelmirio*, above named, borne in the same Diocesse, vnder which Archb. were appointed 12. Bishops, *S. F. Ispania, Auila, Plasencia, Lamea, Badajoz, Cite Rodrigo, Coria, Lugo, Astorga, Orense, Mondoñedo* and *Tuy*. Then began the Abbey of *S. Dominick* of Calçado to increase, the place the which was giuen by Don *Alphonso* the Warriour, king of Nauarre, the place called

A called *Olgabarte*, or otherwise *Iubarte*; with great freedomes and exemptions. This Church was made subiect to the Bishop of Calacorra, and at that time there was an Abbot and Monkes there, whereas since there were Chanons placed, and in the end it was made a Cathedrall church, the which is now a towne seated betwixt Nagera and Villorodo, and in the beginning was but a small borough, called *Malburguete*, the which is now by corruption called *Margubette*, and is ioyned to the Cathedrall Church of that place, the which at this present is called the Bourg of Saint *Dominick* of Calçada.

King *D. Alphonso* the Warriour had giuen some respite vnto the Moores, vnto the year 1125. when as he led his armie against them of Denia and Valencia, and spoiled the countrie: then passing into Murcia and the marches of Carthagea, hee attempted Alcaras; but could not take it: wherefore pursuing his good fortune, hee ouer-run the territories of Granada, then turning by Cordoua, as he prepared to beleage it, he was diuerted by an armie of Moores *Almorauides*, to whom hee gaue Battaille and defeated them: Yet he did not thinke it fit to stay then at this seege, but returned laden with spoyle into his countrie, whither he led many Christians *Musarabes*, retired out of the tyrannie of the Moores, to whom hee gaue dwellings and lands, with exemptions and titles of Nobilitie for them and theirs.

In Portugal, Count *D. Alphonso Henriques* did in like manner annoy the Moores vpon his frontier, from whence he tooke *Leyra*, in the year 1127. the which hee gaue to the Monasterie of Saint *Croix*, in the towne of Coimbra, built by him, as the first fruites of his victories. Hee tooke in like manner the towne of *Torre nouas*. The contrarie happened in Cattellogne, whereas the Moores (whilest that the king of Nauarre and Arragon did ouer-runne their western countrie) were furiously entred, and committed infinite spoyle, the which might well bee one of the reasons which made the seege of Cordoua to cease, and caused the king of Nauarre and Arragon to retire to come and succor *D. Raymond Arnould* Earle of Barcelona.

In these warres *D. Alphonso* king of Nauarre, had great ayde and assistance of many Knights and Noblemen of France, that were neighbours to the Pyrenees, to whom a great part of the victories obtained by him against the Moores are attributed by the testimonie of the Spanish Authors themselves. In this voyage of Cattellogne, hee led with him the infant *D. Garcia*, sonne and heire to *D. Ramir Sanchez*, to whom by right of succession the kingdom of Nauarre did belong, for that he was issued from the direct and lawfull line of the king *D. Sancho Garcia* his grandfather. This young Prince was left by his dying father in the gouernement of *D. Sol* widow to the infant *D. Pedro*, daughter to *Cid*, his Aunt by the mothers side, by whom he was bred up in his youth, in all vertue and religion, and they called him the Lord of Monçon. After this expedition the king peopled the new Bourg of Pampelone, which he had caused to be built neere vnto the old towne, and was called at that time *Iruna*, that is to say, good towne; hee placed French Inhabitants there, taken out of the Goulers which had followed him in the warres against the Moores, whom he would reward for their good seruices, in lodging them in this new increase, which he had made of the towne of Pampelone, giuing them the priuiledges and exemptions of the towne of Iaca. Some thinke they came from Cahors in Quercy: he also gaue priuiledges to the Inhabitants of Maragon.

During these things, the Countesse of Portugal, who was a prisoner, being too hardly intreated by *D. Alphonso Henriques* her sonne, had meane to acquit *D. Alphonso Raymond* king of Castile her nephew, with her afflictions, and to inuigilate him to imbrace her cause, and to free her from that hard prison, wherein shee was detained: in recompence wherof she offered to make him her heire of the Earldome of Portugal. *D. Alphonso* desirous to ioyne this peece to his demaynes, came in person with a great armie, to deliuer this woman, forgetting that the Earle had assisted him in the warre, which he had against his mother *D. Xparrac* Queene of Castile and Leon, but hee had a sharpe incounter in the fields of *Valdeas*, along the banks of the riuer of *Limia*, where being vanquished by the armie of *D. Alphonso Henriques*, his cousin, hee slaued himselfe, being hurt in the foot, in the territory of Leon.

Being cured, and hauing rayled another army, he entred againe into Portugal, being desirous to recouer his honour, and to force the Portugals to acknowledge him, and to do him the homage which they ought him, as King of Leon. Being arrived at Guymaranes, where the Earle was, he beleaged it, and did all hee could to take the place: but D. *Egas Nunez* the Earles Gouernor going forth with a safe-conduct, they so treated, as vpon a promise which Don *Egas* made vnto the King, that the Earle of Portugall should take an oath of fealtie, as to his Soueraigne, he returned satisfied into his Countrey, without doing any other exploit: but the Earle D. *Alphonso Henriques* would not performe that which his Gouernor had promised: wherefore D. *Egas* went to the King being at Toledo, and there presenting himselfe at his secte, with a halter about his necke, he craued pardon, for that which he had promised, and could not performe, which was, that the Earle should do him homage for his Earledome of Portugall, whom the King pardoned, being duly informed that hee had done his best endeavour to effect his promise. These wars (which were the first the Castillians had against the Portugals, written by the Historians of Portugall, wherof notwithstanding others make no mention) past about the year 1127. D. *Theresa* for that time had no ease, Her sister D. *Freda* made her residence in Saint *Vincent*s church, being streightly guarded: yet they say, that going one day to Saint *Isidor*s church in Leon, to take the treasure which her father and grandfather had giuen vnto that place, as she was carrying this prey, hauing one foote within, and another without the doore, shee burst in the middle, a wortheie and condigne punishment due for the adulteries which shee had committed, and the murders which ensued not long after, to the preiudice and dishonour of the Kings house, and of all the Christian Estate in Spaine, as also for the cruelledge. Others say, that shee dyed in the Castell of Saldagne, being brought in bed of a child by stealth. So Don *Alphonso Raymond* remayned destitute and without a mother.

Death profit  
out to D. *Fre-  
dasa* of Castile.

Calatrava tak-  
en from the  
Moors.

About that time the king of Castile, provoked by the Moores, who were entred into the Territories of Toledo, marched thare into their countrey, and tooke from them by a long and painefull seige, the towne of Calatrava, the which he gaue to the Archbishop of Toledo, being a great fauourer of the Church and Clergie, into the which he put a good garrison, the which some beleue were Templers, who were wonderfully increased, and growne exceeding rich; euen in Spaine. After which D. *Alphonso Raymond* tooke from the Infidels, Alarcos, Caracuel, Almodouar del campo, and other places, whereof he fortified some, and razed others. At that time there reigned ouer the Moores in Spaine and Affricke, *Hali Aben-Tefin*, the third Miralmmuin, and last of the Almorauides, vpon whom the King of Castile extended his limits vnto the Mountaines called Sierra Morena, where he fortified Pedroche: then he past into Andalusia with a great army, and layd seige vnto the towne of Iaen, but it was in vaine: for being valiantly defended by the Moores, he was forced to retire, and returned with his army into Castile.

Cattlogue.  
An. 1131.

Genealogie of  
Cattlogue.

This King D. *Alphonso* had married D. *Berenguela*, daughter to Don *Raymond Ar-  
nould* Earle of Barcelona, who dyed in the year 1131. hauing held the Earledome eight and forty years. A litle before his death, he made himselfe Galle of Saint *Iohn* of Hierusalem, called the Hospitaliers. The Earledome of Prouence was fallen vnto him in the right of his wife D. *Douice*, and of other lands in France; whereof shee caused himselfe to be called Marquis: by which Lady he had two sonnes, D. *Raymond Berenger*, who succeeded him in the principalltie of Cattlogne; and afterward came by marriage to the Crowne of Arragon, and D. *Berenger Raymond*, who was Earle or Marquis of Prouence, thus ordered by his will. Of D. *Douice* was also borne D. *Berenguela* Queene of Castile; and two other daughters, who were married into France. The Earledome of Prouence had beene in question betwixt D. *Raymond Arnould*, and the Earle of Tholoufa and Saint *Giles*, but their fore, after many delays, was ended by accord: which was, That the lands of Prouence lying betwixt the riuers of Durance and Ilera, making at this day a part of Dauphine, should belong vnto the Earle of Tholoufa, with the Castell of Beaucaire, the Lands of Argence, Castell of Bolo-  
breg,

A beuge, and the moitie of the citie of Auignon, and of Pont de Sorce, the rest should remaine to the Earle of Barcelona. According vnto this diuision, D. *Berenger Raymond* did inherit Prouence, and there was added, that if any of the parties dyed without lawfull heires, the other should succede. Among other Articles of D. *Raymond Arnould*s testament, he obtained, that if his heires dyed without lawfull children, his daughter *Berenguela*, Queene of Castile and Leon, and D. *Ximena*, wife to Roger Earle of Foix should succede.

Genealogie of  
Castile.

By this noble and vertuous Queene D. *Berenguela*, D. *Alphonso* king of Castile, had foure children: D. *Sancho* who was king of Castile, hee was bred vp in his youth and gouerned by D. *Guiliere Fernandes de Castro*. The second, D. *Fernand*, who did inherit the Realmes of Leon and Galicia: and two daughters, D. *Isabella*, called by some D. *Constance*, wife to the French King, *Lewis* the young, the seuenth of that name, he that did put away *Elenor*, Countesse of Poitiers, heire of Guienne, daughter to Count *Wilham*; who after this diuorce married with *Henry* Duke of Aniou and Normandie: who being heire to the Crowne of England, had long and cruell warres against the French, by reason of this Ladies patrimonie, the which continued about three hundred yeares, vnto King *Charles* the seuenth. The second daughter which D. *Alphonso* had by D. *Berenguela*, was called D. *Sancho*, or by others D. *Beacia*, who was Queene of Nauarre, hauing married the king D. *Sancho* surnamed the Wise, or the Valiant, as others write. These to be seene among the tombes which are in the great Chappell C of the Monasterie of Ogna, an inscription of D. *Garcia*, who they imagine was sonne to the sayd D. *Alphonso*, who had a second wife, daughter to *Wladislaus* Duke of Polonia, called D. *Risa*, by whom he had one daughter called D. *Sancho*, who was married to D. *Alphonso*, the sixt king of Arragon, the second of that name. He had familiar acquaintance with two Gentlewomen, whereof the one, which was called D. *Maria*, brought him a daughter, called D. *Stephana*; or *Estienne*: the other which was called D. *Gontrude*, bare him D. *Ferrac*, who was first married to D. *Garcia Ramirez* King of Nauarre: and for her second husband, she married a wife and valiant Knight, called D. *Anuro Rodriguez*, without any respect of her degree, falling from a Queene to be the wife of a simple Knight: it may be the Ladies of those times had no such haughtie spirits as they haue at this day, or else could not distinguish betwixt vertue and fortune. D. *Stephana* her sister was married to another Knight, of the house of Castro, whom they called D. *Fernand Rodriguez* the Castilian, from whom issued a sonne, called D. *Pedro Fernandes de Castro*. This was the posteritie of King D. *Alphonso* of Castile. About the year 1132. he made his eldest sonne D. *Sancho* a Knight, on Saint *Mathias* day, vpon the which he also gaue the towne of Vra, to the Monasterie of Saint *Dominicke* of Silos.

Nauarre and  
Arragon.

It was about this time that Don *Alphonso* the Warriour, King of Nauarre, who alwayes called himselfe Emperour of Spaine, had certaine quarrels with them that dwelt on this side the Pyrenees, towards France, in the Duchie of Guienne, the occasion being concealed by the Authors, is not knowne to vs, but that wee may coniecture hee would fauour Don *Alphonso* Earle of Tholoufa and Saint *Giles*, from whom *William* Earle of Poitiers detained his liuing: but whatsoeuer moued him, hee beleaged Bayonne, the which hee tooke with litle danger and difficulty, extending his limits much on that side.

Bayonne taken.

During this seige he made his last will and testament, and as hee was alwaies enuironed with Bishops, who forgot not themselves in such opportunities, being also very deuout, and seasoned with an opinion, that finnes are wiped away, and punishments redeemed by gifts and foundations of rents and reuenues to Churches: Hee gaue vnto the great Church of Pampelona, and to the Monasterie of Leyre, the towne and Castell of Estella, to enioy the moytie thereof, with all the rights, profits, and commodities. To the Monasterie of Saint *Mary* of Nagera, and of Saint *Emilian* of Cogolla, he gaue the towne of Nagera and Tubie with the castles. To the Monasterie of Saint *Dominicke* of Silos, hee gaue the Towne of Sanguessa, together with the castell, and the two boroughs, the old and new. To that of Saint *Saluador* of Ogna, the

D. *Alphonso*  
Testament.

A prodigious  
classe in D.  
Alphonso's re-  
flement.

towne and territorie of Villorodo. To the Monasteries of *Iean de la Pegna*, and of *Saint A Peter* of Cereña, and to the Cathedrall churches of *Saint James* in Galicia, and of *Saint Saviour* of Ouido, he gaue many Legacies of great consequence, but the most important was, that which he gaue to the religious of the holy Sepulcher, and to the knights of the Temple, and the hospitaliers of Ierusalem, of both his Realmes of Nauarre, and Arragon, and whatsoever else he should conquer from the Moores, ordaining in particular, that his armes and horse should be sent to the Knights of the Temple.

The King gaue all these prodigious Legacies, vpon a wonderfull superstition, together with a hatred which he bare to them of his blood, finding himselfe old, and without any heires of his bodie: but there were but few put in execution, beeing so prejudicial to the Christians estate in Spaine, and would haue bene the seed of diuision and wars betwixt the Princes: yet his testament was made with all solemnities, and fortified with the paines and threats which were in vse in that age. Beeing returned into his countries, he ordained a seuerall court or iurisdiction for the Inhabitants of Calatayub, granting them many priuiledges and immunities, and ordaining that the reuenues of the Clergie should be hereditarie, to the end that the inhabitants, and such as were borne there, might onely enioy them, as in our time in Castile, those do which are of the Bishopricks of Calaoorra, Calçada, Bourgos, and Plaisance, and in many places of the Bishopricke of Pampelone.

An. 1133.  
Assembly at  
Sarragossa.

In the beginning of the yeare 1133. this King and Emperour of Spaine, called an assembly of the Bishops and Noblemen of his country at Sarragossa, to resolve vpon the warre against the Moores. Among those which were there present, they name the infant *D. Garcia Ramirez*, Lord of Monçon, the right heire of Nauarre: *Raynon* Earle of Perche, Lord of Tudele, *D. Sancho de Rofes*, bishop of Pampelone, another *D. Sancho* Bishop of Calaoorra, *D. Garcia Guerra* Bishop of Sarragossa, *D. Michel* of Tarrasone, and *D. Arnould* of Huefca, with many other great personages, both Clergie and Secular. There they concluded to make warre against the Infidels, enemies to the Christians, vipers of the countrie of Spaine; and withall, order was giuen for all things necessarie for so great an enterprise: Lewies of souldiers were made, and Commisaries sent out for victuals, carriages, boates and other things necessarie for the conduct of munition, victuals, instruments and engines of batterie, with great prouision of arms, and all that was needfull for so great an army.

Expedition  
against the  
Moore's con-  
stante.

The King *D. Alphonso* the warrior hauing resolved to root out the Moores, hee began on this side Ebro to assaile them of Lerida and Fraga, from whence hee tooke the towne of Mequinença by composition, being at that time exceeding strong, and valiantly defended by the Moores: from thence he came before Fraga, a towne well fortified, and strong by nature, seated vpon the riuer of Cinca, the which he began to presse about August, and there made a long and fruitlesse stay: so as winter approaching, hee was forced to raise his siege, hauing an intent to returne in the Spring, the which hee did in Februarie, 1134. If the place were strong before, the Moores had so fortified it during the winter, as they had made it impregnable: when as they retired, the beseged taking courage, as wel by the retreat of the Christians, as by some succors which they had from about Lerida, they went to field, and charged the reuerard of the Nauarrois army, whom they forced to turne head, and to fight with all his forces. There

An. 1134.

was the king *D. Alphonso* vanquished, the which was strange, and of hard digestion to him, who hauing bene accustomed to beate his enemies, euer since he commaunded an armie. Wherefore he retired wonderfully perplexed, hauing lost that day many Christians, and among others many valiant Knights, and great personages of his Realmes of Nauarre and Arragon.

The Moores growne proud with this victorie, and that they had chased the king out of their limits, entred into his countrie, putting all to fire and sword, which they could not carrie away with them, and came as farre as Monçon: wherewith the king being incensed, he thrust himselfe into a calamitie vnworthie of so great and will a Captaine as he had alwaies shewed himselfe. But we strue in vaine against the wife of heauen, and worldly man doth in vaine call backe good fortune, which hath once turned her face from

Alphonso King  
of Nauarre  
vanquished by  
the Moores.

A from him, for his finnes, which hee doth not vouchsafe to acknowledge. His troups being disperfed, and euery one retired to his house, after this route he called those that were nearest vnto him; and attending a conuenient number to attend his person, hee went in all hast, beeing old and broken, with foure hundred horse to pursue these Moores, who carried away a great prey, and an infinit number of Christians prisoners, hauing ouertaken them neere vnto their fort of Fraga, hee found his owne error, and would gladly haue retired, but it was too late; for the Moores descouering the small number which pursued them, turned head, and hauing stretched forth their bands, they encountered the King and his whole troupe, and put them in a manner all to the sword, where amongst the rest the King was slaine. This happened in September, in the

Defeat and  
death of King  
D. Alphonso  
the warrior.

yeere 1134. Such was the end of King *D. Alphonso* the warrior, a very worthy and a fortunat Prince, if home-bred calamities, the hatred of his owne blood, and his ouer great superstition, had not vndermined and weakened the vigour of his spirit, the which was much decayed in his latter daies. They say his body was taken vp and buried in the Monastery of Iesus of Nazareth in Montarragon: yet many hold that it was not found, beeing (it may bee) scattered in this defeat from his company, and so swallowed vp in some bogge or riuer, or lost by some other accident, as hath happened to other Princes, in the like encounters. The brute was among the common people, that he was escaped in the charge, and that seeing himselfe twice vanquished, whereto he had not bene accustomed, he was so grieved as he durst not shew himselfe to his subiects any more, but went to Ierusalem, from whence he neuer returned. He had reigned about thirty yeeres. At his decease, the Estates of Nauarre and Arragon were much perplexed, both for that their King had left no heire of his body, as also for the desperate will which he had made. These difficulties were augmented by the factions of the Nobility, who could not agree vpon the election of a new King.

9. Whilest they contended among themselves, *D. Alphonso Raymond* King of Castile, being aduertised of the decease of his father in law, by the aduice and perswasion of his counsell, hee reuiued his pretensions to the Estates of Nauarre and Arragon, as great grand-child to *D. Sancho* the great, who was King of Nauarre and Earle of Arragon: wherupon hee seized vpon the Lands of the riuer of Oija, of Villorodo, Granon, Nagera, Logroño, Arnedo, Biquerra, and many other places vnto Calaoorra, which were thence cut off from the body of Nauarre: so as the iurisdiction of that Kingdome was then lymited towards Castile, by the riuer of Ebro. *D. Alphonso* continuing his conquests, whilest that no man made head against him, hauing attempted the towne of Victoria in vaine, he ouer-ranne the countrie of Alaua, and tooke the towne of Maragon and other forts: striking such a terror into the Nauarrois and Aragonois, as if they had not feared to loose their exemptions and priuiledges, and to bee ill intreated by King *D. Alphonso*, they would haue willingly yielded all vnto him.

Interposition of  
some places in  
Nauarre by  
the King of  
Castile.

Amongst the chiefe which did counsell and accompany the King in this spoile, were the Bishops, *D. Bernard* of Siguença, *D. Sancho* of Nagera, & *D. Bertrand* of Olina; and of Noblemen *D. Lope*, and *D. Sancho Diaz*, *D. Garcia Fortuñones*, *D. Rodrigo Gonzalez*, the Earles *D. Pedro Lopez*, *D. Gomez Nugnes*, *D. Gutierre Peres de Lores*, *Diego Nugnes*, *Garcia Garces*, *Almerigo* standard bearer to the King, *D. Lopes* Lord Steward of the Kings houle, *Melendo Bofino*, *Ordago Peres*, *Rodrigo Gonzalez* of Olea, *Gutierre Fernandez*, *Rodrigo Fernandez*, and *Rodrigo Nugnes de Guzman*. King *D. Alphonso* spoyling all along the riuer of Oija, beeing admonished not to forget to make expiation for his excesses, he gaue many goodly things to the Monastery of Saint Emilian, the which are found written and receiued by *Berenger* Arch-deacon of Toledo. Beeing afterwards entred in Arragon, hee committed the like spoiles as in Nauarre. The Nauarrois and Aragonois seeing themselves prest by the King of Castile, they made hast to prevent these mischiefs, whereto they were subiect for want of a head: wherefore beeing assembled at a place called Borja, a towne belonging to *D. Pedro de Alariz*, a knight of the blood royall, who some thinke was sonne to *D. Garcia*, the sonne of *D. Sancho*, standard to *D. Ramir* first King of Arragon, and of *D. Theresia Casal* his wife, a great number

Names of  
Knights and  
Prelates, which  
did accompany  
the King of  
Castile.

Expiations of  
the sins and  
transgressions of  
D. Alphonso  
King of Cas-  
tile.



*Castile and  
Leon divided.*

mongst his children, making them Kings, being ill aduised by bad counsel: to *D. Sancho A* the eldest he gave Castille and Toledo; and to *D. Fernand* Leon and Galicia. To *D. Sancho* hee extended the ancient limits of Castille towards Leon, vnto the towne of Sahagun, by Moral de la Roine, Tordehumes Vregna and Caullas. To the second he assigned the Lands of Leon and Galicia, with that part of the Asturias, which lies from the riuer of Oua vnto Galicia.

These seeds of warre and discord, were laied by the bad counsel of the Earles *D. Almeric de Lara*, otherwife called *Manrique*, sonne to *D. Pedro de Lara*, and *D. Fernand* of Translamar, great Noblemen, who thought to maintaine the greatnesse and reputation of their houses the better, by these parrages, and from the troubles which might ensue, then if there were but one Monarke in Spaine, an ordinary practise in great Christian Estates: this done *D. Alphonso* returned into Arragon.

*Nauarre.*

*D. Garcia Ramirez* King of Nauarre, seeing the successe of the King of Castille, in the countries of Nauarre and Arragon, doubting hee should not be able to resist the great power of this new Emperor *D. Alphonso*, especially if hee made himselfe maister of *D. Ramirs* Kingdome, as hee was very likely, hee resolved to purchase a peace and his friendship, by some submission vnto him for his realme of Nauarre. *D. Alphonso* then being returned into Arragon, after the ceremonies of his coronation, these two Princes had an interview at Pradilla, with great shewes of loue, where their accord and league was confirmed.

*Nauarre vnto  
Castille.*

*Arragon.*

King *D. Ramir*, who could not obtaine his realme of Arragon, pretended to recouer that of Nauarre from *D. Garcia Ramirez*, saying, that it belonged vnto him, as being brother, and lawfull successor to the deceased King *D. Alphonso* the warrior; notwithstanding that *D. Garcia* had more interest then hee, or his Predecessors Kings of Arragon, being sonne to the Infant *D. Ramir Sanchez*, and grand-child to the King *D. Sancho Garcia*, sline by his brother *D. Raymond* through desire of raigne, after which Paricide, the Nauarrois called in *D. Sancho* of Arragon, father to the Kings *D. Pedro*, *D. Alphonso*, and of this Monke, to raigne ouer them, by reason of the minority of the children of their deceased King, and with the forces of Arragon to repulse the murderer *D. Raymond*, and his faction: and to keepe him from raigning in Nauarre: yet *D. Garcia Ramirez* had a better title to Arragon, then *D. Alphonso Raymond* King of Castille, for that he was descended from the King *D. Garcia Sanchez*, the eldest sonne of *D. Sancho* the great, but where force raignes, right must giue place. Notwithstanding all these reasons, *D. Ferrer Ramir* would make warre in Nauarre, and being in armes, hee forced *D. Garcia* to arme also, who to auoide the danger which did threaten him, if *D. Ramir* should make an agreement with the King of Castille, hee made hast to doe the homage, whereof wee haue spoken, but it continued not long: for soone after the Kingdome of Nauarre recouered the ancient and hereditary souerainety. *D. Ramir*, who kept at Monclus in the mountains of Sobrarbe, staid not long to submit himselfe also to the King of Castille, and to doe him homage for his realme of Arragon: wherefore *D. Alphonso* restored him all his lands except Sarraçossá, and some other places, which he kept, to make vse of them against the Moores.

*Vnto betwixt  
Nauarre and  
Arragon.*

In the meane time there were cruell warres vpon the frontiers of Nauarre and Arragon: but the Prelats desirous to see this warre ended, laboured to reconcile the two Kings. *D. Sancho de Roça*, bishop of Pampelone, an Arragonois borne, deli so in this treaty of peace, as hee gaue the King *D. Garcia* occasion to suspect him to be false vnto him, for the which he chased him out of his countries, wherevpon he was taxed of two great feuerity; and for that he had bandaged himselfe against a prelat, he was in a manner compared to *D. Pedro d'Albares*, who by reason of his sterne and fower disposition had bene reiected from the royall dignity, so dangerous it was to touch these sacred persons, were they good or bad.

The Prelats who had vnderaken to make this appointment, neuer ceased vntil they had brought it vnto these termes, that they should choose fixe knights: three of either realme, by whose iudgement all quarrells should bee ended: for Nauarre were chosen *Ladron de Guenars*, *William Aznars* of Oxeysa, and *Ximen Aznars* of Torres for Arragon

*Treaty of  
peace betwixt  
Nauarre and  
Arragon.*

*A* Arragon they did choose *D. Pedro d'Albares*, *D. Casal*, and *D. Ferris* of Huesca. These six being assembled at Vadoluengo; after many counceils and conferences, in the end they concluded that either party should lay downe armes, and the two Kings should continue good friends; and for an order betwixt them, they assigned vnto *D. Garcia Ramirez*, the superiority ouer the Nobility, who should haue the conduct of armies as General of both realmes: and that *D. Ramir* should haue commandment ouer the rest of the people, and administer iustice, the which should take place in regard of their persons onely, and during their liues: with which sentence the Kings were not well contented. Yet *D. Ramir* being willing to satisfie *D. Garcia*, came to Pampelone, where hee was receiued with great honour procuring at his first coming the restitution of *D. Sancho* the Bishop, whom hee restored into fauour with the King *D. Garcia*. There they consulted for the setting downe of certaine and apparent limits, betwixt the two realmes of Nauarre and Arragon. The feperation was drawne by a direct line, from Saint *Eneclia*, to Bisfal, the valley of Roncall remaying to Arragon. Then passing the riuer of Sarazas, vnto the place whereas it falls into that of Yda, and to Pont Saint Martin, and from thence to the place whereas as Yda falls into the riuer of Arragon, and that of Arragon into Arga, and that of Arga into Ebro, and along Ebro, into Tudela.

*Antient be-  
nity betwixt  
Nauarre and  
Arragon.*

*Nauarre.*

This diuision being made, it seemed there should not remaine any cause of hatred betwixt these two Kings; and that *D. Garcia Ramirez*, should reuerence *D. Ramirs*, as his father; and *D. Ramir* embrace *D. Garcia* as his sonne, to whom moreover hee granted, during his life out of his portion, Valtierra. Quadria, and that which lies betwixt Roncal, and Bisfal, the which he should hold in fee of the crowne of Arragon, to bee reuinted againe after his death. Yet *D. Garcia* was not satisfied with this accord, perswading himselfe still, that *D. Ramir* ought not to raigne in Arragon, for that hee had bene a professed Monke, and had taken all orders: so as vpon the pursute which he made to bee freed from the homage which hee had done vnto *D. Ramir*, for those places aboue mentioned, he attempted to stay him in Pampelone, giuing the charge thereof to some of his followers, but they could not put it in execution; for the King of Arragon was aduertised by a Knight, called *Enigo d'Ayuar*; so as hauing conferred with *D. Pedro d'Albares*, and other knights of Arragon, he went out of the towne vnknewe, with foure more with him, posting away with all speed vntill he came to Saint Sauior of Leyre, where hee staid three daies for his traine, who came vnto him, according to his directions, and from thence he retired in safety to Huesca. So it happened to the King *D. Sancho Ramirez*, as to his great Grand father *D. Garcia Sanchez*, when as he would haue taken King *Fernand* the first King of Castille, his younger brother, prisoner, in the towne of Nagera.

*Grande of the  
King of Nau-  
arre ill ex-  
ecuted.*

Herevpon *D. Ramir* began to leauy men for the future warre of Nauarre, whereof the King *D. Garcia* was assured, and therefore hee made many provisions for his defence and safety: the best and most worthy to bee imitated, was, that hee made choise of twelue of the chiefeft families of his country, whom hee bound vnto him by honours and preferments, making them as it were heads of all the rest of the Nobility and gentry of Nauarre. Which were the houses of Gutuara, Almoraut, Bagan, Aybar, Leet, Subica, Rada, Bidaure, Montarot, Vrox, Calcant and Maulcon. He made one Cominander ouer these noble houses, which should bee respected if them next to the Kings person: this was *D. Ladron* of Guenara, to whom hee gaue the title of Earle, and was the first which called himselfe Earle of Nauarre: this hee did, for that there were some gentlement of his country beganne to abandon him; to follow the partie of Arragon, retyring to *D. Ramir*, who entertained them; and assigned them lands in Arragon. Of which number was *D. Casal*, a man of great quality in those daies, hauing lands in both realmes, so as hee quit them in Nauarre to serue the King of Arragon, but as hee carriod himselfe verie passionately in these quarrells, hee fell soone after into a great danger; for being sent by *D. Ramir*, to the Emperour *D. Alphonso* of Castille, to confirme a peace with him, that he might wish more liberty attend the affaires of Nauarre, as hee

*Orders for  
the Nobility of  
Nauarre.*

past

past vnadvisedly nere vnto the lands of *D. garcia*, being aduertised thereof, he caused A him to be taken, at a place called *Cares*, a little Bourg, the which is now become a towne, named *Pont de la Roine*, vpon the riuer of *Arga*, about the which grows the best wine of all the countrie of *Naurre*. *D. Cayal* was put in a straight prison, where he continued long; but the Abbot of *Saint Saluador* of *Leyre*, who was his kinsman and friend, came vnto theking all the Jewels and treasure of his Abbey to redeem him: wherefore after his deliuerie he shewed himselfe very thankfull to this Monasterie, and came vnto it all the lands he had in *Tudele*.

**ARTICLE 20.**

Dexterity of  
D. Alphonso  
King of La-  
Bills.

All matters betwixt the Kings of Castile and Arragon were reconciled, and there was an interview of these two Princes at Alagon, whereas *D. Ramir* did acknowledge to hold his Realme in fee, and did homage to *D. Alphonso*, which submission continued some yeares. Such was the dexteritye of the King of Castile, having reduced these two Kings vnder his Soueraignty, and as it were feudatories of his Empire, that although they had a great desire to inuade one another, yet he kept them from all open hostility, as well by his authoritie, as by other meanes: sometimes selfraying them by promises, sometimes by threats, presuming, that if they continued in that estate, he should haue them more at his commandement, then if one increasing with the ruine of another, he would grow so great, as he might rebell, and deny him the homage which he had sworn.

King D. *Ramir* presently after he had left the Monasterie, married (with a dispensation from the Pope, for that he had sung Masse) to a French Ladie, called D. *Agnes* or *Agnes*, daughter to *William* Earle of Poitiers, and Duke of Guienne, who dyed in the 6<sup>th</sup> year 1136. going in pilgrimage to Saint *James*, for elshe his syster, as some hold, by whom he had the Infante D. *Petronilla*, who was afterwards married to the Earle of Barcelona: he did not long enjoy his wife, after whose death, desiring to quit the affaires of the world, he sent his only daughter to D. *Alphonso* King of Castile, to be bred up in his Court with the Queene D. *Bernaguela*: notwithstanding that the Noblemen of Arragon, brought her backe againe, saying, that shee did not find her selfe well in Castile.

Arragon and  
Castelagnieu  
united by mar-  
riage.

Castile. About that time there was a knight retired into Arragon, called *D. William Raymond* of Moncada, Senechal of Catalogne, who had fled for certaine outrages which he had committed. By him there was a treaty of marriage begun, betwixt the Infanta *D. Petronilla*, heire of Arragon, and *D. Raymond Berenger*, Earle of Barcelona her Lord, the which was afterwards accomplished, and in recompence of so great a service, the Senechal obtained his pardon, and his dignity, which was to be chiefe and captain of the horsemen. It is not certaine when this marriage was effected, but it is probable, that it was neere the end of King *D. Ramir*, for that the Infanta *Petronilla*, was only two or three yeeres old, when as the King left the government of the Realme, to returne to his religious order, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1137. three yeeres after his election and promotion to the crowne, at which time the authors write that this marriage was concluded by words, *De futuro*: the conditions amongst others, were. That the Earle should not take upon him the title of King, but should only call himselfe Prince of Arragon, and Earle of Barcelona, but that the children which should descend of this marriage, should be called Kings of Arragon. That the Earle should carry in chief, the first and most ancient armes of Arragon. That was a crosse argente in a field azure, in all actions of warre, but hee might carry whole of Barcelona in his shield and ensignes, having foure bends gueules, or aske or yet the ensigne beares should bee of Arragon; that the Aragonois should take the deuise of Saint George.

*An.* 1137.

Conditions of  
the treaty.

This treaty being made and concluded in Barbastro, by the King, being afflicted by the Noblemen of Arragon, and the Earle of Barcelona, he was received in quality of Regent of the Realme of Arragon, with the which Carlelogne remained vnder a hundred and three yeeres, after that Arragon was made a realme, and two hundred fifty and three yeeres after that there had been hereditary Earles in Carlelogne. This done, King *D. Ramis* giving ouer all administration and government, as in a Treaty

**A** estate and habit, hee had alwaies carried a Monkes heart, hee retired into a Monastery which hee had built, in the Parish of Saint Peter the olde at Huefca, there to spend the remainder of his daies religiously, with the Chaplins.

*Cruelty of the  
King D. Ramir.*

This Prince is taxed of cowardice and great cruelty, being transported with continual jealousies, his deeds do witness it, for that by the council of the Abbot of Saint Ponce of Tordesillas Languedoc he cut off the heads of *Lope Ferencio*, *Rodrigo Ximenes*, *Pedra Martines*, and *Fernand Gonsalves*, all of the house of Lara: *Federic Liliane*, *Pedra Vera*, *Giles Airoff*, *Pedro Garcia*, *Garcia Pigna*, *Raymond de Foffey*, *Pedro Lucilla*, *Michel Alario* and *Sancho Foppeane*, all noble men of great houses; only upon a conceit that hee was contained by them. This execution was done at Huelva. They

B hold that this yere 1137: the towne of Lerida, held by the Moores, was attempted, but  
not taken, by the Earle D. *Raimond Berenguer*, who feing himselfe advanced in dignitie,  
great wealth and forces, being Prince of Arragon and Earle of Barcelone, would also  
enlarge his estates, and ioine vnto it the realme of Nauarre, reuoluing the pretended  
title of his father in law D. *Frederic Ramir*, for the effecting whereof hee had many treaties  
with the Emperour D. *Alphonso* of Castille, whom hee found alwaies fauourable, by  
the mediation of the Queene D. *Berenguela* his sister, so as being provoked by the  
Earle, and no lesse by his owne ambition, he led an army against D. *Sancho Ramir*,  
whom hee found well attended to make head against him betwix Cortes and Gallur,  
where it pleased God to slay these armies from fighting, by the means of some good  
men, who did mediate some kinde of accord for that time.

League be-  
twixt the  
King of Ca-  
stille and  
Prince of Ar-  
ragon against  
the King of  
Navarre.

Notwithstanding Count *Raymond* (desirous to imbarke the Emperor *D. Alphonso's* brother in law in this warre) came vnto him to *Carrion*, where hee renewed the oath of fealty doing him homage for the country of *Aragon*; where he did infinituate so well into his fauour, as hee got out of his hands the townes of *Sarragoffe*, *Tarassone*, *Calatayub* and *Daroca*, which were held by the *Castilians*. Afterwards *D. Raymond Berengery* returned againe to *D. Alphonso's* court at *Carrion*, whereas the conditions and Articles were concluded and set downe, concerning the warre which they should make in common, against *D. Garcia* King of *Nauarre*.

D Amongst the which they diuided the Beares skinne before hee was taken, agreeing that of all the country of Nauarre which they should conquer, the Emperour *D. Alphons* should haue a third part, and the other two should belee vnto *D. Raymond*, Prince of Arragon, vpon condition to hold them in fee of the realme of Castille. At this treaty there were present the Bishops *D. Berenger* of Salamanca, and *D. Pedro* of Burgos, with other Noblemen both Clergy and Secular. From Carrion they went to Soria, where after they had held a councell of prophane things, they had a great care of religion, that is to say, of the temporall reuenues of the Church, whereafter the King and Queene did giue vnto the Monastery of Saint *Mary* of Valbanera, a house in Canegofa, with certaine immunities, to the end that if any thing were attempted vniufully, to the ruine of another, this sinne might by that meanes be purged.

Peace between  
Navarre and  
Castille.

The army of Castille being ready to march, the Emperour *D. Alphonso* past vnto the frontier of Nauarre, by the riuer of Ebro, marching along the which, hee came to Calaoarra, where hee was met by *D. Sancho* Bishop of Calaoarra, *D. Stephen* Prior of Saint *Mary* the royall of Nagera, *D. Michel* Bishop of Tarassone, with the Earle *D. Ladron* of Gueuara, and others; who employed themselves happily to appeale the ambition of this Prince, and to conuert the warre into a good peace, the which was concluded by an interview of the two Kings of Castille and Nauarre, betwixt Calaoarra and Alfaro: to confirme the which, there was a marriage concluded betwixt the Infant *D. Sancho*, the eldest sonne of Castille, and *D. Blanche*, daughter to *D. Garcia* King of Nauarre, in the yeere of our Lord 1140. and promises made by words, *de futuro*, by reason of the tender age of the Infanta, who was deliuered vnto *D. Alphonso* her father in law, to be bred vp in Castille, vntill shee were capable for the consummation of the marriage.





D. Alphonso Henriques the first King  
of Portugal.

## Perinatal

**T**He affaires of Portugal during these actions aboue mentioned, remaine obscure, by the error and negligence of authors; for there is no memory found of the deeds of *D. Alphonsus Henriques*, since the conquest of Leyra, and of Torrenewnas, which was in *D. Alphonsus* our Lord 1127. vnto the yeere 1139. when hee kept the riuert of Tayo, and led an army against a King of the Moores, called *Ismael* or *Ismael*. In this voyage died *D. Egom Nunes* who had bene Gouvernor to the Earle in his youth, and his faithfull counsellor; hee was inierred at the Monastery of Sonfa, neere vnto the towne of Porto. Hee had founded, according to the opinion of some, the Monastery of Saint Martin of Cucuyas, in the country of Saint Mary. *Ismael* came out of this country, against *D. Alphonsus Henriques*, being accompanied by foure other pettie Kings: Moores: the two armies were in view one of an other, in the fields of Obique; the Earles was about Castrowerde, which at that time was called *Cabeças de Key*, that is to say, heads of Kings; and as the Chriftians were much inferiour to the Infidels in number; so their opinions were diuers, most inclining to a retreat without fighting; but the Earle who was of a Noble courage, and generous resolution, perswaded his people with such forcible reasons, as they resolved to all hazards, and for a chappie prelage of a future victory, the souldiars turning themselves to God, were moued to salute their Earle, with a royal name and title, crying all with one voice, Portugal, Portugal, for the King *D. Alphonsus Henriques*.

Being thus incouraged, and all in good order, they charged the Moores: squadrons, and made a horrible slaughter of them, for as having put them all to flight, they remained Masters of the field; they tooke five royal Standards of the Moores, and all their baggage.

The Portugals celebrate this memorable victory, called of Obrique, vnto this day: the honour whereof is due to them which dwelld betwixt Tayo and Duero, and betwixt Duero and Minio, for the Inhabitants beyond Tayo were at that time subiect to the Moores, who held also a great part of the country on this side. After this battail D. *Alphonso Henriques* tooke vpon him the title of King of Portugal, and left by succession to his descendants this title obtained by a military prerogative, before the battaile. Then beganne the armes of that royall house, this King taking (in memorie of so great a victory which God had giuen him) five little shields Azure, representing the Standards of the fowle fucckings which he had vanquished in a great scutchon argent, placing the fmall scutchons like a crosse, through deuotion, in signe of our Sauours five wounds vpon the crosse, adding moreouer to euerie one of them five deniers argent, which make in all 25. the which with the five scutchons made the number of thirty representing in some sort the thirty pence which *Iudas* receiued to betray his Master, our Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ (it is the allegory and spiritual interpretation of the armes of Portugal) to the which was since added a border gules charged with castles, or, in the time of D. *Saens* the second of that name King of Portugal, for some causes which we will hereafter specifie. After the defeat of these five Arabian Kings, who you must vnderstand were vassals to *Alborsli, Aben-Tefsi*, the great Miralmonum of Affrike King D. *Alphonso* returned with his victorious and rich *Caimbra*, bringing the chief city of his Estate.

In this happy success of his affairs, *D. Thereſa*'s mother, being a prisoner, fought to croſs him, treating with *D. Alphonſo* King or Emperor of Caſtile, for her delivry and reſtitution : and moreover by her inſtruments ſhe made great complaints at Rome, to Pope *Innocent* the third, accusing her ſon of cruelty and impiety : ſo as the Pope ſent the Biſhop of Coimbra into Portugal, being then at Rome, with charge to enſlave the King by the Apoſtolike authority, and in his name to ſet

*Royal title of  
the house of  
Portugal.*

*Victory of O  
brigue.*

Armes of Port  
18916

*Practises of  
the Countesse  
of Portugall: a-  
gainst her son*

A **f**eritie Countesse at liberty: which the sonne refusing to obey, the Bishop did interdict the city of Coimبرا, and returned to Rome, stealing away secretly in the morning, without the Kings priuie, wherewith being incensed, hee would haue forced the Chapter to proceed to the Election of a new Bishop, wherein hee was not obeyed, so as hee committed many outrages; whereupon the Pope sent a Cardinall Legat vnto him, to correct him, but hee lost his time; for the Countesse continued still in prison, being very expedient and necessary for the good and quiet of the country. For this the Cardinal did interdict all Portugal, and then tooke his way towards Rome: but hee was pursued by the King, who did greatly feare these interdictions: and hauing overtaken him betwixt Coimبرا and Vera, hee sent vnto the Comanderie of Poyares, hee forced him to disanul this interdiction, and moreouer to grant him whatsoeuer hee desired, partly by force and threats, and partly by persuasions.

Whilest hee was in this debate with the Church, *Jsmel* or *Jsmal* who had bene  
 vanquished, came upon the towne of Leyra, belonging to the Monkes of Saint Croix  
 of Coimbra (the which for that it was ill garded by a Knight called *Pagã Guttieres*, who  
 was there in garriſon for the Pior) fell againe into the Moores power; whereout the  
 Abboteeing aduertised, leaving his frocke and monkes weed, he went to horse-backed  
 with a good troupe of soldiars, where hauing spoiled the Moores country, hee seized  
 vpon *Ranches*: ſoone after King *D. Alphonſo Henriques* came and laied siege to Leyra;  
 and tooke it, ſince which time hee depriued the Monkes of the Temporality of this place  
 and of *Ranche* alſo, leaving them only the profits of the ſpirituality.

The warre betwixt Nauaurie and Arragon was hot at this time: but D. *Raymond Nauaurie*, Prince of Arragon found himselfe troubled, not only against the Moores, which were neighbors to Arragon and Cattelago, from whom hee tooke Chalamera and Alcala, vpon the riuers of Cinca, in the yeere 1143. but also against some knights of Province, which were enemies to D. *Berenguer Ramon* his brother, hauing leized vpon some places, and bene the cause of great troubles, so as hee was forced to goe himselfe in person: wherefore his country was much anoyed by the Nauaurios, who finding all

Dallured towards Catillde, did wharthey lited : yet at her retidre nee naa toome intal  
revenge and took the for of Sos. The peace betwixt the Catillans and Nauarre being  
seiled and entertained , it was againe fortified by the marriage of the King D. *Garcia*  
*Ramirez* with D. *Yraca*, balfard daughter to the Empeour D. *Alphonso*, by  
whom hee had the Infanta D. *Santha* about mentioned : and wee must not doubt but  
that which forme haue left written of elius Kings third marriage with the daughter of  
D. *Lope Dias de Haro*, is a mere fiction . It is likely the towne of Hato was built at that  
time, whereof the Lords of Bificay , and there successors, carried the name, from whence  
are defended many worthy knights, and great personages in Catille and Leon. The  
realme of Nauarre at that time had larger bounds then it had since, hauing no means  
to augment them vpon the Moores, for that the realmes of Arragon and Catillie lay  
betwixt both; so as the Arragonois, Catillans and Cattelans were to make warre  
againgt them, as frontering vpon Valencia, and other their lands and Siegneuries . Yet  
the Kings of Nauar, which haue bin since, were so far from extending of their limytis;  
as they haue beene often restrained by the violence and too great power of the Kings  
of Catille.

About the yeere 1146. D. *Alphonso* Emperour of Spaine refolued to make warre with all violence against the Moores of Andalusia, by reason of the feditions and reuols which were in Affrike, against the Almorauides, whose History it is needfull to relate.

16. *Abolali, Aben-Tefin* (whom some will haue to bee *Auicenne* the great Philosopher, whose works were read, but without any ground) raising one of the Moores of Affrike and Spaine, the third King or *Miralummin* of the race of the *Almorauides*, Moore of Affrike, called *Aben-Thumert*, very learned in Astrology, told a certaine young-man called *Adelmon*, that he found by the starres, he should get the crowne of the Arabians: and therefore hee aduised him to meete with these heavenly influences.

*Levitated by the Moors.*

Ans. 1143

Confirmation  
of the peace  
betwixt Na-  
varre and C  
Bille.

*Am. 1140*

Troubles in  
 the Moors  
 estate in A  
 frike by Im  
 perfections a  
 vinations.

and to prepare himselfe to receiue this great good which they had promised him. A

This man although hee were of a base and vile condition, whose father got his living by making of pots, and other earthen vessel, yet hee was neither faint-hearted, nor without ambition, wherefore hee gaue such credit to that which the Astrologer had deliuered vnto him, as leauing his house and trade, hee acquainted himselfe with a certaine religious Moore, a Doctor in the law of *Mahumet*, and withall eloquent in the Arabian tongue, and therefore much esteemed amongst all the Affrican Moores, to whom hee imparted the prognostication of *Aben Thumert*, intreating him to counsell him, and to assist him in a matter of so great importance, assuring him that if hee attained to that which hee aspired, hee would make him the chiefe man amongst the Arabians, next vnto himselfe.

Answers  
among the Arabians  
of Affrike.

This Doctor who was called *Almohadi*, tickled with the hope of greatnesse, could finde no better, nor more expedient meanes, then to bring in new sects, and to make some change in religion, knowing that nothing doth more alter and transport the hearts of men, then perauersion of religion: wherefore he employed his knowledge and eloquence to interpret *Mahumets Alcaron*, after a strange maner, and neuer heard of among the Arabians, nor any other nations that were his sectaries: fitting it so well to the humors and dispositions of the people, as in a short time hee was followed by the greatest part of the Affrican Moores, a nation easily misled with superstition: so as it before they tooke *Almohadi* for a holy man, now they held him for a Prophet, sent vndoubtedly from God. Hee seeing this businesse succeed so well as hee was wellcome throughout all Affrike, and admired of all men, hee beganne to put forth this youngman *Abdelmon*, giuing the people to vnderstand, that hee was of the true and lawfull royall race of their great Prophet *Mahumet*, and that hee was a man sent of God, endowed with such vertue, as hee should subiect all the world to the Law of *Mahumet*; that those great matters had bene diuinely fore-told him, and signified by the starres and heavenly motions: so as by his perswasions his fictions were received and beleued of all men. And proceeding farther, he presumed to speake something against King *Alboali*, and the present Estate and Gouvernement of the *Almorauides*, and so by little and little to taxe him openly, declaring with great assurance, that *Alboali* was a tyrant, whose race had by force and violence expelled out of the royall throne of the Arabians in Affrike the lawfull Princes descended from *Aben-Alabey*, and that the will of God, reuealed and knowne vnto him by many signes from heauen, was that *Abdelmon* should bee advanced and chosen for King: hee who was sent of God, and descended from the royall blood of their great Prophet *Mahumet*. This Impostor did so preach vnto them, concurring with the diuell to bewitch these credulous men, giuen to the damnable art of dyuining, as many Noblemen and Knights, with an infinit number of the Affrican people, desirous of Innovations, according to the mutinous nature of that nation, tooke armes against King *Alboali*, being accompanied, assisted and counselled by *Abdelmon*, *Aben-Thumert* and *Almohadi*. Whereof the King aduertised, meaning to suppress these great alterations, heerayed his forces, and had diuers encounters against this new sect, which carried the name of *Almohades*, by reason of their Preacher *Almohadi*.

Auicenna and  
other learned  
Arabians.

Wee haue sayd that some were of opinion, that the King *Albo-Ali Aben Tefin*, was hee whom we call *Auicenna* or *Auicenni*, saying that the goodly works which are amongst vs at this daie, were compiled and written by his commandement, by the foure and twenty great Philosophers, and published vnder the name of *Auicenna*. For my part I rather beleue them which haue written that *Auicenna* or *Auicenna*, called also *Albo-Hali*, was an excellent man, learned in Philoſophy and Physicke, as his rare works written in the Arabike tongue doe witnesse, being translated since into Latin, who liued in those daies at Cordoua in Spaine, where it seemes the Moores had alwaies entertained an vniuersity of all sorts of sciences, with a great concourse of learned men of their nation; the which had bene alwaies well furnished, the Affricans being people giuen to contemplation, and of a subill spirit: wherefore they haue made Astrology famous, and advanced a sect of Physicke diuerſe from that

A. that of the Grecians, giuen wonderfully to diuination and coniuring, very superstitious in matters of religion; and reasonably eloquent either in verse or prose. *Aben-Roh* whom we call *Auerrois* liued and frequented with him, a great Commentator of *Aristotle*, who through enuy poisoned *Auicenna*, who finding it before it had wrought his full effect, caused the poisoner to be slain, as *Mesua* and *Zoar* report: for hee was a man of great authority, and of a Princes house.

B. Then also liued *Aben-Zoar*, and other great and learned Arabians, which haue written many goodly works in their owne language, in naturall Philoſophy, Metaphisicke, Physicke and Astrologie, whereof part haue bene preferred and kept vnto our daies, and some lost. If these were Moores borne in Spaine, it redoundes to the honour of the countrie: but it is doubtfull whether they came out of Affrike.

The Moores Estate being thus troubled in Affrike, it moued the Christian Princes to make some gallant attempt vpon them of Spaine: wherefore the Emperour D. *Alphonso* beganne in the yeere of our Lord 1146. to raise a great army of his subiects of Castille, Toledo, Leon and other countie, and to make the Christians armes of greater force, hee laboured to make a peace betwixt the King of Nauarre, and D. *Raymond* Prince of Arragon, for the effecting whereof hee called them to Saint *Stephano de Gormas*, whither beeing come, hee could not obtaine any thing of them, but a truce for some few daies: where notwithstanding they treated of the warre against the Moores, in the which these two Princes ayded the Emperour: the King of Nauarre by land, and the Earle of Barcelona by sea, who hauing armed some ships, and giuen the charge thereof to D. *Galeran* great Admiral of Cattelogne, and to the Earle of Vrgel, hee caused them to ioyne with the Geneuois, who either for pay, or voluntarily in hope of some gaine, came to this warre, and there did great seruice. The land army was great and well furnished with good and valiant Knights, the Emperour D. *Alphonso*, and the King D. *Garcia Ramirez* beeing there in person, their entrie into Andalusia was so fearefull, as approaching and comming neere vnto Cordoua, with a shew to besiege it, that great and well peopled citie, which had bene the Queene of Spaine for so many yeares, was yeeled vnto him by the Gouvernour *Aben-Gami*, who presented him the keyes with great humilitie, not attending either assault or batterie: into the which the Christian Princes entred in armes, but very peaceably, in the yeare 1147. Yet the Spaniards write, that for that the towne was of too great a guard, and wonderfully peopled, it was left in fee to *Aben-Gami* himselfe, who did homage to the King of Castile, the which is very doubtfull, considering the importance of the place, and the consequence thereof. We may beleue that the Emperour assured himselfe after another manner, and with better caution then the faith of this Moore, who (they say) sware vpon their Alchoran, to bee his faithfull vassall: from thence the armie marched towards Baeça, the which beeing

castile.

Cordoua yeelded to the king of Castile.

E. inuested, they had newes that the Moores came to succour it: wherefore the Emperour going to meet them, he fought with them, and had the victorie, and afterwards tooke the towne by composition; where leauing a sufficient garrison to assure the countrey behind his armie, he marched on to Almerie, a towne vpon the Mediterranean sea, which at this day belongs to Granado, much frequented of Merchants of diuers nations. There he found the sea armie of Count *Raymond*, and the galleys of Genoua, which had already attempted it, vnder the command of *Ansaldo Doria*, *Bersi Torre*, and other captaines of that common-weale. This place was so furiously battered both by sea and land, as it was taken by force: yet the Moores being retired into a part of the citie of good strength, they were taken to ranſome, from whom they drew great ſums of money.

Baeça taken from the Moores.

Almerie taken by force.

F. They say, that at this prize, that great and inestimable Emerald without peere, was taken, the which is at this day at Genoua, and was giuen vnto them for their part of the bootie, and in recompence of the great seruice they had done there. Yet many beleue, that the Geneuois brought it out of Palestina, from the towne of Cesarea, at which seege they were employed. The spoyle & sacke of this place was diuided betwixt the

Emerald of inestimable price.

the Castillans, Nauarrois, Geneuois, and the subiects of the Earle D. *Raymond*. This is all which was done in that voyage, from whence eury one retired into his country rich, soine by land, some by sea. The King Don *Garcia Ramirez* accompanied his father-in-law into Castile, where he remayned, with great tranquillitie and content, the rest of that yeare.

Councell at Rheims.

If the Christian affaires in Spaine succeeded well against the Moores, those in Syria declined much: whereupon a Councell was held at Rheims, vnder Pope *Eugenius* the 3. to resolue vpon some meanes, to support the estate of the Kings of Ierusalem, by some ayde from the Princes of Europe. Thither went D. *Raymond*, Archbishop of Toledo, as Primate of Spaine: who passing by Saint Denis in France, obserued in a chappell an Inscription of this tenour: *Here lies Saint Eugenius the Martyr, the first Archbishop of Toledo.*

Being returned, he reported vnto the Church what he had found, whereof the Emperor Don *Alphonso*, and the Kings children were aduertised, who together with all the people were exceeding glad: for since the death of this holy man, they could not learne where his body lay. Being thus found, they of Toledo procured meanes to haue one of his armes, from King *Lewis* the young. It was a remarkable act of Religion in the Archbishop Don *Raymond* in his voyage to Rheims: In our time King *Philippe* obeyed from *Charles* the ninth, the French King, and from *Charles* Cardinal of Loraine, and Abbot of Saint Denis, therest of the bodie (as they say) of this Martyr, the which was brought to his Church of Toledo, where he had gouerned, *Domitian* beeing then Emperour at Rome: for they did not know him much in France, neither did it serue to any purpose, amidst the ciuill, or rather vnciuill warres, growne for matter of Religion.

Arragon and Barcelona.

D. *Raymond Berenger* beeing returned into Cattelogne, hauing the Geneuois army ready, and at his commandement, he employed it against the towne of Tortose which was held by the Moores, the which he beseged both by sea and land: at which sege the Earle left D. *William Raymond* of Moncada, Seneshall of Cattelogne, for his Lieutenant general, whilst that he made a voyage to Barcelona, to pacifie some seditions which were risen in that citie. Such was the diligence of the Seneshall and Geneuois, as by the 30. day of the sege, after many sharpe assaults giuen and valiantly defended, the towne was taken, and soone after D. *Pedro de Semenate* arriuing with fresh supplies, the castell was also taken: the Geneuois had their part of the spoyle, for the good seruices they had done vnto the Earle. And the Authours of the Arragon Historie write, that a third part of the towne was giuen in fee to the Seneshall D. *William Raymond* of Moncada, and another third part to the common-weale of Genoua, which portion was afterwards redeemed by the Earle D. *Raymond Berenger*, for 16000. Maraudis Marroquins, a kind of money which was then currant, leauing vnto the Geneuois the Iland of Saint Laurence, and granting vnto all the Inhabitants of the city of Genoua, and of the iurisdiction (the which was limited by Porto Venero towards the East, and by Monaco, vpon the West, along the sea shore) exemption of all Imposts and customes, *Henrico Guercio*, *Marin Moro*, *William Lusio*, and others, beeing then Gouvernours of the Common weale.

At Arragon, Navarre, Castile, and Aragon.

Whilst the Earle was busie at this warre, the King of Nauarre brake the truce made at Saint *Estienne de Gormas*: for that the King Don *Garcia* hauing caused the Emperour Don *Alphonso*, and other Noblemen and Prelates, to perswade and aduise the Earle, to relinquish the pretensions, which hee vaunted to haue to the Realme of Nauarre, hee would not do it, but threatened to pursue it, when opportunitie serued: wherefore the Nauarrois did ouer-runne the Countrey of Arragon, and tooke the Towns of Thaulte and Fayos, where they put good Garrisons, to serue as a frontier against the Arragonois.

Portugal.

It is no wonder, if in all these attempts of the Christian Princes in Spaine; against the Moores, the new King of Portugal did not ioyne with the rest: for that hee was in disgrace and out of fauour with the Emperour D. *Alphonso*, who held him as an intruder of the Estate of D. *Therese* his mother: and moreover, of the title of a king, in a

Province

A Province which was subiect to the Soueraignie of Leon. King D. *Alphonso Henriquez* hauing liued now 53. yeares without a wife, he married in the yeare 1146. D. *Malfada Manrique de Lara*, daughter to the Earle D. *Manrique*, Lord of Molina, a great Nobleman of Castile, by whom he had one sonne named D. *Sanchez*, who succeeded him in the Realme of Portugal, and the Infanta D. *Ferraz*, who was married first to D. *Fernand* the 2. of that name, King of Leon and Gallicia, and from them issued D. *Alphonso* king of the same Realmes, father to the king D. *Fernand* the 3. of Castile and Leon: a marriage notwithstanding which was broken, by reason of their proximitie of blood, and for that they were married without a dispensation. King D. *Alphonso Henriquez* had another daughter by D. *Malfada*, called D. *Therese*, married to *Philip* Earle of Flanders, the first of that name, and one called *Malfada*, as the mother. Besides these lawfull children, the King of Portugal had one bastard before he was married, whom they called D. *Pedro Alphonso* of Portugal. Soone after his marriage, beeing importuned by the continuall complaints of his subiects, for the spoyle which the Moores of Saint Iren committed in his countrey, he resolved to beseege that place, but he preuailed more by policie, then happily he should haue done by open force: for marching thither in the night, after that he had made a vow (passing by that place where as now stands the royal monasterie of *Alcousas*) to build a Monasterie there if his enterprife succeeded well: it fell out according to his desire, for he put his men secretly into the towne, beeing ill guarded, without discouerie, and tooke it in the yeare 1147. on Saint *Michaels* day, putting all that resisted to the sword, and taking many prisoners: Beeing returned to Coimbra, and hauing giuen thanks vnto God for the fauour which he had done him, he performed his vow, and built the Monasterie of *Alcousas*, where he placed Monks of the Order of *Cisterciens*, for the loue of Saint *Bernard*, who liued in those times. After this conquest, seeing that the Miralumin of Affricke and Spaine, was much troubled to defend himselfe against the faction of the Almohades, he followed his good fortune, and tooke from the Moores the castell of Mastra, where he placed D. *Fernand* of Montez for Gouvernor, who in succession of time was great Master of the Order of *Aviz*, of the profession of S. *Benedict*, which had its beginning during the life of this king of Portugal. Hee tooke also from them the castell of Sintra, and from thence came to lay sege to Lisbon, where he was assisted by many knights of France, England, and Flanders, which came by sea, and landed at Calcais, then came they & camped where as the Monasterie of S. *Francis* was since built, the Kings armie beeing lodged where as Saint *Vincent* now stands: which places were then without the circuit of the city walls. The citie was so prest by these forces, as after many dangerous assaults, it was taken, the Christians entering by the port of Alfama, the 25. of October 1147. the sege hauing continued fve whole moneths. Many Knights and other strangers, which were come to this warre, desirous to employ themselves continually against the Infidels, enemies of our faith, vowed neither to returne into their countries, but to remaine in Portugal, who by the kings permission inhabited there, and peopled Almada, Villeuerda, Arruda, E. Zambrja, Castalgrera, Lourinhã, Ville franche, and other places. This citie of Lisbon, which since hath bene the chiefe of Portugal, and the ornament of Spaine, was purged by the bishops from the impieties of *Mahomet*, and their great Mosque made a Cathedrall church, where as one *Gilbert* a stranger, but of a holy life, was made bishop: and the king caused the Monasterie of S. *Vincent* to be built in the same place where he had camped. By means of this important conquest, the king took also from the Moores, Alanguer, Obidos, Torresvedras, and many other places, so as he disposed them in this warre, of all the countrey which is called Extremadura, and passing Tayo, he extended his limits, conquering Acaçar de Sal, Ebora, Yelbes, Moura, Serpa, & vnto Veja, where he put the Moores which defended it to the sword, for that during this sege, other Moores hauing taken the towne of Troncofo, had vnpeopled it, and chased away all the Christians that were within it.

Genealogie of the Moores.

S. Iren taken by the Moores.

Lisbon taken by the Moores.

F King D. *Alphonso Henriquez* did these goodly exploits, whilst that the Arabians were at war among themselves, by reason of the factions of the Almorauides and Almohades, the which was continued with such animositie, as after many routes of either part on



French King  
favouring the  
King of Na-  
uarre.

Genealogie of  
Castile.

Aragon.

1156.

was called by some, Valiant. Hee had some knowledge of learning, honored learned A men, and was studious of the Scriptures, as the wife was in those times, and shewed him- selfe a great Iusticer: for all which vertues he was much esteemed by other Princes, and was honoured, feared, and loved of his Subjects. The armies of the league made at Tu- dele, beganne to annoy him at his first entrance, and did him some harme vpon his frontiers, yet he did not looke any place of importance: for although hee were young, yet he was of an active spirit, and a noble courage, and was well and faithfully assisted by his allies, and served by the Nauarros. The warre was hottest in the valley of Roncalli, but there is no mention, that either in that yeare, or in the others follow- ing, there was any memorable exploit done, and they hold that *Lewis* the French king, who had beene a great friend to Don *Garcia* his deceased father, did wonderfully crosse the enterprises of the League, and hindered them all he could, beinge either vpon his treatie of marriage, or else newly married to *Dona Isabella* Infanta of Castile, in fauour of which, allyance the Emperour *D. Alphons* did desist from that warre, or did neglect it, and Don *Sancho* his sonne, King of Castile, (who had his choice to marrie *D. Blanche*, or to leaue her) married her, and had a sonne by her at the end of the yeare called *D. Alphons*, who was king of Castile and Toledo, after the father. Some hold that the marriage of king *Lewis* with *D. Isabella*, was after all this, in the yeare 1154, and that the King of Nauarre came to *Burgos*, to the celebration thereof, the which was admired by the French, for the exceeding pompe.

The Countrie of Nagera was then one of the chief gouernments of Castile, for the Gouernour thereof was Captaine generall of the frontier towards Nauarre. The Infant Don *Sancho* who was called king of Castile, did enioy those lands, and had a Lieu- tenant called *Roderigo Pelaez*, a wise Knight. About that time died *D. Roderigo Gomez*, sonne to Don *Gomez* of Candespina, one of the greatest Noblemen in Castile, whose Tombe is yet to be seene in the Cloyster of Saint *Saujour* of Ogna: and the towne of Surita was peopled with Christians Musarabes, which came out of Calatayub, Sarragossa, and other parts of Arragon.

The Earle Don *Raymond Berenger* sought all meanes possible to seize vpon Na- uarre, so desirous he was to ioyne it vnto Arragon: importuning the Emperour Don *Alphons* continually, to declare himselfe an open enemy to *D. Sancho*, so as in the yeare 1156, there was a new League made betwixt them, to vndertake this warre where among other Articles, for the better fortifying of their friendship, there was a future marriage concluded betwixt Don *Raymond*, the young Infant of Arragon, who was afterwards called Don *Alphons*, and *D. Santa* daughter to the Emperour Don *Alphons*, by his second wife. *Dona Rica*, daughter to *Radislaws* king of Pologne, whom he had married in the yeare, 1151. yet they could neuer perswade the Emperour Don *Alphons* to hurt the king of Nauarre, whom he loued: but rather assisted him vnder- hand. The same League was renewed at Toledo, in the yeare 1157. after Don *Raymond* returne out of Prouence. The occasion of which voyage was to defend his Nephew, heire to his Brother Don *Berenger Raymond*, who (being in a manner dispossest of his Estate by the enemies of their houle, which had slaine his father in an encounter) had need of his ayde. Hee repulsed the young Earles enemies, assured his Estates, and brought him into Cattelogne, there to bee brought vp. And for that in those troubles of Prouence, the Knights and Commanders of Saint *John* of Hierusalem, (who were growne mercenary in these Christian warres) did intermeddle, hee gaue them large reuenues in Cattelogne. After the renewing of this League, we find no mention of any worthe act done by this earle, but that hee debauched some faithlesse and treche- rous Knights, which fled out of Nauarre and Arragon: yea one of the greatest called *Garcia Almoraut*, who came vnto him to Lerida, and there made himselfe his vassall, and receiued from the Earle the title of Lord of Roncevaux, Virros, and Obanos, which were not in his power: wherefore it is to be presumed, that from that time hee sought to gouerne his Estates peaceably, seeing he could not get the Crowne of Na- uarre: and with this desire he ended his dayes, after all his vaine attempts against this Kingdome. Soone after this last assembly at Toledo, the king of Castile was engaged in

warre

A warre against the Moores of Andalusia, which made him perchanee neglect that of Na- uarre, besides he did not greatly affect it.

19 The troubles of Affricke beinge past, as we haue sayd, *Abdelmon* established Mi- raslumin of the Arabians, and the Almohades in credit by the ruine of the Almorau- ides. The Preacher *Almohadi* would also haue the Moores of Spaine submit them- selves to this yoke: wherefore leauing *Aben Thumert* the Astrologian at Maroc, hee past with *Abdelmon* into Spaine, with great numbers of souldiers, beinge putt vp with pride by their late victorie against their enemies. They found no great resistance there: for the pettie Kings and Gouernors of Prouinces and townes in Spaine, beinge prest by the Christians, and too weake to make head against them, seeing the race of the

B Almorauides of Affricke extinct, from whom they might haue expected some succors, they fought nothing more then support, to maintaine themselves in their authoritie, and greatnesse, which is most commonly the chief god of great men of this world, and therefore as men which regarded not Religion, but for a colour, and for their owne priuate commodities: so as leauing the interpretation of the *Alcoran*, they embraced the new doctrine of *Almohadi*, without any opposition, thinking to preferre them- selves by that meanes. And as this Impostor did vomit forth greater blasphemies and impieties, then his Predecessors had done against the true Religion, they became violent and furious persecutors of the Christians: so as the poore Musarabes, who had had some peace of conscience, liuing among the Moores, and had there exercised their reli- gion, without any violence done vnto them for many yeares, were in great perplexi- ty, beinge now persecuted by these new Sectaries of *Almohadi*, both in their persons and goods, with all kind of rigour: for that they would not yeeld to their superstitions: so as either by the reuolts, or by death, or by the continual flying away of these poore people, all the townes of Spaine which were held by the Moores, were vnpeopled of Christians, who for about 400. yeares had preferred themselves, inuoking (though with little knowledge) the name of Iesus Christ. The gouernement of the Almohades in Spaine, continued in *Abdelmon* and his successors 52. yeares, vntill that notable bat- tle in the fields of Tholoufa, called by another name of the mountaines of Muradal, or

C of Vbeda. *Abdelmon* hauing aspired to that which he pretended, held his royall seate in the citie of Maroc, and shewed himselfe a profitable Prince, and pleasing to the Moores, notwithstanding that he was a Potters sonne, and for his chief Councillors, the Astrologian *Aben Thumert*, and the Preacher *Almohadi*, who dying within few months after this conquest, was by the commandement of King *Abdelmon*, buried with pompe and royall honours in a sumptuous Tombe, neare vnto the citie of Maroc, whereas since the foolish multitude, holding him to be some great Prophet, and a messenger of God, made prayers and vowes in all their necessities: as amongst the Christians they had recourse vpon all occasions, to the sepulchers (either true or fained) of Apostles, holy Confessors and Martyrs of the name of Iesus Christ, this passage of the Almoha- des, bred a great alteration in Spaine, whereas many Moores which held their coun- ties in fee and homage of Christian Princes reuolted.

E The Emperour *D. Alphons* led first an armie of Christians against this new Estate, in the yeare 1157, beinge accompanied by his two sons, *D. Sancho*, and *D. Fernand*, who had the titles of Kings in Andalusia he recovered the towne of Baeca, which had bene lost, and tooke *Quesada* and *Ardujar*. But he did not long enioy this victorie with his subiects, for bringinge backe his armie towards Toledo, hee fell suddenly sicke, the which (as he past the mountaine or streight of Muradal) did so increase, as hee was forced to light at a place called *Fresnedas*, where he dyed in the armes of *D. John* Arch- bishop of Toledo, and of his sonne *D. Fernand*: *D. Sancho* remayning behind to guard those places which he had newly conquered. Hee was a worthe Prince, but too ambi- tious, a great fauourer and benefactor of the Clergie, a friend to the people, and a se- vere punisher of the insolencies of great men: of whom the Spaniards write this His- tory. That a certaine Gentleman called *D. Fernand* in Galicia, hauing taken away a poore labourers goods, for which wrong he could haue no iustice from the ordinarie Magistrate of the countrey, so as he came to the Emperour beinge at Toledo, where ha-

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Change of Re-  
ligion among  
the Arabians  
in Spaine.

Christians per-  
secuted by the  
Moores in  
Spaine.

Castile.  
Death of the  
Emperour *D.  
Alphons*.

uing watched his oportunitie, he cast himselfe at his feet, making knowne vnto him the violence which had beene done him by D. *Fernand*, and demanded iustice: The Emperour did not disdain this poore man, but being duly informed of the fact, he sent vnto the Gouvernour, and *Meyor* Maior of Galicia, commanding them to cause restitution to be made presently vnto the Labourer, of all that he should find had bene taken from him, but the Gentleman would not obey any command, neither durst the Iudge force him, either fearing to displease him, or else wanting meanes to constrain him: whereof the Emperour being aduertised, hee parted from Toledo, to come into Galicia, where having made diligent inquirie of D. *Fernand*'s fact, and of his disobedience and contumacie, he caused his house to be enuironed, where being taken, he commanded he should be hanged before his owne gate; for a warning to others to liue vnder rightly and in peace with their neighbors, & not to contemne Iustice nor their Prince, a noble act and worthe imitation. He had reigned king and emperor 35. yeares: His bodie was carried to Toledo, and interred in the royall chappell of that Church. His Estates were diuided after his death, as hath bene sayd, betwixt his two sons D. *Sancho* and D. *Fernand*.

### D. Sancho the sixth King of Castile.

*Castile and Leon diuided.* 20 **T**He Realmes of Castile & Toledo, were then dis-united from Leon and Galicia, in the yeare 1157. D. *Sancho* being aduertised of his fathers death, he parted suddenly from Baeca, and came to Toledo to his funerall. A Prince who did nothing degenerate from the virtues of his Ancestors, yea did rather exceed them, but he reigned little.

### D. Fernand, the 28. King of Leon.

*Leon.* 21 **H**is brother D. *Fernand*, neither attending his comming, nor the performance of his funerals, departed presently, and went to take possession of his Kingdomes of Leon and Galicia, according to the fathers will, which diuision was a great cause of ciuill warres, to the preiudice and dishonour of the Christians name in Spaine: wherefore great Monarkes should be warned by these examples, (which are ordinarie in Histories) neuer to dismember their Monarchies, but to employ all their spirits and wits, to continue it still vnited, although they leaue many children, leauing the Soueraigne authoritie ouer the rest, vnto him whom the lawes and customes do call.

*Nauarre.* D. *Fernand* being received and settled in his Realmes of Leon and Galicia, hee began to intreate his Nobilitie ill, & among others he dispossest one of the chiefe knights of Leon called D. *Pedro Ponce de Minerva*, of his lands and goods, who for this cause came into Castile, to beseech the King D. *Sancho*, to mediate his restitution, and to bring him againe into fauour with the king his brother. But it falling out at that time, that Don *Sancho* the wise king of Naurre, being aduertised of the death of the Emperour D. *Alphonso*, had made certaine roades into Castile almost vnto Burgos, so that D. *Sancho* had alwaies signed the Leagues which the Earle of Barcelona had made against his father and him, with the Emperour D. *Alphonso*: and moreover, detrayed from him Nagera, and the lands vpon the riuier of Oja, this knight was entertained by the king of Castile, who employed him in this warre of Naurre, and made him head of an armie, which he sent vnto the frontiers, by the riuers of Oja, which hauing incountered that of Naurre neere to Bagnares, they came to battaile in the fields of Valpierre, neere to S. *Asensio*. In the Naurrois Armie D. *Lope Dias de Haro*, Earle of Biscay, led the foreward: Count *Ladron* of Gueuara had charge of the rereward, with the Earle D. *Sancho* of Larinacar, *Inigo Ramirez d' Aizor*, with other, and the king the battaile. On the other side, the Earle D. *Pedro Ponce* had ordered his men as well, and were more in number: wherefore comming to fight, although in the beginning the Naurrois seemed to haue the better, yet were they defeated, and forced to saue themselves in the next sorts,

The

A The king D. *Sancho* had this route for that he was too hasty to fight and would not attend the succours of horse and foote, which came out of France; which being arrived, and desirous to wipe out this blemish and infamie; they charged the Castilians, which gaue them battaile againe in the same fields of Valpierre, and defeated them.

These things are written in some Histories, but not allowed nor credited by other Spanish Authors: for that they insert some things which haue small probability, and others that are meer fictions: Whereas they say, that Don *Pedro Ponce de Minerva*, vsed a strange liberalitie to prisoners, both Naurrois and French, setting them all free without any ranfome, which is not probable: and they also affirme, that D. *Sancho* king of Naurre dyed in the first battaile, the which is reprooued by other Authors, and by the letters and titles which are yet extant, witnessing that he liued about 37. yeares after: by these reasons, whatsoever is written of these two victories may iustly bee suspected.

That which is written of the Earle Don *Raymond Berenger*, Prince and Gouvernour of Aragon, is more authentick: that burning with desire to haue the Realme of Naurre, he did sollicite D. *Sancho* King of Castile to declare himselfe with him, and that they two ioyning their forces together, should set vpon the King of Naurre: and that in the yeare 1158. D. *Raymond* came againe into Castile, accompanied with a great number of Prelates and Knights, to renew their League, yet without any effect for Castile, for this assembly and interview past not without great contention, for that Don *Raymond Berenger* refused to do homage vnto the King of Castile, for the townes of Saragossa and Calarajub: but in the end he was forced to acknowledge himselfe his vassall in that regard, with a bond to come to Court, and to assist at the coronation of the Kings of Castile, to carrie the royall sword before them at those ceremonies: As for the Earle D. *Pedro Ponce de Minerva*, and other Noblemen which were in the like perplexitie, the best Spanish Authors say, that the king D. *Sancho* tooke the paines to geue himselfe in person with them into Leon, to reconcile them to the King D. *Fernand* his brother, who came in a peacefull manner, to meete him as farre as Sahagun, receiued him honorably, with great shewes of loue, and restored these Noblemen to their goods and honours; yea he augmented them by his bountie, in fauour of the King D. *Sancho*, to whom he carried so great honour and respect, as he offered to acknowledge to hold of him (as his vassall) his Realmes of Leon and Galicia; the which D. *Sancho* would not accept, saying, *God forbid, that the son of so great a Prince as the Emperour Don Alphonso was, should euer acknowledge to hold his land of any.* In the end after great teists and ioy, these two Kings parted good friends.

The king D. *Sancho* being returned to Toledo, hee had newes that the Moores were gone to field, & came with a great power to beseege Calatrava, a fort of great importance vpon the frontier, the which did then belong vnto the knights of the temple; who amazed at the brute of this seege, did so distrust their owne strength to defend it, as they deliuered it into the kings hands, to the end he should send Capraines and souldiers to resist the Moores. The king hauing receiued it into his protection, and meaning to prouide for it, he found himselfe much troubled: for there was not any one that presented himselfe to take this charge, but they all drew backe and excused themselves, fearing the great power which was laid the Moores had. In the end God inspired the hearts of two religious men of the Order of *Cisteraux*, who offered vnto the king, that if he pleased him to giue them that place in gard, they would defend it like honest men. One of these religious men was Friar *Raymond*, Abbot of the Monasterie of S. *Mary de Ilistero*, vpon the riuier of Pisuerga, in the Diocesse of Palence, nor of Hilero in Naurre, which was not then built: the other was one of his Monkes, called *Diego Velasco*, who had carried arms long before he became a religious man of that Order. The offer was presented vnto the King, but more to D. *John* Archbishop of Toledo, for that the lands of this Diocesse should be first annoyed by the entry of the Moores to Calatrava: wherefore this Prelate by preaching and publike exhortations, began to commend this Abbot D. *Raymond*, and to encourage all men to assist him, so as in a short time hee was followed by a great number of Nobilitie and other souldiers, some thrust on to winne honour,

D d 2

some



some moued with zeale to defend the Christian Religion against the inuasion of Infidels, and some with shame. The king, the Archbishop, the Nobilitie of his Court, and the Inhabitants of Toledo, eury one for his part, furnished money, armes, horses, corne, and other necessities for a towne which attends a seerge; and all with such willingness and bounty, as the Abbot might well put himselfe into Calatraua, being assured not to be taken for want of men, victuals, and munition of warre: but before hee dislodged, the king to encourage him to do his duty, and to recompence the good which he had shewne, to employ himselfe for the defence of the countrie, moued also with some Religion, gaue vnto God, to the Virgin *Mary* his mother, to the congregation of *Cisteaux*, to the Abbot *D. Raymond*, and to his Monkes, both present and to come, the towne of Calatraua with all the confines, hilles, land, waters, meadowes, pastures, entries and issues, rights, names and actions belonging thereunto, whereof he caused letters patentes to be drawne in the year, 1158. signed by his Secretarie *Martin Pelaez*: in the which are named as witnesses, Don *Sancho* king of Nauarre, vassall to the king of Castile, Don *lean* Archbishop Primate of Spaine, Don *Raymond* Bishop of Palence and others.

Calatraua given to the Monkes of Cisteaux.

The Abbot hauing this prouision, he set forward, and came to Calatraua, a place of great importance, as we haue sayd, and the onely rampar for the Christians on that side against the Moores: who either aduertised of this great preparation to defend that place, or for some other lets, did no great exploit worthie the great brute which had runne of their armie, neither came they to beseege Calatraua, whereof the King was exceeding glad, and the Abbot with his Monkes no lesse, who by their courageous resolution had gotten this towne, the which the Templers had bately abandoned. Many Gentlemen which had followed the Abbot in this voyage, seeing him in such reputation left the world, and made themselves Monkes of Cisteaux, yet with a decent habit, fit for the exercise of armes, the which they meant to follow against the Infidels Moores, enemies to the Christian Religion.

Knights of Calatraua first instituted.

Death of Don Sancho the Desired.

This was the beginning of the Knights of Calatraua, an Order which was famous in Spaine. The Abbot *Don Raymond* being freed from feare of seerge, leaving a good garrison in Calatraua, he returned to Toledo, and from thence past to his Monastery of *Hitero*: about the which he gathered together a great multitude of people, to the number of twenty thousand, as the Histories report, whome with their mooueable goods and cattell, hee transported to Calatraua, and other places of the frontier, which was badly peopled, making it as it were a strong bastion against the enterprises of the Arabians. The king *Don Sancho* the desired, liued not long after, but dyed the same year. They write, that his wife *D. Blanche* being deceased some few dayes before in child-bed, hee was so oppressed with griefe, as he fell sicke and dyed. His death was very preiudiciall to the Realme of Castile, and followed by many miseries, the which he did well fore-see. He left the gouernement of his sonne *Don Alphonso*, who was yet very young, to a knight whose name was *Don Gutierre Fernand Ruiz de Castro*, ordaining that hee should bee bred vp vnder his discipline, vntill hee came to the age of fiftene years complete: willing that the Knights which held any places and garrisons, should keepe them vntill that time. They surnamed him the Desired, by reason of the great vertues wherewith hee was adorned, and the hope and taste the people had of his good and iust gouernement, in one year, or thereabouts, that hee reigned. Hee was buried at Toledo in the Cathedrall church, nere to the Emperour *Don Alphonso* his father. The Queene *Dona Blanche* his wife lyes in the Monasterie of *Saint Mary* the royall of Nagera, to the which a little before her death shee had giuen the towne of *Nectares*, nere vnto *Torrezillas de los Cameros*.

Araxes and Barcelon.

The Earle *Don Raymond Berenger* Gouernour of Arragon, hauing in the meane time made warre against *Don Sancho* King of Nauarre, with his forces of Arragon and Cattelogne, being not able to ingage the King of Castile, and taken *Buereta*, with some other pettie forts of small importance, seeing in the end that hee strived in vaine against an enemy which had not onely means to defend himselfe, but also on the contrarie, to offend him: hee yielded himselfe tractable to the perswasions of

A of certain good Prelates, who were much grieved to see Christians seeke the ruine one of another, for their ambition: wherefore in the year 1159. after many treaties of Peace, betwixt these two Princes, in the end there was an interview, and they remained good friends, making an end of all their quarrels, which had continued almost five and twentie years.

1159.  
Peace betwixt  
Nauarre and  
Arragon.

We must not wonder, if Secular Princes were in combustion, seeking to rule one ouer another, hauing (it may be) some plausible pretext, seeing that the Prelates of Spaine were a president for them without any reason. The Primacie which see of Toledo held ouer other Bishops, was not acknowledged of all: for the Archbishop of Braga, and he of *Saint James* refused to obey him.

Primacie of  
Toledo confis-  
qued.

B but the Primate of Primates, *Adrian* the third, sending Cardinall *Hyacinth* his Legat from Rome, forced them by a sentence.

The end of the ninth Booke.

D d 3

THE



## THE TENTH BOOKE of the Historie of Spaine.

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2. D. Alphonso the second of that name, and sixth King of Arragon, Earle of Barcelona.
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- A 27. D. Sancho the strong 21 King of Navarre the 8. of that name.
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- C 39. Seditions at Pampelone. Exercises of armes appointed by D. Sancho the 8. King of Navarre, as necessary for a warlike nation.
40. Order of the Knights of Alcantara.
41. D. Henry the first of that name, and 8. King of Castile.
42. Council of Saint Iohn de Latran, under Innocent the 3. sent for the Primacy of Spaine.

This tenth Booke containes the descent and continuance  
of the royall families of Spaine. that is,

D	Of Navarre.	Of Leon.	Of Portugal.
21	D. Sancho 8.	29 D. Alphonso. 9.	2 D. Sancho 1. 3 D. Alphonso. 2.
		Of Arragon.	Of Castille.
		6 D. Alphonso. 2.	7 D. Alphonso. 4.
		7 D. Pedro. 2.	8 D. Henry. 1.
		8 D. Jaques. 1.	

D. Alphonso the noble the seventh King of Castile  
the fourth of that name.



HE death of the King D. Sancho confirmed his surname of, desired, for that there followed dangerous combustions, begunne betwixt two great families of Castile, through jealousy and desire of rule. The young Kings person (being then but foure yeeres old) was under the charge of D. Lourenço Fernandis Ruiz de Castro, according unto the will of the deceased King his father, who had also ordained that the captaynes and Gouvernors of Prouinces and places should continue in their charge; 2.

## The generall History of Spaine.

Lib. 10

charges, vntill that his sonne D. *Alphonso* should bee fifteene yeeres old compleate. A  
those of the house of Lara, being men of great account, were discontented with this  
deceit, of which family the chiefe was the Earle D. *Manrique de Lara*, who had two  
brethren, D. *Aluaro*, and D. *Nugno*, all sonnes to D. *Pedro de Lara* (of whom wee haue  
made mention) and of D. *Aba*, forsaken by the Earle D. *Garcia de Cabra* with these  
mothers ioynd, by reason of consanguinity, D. *Garcia d'Acia*, their brother by the mo-  
thers side, sonne to that Lady D. *Aba*, and the Earle D. *Garcia de Cabra*, her first hus-  
band: they were greued to see the Kings person, and the chiefe affaires of the Realme  
in the hands of them of Castro, who held many places, and good gouernments in  
Castille and Toledo: wherefore they sought all occasions to seize vpon the authori-  
ty, and to dispossesse their aduersaries: D. *Gutierre Fernandes*, was an ancient Knight, B  
wise, faithfull, and without any malice, who gaue no man occasion to complaine, but  
great meanes to such: as enuied his honour to hurt him by his sincerity. Hee had  
also bene Gouernor to the King D. *Sancho* his father in his youth, and was so worthy  
a knight, as they say hee had made and armed fise hundred Knights, with his owne  
hand. Onely hee wanted the happinesse to haue children: but his brother D. *Ruy*  
*Fernandes*, called the Bald, had foure. D. *Fernand*, D. *Aluar*, D. *Pedro* and D. *Gutierre*,  
surnamed *Ruy*, and one daughter, called D. *Sancha Ruy*, married to D. *Aluaro Ruy* de  
*Gosman*.

Indiscretion of  
D. Gutierre  
Fernandes.

These factions declaring themselves, every one stood vpon his gard: and for that it  
was not easie to dissolve that which D. *Sancho* had decreed by his testament, nor to  
wrest the authority from them of Castro by force, being in possession: the brothers of C  
*Lara* found meanes to circumuent the good knight D. *Gutierre Fernandes*, by goodly  
persuasions, saying, that for the good of the general peace, he should bee content with  
those honours hee had, and suffer the Earle D. *Manrique* to keepe the Kings person:  
the which should in no sort blemish his authority, but should giue great reputation to  
vnto the Earle, who was a noble man of that quality, as hee well decreed it: all the  
four brothers promising and swearing vnto him, that they would alwaies preferre  
and defend the honour and authority which was due to his reuerent age. D. *Gutierre*  
deceiued with these good words, deliuered the King into the hands of these foure bre-  
thren, who remained with D. *Garcia d'Acia*, as the eldest, the rest hauing at that time  
no meanes to contradict it, but soone after they had an opportunity to get the King D  
into some termes and difficulty, touching the entertainment of the young Kings house,  
into some termes and difficulty, touching the entertainment of the young Kings house,  
and the necessary prouisions of money for his Estate with the brothers of Lara, they  
wrought in such manner as hee resigned this burthenome charge vnto them, the  
which they willingly accepted, as a thing which they had long affected; wherein the  
Earle D. *Garcia*, did some what wrong his honour and faile of his dutie, as well as D.  
*Gutierre Fernandes de Castro* had done; so the King came into the power of D. *Man-*  
*riques de Lara*.

These alterations, vsuall for the dignity of the young King, discontented D. *Gutierre*, E  
and withall, those of Lara beganne to faile in that which they had promised him;  
wherefore he let them vnderstand that he would haue the King D. *Alphonso* againe, to  
nourish and breed him vp according to the disposition of the King D. *Sancho*: will-  
ing that they mocked him, as a man which had lost his senses. Wherevpon these two  
brothers went to armes, and drew vnto them their kinsmen, friends, and partisans, gi-  
uing way and meanes to all the lewd people of the country to commit a thousand in-  
iuries, following the one or the other faction, as it is vsuall in such wars.

And moreover they made a passage for D. *Fernand* King of Leon, to enter into the  
territories of Castille, where hee committed great exccesse vnder pretext to pacifie the  
warres betwix these two houses of Castro and Lara: for being entred with an army,  
he seized vpon those forts, which were nearest vnto his frontiers of Leon, along the ri-  
uer of Duero, and passing on further, hee caused the Earle D. *Manrique* and his be-  
thren to dislodge, who carried the King D. *Alphonso* with them to Soria: Dining  
these tumults D. *Gutierre Fernandes de Castro* died, and was buried in the Monastery of  
Saint

## The general History of Spaine.

A Saint Christopher of Encas: after whole decease the Earle D. *Manriques* caused his  
Nephewes D. *Fernand*, D. *Aluaro*, D. *Pedro* and D. *Gutierre Ruy* to be summoned to de-  
liver vp into his hands the places belonging vnto the crowne, the which they held,  
and had commanded vnto their vncles death: but they made answere that they were  
not bound to deliuer them vp, seeing that the will of the deceased King was, that  
they should hold them vntill the King D. *Alphonso* were full fifteene yeeres old. There  
vpon D. *Manrique* commanded that the body of D. *Gutierre Fernandes* should bee vn-  
terred, and charging him with felony and treason against the King and crowne, hee  
sought to haue him found guilty.

B His foure Nephewes embraced the cause, and defended both themselves and their  
deceased vncle, saying that they neither had, nor did commit any felony, in retaying  
of those places, seeing it was according to the last will and testament of the King D.  
*Sancho*, the which they had neuer demanded of their vnclerlyuing. The Lords of the  
councell, who were Iudges in this cause, gaue sentence that there was not any felony  
committed, and therefore they ordained, that the body of D. *Gutierre*, which had bene  
against the law of Nations inhumainely pulled out of his graue, should be laied in a-  
gaine. Their contentions were so great, and the miseries which ensued so infinit, as  
press by necessity, they were forced to ingage all the reuenues of Castille and Toledo,  
for twelue yeeres, vnto King *Fernand*; and in the end the Earle D. *Manriques* bound  
himselfe to deliuer vnto the King of Leon, the person of young D. *Alphonso*, his Lord,

C and to make him his vassal. And to performe his promise, he led the King D. *Fernand*  
to Soria, where hauing propounded certaine reasons, in an assembly of the Noble-  
men of Castille, to perswade them that it was expedient the Kings person should bee  
put into his vnclerly custody, they deliuered him vnto him, protesting that they put him  
into his hands, being a free Prince, and therefore they intreated him to maintaine him  
in his liberty. The Noblemen durst not herein contradict the King D. *Fernand*, being  
within the country and in armes. The young Infant being carried in a gentlemen  
armes, beganne to weepe and cry out, wherefore they carried him backe to the lodg-  
ing to giue him an aple, or some such like thing to please him. At that time there  
was present D. *Pedro Nugnes Almexir*, a hardy and generous knight, who being gree-  
ued at this trecherous act of the Earle D. *Manrique*, gaue order (that whilst they dand-  
led the child, to still him) they should bring him a good horse behind the Kings lodg-  
ing, then approaching neere vnto the young Prince, making shew to flatter him, hee  
tooke him in his armes, and slipping away by some secret passage well knowne to  
him, he carried him to his horse, and so fled with him to the towne of Saint Estienne of  
Gormas: doing this act for the liberty of his King with such dexterity and diligence  
(whilst that the King D. *Fernand* attended the Infants returne) as he was gon a good  
way before it was discouered.

This being knowne by the King D. *Fernand* hee grew into a great rage, and vsing  
threats, he commanded D. *Manrique* and the rest of his faction, to giue order, that the  
child might bee found out and brought againe, where soeuer he were: wherevpon the  
Earle D. *Manrique*, and his brethren, vnder colour of seeking their King D. *Alphonso*,  
had meanes to get out of Soria, where all was in Combustion. Being arrived at Saint  
Estienne de Gormas, that night they seized againe of the Kings person: notwithstanding  
whether remorse of so foule an act, altered the mindes of these knights of Lara, or  
that all the brethren were not like affected, as D. *Manrique*: D. *Nugno* the youngest of  
the brethren tooke King D. *Alphonso*, and carried him to Atienza, not respecting the ac-  
cord made with the King D. *Fernand*, who holding himselfe deceiued by D. *Manrique*,  
sent him word by a knight, that hee was a traitor, and that he would bee reuenged. The  
Earle made no other answer, but that it was lawfull for him to doe any thing to deliuer  
F his King and natural Prince from captivity. Afterwards the Earle meeting with the  
King D. *Fernand*, who accused him of treachery, and demanded Iustice of the Estates  
of Castille, he answered againe, that he knew not that he was a traitor, but that hee re-  
pent him not to haue done his best endeavor, to deliuer his King, a child of so tender  
age from such vniuall slavery.

After

Treachery of  
D. Manriques  
de Lara. a-  
gainst his  
Prince and  
country.Pedro Nugnes  
a faithful vassal.





*Lopez*, who succeeded him in the daies of King *D. Alphonso* the sixth. This *D. Diego* was A the eighth Lord of Biscay, surnamed the white, and being married to a Lady of Arragon, he begat one sonne called *D. Lopez Diaz*, who was afterwards the ninth Lord of Biscay, the third of that name. It is that *D. Lopez* which was at the siege of Surita, with King *D. Alphonso*, called the Noble, in whose raigne we now are come, and whose daughter *D. Yrreca* was married to *Fernand* the second King of Leon and Galicia: hee also (having built vp the towne of Haro, in Rioje) surnamed himselfe of *Haro*, and left it to his posterity. He had of *D. Mençia* his wife, one sonne called *D. Gaufrida*, who some say had bene fathers estates, and an other daughter called *D. Gaufrida*, who some say had bene Queene of Nauarre, but it is doubtfull. This *D. Diego Lopez*, was the tenth Lord of Biscay, and a very good Knight: who had the honor to bee standard-bearer to the King of Castille, and was at al the exploits of warre, done by King *D. Alphonso* the ninth. Hee had to wife *D. Maria Diaz de Lara*, daughter to Cont *Nugno*, of whom we haue made mention, and she bare him *D. Lopez Diaz de Haro*, who was the eleuenth Lord of Biscay. His Image is to be seene kneeling in the quier of the great church of Toledo, planted against a pillar. The succession of these Lords, shall bee here-after set downe according to the time.

Castille.

An. 1170.  
D. Alphonso  
the noble King  
of Castille  
comes to years.

And marries  
Elenor of Eng-  
land.

Returning to King *D. Alphonso*, after the taking of Surita, hauing dismissed his souldi-  
ars, he returned to Toledo, where hee kept his court, and assembled the Noblemen and  
knights his vassals: where finding himselfe in free possession of all the country of To-  
ledo, he came to Burgos, where hee called an other assembly, and kept his court, in the  
yeare 1170. touching that which lies on this side the mountaines, belonging to Castille  
& Nagera: and for that the fifteenth yeere of his age was now ended, all the townes &  
forts were yeelded vp vnto him, without any contradiction, according to the will of his  
deceased father, yea those which were held by *D. Fernand* of Castro, who was neuer  
more seene in Castille, by reason of the quarrels he had with the house of Lara, but pal-  
sing to the Moores, hee shewed himselfe a perpetuall enemy to his country. In the as-  
sembly at Burgos, there was speech of the excesses, and outrages done by *Fernand* King  
of Leon; to reuenge the which hee resolved to proclaim warre against him, but it was  
not put in execution long after, by reason of *D. Alphonso's* youth, who was not yet capa-  
ble of so great an enterprise. There they treated also of the Kings marriage with *Elenor*  
daughter to *Henry* the second King of England, who was as renowned as any Prince at  
that day in Christendome: he was sonne to *Goffrey* Duke of Aniou and Normandie. It  
was this *Henry* which had married Queene *Elenor*, heire of the Dutchie of Guienne, and  
countie of Poictou, put away by *Lewis* the seuenth the French King.

After these things, there was an enter-view of two yong Kings, *D. Alphonso* of Ca-  
stille, and *D. Alphonso* of Arragon, at Sahagun, with shewes of great loue: and from  
thence they went to Sarragosse, from whence there was an Ambassage sent to effect the  
marriage of the King of Castille. The Ambassadors were *D. Celbrun* Archbishop of To-  
ledo, the Bishops of Palenza, Calaozza, Burgos and Segobia, the Earles *D. Pance* and  
*D. Nugno*, with other Noblemen who found the court, with the Queene mother and her  
daughter at Burdeaux: whose returne the King of Castille attended at Sarragosse.  
where during his aboad, the league was renewed betwixt Castille and Arragon; and  
a new made for the mutual defence of both Kings, against all men, except the King  
of England, in the which were named all the great men belonging to either estate:  
for assurance whereof, there was assigned and laied in pawne the castles of Na-  
gera, Biguerra, Clauijo, Ocon and Arueda, for the King of Castille; and for the  
King of Arragon, Hariza, Daroca, Aranda, Epila Borja: with a condition that hee  
which should breake the league, should loose these places: and the conventions  
were signed and confirmed by the two Kings, and their chiefeft Nobles. The Am-  
bassadors of Castille were welcome to Burdeaux, and their charge was very plea-  
sing to the king of England: whereupon the Princesse *Elenor* was sent into Spaine,  
being accompanied by *Bernard* Archbishop of Bourdeaux, the Bishoppes of Poi-  
ctiers, Angoulême, Perigoux, Xaintes, Agen, and Bazas: by *Rasul* de la  
Faye, Seneshall of Guienne, *Helie* Earle of Perigott, the Vicounts of Tartas,  
Chaste.

Chastelleraud, Chastillon, Mortmar, Vendome, Angoulême, Labrit or Albret, with very  
many other Noblemen and Knights. By the treaty made with the Ambassadors it was  
said, that the assurance and contract of marriage should be made at Tarrasone, and  
should be solemnly ratified in the presence of the King of Arragon; wherefore the  
two Kings came to Tarrasone, where these things were celebrated and sworn with  
great solemnity, in the yeere of our Lord 1170. and for accomplishment thereof at that  
instant *D. Alphonso* King of Castille, caused all the Knights of Castille, which were there  
present, to swear fealtie to his future spouse: and moreover hee gaue vnto her in fa-  
uour of the marriage, the castles and city of Burgos, Castro, Xeris, Auia, Monçon, Sala-  
dagne, Tariego, Dueregnas, Carrion; Aabelon, Medina del Ampo, Villa Escusa, A-  
guilar & Astudillo, & for her idle expences & to furnish her cabinet, he assigned particu-  
larly vnto her, Burgos, Nagera, and Castro Xeris: besides hee gaue vnto her the rents of  
the port of Saint Emeterio, Belgo, Cabedo, Briza de Centillana, Calaozza, Logroño,  
Arnedo, Bignerra, Granon, Vilhorado; Pantorio, Monasterio, Pozza, Atienza, Olma,  
Penafili, Coriel, Surita, Hira, Aegna Negra and others. Moreover hee promised to  
giue her the moytie of all hee should conquer from the Moores from the day of their  
marriage. These promises and matrimoniall conventions were sworn in the pre-  
sence of the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, and other English Ambassadors, to whom in  
the Queenes name hee caused the forts to bee deliuered, and the homages aboue men-  
tioned to bee done, all in the presence of the King of Arragon, as an indifferent ab-  
trator for both parties. These things thus finished, the two Kings of Castille and Ar-  
ragon, parted good friends, and the Ambassadors, with the new spouse, came with  
*D. Alphonso* the Noble, to Burgos, where the marriage was celebrated with great state  
and royal pompe, after which the court parting from Burgos, it came to Nagera, in  
the countie of Oja, where the King gaue leaue to many which had come to attend the  
solemnitie of his marriage, namely to them of Auila, who had alwaies followed him,  
to whom for their willingness to serue him, hee graunted many priuiledges.

After which hee led the Queene to Toledo, where hee grew to amorous of a Lew,  
whom they called *Hermosa*, as hee forgot his new spouse, and intangled himselfe  
so farre in her loue, as hee almost lost his senses; whereat some Knights of Cas-  
tile beeing verie much greeued, they thought to doe an act pleasing vnto God, and  
profitable to the common-weale; to kill this Lew, the which in the beginning the King  
did beare verie impatiently, but in the end hee acknowledged his error; and de-  
tested it.

Vpon the confines of Arragon and Castille, there began at that time a petty estate  
in Albarrazin, which place was vsurped by a Knight, called *D. Pedro Ruiz d'Asagra*, who  
held it of God and his sword. Hee was borne in Nauarre, and wonne the loue of the  
Moores of Murcia, and other neighbour places, which did fauour and succor him in his  
enterprises, and withall hee had newly made a league with *D. Sanebo* King of Nauarre,  
who supported him and vsed him, to bridle Arragon and Castille, with which estates hee  
had or feared some larres. This fort which had bene in ancient time called Saint Ma-  
rie of Albarrazin, was a troublesome thorne in the feete of the Kings of Castille and  
Arragon, into whose territories *D. Pedro Ruiz d'Asagra*, made often roads, at his plea-  
sure: who hauing about this yeere of our Lord 1172. taken some places in Castille,  
the King *D. Alphonso* the noble, resolved to make warre against him, and to take them  
from him if hee could: for this consideration hee made a priuate league with the King  
of Arragon, who was interested; by the which it was concluded, that the King of Ar-  
ragon should haue the fort of Albarrazin; and hee of Castille should haue the rest  
which *D. Pedro* did hold, for the obseruing of which Articles, hee of Arragon did  
giue in pawne to the King of Castille, the castle of Hariza, with Aranda, Borja and  
Argudas: and the castle of Verdejo was giuen to the King of Arragon by him  
of Castille, bynding also the townes of Agreda, Aquilar and Cerueda: which pla-  
ces were assurances for that which had bene contracted betwixt them, promising  
that if there should bee any contrauention, or fraude betwixt them, it should bee re-  
paired within three yeeres, or the places lost for him that had committed the fraude; But  
these

Castile to the  
new Queene  
of Castille in  
loue of her  
marriage.

Disordered loue  
of D. Alphonso  
King of Castille.

Fort of Albar-  
razin.

An. 1172.

these designs went to smother, the two Kings being at a jarre for Hariza, the which A was delivered to the King of Castille by *Nugno Sanchez* a knight, without the King of Arragons expresse command, and before the warre of Nauarre was begunne. Then the King of Castille was most commonly accompanied by *D. Celebrun* Archbishop of Toledo, Primat of Spaine, the Bishops *D. Ioselin* of Sigüenza, *Gonzalo* of Segobia, *Ramond* of Palencia, *Pedro* of Burgos, *Sancho d' Auila*, *Bernard d' Osma*, with other Prelats and Church-men, of which kinde of men Kings counsels did then most commonly consist, and therefore whatsoever Princes committed, were it good or bad, is iustly to be imputed to them, be it in religion or in matters of State. There were also many Noble men of Marke in those daies; amongst the which were *D. Ponce*, Lord Steward, and *D. Nuñez* standard-bearer of Castille, *D. Gonzalo Maragon* a standard-bearer also, and *D. Rodrigo Gutierrez* a Steward, which were the chiefe offices of the crowne they were annual, as it seemes, or else at the Kings pleasure.

Nauarre.  
An. 1173.

Nauarre in-  
uaded by the  
Kings of Cas-  
tile and Ara-  
ragon.

By their aduice and assistance, with other Prelats, Noblemen and Knights of his realmes, *D. Alphons* entered Nauarre in the yeere 1173, with a great army, against his vncle *D. Sancho* the wife, moued thereunto, as well by the spoiles which he had done in the territories of Rioje and Bureau, during his nonage, as also by the perswasion of the King of Arragon his cousin, whose countrie *D. Sancho* had invaded, whilst that the armie of Arragon was in the Realme of Valencia against the Moores, thinking to make his profit thereby, whilst the King of Arragon was absent with his forces. So breaking the accord and peace, which hee had made with the deceased *D. Raymond*, and renews with Queene *Petronilla*, hee had overrunne his country, and forced *D. Alphons* King of Arragon, to giue ouer his praise-worthie enterprises, and to turne head against his enemies, whom he had repulsed into Nauarre, entering by Tudela, where hee did besige and take the towne of Arguedas, the which hee fortified and manned with a good garison.

These two Kings of Castille and Arragon being in armes, and pressing *D. Sancho* in diuers places, hee found himselfe to weake to make head against them, so as his countries endured great spoiles and miseries, for his armie being defeated towards Castille, the Castilians did runne as farre as Pampelone: on the other side the King of Arragon tooke from him the towne and castle of Milagro, the garison whereof did alwaies keepe his frontiers in alarme, by reason whereof hee razed it, but it was since repaired by the Nauarrois. Notwithstanding these two vnited forces, yet *D. Sancho* defended himselfe valiantly against the King of Arragon and tooke from him the castles of Trafinos and Caxuelos. The most renowned Knights which were in those daies in Nauarre, as appeares by the ancient Records of townes and Monasteries, were *Inigo* Almorauid in Roncal, *Sancho Ramirez* in Aybar, *Jordain* in Saint Marie in Vxue, *Ximen* Almorauid in Peralta, *Garcia* of Alberio in Tudela, and *Martin Ruiz* in Estella, who had the government of these places and forts, and commanded *D. Sancho* souldiers.

Arragon.

King of Arra-  
gon takes the  
Emperours  
daughter, to  
marry *D.*  
*Sancho* of Cas-  
tile.

An. 1174.

During these warres, the King of Castille resolved to propound a marriage vnto *D. Alphons* King of Arragon, the which had beene treated of betwixt him and *D. Sancho* his aunt, daughter to the Emperor *D. Alphons*, by his second wife *D. Rica*, and would attempt (by the charity which did guide both him and his counsel) to breake the marriage which was already concluded betwixt the sayd King of Arragon and the daughter of *Manuel* the first Emperour of Constantinople, and so farre advanced, as these came already to Montpellier, when as *D. Alphons* of Arragon forsooke her to hearken to the marriage of *D. Sancho* of Castille, to the great contempt and disgrace of the Emperor. This other marriage was afterwards celebrated in Sarragossa, in the presence of Cardinal *Hiacinth*, the Popes Legat in Spaine, in the yeere 1174, in consideration whereof, the King of Arragon gaue vnto his spouse many townes in Arragon and Catalogne, imitating the example of the King of Castille, who had extraordinarily advanced the Princess of England.

Queene *Petronilla* of Arragon was deceased the yeere before this marriage, it may bee whilst her sonne was in Prouence to dispute the succession of the Earle of Prouence

Prouence

Prouence his cousin, who had beene slaine nere vnto Nice by the Niffards: whose inheritance he had obtained, notwithstanding that the Earle of Tolouise was a great enemy vnto him. They write that this Princeesse by her last wil and testament did ordaine, that no women should succeed to the crowne of Arragon.

Prouence re-  
turnes to the  
croune of Ara-  
ragon.

It was the same yeere 1174, that King *D. Alphons* the noble confirmed the priuiledges of the city of Toledo, the which we haue set downe by Articles during the life of the Emperor *D. Alphons* the sixth: a while after the King *D. Alphons* of Castille being at the siege of Cuenca, hee quit vnto *D. Alphons* of Arragon the fealty and homage, and all pretension of souerainty, which hee had to the realme of Arragon, in confirmation of their friendship, and in respect of their new contracted alliance; three and fortie yeeres after that the Realme of Arragon had begunne to hold of the crowne of Castille.

Castille.

Arragon es-  
tablishes for the  
soverainety of  
Castille.

The Noblemen and Knights which had conducted *Manuell* the Emperours daughter to Montpellier, seeing themselves and their Princeesse thus mocked, not knowing what other course to take, they would haue carried her backe into Greece: But either by loue or force they married her to *William* Earle of Montpellier, in whose house shee was lodged: of which marriage issued a daughter, called *Mary*, who in time, was wife to the sonne and heire of this *D. Alphons* King of Castille. This sonnes name was *D. Pedro*, borne of *D. Sancho* of Castille, besides these brought the King her husband, *D. Alphons*, who was Earle of Prouence, and *D. Fernand*, who being a Monke in the royall Monasterie of Poblette, which his father had finished, hee left it to be Abbot of Montarragon. King *D. Alphons* had three daughters also by the Queene *D. Sancho*, that is *D. Constance* who was married first to the King of Hongarie, and afterwards to the Emperour. *Frederic* the second, *D. Eleanor* and *D. Sancho*, both Countesses of Tolouise, the one married to Cont *Raymond* the father, and the other to Cont *Raymond* the sonne. This Queene *D. Sancho* was verie deuout, after the manner of that age: wherefore as soone as she was married shee built the Monastery of Sixena, of the Nuns of Saint Iean.

Arragon.

Generation of  
Arragon.

This age was (as the rest) full of deuotions, and inuentions of new seruices: for Cardinal *Hiacinth* being Legate a Latere for the Pope in Spaine, the order of knights or men at armes, of Saint *James*, had his beginning in the realme of Galicia, by an emulation betwixt some knights, & Monkes of Saint Eloy, a Monastery in the same Kingdome. These good religious fathers seeing the great concourse of people which came from all parts of Christendome to the sepulcher of Saint *James*, they beganne to build Hospitals, out of their reuenues which were very great, vpon the passage which in Spaine they doe commonly call the French way, to lodge and feed Pilgrimes, and to supplie all their necessities, in sicknesse or in health: wherein they employed themselves honestly, and the first Hospital of their foundation was that of Saint *Marke* the Euangelists, without the walles of the city of Leon: afterwards they built another vpon the passage of Castille, called *delas Tiendas*. In imitation of these Monkes, yfing such courtesie to strangers which went to Saint *James*, there were thirteene Knights, very deuout to this Apostle, taking him for their particular Patron and aduocate, according to their instruction, vowed themselves to gard and assure the way for pilgrimes against the incursions of the Moores, and other theues which troubled Spaine; and hauing imparted their designe to the Monkes of Saint Eloy, they agreed to make one body amongst them, and to make the patrimonie of the Monastery of Saint Eloy common, with that of these Knights, and others which should ioine with them: at that time they did enioy about twenty castles, which made the Monkes more willing to allow of this communion: at these holy souldiers were married from their first institution, wherefore they did onelie vow coniugal chastitie, and as for pouerty it was not very great, they onelie renounced the proprietie of their goods, for the seruice of the order; enioying the fruites, whereof they payed tithes vnto the Monkes for the diuine priuilege, wherein they were employed: they did vowe obedience to their Prior and Maister, by such an order, as the Monkes should bee subiect to their Priors both for spirituall and temporall; and the Knights to the same Prior touching their spirituall;

Castille.

Order of Saint  
James.

Ec 3

spirituall;



First convent  
of Knights of  
Saint James

spirituality; but in regard of the temporall they should obey the maister of the order. A Whereof the first was named D. *Pedro Fernandez de Puente Encalada*. The first convent which was built for these Knights, was neere vnto Saint Marke's Hospitall, without the walles of Leon, on a peece of ground belonging to the Monkes of Saint Eloy, which they gaue; into the which they all retired, taking vpon them a modest kind of habit, fit for the warre, carrying vpon a white cloake a red-crosse, in forme of a sword, for a marke of their order, and for an argument of humilitie they had their haire powled, which was no small abatement in those times.

Their Order was vnder Saint *Augustin*, according to that of the Monkes of Saint Eloy; and all these things were ordered in the presence of Cardinal *Hyacinthe*, the Legat, and allowed by him, hauing especiall authority for it. A while after D. *Pedro*, the Master of the Order, accompanied with certaine Knights, this order being wonderfully increased, went to Rome, to present himselfe to Pope *Alexander*, who confirmed the order in the year of our Lord 1175, according to the disposition of Cardinal *Hyacinthe* his Legat, who was afterwards Pope. Many haue beleueed, and some haue written, that this order of Knights of Saint James is more ancient, grounding it vpon a certaine priuiledge which is found at Salamanca, in the Monasterie of the Holie Ghost, where at this present the religious women of that order are: for besides the moderne Castilian Language, in the which this priuiledge is written, with the date and yete thereof, counted from the nativity of our Lord Iesus Christ, discouers the fallhood: for that in those daies all Instruments, titles and letters were written in Latin, and that they did account the yeeres from the Era of *Cesar*, there is not any mention found in the Authors of the Institution of this Order, nor of any exploit of the Knights thereof, before this time: besides other markes of fallhood which may be discouered in this priuiledge, as to intitle the King D. *Fernand* the Great Lord of Biscay, and King of Leon, which hee was not, and by consequence had no cause to grant priuiledges to that Monastery of the citie of Salamanca, which hath been alwaies of the iurisdiction of Leon. Whereas in the yeere 1034, which is the date thereof, there reigned D. *Bernard* the third of that name, so as it is not without cause if they doubt of the truth of the priuiledges granted to churches and convents.

These Knights newly instituted being fallne into some dislike with D. *Fernand* King of Leon, reigning at that time, they left their Conuent of Saint Marke at Leon, and retired into Castille, where they were courteously receiued by the King D. *Alphonso*, who gaue them the towne and Castele of Vcles, called in old time *Vcclesia*, where they built that renowned conuent, which is the chiefe seate of their religion and order: yet they sent some of their brethren to dwell in their first conuent of Saint Marke at Leon, after the decease of the King D. *Fernand*, vpon condition that the superioritie should belong to that of Vcles; but it is not obserued, for the conuent of S. Marke doth not acknowledge that of Vcles in any thing, but doth keep their first reuenues, the which were since augmented in Estremadura, after the conquest thereof by them of Leon. In the time this order did extend farre into Portugal, where it got great reuenues vnder the obedience of the conuent of Vcles, vnto the King D. *Denis*, who put the Knights out of his country.

A thousand  
launces of the  
Order of Saint  
James.

Two chiefe  
conuents.

This order of the Knights of Saint James did so grow in wealth and number, by the bountie of Kings, and indulgences of Popes, as they were able to arme a thousand launces compleat, in both conuents of Vcles and Saint Marke: and before that by the authority of Pope *Adrian* the sixth, the masters place was incorporate to the crowne of Castille, the Masters of the Order were chosen and displaced, if there were cause, of the suffrages of thirteenth brethren, who had that authoritie and power from the whole Order, the which doth enioy more dignities, conuents, monasteries, colleges, and other lands, then any Order that is in Spaine: first there are those principall conuents, which are the chiefe of all the rest, which bee Vcles and Saint Marke, vnder the which are foure Hermitages, Saint Marie de la Pegna, neere vnto the Towne of the which are foure Hermitages, Saint Saluator of Munfiers, neere to Almeca: Saint Mary Segure of the Mountaine, Saint Saluator of Munfiers, neere to Almeca: Saint Mary of Cagnamanes in the fields of Montiel, and Saint Anthony about Alhambra.

Besides

A Besides one Conuent in the Citie of Seuille, two Colleged in the Vniuersitie of Salamanca, fixe Monasteries of Religious women, which were the holie Ghost at Salamanca, S. Foy at Toledo, Saint Croix at Maileddit, Saint James at Granada, S. Olalia at Merida, and Saint James la Iunguera of Barcelona. They haue also fixe Hospitalls: S. James of Toledo, where they go to be cured which haue the poxe or French disease, and all other infirmities which depend thereon, S. James at Cuenca, las Tiendas in Castile the old, the hospitall neere vnto the Conuent of Saint Mark at Leon, and the Hospitall of the Conuent at Vcles. Moreover, this Order hath many commanderies, the which are bound to serue in time of warre against the Moores, and to furnish 368. lances: those which belong to the iurisdiction of Vcles are, the great Commanderie of Castille, that of Paracuellos, Monthermand, Mora, dos Barrios, Montreal, Horcajo, el Corral of Almaguer, el Campo de Critana, which is the best Commanderie of all Spaine: Yeste, Moratall, Carauaca, Aledo, Ricote, Biedma, Ciega, Soconos, Torres, and Cagnamares, Montiel, Sociellamos, Villamaior, Carrizosa, Vilhermosa, Vallanous de la Fuente, the buildings del campo de Monnel, Villa Escusa de Plaro, the buildings of Mancha, and the river of Tayo, Huelamo, Orria, Estremera, Saint Croix de Sarca, Villoria, Villarubia, Alpagues, and the Priorie of Vcles, the Chamber of the Priuiledges of the Order, and Alorqui. These bee those which acknowledge Vcles. Now those follow which are of the iurisdiction of Saint Mark of Leon, the great Commanderie Aquilarejo, Calcadilla, la Puebla de Sancho Peres, el Santo, Villafranca, la Fuente del maeistre, Almendralejo, Lobon, Montijo, Metida, Alcuercar, Riutera, and Azebucha, Hallame, Elliotua, Palomas, Ornachos, Reyna Hinojosa, Medina de la Torres, Valencia del ventoso, Monasterio, Montemolino, Viage, Azuaga, Guadalcanal, Mures, Benaçuca, Estepa, the houses of Corduba, the buildings in the Prouince of Leon, the Prouince of the conuent of Leon, Villanous of Alif, dar, Vena Mexi, the Prouostship of Bienvenida. In Castile the old, are Pegna, Viende, Estriana, Castrotoraua. Besides all these there are the commanderies of la Torre d'Ocague, Sarca, Mirauel, Castelleja de la Cuesta, Barra, Castroverde. And in the Realme of Valencia are the commanderies of Museros, Enguerra, Orcheta, Sagra, Zener and Fradel. Besides these Commanderies, this Order hath at this day aboue fixe hundred Knights of the habit, about two hundred Clerkes brethren, which remaine in the conuents, with Vicarages and other Benefices, so as it is wonderful great and rich. And although it were first instituted to make warre against the Infidels, yet there are few at this day which affect these commanderies, or the habit to that end, but only to increase their reuenues, or to be in greater reputation among soldiours, by means of this habit. Such was the iurisdiction of this Order of Knights.

During the raigne of this King Don *Alphonso* the Noble, the Monasterie of religious women of Balbuena was built by *Peter* of Balbuena an Hermit: in like manner one *Iohn* of Ortega, borne at Quintana in Ortugno, in the Diocesse of Burgos, was sanctified, I know not for what holines, and his bodie was buried in the yeare 1173, in the Monastery which carries his name: where the Spanish Authors say, hee did many miracles. There were infinit donations made vnto Monasteries, Conuents, and Orders of Knights, by the King and the Nobility of Spaine, for the redemption of their soules, and of their kindred and friends deceased, as their letters report.

The Order of the Knights of Calatraua, whose beginning wee haue described in the life of the King D. *Sanche* the desired, was much augmented at that time, and was only governed by masters: whereof the first was called D. *Garcia*, to whom succeeded D. *Martin* Peres of Syon: and the third master which gouerned at that time, was D. *Nugno* Peres, of Quignones. The first Conuent of this Order was at Calatraua: but since the Knights made diuers changes, as appears by their Historie: as to Ciruelos, Buxeda, Corcoles, and castel of Saluatierra: and since the chiefe seate of their Order was transferr'd to the castell of Couo, in the time of D. *Nugno* Hernandez the twelfth Master, where it now remains. The rents and reuenues of this holy company of Warriours haue so increased from time to time, by the bountie of the Kings of Castile, as they haue beene free to serue against the Moores with 300. Lances well appointed, whereunto those Commanderies

Order of Calig  
stana,

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Religious com  
manderies of  
women.

Hospitalls

manderics are ordinarily bound, whose names be, first the great commander, Clauera, A Oberea, and Argamilla; the commanderies of Malagon, Mançares, Almagro, Montan- cheulos, Daymiel, Villarubia, val de pegnas, Eluico, and Saint Croix, Fuente el Moral, and the houses of Citre Real, Castellanos, Almedovar del campo, Puerto Llano, Corral of Caracuel, Piedra Buena, Herrera, Fuente del Imperador, Carjon, Guadalerza, Me- tiel, Calhiseras, Balesteros, Alcolea, Possuelo, Torroua, Bolaghos, Morall, Almir- a, Hauanilla, the houses of Seulle, the houses of Corduba, Belmer, Villafraña, Lo- pera, Canauera, Ximena, and Recena Pegna de Martos, Biouras, Moratalaz, Torres and Canena, Vallaga, Sorita, Almoquera, Auignon, and Verniches, the houses of Taluera, those of Toledo, Huerta, Val de Carauanes, the houses of Plaisance, Arca, Caracuel, Ortas, Calatraua the old. And in the realme of Arragon are the commanderies of Alca, Mourtojo, Penna Roija, Faraxneda, Ralfas, Castelferas, Laguna totta, Molinos. In the of Valencia there are also other commanderies. In Castile are the Priories of Seulle, Gra- nado, Ilaen, Albama, Fuencaliente, Porcuna, Sugueca, and Villatoro, besides other di- gnities & ecclesiastical reuenues. This Order was confirmed by Pope Alexander the third, and receiued into the protection and tuition of the Apostolike See, and had vnder it, Knights of the Alcantara for a time.

Nauarre,  
An. 1176.

About the year 1176, was founded the Monasterie of our Ladie of Irançu, by Don Pedro de Paris, bishop of Pampelone, who notwithstanding he called himselfe so, was of Nauarre. It is very likely that the Prelates in those dayes had a great desire to build Mona- steries and such like houses, that they might leave some markes: for otherwise they could leaue no subject to speake of them, that age being vnlearned, and full of ignorance, so as not knowing in a manner any other duties, they thought themselves sufficiently dis- charged, if they did build any retreat for Monkes: and withall, they had an assurance, that their beginning should not remaine imperfect, nor vnprovided of rich reuenues, le- ting that the hearts of Kings, and of all men in generall, were seasoned with this persuasi- on, that to enrich the Clergie, was the true meanes to wipe out all their offences, and so bee saued: Wherefore all their exhortations, counsell, and other care, tended onely to this end, to entertaine all, especially the Nobilitie in this opinion. This Bishop, accord- ing to this kind of doctrine, built and erected this Monasterie of Nostre Signora of Irançu, and there placed the religious of Cisteaux: the Abbot of which place is of great authoritie in Nauarre, and hath a voyce in the assembly of the Estates, as a chiefe member of the Clergie.

Castile.

11 Returning to the secular affaires of Castile, wee finde that this year, Don Alphonso, the Noble, made another roade into Nauarre, being assisted by Don Cel- brun, Arch-bishop of Toledo, and many other Bishops, but to small effect. The most renowned among the Knights, which iured him, were Don Gorgal of Maragnon, his Standard-bearer, and Don Rodrigo Gutierrez Lord Steward: these were Offices in the court of Castile, which were held during the kings pleasure.

An. 1177.

Cuenca taken  
from the  
Moors.

This warre was diuerted by the inuasions which the Moores made into Castile and Arragon, in the year 1177. Whereupon the two Kings ioyning their forces together, besetged Cuenca. The place was strong and well manned, and hard to be forced: where- fore the King of Castile left the king of Arragon there, who after many assaults tooke it. There they placed and instituted an Episcopall seate, changing that of old Valeria, by a graunt from Pope Alexander the third. After which, the Moores of Alarçon, doubting they should not be able to defend that place, quit it: which conquests remained to Cas- tile: and this was at the same time when as King Don Alphonso the Noble, did remit the Soueraignie and homage which the King of Arragon did owe to the Crowne of Castile.

An. 1179.  
League against  
Nauarre.

In the year 1179, there was a new League made and confirmed betwixt these Prin- ces of Castile and Arragon, to make warre against the king of Nauarre, at their com- mon charge, and equall conquests: according to the which Don Alphonso the Noble did so presse the King Don Sancho alongst the Riuer of Oja, as hee tooke from him the places which hee had seized on during his infancie, and recouered Burbiesca, Cerefo,

A Cerefo, Granon, Entrena, and Logrogno, remaining by this meanes Lord and Mas- ter of Rioje and Bureua, the which the kings of Nauarre could neuer after get. This losse was made more grieuous by the death of Donna Beacia, Queene of Nauarre, a Princess of great vertue, who (as some write) was buried in the Cathedrall church of Pampelone.

Rioje and Bu-  
reua taken by  
the Castilians  
from the Moores

12: After all this, D. Alphonso the Noble came to Burgos, to prouide for the necessi- ties of the warre, as well against Nauarre, as the Moores: and hauing need of great sums of money to that end, he propounded in a generall assembly of the Estates at Burgos, to leaue a tax vpon the people, whereunto the Nobility as well as therest should contri- bute, imposing fise Maraudis of gold for euery person, the which was valued about fise Ducats: this counsell was giuen him by Diego Lopes de Hara, Lord of Biscay, but it tooke

Nobility of Cas-  
tile ascribed  
their freedom

B no effect: for all the Gentlemen of Castile (being discontented that hee sought to in- fringe their liberties) fell to armes, and being led by the Earle Don Pedro de Lara, they were resolu'd to defend it, with the hazard of their liues. Wherefore D. Alphonso chan- ged his opinion, and let them vnderstand, that from thenceforth hee would maintaine their immunities, and that whatsoever he had then propounded, was not to continue, but onely to supply the present necessitie of his affaires, which he would seeke to surr ish by some other meanes. For the great resolution which D. Pedro de Lara shewed in this action, they say, that the Nobilitie of Castile did grant to him and to his successors, a sollemne break-fast, in testimonie of his good indeour in a businesse of so great conse- quence: and moreover they affirme, that thereby the Lords of Lara haue the first voyce

Providence the  
Proverbe comes  
in Spaine: so  
revenge his No-  
bilitie for 1299  
fol.

C for the Nobilitie in the Court of Castile. It is not from these 5. Maraudis of gold, that the Prouerbe is growne in Spaine, To reuenge or defend their Nobilitie for fise hundred folz, for fise Maraudis are got fise hundred folz. Wherefore leauing all the fables which some produce to that purpose, you must vnderstand, that according to the ancient lawes of Castile, the iniurie which any one did vnto a Gentleman, where there was a ciuill repara- tion, they payed fise hundred folz for a fyne, which were worth foure hundred Marau- dis of currant money at those dayes, and that which was done to one which was no Gen- tleman, was repayed by three hundred folz, which were worth but two hundred and for- tie Maraudis: wherefore the Prouerbe, to reuenge his Nobilitie, for 500. folz, is drawne from these ciuill lawes. D. Alphonso king of Castile meaning to follow the warre with all

D vehemencie against the Moores, after that he had recouered those places which D. San- cho king of Nauarre had taken from him, and the quarrels betwixt him and his vncl Don Fernand king of Leon being somewhat reconciled: by the mediation of the Noblemen and Prelates of both Realmes, and by the meanes of the king of Arragon, who sent Don Berenger Bishop of Lerida, and D. Raymond of Moncada thither: the more to tye the holy Knights vnto him, and to haue them readie at need, he made Vcles the chiefe seate of the Knights of Saint Iames, to whom he gaue the Townes of Mora, Ocagne, Oreja, and o- ther places, along the riuer of Tayo. He gaue to the Order of Calatraua, the townes of Magueda, Aceca, Cogolludo, Surita and others: hee peopled the towne of Palence in Vera, or rather Playfance, and there placed the auncient Episcopall sea: hee fortified To- ledo, and rampared Alarcos in that Dioecesse, becing a place of importance vpon a hill on the left hand, comming from Almodouar del Campo, to Citre recall, about Caracuel.

13 In the meane time there fell out a great quarrell, betwixt Don Fernand king of Leon, and Don Alphonso Henriques King of Portugal, by reason of the fort of Citre de- rigo, whereas the King of Leon maintained a garrison which did much annoy the Por- tugal: for the souldiers of this place did continually spoile the Portugals countrie, with- out any respect: wherefore D. Alphonso Henriques, who was now very old, sent his sonne D. Sancho with an army against this garrison of the King of Leon, and to race the place, whereof D. Fernand being aduerted, he fortified his guard there, and approaching him- selfe with good troupes, he encountered the Portugals neere to a place called Arraganal, or Arganal, where they were defeated, and their Generall D. Sancho taken, with many Noblemen and Knights of his armie, who notwithstanding were courteously let at liber- ty by the King of Leon.

Portugal.  
King of Leon  
and Castile in  
quarrell

D. Alphonso Henriques wonderfully incensed at this losse, being now about 85. yeares old, he gathered his army together, and went to horfe, where entring Galicia in hostile manner,

manner, he tooke Lymla, Turon, and other places: then returning into his countrie, hee drew his forces againe together, and marched beyond Guadiana, where he did assaile the citie of Badajoz which the Moores held, being in a countrie, the conquest whereof did belong to the Realme of Leon: whereby it appears, that among the Christian Princes of Spaine, there was some diuision made for their warres against the Moores, to the end they should not crosse one another by their ambition and couetousnesse. The king of Portugal battered Badajoz with such speed, as he had meanes to enter it, and wonne two parts of the towne, forcing the Moores to retire into a part, which was of some strength, where they defended themselves. The King of Leon hearing of this enterprize of the King of Portugall, (although he were not fully reconciled with his nephew of Castile, by reason of the new troubles which happened by the reuolt of D. *Fernand Ruiz de Castro*, & that he must of force leaue some part of his forces to make head vpon the frontiers of Castile, (if haply they would presse him on that side) marched from Zamora, which was newly taken by him, with such souldiars as he could gather together, towards Badajoz, whereas D. *Alphonso Henriques* came to meet him, and gaue him battaile, which the Portugals lost: so as D. *Alphonso Henriques* was forced to fortifie himselfe in that part of Badajoz, which he had wonne: yet finding himselfe not very safe, he resolved to retire as well as he could into his countrie: but as they went out of the citie in a great presse, hee bruized his foot against a barre of the gate, so as he was taken by the Leonois, who carryed him to the campe to the king D. *Fernand*, who receiued him with all honour, as his father-in-law, and a great Prince as he was, from thence he was carried to Auila, where hee was carefully looked vnto, and there made an accord with the King of Leon his sonne-in-law: so as they continued good friends. The places which the Portugals had taken in Galicia, were restored, and D. *Fernand* desired no other satisfaction, but an oath of fealtie and acknowledgement of the countrie of Portugal, holding of Leon. So Don *Alphonso Henriques* returned free into his Realme of Portugall: after which time he could not ride, being lame of his fall, but was still carried in a coach or chariot.

D. *Alphonso K. of Portugal* taken, and the warre of Leon ended.

Leon.

As for D. *Fernand Ruiz de Castro*, who, as wee haue sayd, had left the king of Castile seruice, and was retired into the Moores countrie, after that hee had followed their armies some time, in the end he came to serue D. *Fernand* King of Leon, by whom he was put into citie Roderigo, after that he had succoured it, and chased away the Portugals. This Knight who was of a turbulent spirit, and did hate the Castilians deadly, bred a quarrell betwixt the Kings of Leon and Castile, making continuall roades from his garrison of citie Roderigo, into the countrie of D. *Alphonso* King of Castile, and had newly delated some troupes of Castilians, which were gathered together to repulse him, whereas some were slaine vpon the place, and some taken prisoners, among the which was the Earle D. *Nugno de Lara*, and others whome he deliuered afterwards vpon their faith. This was the occasion which did much trouble and hinder the King D. *Fernand*, when as hee came against his father-in-law: and the Portugals who beleaged Badajoz, a towne in his iurisdiction belonging to the Moores, whome notwithstanding hee chased away, making himselfe master of the towne: where he left *Aben Abel*, a Moore for Governour, in whom he trusted, for that the Inhabitants were all Moores: but this Infidell did not keepe the place long, but yielded it to *Aben Jacob*, great Miralmanin of the Almohades, sonne and heire to *Abdelmon* deceased.

Badajoz taken by D. *Fernand* of Leon.

Portugal.

Excellis of D. *Sancho* against the Moores.

15 *Aben Abel* did not onely commit this trecherie against the king D. *Fernand*, but moreover hauing gathered together great forces of the Moores Almohades, hee over-ranne and spoyled the territories of Leon: then entering into Portugal, he came and beleaged the towne of Saint Iren, in the which the king D. *Alphonso Henriques* was, being then old, and vnprofitable for the warre; who was in great danger to be taken within that place: but the King Don *Fernand* comming in good time, the siege was raised, and the Moores put to route: who were afterwards pursued by the Infant Don *Sancho*, who marched with the armie of Portugall neere vnto Seuille, where being encountered by the Moores, he vanquished them, and then beleaged Niebla: but he was forced to leaue it, being aduertised that the Moores were entred by Extremadura, and did beleage Veija: wherefore being prest to defend his owne, he left the other. Arriuing at Veija, he defeated and

and dispersed the Moores, and freed the towne from danger: this was in the yeare, 1181.

At that time the chiefe in Spaine among the Princes of the Moores, according to the diuision which they had made among themselves, vnder the Soueraigntie of Maroc, were the Kings of Murcia; one of the which called *Lobo*, had had a perpetuall hatred against the Royall family of *Almohades*, called the Mazemutes. This *Lobo* had beene tributarie to the King of Arragon: but during the quarrels betwixt Arragon and Castile, he had rebelled, by the fauour of the King of Castile: whereupon the King of Arragon fauoured the Mazemutes. *Lobo* being dead, his sonne *Madef* succeeded him; who was father to *Zaen*, the last King of the Moores at Valencia. 16 As for *Zamora* which D. *Fernand* King of Leon had newly subdued, it was thus: The king of Leon hauing built and peopled the towne of Ledesma and others, to accommodate his new Collonies, hee had somewhat restrained the territorie of Salamanca, whereat the Inhabitants being incensed, they rebelled against him: and hauing drawne vnto them Auila and Zamora, and infected other neighbour places with the poyson of their rebellion, they made choice of a Knight, called *Nugno Ruiz*, for their head, with whom going to field with a great number, as well of their citizens, as of their allies, the King D. *Fernand* came and charged them neere vnto Valdemuca, where he did quite defeat them, and tooke their capitaine D. *Nugno Ruiz* alieue, whose head he caused to be cut off: This victorie made the chiefe of them which had taken armes against the King, to retire, giuing the rest occasion to giue ouer the enterprize, and then alioyntly together demanded pardon, and obtained it. The towne of Zamora being (as we haue sayd) engaged in this mutinie, the King D. *Fernand* led his victorious armie thither, but the Inhabitants yielded without any difficultie: so within few daies these two townes, and others by their example, returned to the obedience of the king of Leon.

17 This yeare 1181, D. *Sancho* king of Nauarre, fortified a little towne, called at that time Gasteiz, to serue for a barre against the king of Castile, and to defend the frontier in the Province of Alaua. This place being since augmented in circuit and people, was called *Vitoria*, a part whereof (which at this day is called Villa de Sujo) was that Bourg of Gasteiz. The king granted to his new towne the same Lawes he had done to Logroño, correcting and reforming them in some points: he gaue many priuiledges to the Inhabitants, namely, that they should not haue any stranger to bee Iudge or Governour ouer them, but one borne in the countrie, who should be chosen and changed by them, if they found him not faithfull and capable: the which was called the priuiledge Merino, according to the style of the countrie. They haue obserued this order in the gouernement of the towne, the which is one of the best ordered in Spaine, hauing about all things become careful not to admit any new Christian to publicke charges, vnlesse he bee of soure descents. The reason of this name *Vitoria*, was for some victorie obtained in that countrey against the Castilians, as it is to be presumed: but by the defect of Histories of those times the particularities are not knowne.

After that this towne came vnder the obedience of the kings of Castile, they did much enlarge it in circuit, and built the foure parishes of Saint Michel, Saint Vincent, S. Peter, and Saint Illefonce or Alphonse. It is written of this king D. *Sancho* the Wise, that hauing about this time ouer-ranne the territorie of Rioje and Burcua, the which D. *Alphonso* of Castile had taken from him some yeares before, and being neere vnto Burgos, at a place called Atazpuerca, he gaue a blow with his sword against an Elme, for a marke that the limits of Nauarre should extend so farre: then returning with an infinite number of cattell, and other spoyles, as he had a little past the Monasterie of Saint Peter of Cardena, the Abbot of that place, who was a reuerent man, took the Standard of *Cid Ruiz Diaz* great Grand-father to the king D. *Sancho*, (who was buried in that Monasterie) & mounted vpon a Muler, being accompanied by tenne of his Monkes; the strongest of which carried this Standard: he made all the haile he could after this armie, vntill hee had ouertaken the king, before whom he humbled himselfe. The king, wondering to see these Monkes in this equipage, with standard of warre, yet he gaue them good reception, being of himselfe very deuout: and demanding what was the reason of their comming, the Abbot sayd vnto him, That he was Abbot of Saint Peter of Cardena, and that he was come vnto him to beseech him, for the honour of *Cid Ruiz Diaz*, his great Grandfather, (who

1181.

Leon.

Nauarre.

Vitoria built at Alaua.

(who

(who was interred with them and his Standard which he saw in their hands) that would A please him to leaue the prey which he carried away. The King thought thereon a little; in the end he found himselfe so touched with the remembrance of *Cid Ruis*, and the deuotion and great reuerence he bare vnto the religious, as he left this great bootie which hee had made, to restore it to the owners, wherewith all men were not content.

Castile.

The quarrels betwixt the kings of Castile and Nauarre continued long, although by fits they had some rest, but it was a counterfeit peace, or a feate of warre. Logroño and Aguiñejo were (by some accord made betwixt these Princes) as neuters betwixt Nauarre and Castile, in the hands of *Ramir de Barca*; but the city of Calaoarra was held by a knight called *Don Diego Ximenes*, in the name of *Don Alphonso*, king of Castile. And for that the warres betwixt these Christian Princes were very dishonorable and prejudiciall to religion, whereof they carried the title, Pope *Lucius* the third then reigning, sent a Cardinal Legat into Spaine, to reconcile them, who vsed great diligence, but not with such effect, as he desired. The kings of Castile and Arragon had an interview, and he of Arragon past to Saint James, to visit the Apostles Sepulcher. This Legat did set downe an order betwixt these two kings, for the conquest of the Moores countrie, wherunto hee did animate these Princes, and assigned to Arragon, that which lyes from Valencia towards Cattelogne, and the rest to Castile: with which lyes from Valencia towards Cattelogne (which came after) were not well content, so as they were faine to make a new diuision, extending the iurisdiction of Arragon, vnto Alicanti: this happened since in the reigne of *Don Pedro*.

Arragon.

18 This king *Don Alphonso* of Arragon, hauing about that time held a Prouinciall Councell at Tarragone in Cattelogne, made a decree among other things, That from thenceforth the Notaries should not set downe the yeares of the reigne of the Kings of France, in any contract which should be made in Cattelogne, as they had till then observed, but only the yere of the Incarnation of our Lord Iesus Christ; which was, that they would no more acknowledge the fourcraigie of France, of whom Cattelogne and the Countie of Barcelone did hold and depend. This king *D. Alphonso* finding himselfe mightie, and hauing a good share on this side the mountaines, busied himselfe in the French warres, taking part with the factions, which were among the Noblemen of that nation, and yet was neuer in very good termes with Castile, but for his own profit: yet he maintained himselfe wisely in his countrie, and with reputation.

Portugall.  
An. 1183.

19 *Don Alphonso Henriquez* being very old, and at the graues brinke, thought what was fit for his soules health, as he had beene instructed; he procured in the yere 1183, to haue the bodie of Saint *Vincent* transported to Lisbon; the which they sayd, was in that countrie called *Algarbo*, on the holy promontorie, the which hath bene since called (by reason of this relique) Cape Saint *Vincent*, he was borne at Saragozza. The king went twice in person to Cape S. *Vincent*, being 89. yeares old, for the removing of this bodie, the which he placed in the Cathedral church at Lisbon. This Prince was so religious, and so great a benefactor to the Clergie, as (besides the three Monasteries of S. *Croix* of Coimbra, of Alcousa, and of S. *Vincent* at Lisbon) hee built the great Cathedral church of that citie; and that of Eborac, indowing them with great reuenues. The queene Donna *Malfada* his wife, carrying the like zeale, did also build the Monasterie of Saint *Dominike* at Porto, the church of Saint *Peter*, the Monasterie of Leza, of the Order of S. *Iohn*, a League from the same citie, and Saint *Mary d' Aguas Santas*, Saint *Saluator* of Goandara, Saint *Peter de Retes*, Saint *Mary de Gojos*, and about Guyamaranes the Monasterie of Acosta, with many others, to the number (as they say) of an 150. if they sayle not in their account. And for a testimonie of great charitie, they say, that these good Princes left a rent to the barke of Mexanrio, vpon the riuer of Duero, to the end they should passe euery one without any fee.

Whilest they busied themselves about these works of pietie, *Aben-Iacob* great Miramun of the Arabians, (being aduertised of the routs and ruine of his sectaries in Spain) F past the streight in person with great forces of the Almohades Affricanes, where hauing ioyned with the Moores of Spaine, hee went to beseege Saint *Iren*, into the which *Don Sancho* the Infant of Portugall had put himselfe, beginning to make his Engines readie

A ready to batter it, where the besieged were likely to be in great danger; but the good old man *Don Alphonso Henriquez* would not let the Infidels glorie, in that they had done him this affront in his old age, but hauing put his men in order, and being resolute, hee ledded them to succor his sonne, who had intelligence of the Portugall armie, the which (being fauoured by a furious salley which the besieged made) charged the Moores armie with such resolution, as they put them to flight, with great laughter of their bell men, and the losse of their king *Aben-Iacob*, who being mortally wounded in the charge by a Portugall, dyed at the passage of the riuer of Tayo. This battell was wonne in the yere 1184. on S. *Iohn Baptists* day, five dayes after the Moores had begun the sege. *Aben-Ioseph* his brother succeeded this Moore, and was the third King of the Almohades.

1184.

B 20 After this famous victorie, these Princes, father and son came to Coimbra, which was at that time the chiefe towne of the Realme of Portugall, and from thence to Porto, where the marriage of D. *Theresa* Infanta of Portugall, was concluded with *Philip* Earle of Flanders. Being returned to Coimbra, D. *Alphonso Henriquez* fell sicke, whereof hee dyed, being 91. yeares old, hauing reigned with the title of a King about 46. yeares, and had succeeded in his fathers Estates, and held them 73. yeares. His body was interred in the Monasterie of S. *Croix* of Coimbra, D. *Sancho* his sonne was king after him in Portugall, furnished the Builder of townes.

Portugall.

21 D. *Fernand* King of Leon, had a little before his death, pit away D. *Vrrata* his daughter, by reason of proximitie of bloud, their marriage being made without a dispensation from the Pope, who being (as they write) wonderfully prety by the King, to give them leaue to remaine together, would neuer yeeld vnto it, notwithstanding that of her was borne D. *Alphonso*, who succeeded his father in the Realmes of Leon and Gallicia: they were cousins in the third degree. D. *Fernand* married afterwards with the daughter of the Earle *Don Nugno*, who liued little with him: then he tooke to his third wife D. *Vrraca Lopez*, daughter to the Earle D. *Lopez*, and sister to *Don Diego Lopez de Haro*, with whom he continued not long, for hee died in the towne of Benaunt in the yere 1188. hauing had two sonnes by her called D. *Sancho Fernandez*, and D. *Garcia*. His bodie was interred at Compostella, in Saint James church, where as his mother D. *Berenguela* the Emperesse did lye.

D. *Sancho* the  
2. King of Portu-  
gall, first of  
that name.  
Leon.  
Fernand King  
of Leon put  
away his wife

### D. Alphonso the 9. of that name, the 27. King of Leon.

22 A T the time of his death, it seemed there remayned no cause of quarrell, betwixt Leon and Castile, which was not decided and ended. His sonne D. *Alphonso* being troubled with continuall stormes and quarrels by his mother-in-law D. *Vrraca Lopez*, was retired into Portugall: so as at the time of his fathers death, he was absent, but being aduertised thereof, he came presently to Leon, where he was received and crowned king, without any contradiction: The King of Castilles Councillors were of opinion, that by the death of D. *Fernand*, their Prince had a good opportunitie offered, to bee reuenged of the wrongs which were done him during his nonage. If he had then any desire of reuenge the future euents will shew.

D. *Alphonso*  
King of Leon

D. *Alphonso* furnished the Noble, reigning then in Castile, was numbered for the 4. of that name, of those that reigned alone in Castile, whose posteritie was very great: for he had eleuen children by Queene *Elenor*, daughter of England; the eldest was Queene *Blanche*, mother to the king S. *Lewis* of France: the second D. *Berenguela* who was queene of Leon, daughter to D. *Alphonso* the ninth. The 3. was a sonne named D. *Sancho*, who died in his Infancie: the 4. was D. *Vrraca*, Queene of Portugall, married to D. *Alphonso* the second of that name furnished the Grosse: the 5. child was *Don Fernand*, who died also young: the sixt was D. *Malfada*, dead in Salamanca and was not married: the 7. D. *Constance* Abbess of las Huelgas de Burgos, a Monasterie built by her father. Then had D. *Alphonso* and D. *Elenor* two daughters, who died young: and successiually the Queene was deliuered of another daughter, called also *Elenor* like her selfe, who was wife to *Don Iayme*, or *Iames*, first King of that Name, and the eighth King of Arragon.

Castile.  
Genealogie of  
Castile.

In the end they had the infant Don *Henry*, who succeeded his father in the realmes of Ca. A  
stile and Toledo. These were the children which issued of that marriage.

The other Don *Alphonso* being crowned King of Leon, his mother-in-law retired into  
Nagera, where she lived long in her widow-hood, and being dead, was buried in the  
Monasterie of Saint *Mary* the royall, in the chappell of the true Crosse, whereas after-  
wards others of her house were interred, and three of her brethren, Don *Lopes Diaz*, D.  
*Martin Lopes*, and Don *Diego Lopes de Hara*. The new king of Leon stayed not long after  
his Coronation before he came to the court of Castile, being at Carrion, where they  
say, that King Don *Alphonso* the Noble his cousin made him knight, as he did also *Con-  
rad* the fourth sonne to the Emperor *Fredericke Barbarossa*, to honour whom, the Spani-  
ards write, that he would have given him the Infanta Donna *Berenguela* his daughter, but  
she would not go into Germany: others say, that the marriage was made and accom-  
plished: but *Conrad* being departed to returne into Germanie, (whither he was called to be  
shed: but *Conrad* being departed to returne into Germanie, (whither he was called to be  
Duke of Saxe) Donna *Berenguela* desired to be divorced, the which was done by the  
meanes of Don *Gonsalo* Arch-bishop of Toledo, and Cardinal, *Gregorie* the Pope's Le-  
gate: and was afterwards married to D. *Alphonso* King of Leon, coulin germaine to her  
father. Don *Raymond* called *Flacade*, Earle of Tholoufa, was also made Knight in the  
company of these two Princes. In this ceremonie the King of Leon kissed the king of  
Castilles hand, which was a fore-telling of the pretensions and quarrels which should fall  
out betwixt these two Realmes.

The court being then at Carrion, there was an assembly of Noblemen vassalls, which  
did acknowledge the Soueraintie, to take the oath of fealtie vnto the King, as it was  
in ancient time obserued almost euery yeare, where they were accustomed to treat  
of matters of consequence concerning the State, and the houses of Princes. The Com-  
cancellors of greatest note to D. *Alphonso* King of Castile in this assembly, were Don *Gon-  
cillo* Arch-bishop of Toledo, Primate of Spaine, the Bishops Don *Rodrigo* of Calatonia,  
Don *Maurice* of Burgos, Don *Arderic* of Palence, and Don *Gonsalo* of Segobia, Don  
John of Cuenca, the Earles Don *Pedro de Lara*, Don *Nugno de Lara*, Don *Diego Lope de  
Hara*, Lord of Biscay, chiefe Standard-bearer of the kingdome, Don *Rodrigo Gutierrez*  
Lord Stuard, and *Gutierrez Rodriguez* Chancellor.

The discontents and secret hatred betwixt the Christian Princes, which reigned then  
in Spaine, was great, being five, carrying the titles of Kings, that is, three *Alphonso*s, of  
Castile, Arragon, and Leon, and two *Sancho*s, one of Nauarre, and the other of Portu-  
gal. The King of Castile presumed to haue superiority ouer the other foure, as his vassalls,  
notwithstanding any accords which had beene made: wherefore hee thought hee might  
lawfully controule them at his pleasure. Some yeares before he had taken from the king  
of Nauarre, the lands lying vpon the riuer of Oja, and Bureua, being the ancient part  
of Nauarre, which came not to them of Castile by any iust title, but by meere v-  
surpation and violence. As for him of Arragon, he complained, that the King of Castile  
had neuer kept any thing promised in the League, which had beene made betwixt them,  
but had made his profit in all warres, of the Arragonois bloud and meanes. The King of  
Leon began to find the error which he had committed to haue come to the court of Ca-  
stile, being at Carrion, and to haue kissed the Kings hand. As for Portugal, there was  
neuer any good correspondence betwixt these Princes, and them of Castile, since the first  
Earle Don *Henrique*: so as these vices hauing infected the hearts of these Potentates, by  
jealousie, enuie, and bad counsell: they moued the kings of Arragon and Nauarre first  
of all, to make an offensive and defensive League: for the conclusion whereof the two  
Princes met at Boria, where, of mortal enemies, they became great friends. There it was  
accorded, that the friends & enemies of any one of these Princes, should be reputed for such  
by the other, and that they should be bound to assist one another, for the defence of their  
Estates. For the obseruation of which accord, neither of them did pawne for his part, the  
Montagu, Saint Mary of Vxue, and Chastillon of Sanguette with their forts: and for  
Arragon, the townes of Boria, Sos Malon, Ruelta and Petillas.

For the guard of these ten places, there was chosen, by a common consent of the two  
kings

A Kings, D. *Fernand Ruiz d'Acera*, a knight borne in Nauarre, but remained in Arragon,  
and was Gouernor of Daroca and Calatayub. He tookes his oath to both these Kings, well  
and faithfully to keepe those places, to deliuer all tenths to him, in whole preiudice the  
treatie had beene broken by the other: the which was not only sworn by both kings, but  
also by their eldest sonnes, Don *Sancho* of Nauarre, and Don *Pedro* of Arragon, and  
moreouer, it was agreed, that whensoever Don *Fernand Ruiz* would discharge himselfe  
of the guard of those places and forts, that foure knights of either partie should be named  
out of the which number, the two kings should either choose one, into whose  
hands the forts should be deliuered with the like oath: that is, the two kings of Nauarre  
to the knight of Arragon, and the five of Arragon to the Nauarrois. These things being  
concluded, sworn, and signed, the Kings departed, D. *Sancho* into Nauarre, and Don  
*Alphonso* to Daroca: whereas the articles were againe considered and sworn, in the pre-  
sence of the chiefe knights of both kingdomes: whereof those of Nauarre were D. *Pedro  
Ladron de Gueusara*, *Inigo Ortiz*, *Garcia Almoravid*, *Pedro de Castan*, *Michel de Lera*, *Alfonso  
de Palencia*, and *Barthelemy de Rada*, all of the most famous families in Nauarre.

This League being made in the yeare 1196. was followed by another made betwixt  
the kings of Arragon and Leon, into the which Don *Sancho* king of Portugal was drawn.  
An assembly being made to that end at Huelca, thither came the ambassadors of Leon &  
Portugal, with ample authority and instructions: whereas a League was made among  
those Princes like vnto that of Boria, capitulating, that not any one of them should make  
warre, truce, or peace, without the consent of the others. These alliances made and con-  
firmed with all the oaths and solemnities required, did not cause so great a storm as they  
did threaten for the kings of Leon and Portugal were long quiet, without giving any  
annoyance to Castile: the kings of Arragon and Nauarre made some attempts, but of  
small effect.

### D. Sancho the 2. King of Portugal, the first of that name.

D 24 W Hen as Don *Sancho* came to the Crowne of Portugal, he was 31. yeares old:  
four yeares before he had married Donna *Aldoncia*, or *Douce*, daughter to  
Don *Raymond Berenger* Earle of Barcelona, and Regent of Arragon, and of  
Queene *Petronilla*. D. *Sancho* had by this Ladie *Douce* nine children, whereof there were  
four sonnes, the eldest was called Don *Alphonso*, and was King after his father, hee was  
borne in his Grandfathers lifetime: the second was D. *Fernand*, who was Earle of Fla-  
nders, by marrying with the heire of that countrie, whose name was *Jane* daughter to  
Count *Baudouin* Emperour of Constantinople: the kings third sonne was D. *Pedro*, who  
was great in Arragon, where he married the Earle of Virgels daughter: the fourth sonne  
died young, and was called D. *Henrique*. Besides these sonnes, he had five daughters, the  
eldest whereof was married to Don *Alphonso* king of Leon, the ninth of that name, and  
was called Donna *Theresa*, from whom he was divorced, by reason of consanguinity, not-  
withstanding two daughters and one sonne which they had had: after which diuorce shee  
lived religiously in Portugal, in the Monasterie of Lorban, which her father built, and  
afterwards marry Donna *Berenguela* daughter to the king of Castile, who was as meere  
allied to him as the other.

This was the practise of those kings, when they had a desire to change their wiues, ei-  
ther for their pleasures, or for some other aduancements, the Pope interposing himselfe,  
dispensing, binding or dissolving at his will and pleasure, by the authority of the Romish  
Sea. The second daughter of D. *Sancho* king of Portugal, and of D. *Aldoncia*, was Donna  
*Mafada*, Queene of Castile, a Lady of rare beauty, whom D. *Henry* of Castile married:  
but Pope *Innocent* the 3. dissolved this marriage within few daies; by the solicitation of  
D. *Berenguela* sister to this king of Castile, who in disdain, that Don *Alonso de Lara* had  
concluded it without her priuities, informed the Pope of their secret alliance that  
was

was betwixt them; and perswaded him to separate them: but this Princeesse being thus re-  
 tired, retired in great disdain into Portugal, where she lived the rest of her daies in the  
 Monasterie of *Renca*, built by her. The third daughter was *Donna Sancho*, a Nunne in the  
 Monasterie of *Saint Francis* of Alanguer, built by her. The fourth, *Donna Blanche*, Lady  
 of Guadaluca in Castile: and the fifth and last was *D. Berenguela*, who was not married,  
 but did accompany her eldest sister *Donna Theresa*, when as she retired to the Monastery  
 of *Epitani*. This King *D. Sancho* had familiarity with two Gentlewomen after the death  
 of his wife: the first was called *Donna Maria Aires* of Fornello, by whom hee had one  
 daughter called *Donna Prieta*; and *D. Martin Sanches* of Portugall, who was Governor  
 of the frontier of Portugall; and a great favourite to *Don Alphonso* king of Leon his bro-  
 ther-in-law: he married *Donna Olalla Peres*, daughter to the Earle *D. Pero Fernandes de B*  
*Castro*. *Don Sancho* did marrie this Gentlewoman his friend, to a knight called *D. Gil Vas-*  
*quez de Souza*; and tooke a second friend, whose name was *Donna Maria Peres de Ribera*,  
 whom he loved much, and by her had *Donna Theresa Sanches*, who was wife to *Don Al-*  
*phonso Telles*, foinder of the towne of Albuquerque, and had also one sonne called *D.*  
*Ruy Sancho* of Portugall, and another daughter *Donna Constance Sanches*, who built the  
 Monasterie of *Saint Francis* at Coimbra. *D. Ruy Sancho* was slaine in a battaile neere  
 Porto: so as the king *D. Sancho* had in all fiftene children; nine lawfull, and fixe ba-  
 rards, whereof there were seven sonnes and eight daughters. After the decease of his fa-  
 ther, having reigned about foure yeares, when as they began to treat of a League against  
 the King of Castile, whereof we haue made mention, certaine English and French ships  
 being arrived at Lisbon, with many Knights and souldiers, which went to the  
 Land, by the Streight of Gibraltar, being stayed there by foule weather, hee made vie  
 of this occasion; and intreated these passengers to assist him at the siege of Silves, in the  
 countrie of Algarbe; and about the same time there arrived eighteen other ships of war,  
 which his brother-in-law *Philip* Earle of Flanders sent him, with which forces hee tooke  
 Sylves, and did great harme vnto the Moores of that countrie. It was at that time when  
 the Emperour *Frederick Barbarossa*, king *Philip Augustus* of France, and *Richard* king of  
 England, called *Card-Lyon*, made their voyage into the East, that this towne of Silves  
 was taken from the Moores, by the helpe of these strangers. This King *Don Sancho* built  
 more townes, and peopled more countiees then any of the kings of Portugall, whereby  
 he purchased the name of Poblador, which is as much to say, as Builder, or peopler of  
 Townes: Valencia of Minio, Torrel-nouas, Monte-Maior the new, Batellas, Penama-  
 cor, Sortella, Penella, Figueira, Couillana, Folgacino, and Montemor, were his works,  
 and with many other places; part of the which hee gaue to the Orders of *Saint James* and  
*Auis*, which began in his time in Portugall: to *Saint James* hee gaue Alcacar de Sal, Pa-  
 mela and Almada: and to that of *Auis*, Valcellas, Alcanche, Geromegna, Alcantade and  
 Alpedrin, with the castell of Mafra. He recovered Yelbes from the Moores which they  
 had taken from Portugall.

Castile.

An. 1194.

Fort of Na-  
uarre betwixt  
Logroño and  
Nageta.

25 *D. Alphonso* king of Castile, against whom (as wee haue sayd) the other foure  
 Christian Kings of Spaine had made a League, had not yet beene much annoyed thereby  
 in the year 1194, therefore hee thought rather to vndertake some warre against the  
 Moores, then to defend himselfe against his neighbours, of whom he made shew to haue  
 so little feare, as he would not leaue any thing which he had taken, or that were in con-  
 trouersie: nay, hee built a towne betwixt Logroño and Nageta, the which he called Na-  
 uarret, to the which he gaue many liberties and freedomes, as appears by his letters  
 granted in an assembly at Carrion, in the year 1095. Notwithstanding all this, the Con-  
 federats did not stirre: but Histories make mention, that *D. Sancho* suspected the Strong,  
 cealed the year before 1194, and he of Leon, allyed themselves with the King of Castile,  
 for the warre which he intended against the Moores of Andalusia: to beginne the which  
 he sent for Chiefe and General of his armie, *D. Martin* Arch-bishop of Toledo, a Prelate  
 much esteemed by the Historiographers of Spaine, by reason of his great vertues, ho-  
 noured among others by *Don Rodrigo* his succellour, who termes *Don Martin* Stale,  
 the Diademe of the Church; his wisdom and prouidence, the peace of many; his tongue

A the reformation of discipline, his hands, the releefe of the poore, and his armes, the per-  
 secution of Blasphemie, with other such Spanish elegancies, saying in the end, that the  
 Church was happie which had such a Pastor: these are his very words. This Arch-bishop  
 finding armes the fittest means to propagate the faith of Christ, made so furious an en-  
 try into Andalusia, as he left horrible markes throughout the whole Prouince, where he  
 filled all with murder, ruine, fire and desolation, and then returned triumphantly, being  
 laden with great and rich spoiles: but this expedition being suddenly made against the  
 Moores, did afterwards bring more miserie and dishonor to the King and his Estate, then  
 it had done profit or honor vnto the Bishop, who had shewed more rage and fury, then  
 valour, reason, or warlike discipline.

B 26 The Arch-bishops exploit, did so incense *Aben Joseph* King of the Arabians, (bee-  
 ing solicited by the Moores of Spaine) as hauing with great speed leuied a mighty armie  
 of Africane Arabians, yea out of the regions neerest vnto the Negros, hee passed the  
 Streight, and came into Andalusia, where he ioyned with the Moores of Spaine, and mar-  
 ched beyond the mountaine which they call Sierra Morena, against the Christians. King  
*Don Alphonso* the Noble, being aduertised of this great preparation, was come to lodge  
 at Alarcos, a fort at that time (by reason of the situation) of great Importance, whether  
 all his vassalls and men of warre of Toledo, Extremadura, and Castile came, where hee  
 also attended supplies from Nauarre and Leon. The Moores marching with all speede,  
 approached neere vnto Alarcos, the Christians came beeing but weak, hauing not all  
 their forces together: yet seeing the Moores collours flying in the ayre, the king *Don*  
*Alphonso*, and his Knights resolved not to keepe themselves within their rampars & Tren-  
 ches, but to charge the enemy valiantly, to the end they might haue the honor of such a  
 victorie: but it fell out otherwise, for being come to handie-strokes, the lesser number,  
 which were the Christians did valiantly, but the Moores being the greater, vanquished,  
 and slue many braue men: among the which *D. Martin Martinez*, the fourth master of the  
 holy Knights of Calarraua dyed. The King *D. Alphonso* being fore wounded, saued him-  
 selfe by flight. The losse of this battaile was the losse of Alarcos, and of many Christians  
 that were within it, who fell into the Moores hands, as many other Townes and strong  
 places did, the Infidels seizing vpon the whole countrie, euen vnto the Ports of Yebenes,  
 which is within fixe Leagues of Toledo. There are to be seene at this day, markes of this  
 battaile, and of other encounters in those quarters, betwixt Ventas of Darafutan and Sa-  
 cuala, in a plain called Matanga, where there are infinit heapes of stones, and many croc-  
 ses, shewing, that in former times, there had bin much blood spilt in those places. Some  
 charge *D. Diego Lopes de Hara*, saying, that he retired out of the fight too soone: others  
 say, that hee did it expressly, and led many Knights of Castile with him, being discontent-  
 ed for that the King had compared the knights of Extremadura with them: saying, that  
 they were as good horse-men, and did fight as well as the Castilians. Others accuse  
 the king and his capitaines, that he made too great hast to fight, and had not attended the  
 Nauarrois and Leonois, who were vpon the way, and made hast to ioine with him: so as  
 E the fault of the one and the other, both of King, Capitaines and Knights, was to seek their  
 owne glorie, and not that of God, nor the profit of the common-weale, and the best ex-  
 cuse they had, was, that they shewed themselves more valiant then wife. The kings of Na-  
 uarre and Leon, being aduertised of this defeat, were not much troubled: for he of Na-  
 uarre (without passing any farther) led his men home into his countrie, and the king of  
 Leon sent backe his, the which did much discontent the king of Castile: for they aban-  
 doned him at his need, whereas if they had aduanced, they might haue stayde the Conquest,  
 ruines and spoiles, which the Moores made after the battell: yea he noted the little Loue,  
 and bad alliance of the King of Nauarre, who being entred into his countrie, would not  
 vouchsafe to visit him, knowing that he was sicke of the wound, which he had receiued in  
 F the battaile. *Don Alphonso* king of Leon came to Toledo to see him, although hee loued  
 him not much better then the king of Nauarre. All this hee dissembled for the present, and  
 reserved the reuenge till a convenient time.

Moores.

Defeat of  
Christians neere  
vnto Alarcos.  
1195.





## The generall Historie of Spaine.

Lib. 10.

The Kings of Castile and Arragon, having not yet forces sufficient to resist so mighty an army, as that of *Aben Joseph*, kept themselves in the mountains of Palomera about Avila, from whence they returned against the King of Leon, hearing that the Moores were dislodged, from whom they took Alba de Liste, and al that was in the way vnto Astorga, the which having ruined, they came & laied siege to Salamanca, but they tooke it not; only they spoiled and burned the country about it, and that of Alba de Tormes, carrying away the people, and leauing it desolate: in the end they tooke Montreal, and returned victors, finding not any one to make head against them. And such was the desire of King *D. Alphonso*, to bee reuenged of the Kings of Nauarre and Leon, as the better to effect his will, hee neglected the iniuries and spoiles hee had received from the Miralmunim, and made a truce with him; whereby hee gaue meanes to this King of the Moores, to commit horrible cruelties in Portugal, in the yeere of our

An. 1199. Lord 1199.

Portugal.

The Moores  
spoile: of the  
Gra.

This Realme of Portugal was at that time visited with many afflictions, for besides the spoiles committed by the Moores, there was an extreame famine, with a great plague, whereof many died for hunger, and many left their country, especially in the country of Braga and Porto; besides the Pope did interdict the whole Realme of Portugal, for the marriage of *D. Theresa* with the King of Leon her kinsman, the which was concluded without his dispensation, and therefore he would dissolve it. *Aben Joseph* having made a truce with the King of Castille, marched towards Portugal, where hee recovered Sylua in Algarbe and Alcazar de Sal; he ruined Cezimbra and Palmela, with other places, burning and spoiling all the champion country, and carrying away innumerable poore Christians prisoners. *D. Sancho* King of Portugal, could by no meanes resist this mighty Barbarian King, for beside the Moores forces, hee was prest by the warre of Leon: yet soone after he recovered Cezimbra and Pamela, and repaired them, but not in the same estate they had bene. The quarrel hee had with *D. Alphonso* King of Leon, was the breaking of the marriage of his sister *D. Theresa*; In this warre hee had better successe, it may bee, for that hee did affect it with more vehemency, being most commonly seene, that the hatred betwixt kin-folkes and allies is more violent, then that against strangers. He tooke by force from the King of Leon (being otherwise weak) the townes of Tuy and Ponteuedra in Galicia, which hee held for a time. After these things, the Miralmunim of the Arabians, being assured of the King of Castille, by the truce which hee had made with him, retired to Maroc in Affrike, thinking that the Moores of Spaine were sufficient to resist all the enterprises which might bee made by Portugal, Leon and Arragon.

## D. Pedro the second of that name the seuenth King of Arragon, called the Catholike.

Arragon

<sup>29</sup> *D. Pedro* the new King of Arragon, tooke possession of his Realme, in the yeere 1196 by the death of his father *D. Alphonso*; hee was furnished the Catholike, for that hee was too obedient to the Catholike church of Rome, and gaue much to Churches and Monasteries already built; hee built the Monastery of Elcarpe, vpon the riuer of Cinca, of the Order of Cisteraux, not farre from Lerida. He had three sisters, the which were married during his raigne, as hath bene sayd. As for his brother *D. Alphonso* who had gotten the Earldome of Prouence, hee had to wife *D. Mary* Niece to the Earle of *Folguier*, from whom issued *D. Raymond Berenger*, who was Earle of Prouence after his father.

Marriages of  
D. Pedro King  
of Arragon.

There was an other Lady of the house of *Folguier*, who was married to the King *D. Pedro*, by whom hauing one sonne, called *D. Raymond Berenger*, she died soone after, and her sonne also: after which the King *D. Pedro* married the daughter of *William*, Earle of Montpeller, borne of that Princess of Greece, which had bene made free

Lib. 10.

## The generall Historie of Spaine.

A to *D. Alphonso* his father. This second wife was called *Mary*; and for that shee was not very faire, hee was soone wearie, and would haue put her away: but Pope *Innocent* the third then raigning, would not yeeld vnto it, for hee was a stricke obseruer and defender of the Ecclesiastical lawes. For this cause *D. Pedro* went to Rome, where the Pope did him great honour, and crowned him in the church of Saint Pancrace, with a crowne of gold, garnished with pearles and precious stones of great valour; where they say hee renounced vnto the Pope, the right of Patronage to the churches of his Realme, the which his predecessors had enjoyed; and did so much forget himselfe, as to acknowledge his Kingdome to hold of the Pope, and to binde himselfe, and promise for himselfe and his successors Kings, to pay him a yeerely tribute of two hundred and fifty peeces of gold, called the Mahozemutins, of the name of the Miralmunim *Aben Joseph Mahozemut*, of Portugal to the Pope.

B called the Mahozemutins, of the name of the Miralmunim *Aben Joseph Mahozemut*, of Portugal to the Pope. These peeces were about six ryals, then current, to which acknowledgement the Noblemen of Arragon did not consent. The King being returned into his country he beganne to leade a dissolute life, and contemning his wife, he fought for those that were faire and pleasing vnto him, wherein hee wanted not men to follow his licentious appetite; wherefore the Queene his wife, who was verie holy, seeing that her husband offended God, and that, not accompanying with her, it was to bee feared the Estates of Arragon and Montpeller would fall to a stranger, for want of issue borne of them, shee found meanes to abuse him with a commendable deceit: for vnderstanding by a groomme of his chamber, called *Pedro Flancon* (who was sometimes a Minister of the Kings loue) that the next night he should bring him one of his Mistresses, shee wrought so with him, as hee brought her into the Kings chamber, in the concubines place, so as the King, (in this opinion) spent the night with her, but perceiving it in the morning, he was much displeased: yet considering the holy zeale of his Queene, and of those which had serued her in this action, hee was pacified, and tooke it in good part.

Submission of  
D. Pedro King  
of Portugal to  
the Pope.A commendat  
the death of  
Queene Mary  
of Hungary.

Soone after the Queene found her selfe with child, and at her time was brought in bed at Montpeller of a sonne, called *D. Jaime*, which they call *Diego* in Castille, and *Jaques* in French, who was heire of Arragon and Montpeller, notwithstanding that Queene *Mary* had one brother by the fathers side, called *William*, who contended for the Earldome of Montpeller, and did often attempt to kill the Infant *D. Jaime*. This matter was long in question in the court at Rome, whether this Princesse went in person, as well to oppose her selfe against her brother, as to end the proceffe which remained yet vndecided betwixt her and the King her husband, who sought still to bee seperated from her by *Hugo Tarrogia* his Ambassador. There by the sentence of Pope *Innocent*, *William* was declared a bastard, and vncapable to succeed in the Earldome of Montpeller. After this sentence, the Queene thinking to returne into Arragon, fell sicke, and died at Rome, where she was buried, at the *Patian*, in Saint *Peters* church, neere vnto the tombe of Saint *Petroneilla*, daughter to Saint *Peter* as Authors write, and was put in the Catalogue of Saints. This Princesse had bene first married to the Earle of Comingses, by whom she had two daughters *Mathilde* and *Petroneilla*.

Death of  
Queene Mary  
of Arragon.

In the beginning of the raigne of this King *D. Pedro*, hee had a great quarrel with the Queene *D. Sancho* his mother, aunt to the Kings of Castille and Leon, for that the Kings Officers and Courtiers did not regard her as was fit, wherevpon shee seized vpon some townes belonging to her dowry. And for that it might breed great inconueniences, *D. Alphonso* the Noble, King of Castille, labored to reconcile them, for the which he and the King *D. Pedro* met in the towne of Ariza, where an accord was made betwixt the mother and the sonne, so as euer after they liued in peace. By this accord the townes of Ariza, Epila and Ambire, with their castles, were given by the Queene *Dontager*, vnto the King her sonne, and hee gaue vnto the Queene the townes of Tortose and Vazon, with some other places in the principality of Catalogne. There came to this assembly, *D. Pedro d'Alagra*, Lord of Albarrasin, who had bene much hated by the Kings of Castille & Arragon, but was then reconciled, of whom we haue made mention, this was in the yeere of our Lord 1200. at what time the marriage of *D. Alphonso* of Leon, and of *D. Theresa* of Portugal was dissolved by the decree of Pope *Innocent* the third, for that they

An. 1200.



Victoria taken  
by the King of  
Castille.

him whereby they might hope of releefe, being extremely preſt with hunger and want of all things they yeelded the towne, the which for the ſituation and fortification was held impregnable. By the taking of Victoria, the King of Caſtill was maſter of that other Prouince of Alaua; the country of Araya yeelded vnto him; he tooke Iruita, Maragon, Saint Croix and all the valley of Campeſo. King D. *Alphonſo* made this goodly conqueſt in the yeere 1200. part by force, and part by a voluntary yeelding, and did greatly diminiſh the realme of Nauarre, although that ſome places ſubmitted themſelues againe vnder the obedience of the King D. *Sancho*, neither did the Prouince of Alaua euer receiue any law from Caſtill, except Victoria and Treuigno. To aſſure himſelfe the better of the Guipulcoans, and to gratifie them alſo, the King of Caſtill cauſed to bee re-edified vpon the ſea coaſt of that Prouince, the townes of Guetario and Morrico, the which hee did fortiſie, and indow with great preuiledges: after all theſe things, the King of Nauarre arriued at Carthagea, and ſlip through Arragon into his country, bringing great treaſure with him out of Affrike, at what time D. *Alphonſo* had newly beſieged Eitella, the which was freed from ſiege vpon the bruite of his coming, (ſo great power and reputation hath the name of a king that is preſent) but if he had ſtayed longer in Affrike his country of Nauarre had bene wholly loſt: hauing viſibly ſene the great harme which the King D. *Alphonſo* had done him, hee ſent Ambaſſadors vnto him, to deſire him to reſtore him that which hee had taken from him in his abſence, againſt al law and iuſtice, and againſt the accuſtomed manner of making warre in that age full of loyalty: but the King of Caſtill entertained him with delaies and doubtfull answers.

Nauarre ſends  
Ambaſſadors  
to Caſtill.

Caſtill.

32 Whileſt that D. *Sancho* conſiders of his loſſes, and of the beſt meanes to reſtore them, the King of Caſtill great, mighty, and redoubted, being allied to him of Arragon, and hauing a truce for many yeeres with *Ahen Joſeph*, hee beganne to reſtore the ruines which the Arabians had made: he reſtored the city of Plaiſance, Bejar and other places of the country ruined: hee did the like to Mirabel, Segura de la Serra, Monfredo, Moy, and many other places of the realme of Toledo: hee alſo built Aguilar del Campo in Caſtill: and moreouer in Guipulco, hee built the towne of Caltro d' Ordiales, Lareto, Saint Ander and Saint Vincent de la Barquera.

An. 1201.

About the yeere 1201. there was a peace treated of betwixt *John*, ſucceſſor to *Richard* King of England, and King *Philip Auguſtus* of France, at Bourauant in Normandy, by the which amongſt other Articles, a marriage was concluded betwixt the Infanta D. *Blanche* the daughter of D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtill, and Queene *Elenor*, ſiſter to the King of England, with *Lewis* eldeſt ſonne to *Philip*, and heire of the realme of France: for the which, Ambaſſadors were ſent from both Kings into Caſtill, & they were made ſure by a Deputy for *Lewis*, in the city of Burgos, with great feaſting and ſtate, and the Infanta was conducted by the King her father, and other Noblemen of Caſtill vnto the frontiers of Guienne, where the Deputies for the French King did receiue her, for whoſe dowry there was aſſigned by King *John* her vncl, all the places which were in queſtion betwixt him and the French King, whereof the ſayd French King was in poſſeſſion, in the Dutchie of Normandy, Britaine and Aniou.

Marriage be-  
twixt Lewis  
of France and  
D. Blanche of  
Caſtill.

At the ſame time D. *Alphonſo* King of Leon, ſeperated by the authority of Pope *Innocent*, from D. *Therſa* of Portugal his wife, ſent to demand D. *Berenguela*, the King of Caſtills other daughter: whereof (by reaſon of the diſcords which were betwixt theſe two Kings) the father made ſome difficulty; yet vanquiſhed by the perſuaſions and intreaty of Queene *Elenor*, who deſired as much to ſee her daughter weare a crowne, as a peace betwixt Caſtill and Leon, he yeelded vnto it, and theſe two Princes meeting to that effect in the towne of Vaileddol, the marriage was celebrated, aſſigning her for her dowry, the lands taken the yeere before from the king of Leon, except *Carpio* and *Monreal*, which remained to Caſtill. Of this marriage was borne the Infant D. *Fernand*, who ſucceeded in the Realme of Caſtill and Leon. Thinke, that the Popes diſpenſation was not obtained for this marriage: for being couſin germain ſonnes, children of the vncl and nephew, Pope *Innocent* the third, did ſeperate them.

Caſtill.

In the yeers 1202 and 1203, the ancient preuiledges granted by the Kings of Nauar, vnto

A vnto Saint Sebaſtian and Fontarabie, townes of Guipulco, were confirmed and augmented by the Kings of Caſtill, and their iuriſdiction ſymet, ſpecially of Fontaraby, by the riuers of Oriſgun and Vidaſo, which diuides that Prouince from France, and by the mountaine Pegnadaya, by *Leceſa*, by Belfa and the ſea, and by Hirun vranu, which is at this preſent a great Bourg, at which time Queene *Elenor* was deliuered of her laſt ſon, who was called D. *Henry*, by reaſon of his grand-father by the mothers ſide.

To theſe contents was added a truce betwixt this King D. *Alphonſo* the Noble, and D. *Nauarre*, *Sancho* the ſtrong, King of Nauarre, for the concluding whereof, D. *Sancho* came in perſon, vpon aſſurance, to Guadalaſara in Caſtill, there it was agreed there ſhould be a ceſſation of armes betwixt the two Kingdomes, for five yeeres, with reſtitution of ſome of thoſe places which the King of Caſtill had taken in Nauarre, and for the keeping of the truce, there were deliuered into the hands of certaine knights, named by both parties, the caſtles of Abufeio, Clauijo and Iuvera, for Caſtill; and Irueta, Inzula and Saint Adrian for the King of Nauarre: and for that the warre betwixt Nauarre and Arragon continued ſtill, the King of Caſtill tooke vpon him to reconcile them, and in the meane time cauſed al acts of hoſtility to ceaſe.

Theſe four Princes being at peace, he of Leon moued new troubles againſt D. *Vrraca* *Lepo*, *Lepo*, his mother in law, with whom hee could neuer agree, ſeeking to fruſtrate her other doury. And ſhe for her part did neuer ceaſe practiſing againſt D. *Alphonſo*, ſeeking to depole him from the royal throne of Leon, and to aduance the Infant D. *Sancho* her ſonne; for the which ſhe did continually importune her brother, D. *Diego Lopez de Haro*, Lord of Biſcay, intreating him to embrace this buſineſſe, the which hee had deſerred vntil that time, when as hee went to field to aide the Queene his ſiſter: but he was not the ſtrongelt for D. *Alphonſo* King of Leon, being aſſiſted by the King of Caſtill, his father in law, chaſed him into Nauarre, from whence hee made roades into the territories of Caſtill, which made the two vnited Kings to goe and ſeeke him in his owne ſtrength, where they defeated him in bataille, neere vnto Eſtella, where hee was forced to ſaue himſelfe, which towne was inueſted and, as it were, beſieged by the armies of Caſtill and Leon, yet they could not take it. Vpon this occaſion the four Kings of Caſtill, Leon, Nauarre and Arragon met together in Alſaro, whether alſo came D. *Sancho*, Douager of Arragon, mother to the King D. *Pedro*, by the which the reconciliations and accords of theſe Princes were confirmed. D. *Lepo* being deſtitute of all meanes, hee retired in deſpight vnto the Moores pay at Valencia, and from thence to Maroc, where hee was accuſed to the counsell of the Miralmutin, that hee had mounted D. *Pedro*, King of Arragon, on horſe-backe, being ouerthrowne in an incounter, which hee had againſt the Moores of Valencia, vnder whoſe pay D. *Diego* made warre, yet hee was abſolved.

Vrraca be-  
twixt the King  
of Leon and his  
mother in law.

The pittifull death of the Infant D. *Fernand*, brother to D. *Sancho* King of Nauarre, a Prince well beloued of the Nauarrois, ought to bee regiſtred amongſt the calamities which fell vpon that realme in thoſe daies. The feaſt of Saint Nicholas being celebrated with ſuperfluous bankets and ſports, in the yeere 1207. in the towne of Tudele, according to the cuſtome of Chriſtians, as this generous Prince did tunne on horſe-backe armed, doing ſome exerciſes which hee had inuented, a hog paſſing through his horſes legges, made him to fall, in ſuch manner, as hee bruſed his head againſt a pillar of ſtoone whereof hee died, thirteene daies after, being thirty yeeres old. Of this Prince, whom the Authors commend for a braue and valiant Knight, there is no mention made in the warre betwixt Caſtill and Nauarre: wherefore it is to bee preſumed that the King his brother, doubting leaſt hee ſhould attempt ſome thing to his preiudice, during his abſence, had led him with him into Affrike, although hee loued him deere-ly. Thus are the affaires of this world mingled with pleaſure and grieſe, loue and ſealouſie.

Of the marriage which had bene made the yeere before, betwixt D. *Alphonſo* Infante of Portugal, ſon to the King D. *Sancho* then reigning, and D. *Vrraca* daughter to D. *Alphonſo* King of Caſtill, was this yeere 1207. a ſon borne called D. *Sancho*, as his grand-father by the fathers ſide, in whoſe life time this Lady was deliuered of an other ſonne,

Nauarre.  
An. 1207.

Death of D.  
Fernand  
Nauarre.

sonne, who was named *D. Alphonso*, the which were Kings of Portugal successively. A  
*Aben Ioseph* Miralumin of the Arabians Almohades being dead in Affrike, whilst  
 these things past in Spaine, there succeeded in his place his sonne called *Aben Mah-*  
*mad*, surnamed the Greene, the fourth King of that sect, over the Moores of Affrike and  
 Spaine: this surname was given him, for that hee carried a Miter, or some such Orna-  
 ment on his head, of a Greene colour. In his raigne the truce expired, made betwixt the  
 King of Castile, and his predecessor *Aben Ioseph*, when as they fell more cruelly to  
 armes them euer.

King of Castile, and thus pressed the King of Arragon to arms them euer.

33. Betwixt both, *D. Martin* Archbishop of Toledo died, to whom succeed *Roderigo Ximenes*, borne in Nauarre, the Author of the History of Spain which we read at this day. A prelate of great authority, and much commended by the Spaniards: about the time of his death the riuer of Tayo did rise so high, as it was five foote above the port of Almofala in that city. This was about the end of December, and the yeere before there was to be great an Eclipse of the Sunne, as the day was darkned for the space of sixe houres. At that time King *D. Alphonso* did two remarkable works in the city of Burgos in Castille: which were the Monastery of Saint *Mary* the royal, of that Order called *de las Huelgas*, for the daughters of noble houses, according to the Order of the Cisterciens: and ioyning to this Monastery, hee caused the Hospital royal to be built in Castille: and ioyning to this Monastery, hee caused the Hospital royal to be built in Castille, since the coming of the Moores, and drew many learned men in all faculties thither, from France, England and other places, assigning large pensions to the professors: and as he was a warlike Prince, and could not lie long in quiet, the quarrels rising betwixt the French and English, about the yeere 1209. hee made a voyage into Guienne, for that hee had an interest therein, yet he returned without doing any thing memorable. Returning by the Prouince of Guipuscoa, hee gaue priuiledges to the towne of Guetaria, the which he reformed, granting the like vnto Saint Sebastian. This towne hath a good haueu, couered from all windes, by a little Island which is before it, ryfing in such manner, as it defends the ships from all stormes, and giues them free entry and passage with any winde: that famous pilot *John Sebastian del Cano*, was borne at Guetaria, in the time of the Emperor *Charles* the fifth did cōpasse the whole world.

[illegible]

The yeere 1210. being come, and the truce betwixt the Moores and Christians expired, D. Alphonso the noble sent an army vnto the frontiers of Toledo vnder the conduct of his sonne D. Fernand, knowing that King *Aben Mahumad* was past out of Affrike

**A** Affrike Into Spaine with great forces of Moores, Almohades, and other his subiects. This young Prince *D. Fernand* impatient of offencible, began to ouerrunne the Moores country, about Baeca, Andujar and Jaen: but for all this, the Mooye did not leave to besiege and to take within the third month the towne of Saluatierra, with great slaughter of the inhabitants, carrying away them that remained for slaues. The King of Castille had drawne his forces together at Talauera, to diuert him, but not able to come in time, hee retired, and to be after lost his sonne *D. Fernand*, in Madrid, by sickness, whereat hee was wonderfully grieved; his bodie was carried to Burgos, to the new Monasterie of Las Huelgas, *D. Rodrigo* the Archbishop accompanying it, with many other Prelats and Knights, yea *D. Iheronima* Queene of Leon, being separated from her husband by the Popes authority, who would not allow of the marriage, although hee had children by her. It is strange these Princes were no better aduised in the marriage of their daughters, seeing they obayed the Popes restraints.

This warre begunne did much trouble the King of Castille, wherefore hauing called a Parliament of the Lords, Prelate and Deputies of the townes of his realme at Toledo, he reholued to inuite al Christian Princes to his succour, and to demanda of Pope Clement the Indulgences and pardons of a Croisado, for this holy warre, to the ende he might draw into it more Knights and foildiers , for this cause hee sent by the election of the whole assembly D.*Rodrigo* to Rome; and for that necessity did force him to reforme the excessse and superfluities of his Realmes ; there were orders lest downe for fasting, apparel, and other things . There were also publicke processions enioyned, with fasting, praying, and giuing of almes to pacifie the wrath of God.

In the end commandement was giuing to all his vassalls and men of warre, to bee redie with horse and armes, for the yeare following. The like prouision was made by the Moores in Spaine, every one preparing for the warre: that is, of Extremadura, Andalusia, Algarbes, Granado, Murcia and Valencia, and other lands which they held yet in the territory of Toledo; Iollycinding moreover their King and Miralmmun of Affrike, to repaife into Spaine, with the forces of those great Princes, which he did hold in that part of the world.

Whileſt theſe great preparations were making, the King of Caſtile came to Cuenca, where finding himſelf accompanied with great troops of ſouldiers, he came a road into the Moores country by the river of Xucar, to exerciſe his ſouldiers, and took from thence the fort of Alcala, Las Cúcuas of Algarande, and Tubas, and ſpoiled ſome Bourges in the territory of Valencia, and then hee returned to Cuenca, when the King of Arragon came unto him, and offered to ſuccour him with all the forces of his realme, in this warre; the King of Nauarre in like manner ſent to make him like offers.

In Italie the Archbishop *D. Rodrigo*, yeld great dilligence, and obtained from Pope *Innocent* the third a bountifull grant of his spiritual treasors, of indulgences and pardons, to all those that should crosse themselves for this warre, the which was proclaimed in all places, and the *Croisadoes* preached, especially by the Archbishop of Toledo, in all places as hee returned, with such efficacy, as there came out of Italy, Germany, France and England an infinite number of souldiers into Spaine, who vowed their lives to defend the Christian religion, and to repulle the persecutors thereof: so as hee assembled at Toledo an army (besides the forces of Castille, Arragon and Portugal) of above a hundred thousand strangers, bearing armes, which number is by some augmented, and by others diminished: for there are some Authors which mention, one hundred thousand foote, and tenne thousand horse, others reframe it to fifty thousand foote, and twelve thousand horse, some more, some lesse; but howsoever, there was great and mightie army, the which was lodged neere unto the city, in the most fertile places of the river of Tayo. The King of Arragon came thither, as the Authors of the Arragon History write with twenty thousand foote, and 3500. horse, the number of footemen of Castille, and other countries of the King *D. Alphonso*'s dominions was vncertaine, but they say there were 14000. horse, amongst the which were above fifteen hundred Knights nobly descended. Of them of Portugal the number is not

Gg 2



which fel vpon his men, and to thrust himselfe into the presse, where hee saw they gaue a backe, to succour them: so as the Lords and Prelats which were in armes that day, had great labor to keepe him back, D. Pedro King of Arragon had his cuirasse peirced to the quicke, with a lance, but God preserued him. The King of Nauarre did also carry himselfe worthily; but there was a Chanoine Chanter of the church of Toledo, called *Domíngo Páscual*, who carried the crosse before the Archbishop D. *Roderigo* (as it is the custome to carry before Primates which did wonders: for hee past and re-past, and ranne through the squadrons of the Moores with his crosse, and had no harme. The tombe of this Chanoine is to bee seene at this day, in Saint Lucies chappel, in the great church of Toledo. It is a pittie the Authors of these histories, haue not bene more iust vnto those valiant men which employed themselves that daie, to maintaine the Christians estate in Spaine, and haue not written many particularities which happened during the fight, which should redound to the honour of families, and their posterities, and should serue as a spurte to generous mindes; wherein the Archbishop D. *Roderigo*, is chiefly to be blamed, hauing bene present at that battaile. The victorious army pursued them that fled vntill night, and then they went to lodge in the enemies campe, where they found tents, viuals, armes and other riches in great abundance, & there they past the night, giuing thanks vnto God for such an important victory.

Division of the  
spoils after  
the battaile of  
Muradal.

Armies of  
the Spaniards  
report.

Then the King D. *Alphonso* thought it fit to diuide the spoiles, and to doe publicke honor, after the manner of the ancients, to those great personages, which had carried them valiantly in the battaile. He named for Iudge and distributor of these things, D. *Diego Lopes de Haro*, a Nobleman very expert in matters of warre: by whom the tent of the Miralumin of the Arabians was giuen to D. *Pedro* King of Arragon, the which was exceeding rich; yet others say it was allotted to the King of Nauarre for his part; to whom (for that hee with his men had first broken the fortification made with chains, about the Squadron where the great Miralumin person was in battaile) was adiudged all the bootie taken within the said circuit, in the which were many camels with their burthens; for which consideration some say, that the Kings of Nauarre carrie in their armies, chains of gold in a field gueules. Of the rest of the spoiles which were sold without this fortification, there was a good part thereof giuen to the King of Arragon. D. *Diego Lopes* did adiudge vnto D. *Alphonso* for his part, the honour of the victory, and to the other captaines, knights and souldiers, what they could get. This diuision was allowed by the Kings and all the rest. Many haue thought that by reason of this victory King D. *Alphonso* tooke a castle Or, in a field gueules, which are the armes of Castille at this daie, inferring thereby, that the realme of Castille was a fort and assured rampart against the Moores, and Infidels their enemies; in whose blood the Tower seemes to be planted, but there are priuiledges found in the treasury of Saint Dominike of Calçada (the which *Caribey* reports that he hath seene) more ancient then this battaile, granted by this king, hauing a scale of lead like vnto the Popes, the which hath on the one side a castle, and on the other, the picture of a king on horsebacke, the which doth witness that before the battaile of Muradal, or Tolouse, they used this deuise, or blason in their armessit is like that this King D. *Alphonso* used it first in his armes, but vpon what else consideration, it is neither easie nor safe to iudge. The Christian Princes making vse of this happy victory, whilst the Moores were amazed and weake, tooke Bicles, Castro Peral, Bagnos and Tolouse: then they came to Baeca, which they found abandoned, the inhabitants hauing carried their wiues, children, and all they had to Vbeda, except some which were fortified in the Megida, the which they burned.

Then they marched to Vbeda, and tooke it by force, putting many of the Inhabitants to the sword, and making slaves of the rest, by the instigations of some Prelats which followed the army, the spoile whereof was giuen to the soldiers; the honor of the taking of Vbeda, is giuen to D. *Lope Ferreñch de Luna*, an Arragonois; as they went on still conquering vpon this sect of Mahumetists, it pleased God to slay the Christians army: for it began to be full of diseases, the which in the end were contagious: wherefore the kings were forced to retorne with their campe, and re-passing the mountaine, or Sierra Morena, by the same mount of Muradal, they came to Calatrana, where they found the Duke

A Duke of Austria, whose name was *Thibaud* sonne to *Leopold*, who being desirous to bee at this battell, was come into Spaine with two hundred knights; but it was too late, wherefore he returned into Germany by Arragon: there the Kings parted with great shewes of loue. He of Arragon meaning to entertaine the peate with Don *Sancho* of Nauarre, with all sinceritie, he restored vnto him fourteen castles and places of strength which he had taken from him. The King D. *Alphonso* being come to Toledo, where hee was received with great triumph by the Arch-bishop Don *Roderigo*; it was obtained; that from that time the memorie of that great victorie obtained against the Moores, in the playntes of Tholouza, should be euery yeare celebrated on the sixteenth day of Iuly, vnder the title of *Triumphus crucis*, the which is obserued at this day, especially at Toledo; whereas they

Feet of Tri-  
umphus crucis  
in Spaine: a  
monument of  
the victorie of  
Muradal.

B hang vp and display that day in the great Church, many Guidons, Ensignes and Standards of the Moores, which had bene taken then, or others which do represent them: The chiefe men which did accompany the King in this battaile, were Don *Roderigo Ximenes* Arch-bishop of Toledo, and Primate of Spaine, Don *Roderigo* of Sigüenza; D. *Tello* of Palencia, D. *Mendo* of Ofina, D. *Pedro* of Auita, D. *Domíngo* of Plaisance, all Bishoppes, with other Prelates, all which did serue, either for counsell or for armes. D. *Pedro Arias*, or *Aus*, Master of the Order of Saint James, D. *Roderigo Díaz*, master of the Calatrana, D. *Gomes Ramires* Prior of the Templers, D. *Gutierrez* or *John Gelmirido* Prior of S. John, with many Commanders and Knights of their Orders. Of Secular men, D. *Diego Lopes de Haro*, and his eldest sonne D. *Lope Díaz de Haro*, of whom it is written, that hauing some feeling, for that his father had absented himselfe out of Castile, after that hee had fought at Estella against the king D. *Alphonso*, and also for that the losse of the battaile of Alarcos was imputed vnto him, he came and cast himselfe at his feet, a little before the battell, beseeching him to carry himselfe so well, according to the hope which hee had of him, that he might not be hereafter called the sonne of a traitor: wherewith the father being incensed, layed vnto him: It is more to be feared, thou wilt be called the son of a whore: for no man will call thee the sonne of a traitor: which answer the father made vnto the sonne, as the Earle D. *Pedro* sonne to D. *Denis* king of Portugal writes in his booke of the Genealogies of Spaine, for that the mother of Don *Lope Díaz*, a woman of a weake brayne, being fallen in loue with a man of Burgos, which, they say, had bene a blacksmith, or Locksmith, went out of Spain, and wandered through the world with this man, in a disguised habit. With D. *Diego Lopes* was also D. *Pero Díaz* his other sonne, D. *Sancho Fernandes* de Canamero, D. *Martin Nùgues de Hinojosa*, and Don *Trigo de Mendoza*, kinsmen or allyed to the house of Haro: moreover, the Earles D. *Fernand de Lara*, D. *Aluar Nùgues de Lara*, Don *Gonzalo Nùgues*, D. *Lope Díaz de los Cameros*, *Ruy Díaz de los Cameros*, and his brother Don *Aluar Díaz*, Don *Pedro Arias* of Toledo, *Gomes Peres* the Asturian, D. *García Ordóñez*, *John Gonzalo* of Vzero, D. *Gonzalo Gomes*, D. *Gomes Adanrigues*, D. *Gil Manriques*, D. *Alphonso Telles de Meneses*, and his brethren, *Fernand* and *Ruy Garcia*, D. *Roderigo Peres* d' *Auita*, *William Gizez*, D. *William Peres* and his brethren, *Nugno Peres* de *Gusman*, *Gonzalo* of Quintana, who was afterwards master of the Calatrana, Don *John Gonzales*, and Don *Gonzalo Ruiz* and his brethren, Don *Ruy Peres* of Villalobos, *Suero Tellez*, Don *Fernand Garcia*, and many others of the Realmes of Castille and Toledo. Those which accompanied Don *Pedro* king of Arragon of greatest Nobilitie, were, Don *García Frontin* Bishop of Tarasone, and Don *Berenguer* elect of Barcelona, with other Clergie men: and of Knights, Don *García Remus*, Standard bearer royal of Arragon, Don *Ximen Cornel*, *Aznar Perde*, Don *William* of *Peralta*, Don *Michele* of *Luceza*, D. *Sancho* Earle of Rossillon, vncle to the King, and Don *Nugno Sanchez* his son, Don *Lope Ferreñch de Luna*, *Arnold* of *Alarcos*, or *Arial* of *Alagon*, *William Aguilon* of *Tarragoba*, Don *William* of *Cetiera*, *Berenguer* of *Petra Mola*, Don *William* of *Catodona*, *Raymond Foniques* Earle of *Ampurias*, Don *Pedro Ahones*, Don *Roderigo* of *Liciana*, Don *Pedro Maza*, Don *Antorella*, and Don *Antal de Forci*. The Arch-bishop of Bourdeaux came out of France, and the Bishop of Nantes from Britannie, D. *Romild* Arch-bishop of Narbone, and *Thibaud* of *Blazon*, Bishop of *Poitou*, issued out of Castile: There were many Noblemen and valiant Knights out of Leon and Portugal. Don *Alphonso* king of Castile did reward the Nobilitie of his countrie with honours and linings, according to





William of  
Moncion, and  
Raymond of  
Fenafort or  
Rochfort, Go-  
vernors of the  
Kings person.

Nauarre,  
Pampelone in  
sclusion.

the young king was deliuered, and led by him into his Countie, where hee was received and crowned at Monçon, and then tooke and receiued the oath at Lerida. It was ordaind in these assemblies of Monçon and Lerida, that Don Sancho Earle of Rossillon should gouerne the realme during the kings minority, but they gaue him limitation. The kings person was recommended to Friar William of Monredon, Master of the Templers, to whom was giuen for an Assistant, Friar Raymond of Pegnafort, a Castellan, he that compiled the books of the Decretals, and did write arguments in cases of conscience, whereof there shall be more ample mention made. Don Sancho Earle of Rossillon of a Regent, became a tyrant, and did in time much trouble the king Don James. These things past in this manner in Arragon, the yeare after the victory of Muradal, or Tholoufa.

In Nauarre, the king D. Sancho the Strong, at his returne from Castile, found great disorders and mutinies among his subiects, especially in the city of Pampelone, which grew by the young maydens of the towne, who had injured one another: and as oftentimes a small coale kindles a great fire, which burnes a house, yea a whole citie, so these petty brabbles made all the Inhabitants fall into factions, those of the Bourg of Saint Sernin, and Saint Michel, to defend the female kind, fell to blowes and murders, the which could not be prevented in the Kings absence, who by his presence pacified and reconciled them for a time: but being afterwards retired to his castell of Tudele, where he would not see any man, by reason that the incurable griefe in his foot increased daily, the young men of Pampelone renewed their insolencies and quarrels, so as one day those of Saint Sernin and Saint Michel falling to armes, their fury and rage was such, as there were about 800. slaine vpon the place, both men, wiues, and virgins, and many houses were burnt: such was their furious rage one against another, the which caused the King Don Sancho to leaue his voluntarie prison, to pacifie it, as he did.

39 Among other remedies which might serue hereafter, hee found that peace could not continue long among a people, where there was a multitude of idle youth, and that of necessitie there must grow daily quarrels among them, if there were not means found out to employ them. Seeing then that his subiects were giuen to armes, more then to any other exercise, he resolved, seeing there was no warre with his neighbors, to make a garrison vpon the Moores frontiers, whether the young men of the countie should be kept, to be trained vp in martiall discipline, and to practise armes honorably against the enemies of Christ: for this cause he intreated the king D. James, or those which did then gouerne his Realme of Arragon, to sell him the fruites and possession of the townes of Ademus, Castelfabib, Ferreta, Ferrelon, and Calamator, for his life, to make them a scholl for armes: the which hee obtained, confirming also by the same mediators the peace which had bene concluded betwixt the kings Don Sancho, and Don Pedro, some yeares before, the which began to be troubled betwixt these two estates.

D. Alphonsus king of Castile, hauing suffered his soldiers to rest some time in their houses, drew his army againe together, in the yeare 1213. and recovered the Castell of Duegnas, which he restored to the Order of Calatraua: he also tooke the Castile of Ezna Vexor, the which he gaue to the Order of Saint James: from thence hee came and planted his campe before the towne of Alcatras, seated vpon a very high and rough part of the mountaine called Sierra Morena, the which hee tooke without any great difficulty, the Moores being yet amazed at the defeat they had the yeare before, and then hauing feazed vpon many other places with the like ease, hee returned to Toledo, where the Queene D. Elenor his wife, and D. Berenguela his daughter, with the Infant Don Henry attended him. There was a great famine that yeare in Spaine, when as Don Rodrigo Ximenes the Arch-bishop, did much good by his preaching, perswading the rich to releue the poore: for which consideration the King did afterwards giue many places to him and his successors Arch-bishops, the which did much augment the reuenues of that See; honouring moreover the sayd Don Rodrigo, and his successors Arch-bishops, with the title of High Chancellors of Castile.

The Kings of Castile and Leon had bene no very good friends, vpon diuers occasions, but now lately by reason of the diuorce betwixt the King of Leon and his wife D. Berenguela, daughter of Castile, the which was partly the cause why the king of Leon was not

Castile.  
Exploits  
against the  
Moors.

Leon.

at the battell of Muradal: but this yeare (all hatred forgotten) the two kings had an interview in the towne of Vailledolit, whereas it was agreed, that Carpio and Montreall should be restored to the King of Leon, vpon condition, that he should raze them, and that he should make warre against the Moores: for the execution whereof D. Diego Lopez de Haro was sent to accompany Don Alphonsus king of Leon, with a good number of souldiers. The places being ruined, the king of Leon went against the Moores of Alcantara vpon the river of Tayo, on the confines of Portugall, the which hee tooke: whereas since he did institute an Order of Knights, like vnto that of Calatraua. This king D. Alphonsus of Leon, is numbred the tenth of that name by them that mingle the kings of Castile and Leon together. We haue sayd before that he had two wiues, the one was daughter to Don Sancho the first king of Portugall, called Donna Theresa; of which marriage issued Don Fernand, who died before his father, Donna Sancho, and D. Dulce: being afterwards separated by the Popes authoritie, for that they were cousins in the third degree: he married to his second wife Donna Berenguela, daughter to Don Alphonsus the Noble, king of Castile, of whom was borne Don Fernand, who was King of Castile and Leon, and Don Alphonsus who came to be Lord of Molina, and had moreover two daughters by this Lady Donna Constance, a Nunne in las Huelgas of Burgos, and Donna Berenguela, who married with the Earle John de Brenne, whom they termed king of Ierusalem. This second marriage was also dissolved, for that Donna Berenguela was daughter to her husbands cousin-germaine, & therefore Don Alphonsus had a friend, which brought him a bastard, called Don Rodrigo Alphonsus of Leon.

After the taking of Alcantara, Don Diego Lopes de Haro came vnto the king of Castile, who being entred into Andalusia besieged Baeca, which the Moores had rampared: but by reason of the great dearth, he raised the siege, and returned to Calatraua, where hauing left Don Rodrigo the Arch-bishop, to order all things vpon the frontier, he came to Burgos. The Arch-bishop began to build the new towne of Milagro, where the worke-men were charged by the Moores, who made a great slaughter of them, and of many of the people which began to inhabit it: for the which the Arch-bishop provided as well as he could, and made a truce with the enemy in the Kings name. Being returned to the king to Burgos he resolved to make a voiage into Guienne, where hee had some pretensions, in the right of Queene Elenor his wife: Before his departure, hee would conferre with Don Alphonsus king of Portugal, his sonne-in-law, sending to intreate him to meete him at Plaisance, on a certaine day: but being vpon the way he fell sicke in Garci Mugnos a Bourg of Arealuo, where he was forced to stay: then did his griefe increase, by the answer hee receiued from the King of Portugal, who sent him word, hee would not passe the limits of his kingdome, by reason whereof hee was so much moued with choller, as he dyed, in the yeare 1214. the five and fiftieth yeare of his raigne, and the nine and fiftieth of his age: his body was carried to Burgos, whereas his funerals were made, and interred in the Monasterie of las Huelgas, with the teares and griefe of all Spaine.

Reconciliation  
of the Kings of  
Castile and  
Leon.

Order of the  
Knights of Al-  
cantara.

Genealogie of  
Leon.

Castile.

Death of Don  
Alphonsus the  
Noble King of  
Castile.

## D. Henry the first of that name, the eighth King of Castile.

41 IN his place reigned his sonne D. Henry the first of that name in Castile and Toledo, who was but eleven yeares old: whereupon the Prelats, Nobles and Commons assembled at Burgos, where hauing declared him king, and taken the oath, they made the Queene Donna Elenora his mother, Gouvernesse of his person and Realme: but the suruiued her husband but 25. dayes, and was interred in the same Monasterie. By her decree Donna Berenguela the kings sister gouerned both him and his Realme, who carried herself verily to the contentment of all the Estates, during her administration. She was Ladie of Vailledolit, Mugnos, Curiel, Gormas, Saint Stephen, of the castell of Burgos, and other places and rents assigned by Don Alphonsus her father. During her regency the Councell of Latran was celebrated at Rome, vnder Pope Innocent the third with a great

D. Berenguela  
queene of Leon  
gouernesse of  
Castile.

great

*Council of S.  
John delatran  
under Innocent  
the third.*

*Proceſſe for  
the Primacie  
of Spaine.*

great concourse of Prelates from all parts of Christendome. Whither there went D. *Roderigo Ximenes* Arch-bishop of Toledo and Primate of Spaine: the Arch-bishop of Braga, the Bishop of Vic, and other Prelates of Spain. There were about 300. at this assembly, which did exercise chiefly dignities in the church, besides others innumerable of all estates, they did chiefly treat of the means how to uphold the Christians estate in Palestina, or the holy Land: then of the rights of Patronage and reception of fruits and renewes of Churches by lay men. The Archbishop *Don Roderigo* preached with the Popes leave, in the assembly, very learnedly in Latin, according unto those times: and for that that language was not well understood by all that were there present, he expounded the substance of his Sermon in Italian, Germane, French, English, Castilian, and Biscain, or Navarrais which was his naturall tongue, for the which he was much commended and esteemed, as *Garybay* saith, next to *Doctor Blaz Ortiz*, which done, and the Councell freed of the affaires which touched the generall of Christendome: the Archbishop *D. Roderigo* complained of the contumacie and disobedience of the Arch-bishops of Narbone, Tarragone, Braga, and Saint James, who would not acknowledge the Primacie of Toledo: to prove the which he produced many priuiledges of the holy Apostolike see, especially of these Popes, *Vrbain, Gelasius, and Honorius* the 2. *Lucius* the 3. *Adrian* the 4. and *Innocent* the 2. granted to the Church of Toledo, and the Prelates thereof, as Primates of Spaine. He alledged many ancient Councils celebrated in Spaine, and iustified the equitie of his cause, by many ancient Histories and authentick Records. The Pope desired to heare the parties interrested: wherefore the Archbishop of Braga being present, answered for himselfe: for him of Tarragone who was absent, the Bishop of Vic, one of his Suffragans presented himselfe, both which denied the Primacie. They of Narbone and Saint James were excused, being absent. And for that the Archbishop *D. Roderigo Ximenes* was prest to returne into Spaine, the proceſſe remained for that time undecided, yet he obtained from the Pope many great prouisions, which were both profitable and honorable, as to be Legate of Spaine for ten yeares, with power to make legitimate to the number of three hundred, with other ample faculties: right to chooſe and establish Bishops in all the townes which should come into the Christians power, and that the Church of Seuille in that case should acknowledge the Primacie of Toledo, without any fute: and that the Arch-bishop thereof should dispose of all other Ecclesiastical dignities, in places conquered, or to be conquered. This Archbishop *D. Roderigo Ximenes*, hath written the Historie of Spaine in Latine vnto his time, and in like manner that of the Moores or Arabians since *Mahomet*.

*The end of the tenth Booke*

The



## THE ELEVENTH BOOKE of the Historie of Spaine.

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H h

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Alphonso Earle of Boulton.  
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Castile and Leon.  
9. D. Fernand. 3-30.  
united the 2. Realmes.

Portugal. | Navarre.  
4. D. Sancho. | 22 Thibault 1.  
Capella 2. |

Granado and the be-  
ginning under  
1. Mahomet Aben  
Alhamar.



Travels dur-  
ing the mino-  
rity of D. Hen-  
ry king of Cas-  
tile.

The young king  
delivered into  
the hands of  
them of Lara.

HE Arch-bishop D. Rodrigo Ximenes being returned into Cas-  
tile, found the affaires wonderfully troubled by the praesides of D.  
Fernand Nugnes de Lara, D. Aluar Nugnes, and D. Gonçalo Nug-  
nes, his brethren, sonnes to the Earle D. Nugno de Lara, who (as  
their fathers and Vncles had done during the Nonnage of the king  
D. Alphonso the Noble) would haue the person of the young king  
Henry in their custodie, by which meanes they should haue all au-  
thoritie and prerogative in the gouernement of the state. These  
Noblemen, who were great and mightie, wrought so, as they had what they pretended,  
by the meanes of Garcia Laurens, who had the gouernement of the Prince, and in whom  
the Queene Regent did rely much. They corrupted him by gifts and promises, so as hee  
counsellled the Queene D. Berenguela, and caused the Prelates, and other Noblemen of  
the Realme to allow thereof, that the king should be put into the hands of these Noble-  
men of the house of Lara: whereunto Don Rodrigo Ximenes the Arch-bishop did also  
consent, so as they did homage, and did sweare faith and loyaltie in the hands of the  
Regent, not to attempt nor change any thing in matter of State, were it in peace or war,  
without her counsell and consent, whom they should honor and respect, as it was fittest  
should defend her, her estates and goods in all occasions, vpon paine to be held guiltie of  
high treason. These promises being made by the Lords of Lara, the king D. Henry was  
delivered into the hands of the Earle D. Aluar Nugnes: but they did not performe what  
they had promised, for as soone as they saw themselves seized of the Kings person, and  
therefore reuerenced and feared, they began to pursue many great personages and rich  
men with all violence, so as some were forced to flee. Moreover, falling vpon the liber-  
ties, goods, and reuenues of the Clergie, they made their profit of them: whereupon  
they were excommunicated by Don Rodrigo Deane of Toledo, Vice-gerent or Substi-  
tute to the Arch-bishop, the which did reclaim them from these insolencies, especially  
against the Clergie and Churches, whereof they promised to become Protectors.

But

A But for that it is a hard matter to retrain great men, when they are once giuen to ty-  
ranny, these Earles of Lara turned against lay-men, which enjoyed spirituall liuings,  
whom they did vex and spoile of their reuenues, so as they grew odious to all sorts of  
men, and they began to be moued, and to repine much at their excesses. D. Aluar who  
had bene newly made Earle of Auila, called an assembly of the Estates in the Kings  
name at Vailledolit, whither came certaine of his confederates, great men of Castile: but  
D. Lope Diaz de Haro, sonne to D. Diego Lord of Biscay, D. Gonçalo Ruiz Giron, and his  
brethren, D. Rodrigo Ruiz, D. Aluar Diaz de los Cameros, and Don Alphonso Teles de los  
Atenses, with many other Noblemen of the Kingdome, detesting this tyrannie, exhor-  
ted the Queene to complaine of the extorsions, miseries and calamities, which the peo-  
ple and whole Realme suffered by their meanes: according to which aduice, she did write  
to the Earle Don Aluar Nugnes, putting him in mind of the faith and homage which hee  
had sworne to her, and admonishing him to gouerne better: wherewith D. Aluar being  
incensed, he did all the wrong he could vnto the Queene, and in the end dispossest her of  
all that the King her father had left her for her portion, yea he grew so insolent, as he com-  
manded her to depart the Court; the which this poore Princesse was forced to do, reti-  
ring with her sister D. Elenor, who was yet a mayd, to Ocella, where they remained vntill  
the death of D. Henry their brother. This violent contempt was not concealed from  
the young King, who began to complaine, demanding to be deliuered againe vnto the  
Queene D. Berenguela his sister, but it was in vaine: for he himselfe being forced and re-  
sisting all he could, was led from place to place, as it pleased the Earle Don Aluaro: and  
which was more, he was forced by him to marry D. Malfada Infanta of Portugal, daugh-  
ter to the King D. Sancho, without imparting it to the Prince, nor to the Princeses of the  
blood: not to any but to his owne faction: which marriage hee beganne to broach at Pa-  
lencia, where they were made sure; and suddenly being come to Medina del campo, hee  
caused them to lye together, wherewith the Queene D. Berenguela was so moued (being  
not made acquainted with this treaty) as he wrote vnto Pope Innocent the third, aduer-  
tising him that the married couple were so neere akin, as according to the ordonances of  
the Church, they could not be ioyned together without scandall, by whose meanes the  
Pope did separate them: wherupon D. Malfada (who was a very faire Princesse) returned  
into Portugal very much discontented, as well for the breach of the marriage, as for that  
Don Aluaro would presume to marrie her, the king D. Henry being an infant. They were  
cousins in the fourth degree by an vnequall line, wherof the Infanta had the better. Some  
Authors report it after this manner, that the Queene D. Berenguela hauing sent one to  
Maqueda, where the king was, to carry him newes of his Estate, the Earles of Lara hauing  
intelligence thereof, caused him to be apprehended and put in prison, and hauing coun-  
terfeited letters, to some priuate men of base condition, from the Queene, as if she would  
haue procured them to payson the king, they caused this prisoners proceesse to bee made,  
who was for that cause hanged: yet not any one did beleue, that euer the Queene D. Be-  
renguela, would practise such a trecherie; but held it to be a fraud, deuised by the Earle D.  
Nugnes, and D. Aluar his sonne. Wherefore the Inhabitants of Maqueda beganne to mu-  
tine, which made the King and his Gouernors to go to Huelat: where being arrived, a  
Knight called Rodrigo Gonçales de Valuerd, who had charge from the Queene D. Be-  
renguela, to steale away the king, Don Fernand de Lara layed hold of him, and carryed him  
prisoner to Alarcon.

This made the Earles of Lara to keepe a more streight guard about the King, whome  
they conducted to Vailledolit, and there beganne the warre against them, which held  
the Queenes partie. Montalegre in the which Don Suer Teles Giron remayned, was be-  
seged and taken: and then ouer running and spoyling the country, Don Aluaro de  
Lara, chiefe of this warre, came to Cartion, then to Villana of Alcor, who hauing sud-  
denly surprized Don Alphonso Teles de Meneses, without the fort, being ill accompa-  
nyed, his men vnhorfed and disarmed some of Don Alphonso troupe, and thought to  
take him prisoner, but he fled into the fort being wounded, where hee was beleaged by  
the King in person, and the Earle Don Aluaro, but not able to take it, they retired to Pa-  
lencia, where the king was lodged in the bishops Pallace.

H h

All

ciuit Maqueda  
Castile.

All things (say they) past before the marriage, which was then concluded in Palence. A  
 It being accompanied, the king would go against D. *Lope Diaz de Haro*, and passing by  
 Burgos, whereas his sister the Queene D. *Berenguela* was, he went on, and did not see her,  
 and so came to Calaoorra, which fort was taken by *Garcia Zapata*, from *Rais Diaz de los*  
*Cameras*, and his brother *Aluaro Diaz*. The king being afterwards returned to Burgos,  
 the Queene his sister began to write, and to sollicite the Pope to dissolve this marriage,  
 which was the cause why D. *Aluaro* dispossest her of her lands & reuenues, vnder the kings  
 name and authoritie, which she could not resist. Moreouer, the Historians say, that Don  
*Aluaro* did pursue a second marriage for the King D. *Henry*, with Donna *Sancha* Infanta  
 of Leon, daughter to Don *Alphonso* by his first wife D. *Therefa*, by the which it was agreed  
 that after the death of the king D. *Alphonso*, the king D. *Henry* should succeed him in the B  
 Realme of Leon, and in the meane time he should giue vnto his father-in law, the vfe and  
 possession of Saint *John de la Mota*, whereof a Knight called *Sancho Fernandes* should bee  
 Gouvernor, and answerable for it: the Earle D. *Aluaro* thinking to fortifie himselfe with  
 the support and fauour of the king Don *Alphonso*, by the granting of this place, al-  
 though he repented him afterwards, giuing him in exchange Tiedra in stead of S. *John*,  
 and about 10000. Marauidis of gold, all to annoy the Queene D. *Berenguela*, and to dis-  
 inherit the Infant D. *Fernand* of Leon his sonne and heire to the Realme, who was with  
 her: for Tiedra did belong vnto the Queene, who was constrained to giue the place vnto  
 the king Don *Henry* her brother, who demanded it. And then the sent the Infant D. *Fernand*  
 vnto the king of Leon his father, which done, she retired to Oreilla, and the king C  
 D. *Aluaro*, was  
 sent with good troupes of horie and foot, against D. *Lope Diaz de Haro*, who was towards  
 Miranda of Ebro well accompanied: but as they were readie to fight, certaine religious  
 men came betwixt them and parted them: so as the Earle D. *Gonsalo* returned to the king  
 and D. *Lope* vnto the Queene, who was soone after beseeged by the king her brother, and  
 the Earle of Lara in Oreilla, but not able to take it, they left it to go to Frechilla, where  
 they razed the houses of D. *Roderigo Gonsales Giron*, and then they returned to Palence.  
 The Queene had in the meane time sent to demand succors, from the king of Leon, some-  
 times her husband, the which he granted, but the seege being raised, there was no need  
 to send any. These things are written by many Authors very doubtfully and diuersly: how  
 foueuer it were, the realmes of Castile and Toledo did indure much miserie by the wicked D  
 and tyrannous gouernement of the Earles of Lara, the which had an end by the suddaine  
 and miserable death of the king D. *Henry*, whom they held in their power, and whose au-  
 thoritie they did abuse impudently. This young Prince being at Palencia, lodged in the  
 bishops pallace, as they suffered him to play with certain young children of Noble hou-  
 ses, who serued him and were about the same age, sporting with them freely, and more  
 inconsiderately then was fit for one of his quality: one of them whom they hold to bee of  
 the house of Mendoza, cast a ryle from the top of a tower, which falling vpon the coue-  
 ring of an house, beat downe another, the which fell vpon the kings head, wherewith hee  
 was so grievously hurt, as he dyed the eleuenth day after, in the year 1217 hauing rag-  
 ned two yeares, nine moneths, and 15. daies, in great trouble: his bodie carryed to Burgos  
 and layed in the Monasterie of las Huelgas, neere to his brother D. *Fernand*, where they  
 do euerie yeare vnto this day, make an anniuersarie for his soule. Such was the end of D.  
*Henry*, by the which D. *Berenguela* recovered her authoritie, and reigned with her sonne  
 D. *Fernand*, the which she had by Don *Alphonso* king of Leon, by the diligence and fore-  
 sight of the Noblemen of Castile, fearing lest the French should leaze vpon the Realme,  
 by reason of the pretensions of the Infanta D. *Blanche*, the eldest daughter of Castile, ma-  
 ried into France, to *Lewis* sonneto *Philip Augustus*, who was mother to the king Saint  
*Lewis*.

Death of D.  
Henry king of  
Castile.

Interrest of the  
kings of France  
to the crowne  
of Castile.

D. Fernand

## D. Fernand called the Holy, the ninth king of Castile, and third of that name.

The death of the King Don *Henry*, was very grievous to the Earles of Lara, who  
 sought to keepe it secret for some dayes, but it was in vaine: for the Queene D. *Berenguela*  
 was presently aduertised, who instantly dispatched D. *Diego Lope de Haro*, and D.  
*Gonsalo Ruiz*, to Toro in the countrie of Leon, to bring the Infant Don *Fernand*, who  
 was there with the King his father. And for that she feared lest the King Don *Alphonso* of  
 Leon, being aduertised of this death, should attempt something vpon the Realme of  
 Castile, the Ambassadors had charge to conceale it, and to fauine that the Queene was stil  
 molested, and readie to be beseeged by her enemies, vpon which pretext they should de-  
 mand the Infant her sonne with some succors of souldiers, the which the Ambassadors  
 did wisely effect, bringing D. *Fernand* to Oreilla, where hee was proclaimed king of Ca-  
 stile, Toledo, and Nagera in the open field, vnder an Elme, by the Noblemen which were  
 there present: and presently marched towards Palencia, where as the King, the Queen his  
 mother, with their whole traine, were receiued with great honour by Don *Tello* the Bi-  
 shop. From thence they came to Duegnas, which place they were constrained to force,  
 so as the warre began to grow hote: which the Prelates and Noble-men of the countrie  
 laboured to preuent, but in vaine: the Earle D. *Aluaro* refusing to quit his authoritie, and  
 to lay downe armes, vntill he had the person of the new King Don *Fernand* in his power;  
 as he had had that of D. *Henry*: but the memorie of his bad gouernement distasted euery  
 man: so as they were so farre from satisfying his desire, as they were all ashamed to haue  
 bene so ill aduised, to giue the authoritie and gouernement of the Realme, to such vio-  
 lent persons as them of Lara: wherefore they fought how to haue the king obeyed by  
 Armes, to the great ruine of the countrey. The King and Queene-mother past on with  
 their troupes to Vailledolit, and so to the riuier of Duero: from thence they went to Co-  
 ca, where they shut the gates against them: wherefore they came to Saint Iust; where  
 they receiued two aduertisements: the one was, that they should not go to Auila nor Se-  
 gonis: the other, that the Infant Don *Sancho Fernandes*, brother to Don *Alphonso* king  
 of Leon, borne of D. *Vrraca Lopez* was comming against them with a mightie army:  
 whereupon they turned backe towards Vailledolit, where they found some alterations  
 against the Queene and her sonne, practised by them of Lara, whom by her wisdom she  
 pacified, There hauing assembled the Noblemen which had charges and dignities within  
 the Realme, she intreated them to aduise what was fit for the peace and publike quiet, of-  
 fering to do any thing which they should counsell her. They who knew her to be a wife  
 and discreet woman, were of opinion, that she should raigne as lawfull heire of Castile:  
 but the desiring more the good and greatnesse of her sonne, then her owne, renounced  
 the royaltie, in the presence of them all, & resigned it wholly vnto her son Don *Fernand*,  
 the which was a worthy act, and commended of all men. Whereupon the King was con-  
 ducted vnto the Church of Saint Mary the great, and there with a generall applause and  
 consent was confirmed King, and the oath taken of either side, the King being scarce se-  
 uentene yeares, whose raigne was happie and full of all good.

4 The Moores of Spaine, subiect to *Aben Mahomad*, Miralumin of Affricke, seeing  
 themselves destitute of his ayde and support, after the losse of the Battaille of Muradal, (as  
 it doth often happen after such inconueniences and losses) grew to haue a bad conceite  
 of their King *Mahomad*, and did beleuee, or made shew to beleuee, that the battaile was  
 lost by his fault: wherefore all such as had any charges and gouernements reuolted and  
 erected many petty Kingdomes in Spaine. Among them the first and chiefe was the Mi-  
 raluminus owne brother called *Zeit Aben-Zeit*, who by others is called *Zeit Buzzeit*,  
 who leazed vpon the towne of Valencia, & the Iurisdictions therof. A cousin of his called  
*Aben Mahomad*, when as the Christians army, infected with the plague, returned into  
 Castile,

Fernand the  
third prede-  
cessor  
and king of  
Castile.

Moors.

The Arabians  
in Spain relict  
the Miralumin  
minist of Affricke.

Governours  
Moors might  
shun their  
Lords of their  
governments.

1217.

Castile.

The King of  
Leon enters  
with an armie  
into Castile  
against his son  
D. Fernand.

D. Aluaro de  
Lara takes  
whereof fol-  
lowed a peace  
in Castile.

Castile, seized vpon Baeca, who had the citie of Cordoua also at his deuotion, with many other places in Andalusia, and on the confines of Toledo; whom many Moores followed, for that he was defended by masculine line from *Abdelmon*, the first king of the Almohades, and came of *Abdalla* one of his sonnes: these two had yet some colour to hold that which their grandfather had conquered in Spaine. But at Seuille there did rise a mightie Moore, called *Aben Lalle*, vnder whose power the townes of Eccia, Carmona, Xeres, and others of Andalusia did subiect themselves. In Murcia and Granado, there was one named *Aben Hat*, made himselfe King, beeing of the race of those Moores which had reigned in Sarragossa. In this sort the other Moores made themselves masters of townes and Prouinces in Spaine, where they had beene set for Governours, all which did enter into league with the aboue-named as the mightiest, giuing an end in Spaine to the Empire of the Almohades, and Kings of Maroc, two and fiftie yeares after the passage of *Abdelmon*. This was the last diuision betwixt the Moores of Spaine and Affricke, the which were neuer more vnitd vnder one Crowne, notwithstanding that there haue many times troupes and armies past out of Affricke into Spaine against the Christians, to succor those pettie Kings of the Moores which raigned there, whereas the Kings of Maroc might hold some sea-townes and forts giuen them by the Kings of Granado, to fauour their descents: yet they neuer after had any great power nor Empire there. From these new erected estates, which were not yet very well vnitd, the King of Castile (as we haue sayd) had taken the strong citie of Alcaraz, and he of Leon, that of Alcantara, in the yeare 1213. Since a truce beeing made betwixt the Christians and Moores for some yeares, these Infidels had leysure to settle themselves, and to fortifie their places.

In the yeare 1217. Don *Matheus* Bishop of Lisbon, being leader of the armie of Portugal, tooke from them Alcazar de Sal, being assisted by strangers, which were going into Syria, and by the Prior of the Templers, and Prior of Saint *John*. These strangers were English, French, and Flemings, hauing a fleet of an hundred sayle, being moued thereunto by the admonitions and decrees of the Councell of Saint *John de Lasran*, held by Pope *Innocent* the third, which was the fifth expedition made by publike decree and Councell, by the which *Andrew* king of Hungarie was named Generall of the Christians armie in the West, notwithstanding *John* Earle of Brenne went in his place.

Returning to Castile, the young king Don *Fernand*, his mother, and all the Castilians, were much troubled after they had chosen him, for that the King *D. Alphonso* his father, beeing discontented that *D. Berenguela* had by policy gotten away his sonne, and seemed to distrust him, and withall being desirous to vnite that realme to his of Leon and to be called Emperour of Spaine, he came into Spaine with a mightie armie: whereupon they sent Don *Maurice* Bishop of Burgos, and Don *Domingo* bishop of Auila to beseech the King not to disquiet his sonnes Realme, of whose good he should bee rather glad then forrier: but he was thereby incensed the more. King Don *Alphonso* marching on as farre as Burgos, spoyling all where he past, found the citie well garded by Don *Lope Diaz de Haro* and other Noblemen, who were well accompanied: wherefore seeing there was no meanes to enter, he returned, doing all the harme he could. About this time the Queene *D. Berenguela*, parting from Vailledolit, came to Palencia, whereas the Noblemen about Segobia and Auila came to offer her their seruice. The Castilians being freed from the feare of King Don *Alphonso*, the new Kings army was ledde to Mugron, where the battary was begun: during the which the Queene returned to Burgos, to the funerals of her brother Don *Henry*, the which by her Order were very flately. Mugron being taken, and the Queene come to the campe, with the souldiers which were at Burgos, they marched against Lerma and Lara, which places were taken by force. Being returned to Burgos, the army was led along the riuer of Oja, whereas the townes of Villacarrado, Nagera, and Nauarrer yielded vnto the King, but not their castles. In the meane time the Lords of Lara, laboured to make a general rebellion against the king, so as the Prince: being forced to return to Palencia, there was an encounter vpon the way, where *D. Aluaro* was taken and led prisoner to Burgos, who was afterwards deliuered vpon condition that he should yield vnto the King, all the places and garrisons which were held and maintained by his men at arms, belonging to the Crowne, especially Amaya, Tariego, Cerezo

*A* Cerezo, Villafranca of the Mountaines of Oca; the tower of Vilhorado, with the castles of Nauarrer, Nagera and Pancoruo, the which was done: *D. Fernand* his brother did also yeeld Castroxeris, and Orcejon. By this meanes there was a peace betwixt the king and the Noblemen his subiects whom hee receiued into fauour, suffering them to hold their Offices and Governments: but it was a peace of sixe monthes only, for seeing themselves out of credit, they rebelled againe, against whom the king sent some troupes, which forced them to retire to Leon. By reason whereof the warre reuiued betwixt Castille and Leon, but not too hotly: for there was presently a truce made, the Earle *D. Aluaro* falling sicke, whereof hee died at Toro, hauing first made a vow to take vpon him the habit and order of Saint *Lames*; wherefore they buried him at Vcles. Presently after *D. Fernand de Lara* his brother retired into Affricke, where hee was well entertained in the court of the King of Maroc; but hee died soone after, hauing caused himselfe to be carried to a Bourge inhabited by Christians, called Elbora, neere vnto the city of Maroc. Drawing neere his end, he tooke vpon him the habit of the Order of Hospitalliers, thinking it would serue to mitigate his offence, in which habit his bodie was carried into Castille, and buried in the Commanderie of Pont de Hitero, in the Bishopricke of Palencia, by the care of *Donna Major* his wife, *D. Fernand* and *D. Aluaro* his sonnes.

*B* This age brought forth new Orders of religion, contrary to the precedent Orders of Monkes; for whereas these could not bee satisfied with temporal wealth, which was giuen them by Kings and Noblemen, as it were in emulation one of another, those rejected all riches, making profession to be poore, and not to possesse any thing. The first was that of the preaching friars, which are called Iacobins in France, the Author whereof was that Chanoine of Oisma, which came out of Spaine into France, with his Bishop, to maintaine the authority of the church of Rome, against the Albigeois and their adherents, being pronounced heretikes by Pope *Innocent* the third, as we haue sayd: the vow and profession of this Order was, to preach against those which should stray from the faith. The Order was allowed and confirmed by Pope *Henricus* the third: *Dominique* was borne at Calaruega, and not at Calaroga, nor Calahorra; it is a Bourg in the Diocese of Oisma, betwixt Aranda of Dueto, and Saint Domingo of Silos, and is at this day a Monastery of Nunnes of that Order, the which was built by King *D. Alphonso* the eleuenth, or last of that name, where they doe shew his fathers house and the font where he was baptized.

The confirmation of his Order was presented by him, in the yeere 1218. vnto the King *D. Fernand*, hee himselfe hauing obtained it at Rome; and in truth the sea of Rome is much bound to these preaching friars, who haue beene one of the chiefe supporters thereof, the King *D. Fernand* as an obedient sonne to the Pope, receiued the Order and the Author with great reuerence, and caused the Monasteries of Saint Croix of Segobia, and of Saint Domingo the royal at Madrid, to bee built. *Dominique* dying some time after at Bologna, Pope *Gregory* the ninth, did canonize him, in the yeere 1223. there were other friars of this Order Canonized by Popes, as one *Manet*, *Gil*, *Anselme*, *Pelagius* and *Michel*.

*C* At the same time the Knights of the Order of Alcantara were diuided from that of Calatrava, being alike, and subiect vnto it, from which time they had their distinct maisters. *D. Alphonso* King of Leon, who had instituted this order, was a meanes that Alcantara, with all that this order did hold in the realme of Leon, was giuen to Saint *Iuan del Pereiro* of Portugal, which was of the same order of Cisteaux, vpon condition that the maister and Order of *Pereiro* and his successors should remaine vnder the obedience, and be subiect to the site of the Maisters of Calatrava. So in the yeere of our Lord 1219. this order had it's beginning and distinct maisters. Their habit was first a hood, and the Nouices at this day carry a hood of white serge or flamine, and when as they receiue the communion, euery one weares a white cloake. Since they haue taken a greene crosse, in fauour and at the instance of *D. Fernand* Infant of Castille, sonne to *John* the first, who was afterwards King of Arragon, in the yeere 1411. as shalbe sayd. Such was the deuotion of that age, ferul of such things.

Death of D.  
Aluaro and D.  
Fernand de  
Lara.

Order of preaching  
friars.

An. 1218.

Consents of  
the Order of  
Saint Iuan  
del Pereiro  
made built by  
the King D.  
Fernand the 3.

An. 1219.

Habit of the  
Knights of  
Alcantara.

D. Fernand

D. Ferdinand  
King of Castille  
marries the  
Emperors  
daughters.

An. 1220.

Arragon.

Contentions in  
Arragon.

Raymond Ber-  
enger Earle  
of Provence  
father to Que-  
eens, 8

D. *Fernand* King of Castille, being freed from D. *Alvaro*, and D. *Fernand Nunez de Lara*, which did trouble his realme, he began to taigne in peace; and being now of age fit to be married, the Queene D. *Berenguela* his mother, with the aduice of such as the knew to be faithful, began to treat a marriage in Germany, with *Beatrice*, daughter to the Emperour *Philip*, and cousin to the Emperour *Frederic* the second King of Naples and Sicile. The Germans say, that she had been married to *Ottou* Duke of Saxony, who was Emperour after *Philip*; so as the must of necessity haue bene a widow. To this effect D. *Maurice* Bishop of Burgos, and D. *Pedro* Abbot of the Monastery of Saint Peter of Arlanza, with the Prior of the Order of Saint Iohn were sent Ambassadors wel attended, who concluded this marriage, notwithstanding that they held them four months without any resolution: this Princeesse was sent into Spaine through France, whereas *Philip Augustus*, then reigning, did her much honour throughout his whole realme, causing her to be conducted vnto Guipuscoa, from whence the Noblemen of Spaine which were deputed to receive her, conducted her to Victoria, whereas the Queene D. *Berenguela* met her, and did accompany her to Burgos: this Princeesse did please D. *Fernand*, for she was exceeding faire. Three daies after her arrival, the King was made Knight, and did arme himselfe in the Monastery of Las Huélgas, and then he married D. *Beatrice* the last of December 1220. Of this marriage issued many children, whereof the eldest was *Alphonso*, who succeeded in the two Realmes of Castille and Leon: the second was D. *Frederic*, the third D. *Fernand*, the fourth D. *Henry*, the fifth D. *Philip* the sixth D. *Sancho*, the seventh and last D. *Manuel*. Hee had also two daughters, D. *Eleanor*, who died infant, and D. *Berenguela* a Nunne in the Monastery of Las Huélgas.

The yeere following 1221. the marriage was concluded betwixt D. *Eleanor*, the King of Castilles aunt, and D. *James* King of Arragon, who was then but thirteene yeeres old, which argues falsehood in some which haue written that this King before hee married this Princeesse, had contracted a secret marriage with D. *Theresa* Gile of Bidaurs, daughter of D. *Iohn* of Bidaurs, of whom hee begot two sonnes, the one called D. *Pedro*, who was Lord of Aierbe, and the other D. *Jaime* Lord of Xerica, the which hath no great ground in nature, considering the King was very yong, and we must beleue that the acquaintance he had with this Lady, either as a spouse or a friend, was ten yeeres after, when he was divorced from D. *Eleanor*. He was in a manner constrained to make this alliance with Castille, hauing need of D. *Fernands* assistance, by reason of the troubles he had in his country, which grew through the bad and tyrannous government and ambition of his vncl: the which we must relate and fetch farther off. This Prince had bene drawne, as we haue sayd, out of the hands of *Symon* Earle of Montfort, and conducted into his realme of Arragon, where there was great contention betwixt the Estates, and the Earles of Roussillon, the father, and sonne to D. *Fernand*, and the Abbot of Montarragon, the Kings vncl:, who in stead of governing the realme, would haue wrested it from him: notwithstanding by the fidelity of the Estates and their authority, together with the diligence of the Cardinal of Beneuent the Legat, right prevailed, and the Infant D. *James* was acknowledged for lawfull King at Lerida, as I haue sayd, where the Princes contending did not appeere. There were three Gouvernors appointed, two in Arragon, which were D. *Pedro d' Ahones*, and D. *Pedro Fernandes d' Aze-gra*, whose Gouvernements were distinct by the river of Ebro, and the third in Cattelogne. Out of all the which D. *Sancho*, Earle of Roussillon, was appointed superintendent. Thence it was also concluded, that D. *Raymond Berenger*, Earle of Prouence, a young Prince of nine yeeres of age, sonne to D. *Alphonso*, should be with the King, vnder the same tutors about mentioned, the which was put in execution: but the Earle soone after, about the yeere of our Lord 1216. escaped from them, and retired into Prouence, where hee married the daughter of *Thomas* Earle of Morienne, named *Beatrice*, who was mother of fine Queenes.

To prevent the continual practises of the Earles of Roussillon, and of D. *Fernand*, vncl: to the young King, it was resolved, about the yeere 1217. that hee should be declared of full age, being then but tenne yeeres old, according vnto some, the which the Earle

A Earle of Roussillon did wonderfully contradict: yet after great contention, he quelt the Regency in the yeere 1218. by the authority of the Estates assembled to that end at Taragone, whereas the Earle receiued certaine places in fee of the King. At this time the authority of the Magistrate (called the Iustice of Arragon) was great, for the defence of the public liberty.

The yeere following 1219. all the continent of Spaine was afflicted with a great drought (wherevnto it is very much subiect) as well through want of raine, as for that the springs were dried vp; so as there followed a great dearth, and pestilent diseases. These calamities were accompanied with troubles and ciuill seditions, by the rebellion of D. *Roderigo Lizana*, a man of great authority and power, who being incensed for some pretended wrongs against *Lope d' Albero*, hee surprized him in his house, and shut him vp in a fort of his, from whence the King deliuered him by force; his commandments, nor the decrees of his council preuailling nothing. D. *Roderigo* despayning to finde grace with the King, retired to Albarazin, to D. *Pedro Fernandes de Azagra*, whether they sent troupes of souldiers to besiege them, who could not force the place, being strong both by nature and art: notwithstanding D. *Roderigo* and D. *Pedro Fernandes*, acknowledging their fault, obtained pardon of the King. In these sieges they used an Engine of battrey made at Huefca, which did cast great stones, making one hundred and fifty shot in a day and a night, with great ruine.

C These things happened in the yeere 1221. whilst they treated of the marriage of the sayd King D. *James*, with D. *Eleanor* of Castille, the Mediators whereof were D. *Symon Ceraul*, *William Ceraul*, and *William Raymond* of Moncade, hee which married *Garfande*, the heire of the country of Berne: for the accomplishing whereof, the parties met at Agreda, where they were made sure, and the contract of marriage drawne, greatly to the Queenes aduantage, from whence they went to marry in the city of Tarascone. Of this marriage D. *Alphonso* was borne, who died before the father: This marriage was not firme, for being made without a dispensation from the Pope, being cousins in a prohibited degree, it was dissolved by Pope *Honorius* the second after some yeeres, and the Infanta sent home into Castille; yet some say that shee professed herselfe in the Monastery of Saint Mary de la Vega.

D 9 A little before this, King D. *Jaime*, had instituted the Order which they call our Lady of the redemption of prisoners, otherwise de la *Mercet*, by the counsel of his confessor frater *Raymond* of Pegnafort, or Rochefort, who set downe the rules for the religious of this Order, vnder that of Saint *Augustine*. Their profession and chiefe vow was to goe into the Moores country, to redeeme Christians that were prisoners, and if any one for want of money could not redeeme a Christian slave out of the hands of an Infidel, and did see him by ill vsage in despaire or otherwise in danger to renounce the Christian faith, they were bound to put themselves in the slaves place, and to serue for him vntill they had paid his Maister the price agreed vpon, which was a rare charity.

E The first brother of this Order, was *Peter Nolasco* of Barcelona, or *Francis* according vnto some, who receiued the habit in the chiefe church of that towne, with great solemnity, in the yeere 1218. by the hands of frater *Raymond* the maister thereof, the King D. *Jaime* being present. This habit was white, as they carry it at this day, with the armes of Arragon and Cattelogne, which are, a croffe argent, and four bends gueules in a field Or. The Order was since confirmed, in the yeere 1230. at the request of the King D. *Jaime* and purre of the maister, D. *Raymond* of Rochfort, by Pope *Gregory* the ninth, he who confirmed the Order of the friars Mineurs, instituted after that of the preaching friars, by the Seraphicall father Saint *Francis* vnder the Order of Saint *Augustin*, but somewhat changed: the Author of this Order was wonderfully persecuted by the enemy of mankind, enuious (say the Spanish Authors) of the great good which should come vnto the Catholike church of Rome, by the erudition and piety of the religious of that Order. This father of Franciscan friars, came into Spaine, during the raigne of D. *Fernand* King of Castille, of whom we write, who receiued him with great reuerence, and did build many goodly conuents of that Order, and by his example other Kings did the like.

Order of S. Francis.  
10

11 Five of the Brethren of this Order, not yet allowed nor confirmed by the Pope A (the which now iſtanding flouriſhed in Portugal, in the latter time of King D. *Alphonſo* the groſſe) were deſirous to paſſe to Maroc, there to preach the faith of Chriſt, but they prospered not; for the King of the Arabians, offended with the habit, countenances, and importunity of theſe friars, ſlew them all with his owne hand, by reaſon whereof they were put in the ranke of bleſſed Martires, according to their Legend. Of this cruel execution was an eye witneſſe D. *Pedro* of Portugal, brother to the King, who cauſed their bodies to bee brought to Coimbra, where they were buried in the Monaſtery of Saint Croix.

They ſay that theſe Monkes parting from Portugal, had prophecied to the Queene D. *Francia*, that ſhee ſhould die in the yeere of our Lord 1220. as it happened. In the B time of the ſame King D. *Alphonſo* flouriſhed that religious man whom they call Saint *Anthony* of Padoua, who notwithstanding was borne at Liſbone; and for his great knowledge, according to the time, was called the ake of the holy Scripture. Hee being a Chanoine of Saint Croix at Coimbra, had ſo great a feruency to ſerue God, as he became a friar of the Order of Saint Francis, changing his name, which was *Fernand* into that of *Anthony*; hee was a Doctour and a profeſſor in diuinity, and did read in the vniuerſities of Tolouſa, Bologna and Padoua, where he died; of whom Portugal and all Spaine glory much. As for King D. *Alphonſo* furnamed the groſſe, hee hath not miniſtered much matter to write of his actions: for his raigne was ſhort, and himſelfe in diſpoſſeſſed of his perſon. Hee died in the yeere of our Lord 1223. being but eight and thirty yeeres old, whereof hee raigned eleuen. His body lies in Alcouſa, neere vnto C that of the Queene his wife.

### D. Sancho Capello the ſecond of that name, the fourth King of Portugal.

Surname of  
Capello.

12 D. *Sancho* his ſonne, called *Capello*, raigned after him. He was ſixteene yeeres old D when he began to raigne, & was crowned in the city of Coimbra. His ſurname of *Capello* came by reaſon of the habits which hee ware wide and long, like a Clergy man. It may bee hee ware ſome great cap or hat, as the Portugals doe at this day, who will haue all their apparell very wide and eaſie, euen their buſkins of Spaniſh leather, which are ruſſed downe to their heeles, ſaying that it doth not become a gentleman to carry them ſtraight and ſmooth.

This Prince was more courteous, affable, and a louer of peace then was fit for a commander that will keepe his ſubiects in awe. Wherefore hee was contented by his ſubiects, and held for a coward and baſe minded, ſo as they attempted many things inſolently and audaciouſly, againſt all right or reaſon, without reſpect of Prince, or Iuſtice, the which was ill adminiſtred in his time, his baſeneſſe yielding to the malice of his ſubiects. Hee married with D. *Mencia Lope de Haro* daughter to the Earle D. *Lope Diaz de Haro*, Lord of Biſcay the fourth of that name: a Lady of great beauty and an excellent ſpirit, but not much pleaſing to the Portugals, for the King tooke her, being a widow againſt their likings, and beſides ſhee bare him no children: wherefore they vſed great meanes in the court of Rome to diſſolve this marriage.

Amongſt all the Kings of Portugal, as well thoſe which went before, as which followed, hee only was childleſſe, for hee neither had lawfull children, nor baſtards. D. *Mencia Lope* did gouerne him in ſuch ſort, as no reſpect of the publike good of the Realme, nor the exhortations, intreaties, nor admonitions, made vnto him by the Noblemen, and religious perſons, who were then much reſpected, neither yet any other meanes whatſoeuer, could moue him to bee diuorced from her, wherefore they ſpoke it publiely, that ſhee had bewitched him, what happened you ſhall vnderſtand hereafter.

Returning

A Returning to the affaires of Caſtile, the King D. *Fernand* hauing ſolemnized his aunts marriage, after all the feaſts and ſports he found himſelfe engaged in new troubles, procured by D. *Fernand Ruiz Dias de las Cameros*, who had newly croſt himſelfe to paſſe into Syria, to the holy warre; for the performing of which voyage, it may bee his purſe was not very well furniſhed, wherefore hee beganne to taxe and ſpoile the Kings country, which was vnder his command, for theſe conſcutions hee was cired to appeere in court, at Vaileddolit, where hee did in ſome ſort iuſtifie himſelfe.

Afterwards being pricked in conſcience for theſe outrages, being alſo by nature in conſtant, fearful, and with all ill aduifed, hee abſented himſelfe, wherefore the King ſeiſed vpon all his goods. D. *Fernand Ruiz* ſeeing that they proceeded againſt him with

B all rigour, fortified himſelfe in certaine caſtles, from the which hee did much trouble the Kings affaires, ſo as in the end hee was forced to compound with him and to giue him money.

By this accord, hee yeelded vp the places which hee held, and received ſoutreene thouſand peeces of gold. After him *Gonſalo Peres*, Lord of Molina did rebel, being moued thereto by D. *Gonſalo Nuges de Lara*, who beganne to ouerrunne and ſpoile thoſe parts which lay neere his houſes, like an enemy; not ceaſing, for any admonitions or threats made vnto him in the Kings name, vntill that hee was forced to goe and beſiege him in Molina; notwithstanding by the means of D. *Berenguela* the Queene mother, hee was reſtored to the Kings fauor, and the ſouldiers were drawne from before Molina. But D. *Gonſalo Nuges de Lara*, who for feare of puniſhment was retired into the Moores country, demanding pardon alſo could not obtaine it: wherefore hee liued the remainder of his daies, which were but ſhort, at Baſca in Andaluſia, where hee died miſerably, as his brethren D. *Aluaro* and D. *Fernand* had done, worthy in truth of great puniſhments; for their raſh and ſeditious enterpriſes, being greater and more eminent then all the other Noblemen of the realme. The King being freed from this care, and the realme in ſome quiet, D. *Maurice* Biſhop of Burgos, an Engliſh man borne, beganne in the yeere of our Lord 1220 to ſet his hand to the building of the great church of that city, according to the faſhion wee ſee it at this day, the which was finiſhed in his time. The Episcopall ſeat was beſore at Saint Laurence. The

D Archbiſhop D. *Roderigo* cauſed them alſo this yeere to worke about the building of the chiefe Church of Talauera, the which was indowed with foure dignities, and twelue Chanoins, and at the ſame time the Churches of Vaileddolit and Olina were built by a Biſhop of Olina, who had bene Secretary to the King D. *Fernand*. The church of Padronche Biſhops lodging, and the bridge which is vpon Minio were alſo then built, by the care and charge of D. *Laurence* Biſhop of that place.

It was alſo about the beginning of this yeere 1222. that D. *Remy* Infant of Nauarre, brother to the King D. *Sancho* the retired, was made Biſhop of Pampelone, of whole charity Authors write with admiration, that hee gaue all hee had vnto the poore, and the more his riches did abound, the more hee gaue.

E In all the time after the marriage of the King D. *James*, and D. *Eleanor* of Caſtile, vnto the yeere 1228. when as the warre of Majorca was attempted, the realme of Arragon was troubled with continual ſeditious; procured by the Infant D. *Fernand*, the Kings vnde being exceeding ambitious, who hauing entred into League, with D. *Nugno* of Arragon his couſin, ſonne to D. *Sancho* Earle of Roſillon, D. *William* of Moncada (a little before enemies, but now growne friends, vpon this occaſion) *Pedro d'Alonſes* and others, tooke vpon him againe the Regency of the realme, by force, in the yeere 1223, and diſtributed amongſt his fauourers and confederats the chiefe dignities of the realme, holding the King and Queene, in his powder: but a while after the King eſcaped from Tortoſa, and retired to Hucra or Horta, where hauing conferred with the Nobility, hee raiſed an armie, with the which hee entred the territories of the Moores of Valencia and Murcia being tired with ciuill ſtrifits, ſo as hee ſoted *Azabur* or *Zeit* King of Valencia to promiſe him tribute, and in like manner him of Murcia, which was the fifth penny of their imposts. In this warre many commanders of the League, intermeddled, contrarie to the Kings liking. Amongſt others, D. *Pedro d'Alonſes* discontented



*D. Pedro de  
Alonso fl. 122.*

discontented that the King had made a truce with the Moores, sought to breake it, and did often lead troopes of souldiers into the territory of Valencia, spoyling all he found: so as the King hauing often aduised and intreated him to containe himselfe, but in vaine hee commanded they should take him prisoner, but *D. Pedro* seeking to defend himselfe, being pursued by the King and others, was slaine by *D. Sancho Martin de Luna*, with a lance: the which did put all the townes of Arragon (being already infected) into open rebellion against the King: who marched presently with his army into the countries of Sobrarbe, and Ribagorça, whereas the houses, lands and subiects of *D. Pedro* were, the which he wasted all he could.

The townes of Saragossa, Huefca and all the rest, except Calatayub, followed the Infant *D. Fernand*, and the Noblemen of his faction, as defenders (sayd they) of the publike liberty, the chiefe of the Saragossans, was their Bishop *D. Sancho d' Abones*; brother to *D. Pedro*, that was slaine. On the other side the Kings army was led by *D. Blasco Alagon*, and *Arial de Luna*, who did much annoy them of Saragossa and others. In the end the mildnesse, patience and dissimulation of the King *D. James*, surmounted all these alterations and mutinies, who could fo winne the Princes and Noblemen, being much troubled to maintaine this warre, as they all submitted themselves vnto him; by whose example the townes were quiet, yet the cities of Saragossa, Huefca and Iacca made a league amongst themselves, for the defence of their lands and iurisdiccions against theetes and robbers, and remainders of ciuill dissensions, and erected a Magistrate, holding a forme of Iustice, like vnto that which they call *Hermadales* in Castille, yet without any preiudice to the Kings royal prerogative.

*Alarcon.*

*Prinssal King  
of Castille ex-  
ters Andalusia.*

13 In Castille whilst that the King *D. Fernand* was busie to suppress his owne subiects, and to dispose of the affaires of old Castille, the Inhabitants of Cuenca, Huete, Alarcon and Moja, being gathered together, made a roade into the territories of Valencia, from whence they brought a great booty. This was an aduice giuen by *D. Zenguela* the Queene mother, and the prelates of Castille, to the end they might breake the truce which was betwixt her sonne and the petty Kings of the Moores, thinking it high time the King should goe to the warre, and that it was the dutie of a Catholike Prince to pursue these Infidels, with what right soeuer. Wherefore the King animated by this counsel, gathered his army together, and marched into Andalusia, where at his first entry, *Aben Mahomad*, King of Baeca, made himselfe his vassal, sending to meet the Christians army, when it was at the passage of the mountaine called Puerto del Muradal. Afterwards they came to Quetada, whereas many Moores were slaine, and many taken, the townes of Lacra, Teua and Palhes were abandoned by the Moores, the castles of Elnader, Escamel and Espulei were razed, whereof the two last were yielded by composition. From thence *D. Lope Dias de Haro*, was sent with *D. Fernand Corti*, Maister of the Order of Saint James, and *D. Goncal Yuannes*, maister of Calatrava, to Bitoras, whereas there were certaine bands of Arabians of Affrike, whom they defeated, bringing away many prisoners. *D. Rodrigo Ximenes* the Archbishop and Primat did accompany the King in this expedition, who after these happy exploits, returned to Toledo, whereas the Queene attended him.

*Arragon.*

In the meane time *D. James* King of Arragon, being discontented that the Castilians had attempted to invade the Moores vpon the marches of his conquest, according to the diuision which had been made by the Popes order, entred into Castille by his frontier, where he did some spoile towards Soria, and therefore the peace was like to breake betwixt these two Kingdomes: yet the King *D. Fernand* being come to Cuenca, the two Kings were reconciled, and had a friendly interview there, yet the King of Castille, to the preiudice of Arragon, had receiued *Zeis Abensit* King of Valencia to fealty and homage, as his vassal, who being terrified with the great power of the Christians, and moued by the example of the King of Baeca was come to the King *D. Fernand* to Cuenca.

*Moorea.*

*An. 1224.*

In the yeere 1224. there was a new army raised, and led into Andalusia, which committed great spoiles, and tooke Andujar and Martos, with many forts and castles of small fame, finding no resistance in field.

And

A And in the yeere 1225. the Christians army was lead againe into the Marches of Andalusia, being drawn thither by their good successe, the King affecting nothing more than this Moorish warre, wherein he tooke exceeding delight. In which expedition *Xadax* was taken, and other inestimable harmes done vnto the Infidels. Of the fruits of this war the Knights of Calatrava, had Martos, for them and their successors: then was there in Spaine, Legat for Pope *Honorius* the third, *Iohn Abbas* Villa, Bishop, Cardinal *Sabina* who perswaded the King of Castille, not to suffer the Moores in quiet, but to presse them whilst they were waunting: wherefore in the yeere 1226. the army of Castille assembled at Toledo, was lead into Andalusia, where they tooke from the Moores Saint Esteuan, Exnatoraph, and the Tower of Albepe, or Albezo, and besieged Taen, which they could not take, for the towne was great, and well fortified with men, and all things necessary for the warre. In it was *D. Aluar Perez de Castro*, a banished man of Castille, with 160. horse Christians.

*Christians in  
pay with the  
Moors against  
the King of  
Castile.*

*Exploits of the  
Christians against  
the King of  
Almorcia.*

*Granada and  
Albarrad.*

Wherefore the king *D. Fernand*, rayling his siege went to Priego, where there were many knights of the Almohades lodged, who were very rich: the towne was taken by assault, & soone after the castle yielded by composition. After which, the Christians tooke Loxa, & hauing taken great spoiles, and many prisoners in those places, they came and camped at Alhambra, which was a strong place, seated vpon a steepe rock: but the Moores were so amazed, as without any resistance they abandoned their goods and fled to Granada: whereby it seemes, that that part of the fort of Granada, which is called Alhambra was built and peopled by these Moores; for after that time the towne of Granada began to be wonderfully peopled with Moores, which were chased from such towns & places as the Christians did win in Andalusia. The fort of Alhambra being spoiled, the Christian army did ouerrun the champaign country of Granada, burning and destroying all they found, with great slaughter of the Moores, amongst the which there died a famous captaine, called *Harippus*, a great enemy to the Christians, & who had done them much harme the yeeres before. The Christians approached fo neere vnto the city of Granada, as the Moores fearing to be besieged, or that they would spoile their goodly building there abouts, compounded and did homage to the King *D. Fernand*, deliuering him 1300. Christian captiues, which they held. This composition was treated by *Almaro Perez de Castro*, about mentioned, whom the King *D. Fernand* receiued then into grace.

D And thinking he had done ynough, he returned with this victorious army to Toledo. *D. Rodrigo Ximenes* did not willingly loose any one of these voiaiges, yet he could not bee present at this last, by reason of a sicknesse, which surprized him at Guadalquivar, so as hee gaue his troups to *D. Dominike* Bishop of Plaisance, with power to execute his Episcopall charge in the campe. So did the Prelats in those daies labour in the Lords vineyard, as many doe also in this age. The Garrisons left by the King at Martos, Andujar, and other places of the frontier, among the which was *D. Aluar Perez* the commander, & the maister of the Order of Calatrava beganne to spoile the territories of Seuille, whereas there reigned a mighty Moore, called *Abullalle* or *Aben Lalle*, who hauing drawne a great number of soldiars out of Seuille, Xeres, Carmona and Ecchia, came and charged these Christians, who were neither amazed nor weak; wherefore they did not only withstand the Moores valiantly, but did wholly defeat them, so as there were 20000. slaine vpon the place, yet the Moores hauing repaired their forces, besseged the castle of Garces, and notwithstanding that the Christians, which were nere, did attempt to succor it: and that the King *D. Fernand* with *D. Lope Dias de Haro*, with many other knights, did aduance to raise the siege, yet the place was taken: wherefore the King *D. Fernand* came to Exaltalulla, whether the King of Baeca came vnto him, being accompanied with 3000. horse Almohades, and Alarabes, and a great number of foote, offering both himselfe and his men to doe him seruice. He was welcome to the King, and entertained

*Moores of Se-  
uille defeated.*

F with all signes of friendship. These Princes being together, they made an accord, by the which the King of Baeca promised to deliuer vnto the King of Castille, the castles of Saluatierra, Burgallimar, & Capilla; vpon condition the King of Castille should take him & his country into his protection, & defend him against all men for assurance of the deliery of which places, it was agreed that the castle of Baeca should be presently giuen in

14  
*Alon Mahomad King  
of Baeca sent  
him selfe vnto  
the King of  
Castile, & the  
King of Castile  
promised to  
take him into  
his protection.*

11

pauie

Treasures loyally  
punished.

An. 1227.

Troubles in  
France for the  
Government.

Basca Castle  
besieged by the  
Moors.

Great church  
of Toledo built  
by the Archbish-  
hop D. Rodrigo.

Arragon.  
An. 1228.

pawne to the King of Castille, the which he should yeeld vp againe, when hee should be A  
in possession of the sayd three castles. Burgalhimar was presently deliuered, and 15. daies  
after Saluatierra (yet with some difficulty) receiued a garrison of Castille: but Capilla, a  
place in the Archbishopske of Toledo, strong by nature, being built vpon a rocke,  
would not obey, wherefore three months being spent in treaties and parleys, and nothing  
concluded, the King returned to Toledo, leauing the frontier well manned; and winter  
being past, he came and laied siege to Capilla, being stil seized of the castle of Baeca: this  
place was obtayned defended by the Moores which were rebels to *Aben Mahomad*, who  
furnished the campe with victuals from Cordoua, whether he was retired, shewing him  
felfe faithful in al things to the King D. *Fernand*. In the end Capilla was yeelded, vpon  
condition they should depart with ther baggage, and then the King returned to Toie. B  
do, fixe weekes after his departure. Soone after hee had newes that the Moores, sub-  
iects to *Aben Mahomad*, incensed at the submission which hee had made vnto the King  
of Castille, and that hee had sent victuals vnto the campe before Capilla, were rebelled  
against him, and had forced him to flee to the castle of Almodauar del Rio, whereas  
thinking to enter, hee was preuented and slaine by two Moores, who had carried his head  
to *Aben Lalle*, King of Seuille. These murderers thinking to haue done an act very  
pleasing to this Moorish King, and expecting some good recompence, were deceiued,  
for the King of Seulle caused both their heads to bee cut off, and cast vnto the dogges.  
This happened in the yeere 1227. at that time died *Lewis* the eight, the French King,  
father to Saint *Lewis*, and hnsband to the Queene D. *Blanche* of Castille. This Lady  
by the will of the King her husband, was left Regent of the realme of France, during the C  
by the will of the King her husband, was left Regent of the realme of France, during the  
minority of the King her sonne, who was but twelue yeeres old: wherewith many No-  
blemen of France being discontented, banded against her, to dispossesse her of the go-  
uernment; thinking it vnworthy the name of the French, and ominous for their Es-  
tate, to be gouerned by a woman, especially a stranger. The chiefe of the conspirators  
were *Philip* Earle of Bologne the Kings vncler, *Peter Duke of Brittan*, *Hugh de la March*,  
*Robert d'Euereux*, *Raymond* of Toloufa, and *Thybauld* of Champagne, who was King of  
Nauarre: but the Queene, who it may bee found they had more regard to their priuate  
interests, then to the publike good, resisted them courageously, being supported by o-  
ther Noblemen of France, so as from words they fell to armes. Vpon this occasion D  
the King D. *Fernand* was solicited to succor the Queene D. *Blanche* his aunt, against the  
Rebels, whereof he excused himselfe; although hee seemed to be much greued for her  
distresse: But hee was then so ingaged in warre against the Moore, as it was impossible  
for him to decide his forces: but you must obserue that by the right of succession the  
realme of Castille did belong vnto her, the which D. *Fernand* did hold, so as there was  
little loue betwixt them. Afterwards all succeeded to the Queenes desire in France, who  
made frustrate her enemies designs, as the French Histories report, gouerning the  
realme, and breeding vp her sonne vnder the discipline of the religious of Saint Domi-  
nike and St. Francis, who were then in great credit. The King of Baeca being slaine as we  
haue sayd, new difficulties did arise for the King of Castille, for the Moores of Baeca E  
being aduertised thereof, they presently put themselves in armes, and began to assault  
the castle, the which was garded by the knights of the Calatrava: who possted  
whilst hee defended himselfe valiantly, aduertised the King of his distresse, who possted  
thither, hauing in his company, D. *Aluaro Peres de Castro*, & other knights. The brute of  
his coming did strike such a terror into these mutinous Moores, as they dislodged be-  
fore they saw him, and fled to Grenado, as they also of Martos did: they coniecture that  
these did people the Albaycin of Grenado: the King put D. *Lope Dias de Haro*, Lord of  
Biscay, in garrison into Baeca, & into Martos D. *Aluaro Peres de Castro*, and D. *Tello Al-*  
*phonso de Meneses* and others in other places, and so returned to Toledo, whereas that  
yeer the Archbishop D. *Roderigo Ximenes*, began to build the great church, as it is at this  
present different fro that form it was of before, when it was a Mosque for the Moores. F  
15 In Arragon the expedition of Majorca was decreed 1228. this Island was held by  
the Moores, and their King *Abobib*, whom others call, *Retabormbe*, who did incessantly  
spoil the sea, and the coast of Spaine, without any pretext, and did impudently mocke  
at

A at the King of Arragon when hee complained of the thefts and robberies committed by  
him or his men. For this cause, at the Estates assembled at Barcelona, & they consenting  
and requiring it, according to the customes and preiudges of the Arragonois & Cat-  
relans, a war was resolu'd against this King of the Moores, and the Majorjans: for the  
which there were 15. vessels of al sorts prepared, the which transported the army to Pa-  
lombata: the chiefe commanders were, D. *Berengaire Palox*, Bishop of Barcelona, D.  
*Nuguo* of Arragon, Earle of Rossillon, *William* of Moncade, Lord of Berne, *William Ray-*  
*mond* of Moncade his cousin, *Gessry* of Roccaberin, *Oliuer Thermes*, *William* of Saine  
Martin, *Gerard Cernillon*, *Raymond Allemand*, *William* of Clermont, *Hugues Mataplane*,  
*William* of Saint Vincent, *Raymond Bellos*, *Bernard Centillas*, *William Masfogio*, *Berengaire*  
B of Saint Eugene, and other great and valiant Noblemen of Arragon and Catelogne:  
the first which leaped to land, was one named *Bernard Argemone*. At their first aboard  
the Arragonois were incountr'd, and sharply repulsd by the Moores, with the losse of  
the Lord of Beany, of D. *Raymond* his coulin, *Hugues* of Mataplane, and many other  
knights and good souldiars which were slaine vpon the place: but when as the whole ar-  
my was landed, and had better meanes to discouer both the enemies and the country,  
the Moores were beaten backe into their towne, and besieged: the which was  
with great diligence and fury battered & assaulted; notwithstanding the siege was long  
and difficult; for it continued fiftene monethes, til in the end after much toyle and losse,  
the city of Majorca came into the power of the Arragonois, hauing bene valiantly and  
obstinately defended by the Moores: the King *Abobib*, & a son of his, and many Moores  
were slaine in this warre, and the city of Majorca forced: the spoile thereof was diuided  
by the Bishops of Barcelona and Lerida, by the Earles D. *Nuguo* of Rossillon, D. *Ponce*  
*Hugues* of Empurias, D. *Pedro Cornet*, and *Symon Perre*: but whether they shewed them-  
selves partial in this diuision, or for some other occasion, the souldiars mutined, and spo-  
iled the tents and baggage of these Bishops and Noblemen: al the Island being won, ex-  
cept some mountaines and forests, whether the remainder of the Moores which had es-  
caped were retired, Majorca was made subiect for the spirituality, to the Bishop of Bar-  
celona, but in such sort as it should haue a particular bishop, which was then named by  
the King: which bishop being dead, the nomination should belong to the bishop and  
D Chapter of Barcelona, who sayd this right had bene long due vnto them. The first that  
was named to this dignity, was D. *Raymond Torella*: an other. son of the King of Major-  
cas, was a while after baptized, and was named *James*; he married a lady of the family of  
*Alagon*, daughter to D. *Martin Roulard Alagon*: from him is descended the house of  
*Gottorio*, so called of the place which was given in fee to this Prince of the Moores, by  
the King D. *James*; his sonne was *Blasco Gottorio*, and of him was begotten *Michel Peres*  
*Gottorio*. They of Minorca being terrified by the taking of Majorca, offered tribute to the  
King of Arragon; and not long after D. *William Mongeri* conquered the Island of Yui-  
fa, sometimes called Ebusus and the Islands of Fromentaria and Cabrera, & yielded also  
through feare. They hold that there were in armes in these Islands, during this warre, a-  
bout 40000. Moores footmen, and 50000. horse. The Earldome of Vrgel hauing bene  
long in sure, betwixt *William* of Moncade, Lord of Beany, together with *Ponce Cabrera*, &  
*Armbixis*, daughter to *Arminges*; the last Earle of Vrgel, in the end, sentence was giue  
of her side, who was married to D. *Pedro* of Portugal, son to the King D. *Sancho* the first,  
to which married couple, the King D. *James* did afterwards giue in exchange of the Ear-  
ldome of Vrgel, the Islands of Majorca and Yuifa, to hold them during their liues, and  
many places in Catelogne in propriety. Notwithstanding the county of Vrgel returned  
sometime after to D. *Ponce de Cabrera*, and the Islands Pyticeles, Yuifa and Fromenta-  
ria, were giuen in fee to the Archbishop of Tarragone.  
In the same yeere 1228. D. *Tello Alphonso de Meneses*, and other captaines Castillans, Mores  
F commanders of the garrisons vpon the Moores frontiers, went to field, and ouerran the  
territory of Seulle about Baena, Lucena & Castro del Rio: and *Aben Lalle*, King of Se-  
uille, assailed the Christians, towards Buioras, Baeca and Martos, seeking to diuert them  
which foraged his country: the King D. *Fernand* arriving, the Moore fainted, and made  
himselfe tributary, promising to pay him three hundred thousand Marauidis of gold.  
li 2 Tho

Estates of Ar-  
ragon made  
warre and  
peace and al  
Leagues, Ac-  
tors, H. Siruie

Majorca taken  
from the  
Moors

Nomination of  
the Bishop of  
Majorca

Mores

King of Seulle  
a Moore, tri-  
butary to the  
King of Castille

Aben Hus  
King of Murcia  
was a worthy  
theft of Al-  
mohades, in  
Spaine.

The death of *Aben Mahomad* King of *Bacsa*, gave way to the raigne of *Aben Hus* A who was of the race of the Kings of *Saragossa*, and enemy to the faction of the *Almohades*: this King seized vpon the fort of *Ricot*, in the realme of *Murcia*, and tooke occasion of their religion, publishing that that which the *Almohades* had brought in, was false, and inuented by wicked, turbulent and mutinous persons, whose rash impiety the soueraigne God had shewed was displeasing vnto him, by their vnfortunate euent in the late warres of Spaine: wherefore they must returne to the simple beliefte of their auncestors, and reiect that prophane *Almohade*, with his King *Abdelmeu*, and their followers. Vpon this quarrel hee intituled himselfe King of *Murcia*, and beganne to persecute the sect of the *Almohades*, so as all hee could get into his hands, he put to a miserable death; hee caused the *Melquites* or *Melgides* to bee purified and washed, with exorcismes and superstitious ceremonies, as hauing beene polluted and violated, in seruing the new sect of the *Almohades*.

So vnder collour of restoring the ancient beliefte and knowledge of the law of *Mohamet*, hee was wonderfully followed, and was respected, feared and honoured, as King in the realme of *Murcia* and part of *Andalusia*, the country of *Granado*, *Almercy*, *Cordoua* and *Eccia*: yet hee found *Zael* who made head against him, a Moore who had newly usurped the realme of *Valencia*, and chased away *Leit* *Aben Leit*, for that they sayd hee had laied a plot with the Pope, and the King of *Arragon*, to become a Christian, and that hee had had conference to that end with the King *D. James* at *Calatajub*, whither hee had also carried his sonne. This *Zael* was sonne to *Modes* and Nephew to King *Lobo*: *Aben Lalle* King of *Seuile* made the like resistance, yet *Aben Hus* troubled them all, and tooke from them a part of their countries, so as hee became the most powerfull of all the Kings of the Moores in Spaine, beeing otherwise a bountifull Prince, and a good Iusticer. The new sect of the *Almohades* was thus rooted out by him, and the ancient interpretation of their *Alphurcan* restored in Spaine, eighty and one yeeres after that *Almohad*, had past.

Leon.

Yet the first attempt he made against the Christians, succeeded but ill; for *D. Alfonso* King of *Leon*, being in the country of *Extremadura*, where he had made warre, whilst that *D. Fernand* his sonne did ouerrunne *Andalusia* and their tooke the townes of *badajos*, *Caceres* and others, this King of the Moores presumed to dislodge him from *Merida*, before the which hee was camped, to which end hee came towards him with a mighty army: King *D. Alfonso* notwithstanding that hee was very old, gaue him battle, and defeated this King of the Moores, forcing him to saue himselfe by flight: and returning to the siege, he tooke the towne of *Merida*, in the yeere 1229. which was the last of his exploits: for being now very old, and much broken, he died soone after, in the yeere 1230. at *Villanoua* of *Sarrio*, hauing raigned forty and foure yeeres in *Leon* *Galicia* and the *Asturies*: whose body was interred at *Saint James*.

Castille and  
Leon united.

16 The King *D. Fernand* who was then in *Andalusia*, at the siege of *Daralferza*, beeing aduertized of his fathers death, tooke counsell of the Noblemen which were with him in the army; who were all of opinion, that hee should goe with all speed into the realme of *Leon*, which by hereditary right did belong vnto him, before his sisters children did seize thereon, who pretended an equall right with him: for so had the King *D. Alfonso* ordained by his will, to preiudice his sonne *D. Fernand*, whom hee had alwaies hated and pursued to the death; yea a little before hee died, hee sought to marry his daughter *Donna Sancha* to *D. James* King of *Arragon*, who by the decree of Pope *Honorius* the third, had put away *D. Elenor* of *Castille* his wife. *Don Alfonso* offering to giue in dowry with the Infanta the Realmes of *Leon*, *Galicia* and the *Asturies*, after his decease, to deprive the King of *Castille* his sonne, but his death prevented the effect: wherefore the King *D. Fernand* following this good counsell, came to *Toledo*, to passe from thence into *Leon*; vpon the way, hee met with the Queene *D. Berenguela*, his mother, at *Orgaz*, who came to hasten him, and returned with him to *Toledo*: from thence hee went with speed into the territories of *Leon*, where hee was receiued and acknowledged in all places where hee past for their lawfull King, vnto the city of *Toro*, which did him all the honour hee could desire, hauing sent there Depu-

D. Fernand  
King of Castille  
receiued possession  
of the realme  
of Leon.

Depu-

A Deputies to meete him vpon the way, in the which hee was proclaimed King of *Leon*.

In the beginning the other townes and castles did not allow of this election of them of *Toro*, by reason of the Infants *D. Sancha* and *D. Dulce* or *Douce*, who would in the confidence which they had in their cause, dispute their interest and put it to the triall of law: but all well considered *D. Alfonso* will tooke no effect; for *D. Fernand* was sonne and right heire to these realmes before the daughters, who were forced to agree with their brother, and had 30000. doubloons euery yeere during their liues. This accord betwixt the King *Don Fernand* and the Infantes of *Leon* his Sisters, was wrought and concluded betwixt the Queenes *D. Berenguela* the Kings mother, and *D. Theresa*, mother to the Infants: after that the King had bene crowned in *Leon*, the chiefe city of the Kingdome, in the presence of the Bishops *D. Iohn* of *Oueydo*, *D. Roderigo* of *Leon*, *D. Nugno* of *Astorga*, *D. Martin* of *Salamanca*, *D. Michel* of *Cit*, *Roderigo* and *D. Sancha* of *Coria*. By this accord the King *D. Fernand* did peaceably enjoy the Realmes of *Leon*, *Galicia*, & the *Asturies*, hauing raigned thirteene yeeres in *Castille*, the re-union of which Estates made this yeere, 1230. 73. yeeres after their last diuision, hath remained firme euer since, without any further leperation. From *Leon*, the King came to *Beneuent*, whereas the Infantes his sisters met him, and there did ratifie the accord made by the two Queenes, renouncing all pretensions to the sayd Realmes, and to the testament made by the King *D. Alfonso* their father. Then the King went to visit the Prouinces, Townes and Forts of his Kingdomes, where without any contradiction he was receiued & intainted with great ioy and acclamation of the people, as it was fit.

This death of the King of *Leon*, tell out happily for *D. Fernand*, to couer his retreat from *Daralferza*, with some honourable pretext. In the meane time they made light skirmishes, with the taking and recouering of castles, vpon the frontiers of *Toledo* and *Andalusia*.

In the yeere of our Lord 1231. *Quesada* was recouered by the Christians, and for a reward of their valour, in recouering thereof, was giuen to the church of *Toledo*, but it was afterwards lost and recouered againe diuers times. The King of *Castille* continuing his warre, there was established vpon that frontier, that which they call *Adelantamiento* of *Caloria*, by the taking of *Pilos*, *Toya*, *Lacra*, *Agolino*, *Font Julian*, *Tour de Lago*, *Higuera*, *Maulula*, *Arcola*, *Dos Hermanas*, *Villa Montin*, *Niebla*, *Caloria*, *Concha* and *Chelis*, all which places were by prodigality and inconsiderate zeale (altogether vfed in those religious times) giuen (in a religious acknowledgement to the Apostolike Sea) by the King *D. Fernand* to the Archbishops of *Toledo*, the which the haue enjoyed vnto the assumption of the Cardinal *D. Iohn Tanera* to the Arch-bishoprike, who gaue this country to the Marquis of *Camaraca*, whose successeur *Don Iohn Martinez Silesio* Cardinal, had by reason thereof great and earnest sute against the Church of *Toledo*; but notwithstanding that the Church had diuers sentences (by reason of the great sway the Church of *Rome* bore at that same time) in its fauour, yet could they neuer gette possession of any of those places, for certaine speciall reasons which are not specified.

17 At that time the realmes of *Naples* and *Sicile* were held by the Emperour *Frederic* the second, who married *Yoland*, the only daughter of *Iohn de Brenne*, who called himselfe king of *Ierusalem* (which is the reason why the Kings of *Naples* and *Sicile* haue euer since intituled themselves Kings of *Ierusalem*) by which alliance they vnted the titles of *Naples*, *Sicile* and *Ierusalem*, which the descendentes of this Noble Princeesse haue carried.

F This *Iohn de Brenne* beeing chosen chiefe Generall of the Westerne succours, which by the procurement of the counsell of *Latrian* went into the Country of *Syria*, and obtained amongst them the first and soueraigne degree, and was called King of *Acre* or *Prolemaide*: yet hee did neuer hold the city of *Ierusalem*: but hauing neede of greater forces to resist the Turkes and enemies of our faith, hee was forced

An. 1231.

Adelantamiento  
too of Caloria  
giuen to the  
Church of the  
Tale.

to returne againe into Europe to sollicite the Christian Princes to assist him. Being arrived into Italie, hee married his daughter as wee haue sayd, and then passed into Sapine, in the yeere of our Lord 1232. to visit the sepulcher of Saint James, which was a pilgrimage of greatest merit after that of Ierusalem. Passing through Castille, hee was received with great honour by the King D. *Fernand*, who in confirmation of their friendship, gaue him D. *Berenguela*, his sister by father and mother in marriage.

Nauarre.

The Realme of Nauarre was at that time but ill gouerned by reason of the Kings solitary life, who was retired and did not speake with any man, but his household seruants, and would not heare of any affaires. This mischief was increased by the death of D. *Ramir* his brother, Bishop of Pampelone, who by his authority and respect might something haue restrained them that would haue troubled the state, were they home-bred or strangers: wherefore about the yeere of our Lord 1231. D. *Lope Diaz*, Lord of Biscay, who had some lands in the souerainty of Nauarre, prouoked and supported by D. *Fernand* King of Castille, hee found an occasion to commit some spoiles in the Kingdome.

Impatience of  
Cont. of the  
of Champagne  
to rage.

18 On the other side *Thibault* Earle of Champagne, pretending right to the sayd realme by his mother D. *Blanche*, daughter to the King D. *Sancho* the wife, had feigned practises and Intelligences in Nauarre, to bee admitted to the Regency of the realme, during the life of King D. *Sancho* the retired: whereof hee being aduertised, after great negligence, in the end hee beganne to discouer it, to his great preiudice, wherefore being much discontented at these attempts, both of the King of Castille, and of the Earle of Champagne, he resolved to frustrat both of their pretensions, and to be reuenged, especially of the King of Castille; he therefore gaue D. *James* King of Arragon to vnderstand, that hee had some matters to impart vnto him, which would redound greatly to his profit: and therefore he intreated him to come to Tudele, excusing himselfe that hee had not come vnto him, by reason of the indisposition of his person: The King of Arragon sayd not to come to Tudele: and for that the King of Nauarre could not stirre out of his chamber, hee entred into the castile, where they conferred together.

The King D. *Sancho* complaining much of D. *Fernand* King of Castille, that not content to hold the Lands which his predecessors had wrested from him, had againe invaded and spoiled his country, hee demanded his aduice and helpe to bee reuenged: and hauing in like manner discouered of the disobedience and little respect of *Thibault* Earle of Champagne, who had attempted to play the King in Nauarre in his life time, hee concluded, that if hee would make a firme alliance with him, and betwixt Nauarre and Arragon, to invade the realme of Castille, and not to cease vntill they had forced the King D. *Fernand* to restore the Lands of the riuers of Oja, Bureua, Alaua, and Guispucoa, or being conquered, to yeeld him the fruits and reuenues thereof, and to pay the charges of the warre, hee should bee content to harken to a mutual donation of both realmes, very profitable for the King of Arragon, and his sonne D. *Alphonso*, which was, that the suruiour should inherit both Kingdomes of Nauarre and Arragon. The King D. *Jame* liked well hereof, for hee was in the floure of his age, and his sonne also likely to liue, whereas the King D. *Sancho* was above threescore and eight yeeres old, and moreouer hee was so fat, and full of humors, and so tormented with a canker, as hee expected hourly to leaue this world. This Accord being made betwixt them, they concluded that the troups of both Realmes should bee ready against the next yeere, and should meet at the Rendezvous in May. The King D. *Sancho* desired nothing more then to recouer the Prouince of Guispucoa, imagining that since the separation thereof, the realme of Nauarre had lost one of the chiefe commodities which a country may haue that lies vpon the sea.

Vntill accord  
betweene the  
Kings of Nauarre and Arragon.  
1231.These 2  
chiefs: common  
distris a country.

The Noblemen and chiefe of the King D. *Sancho*s counsell at this accord were F. D. *Garcia Almoravid*, D. *Sancho Fernandes* of Montague, D. *William Baudouin*, and D. *William Iustice* of Tudele, which is a principall dignitie. These and other Noblemen, with the Deputies of the Townes of Nauarre, signed the conuen-

A conuention and accord betwixt these two kings: the which the Noblemen of Arragon, which held the chiefe charges, did in like manner: among the which are named D. *Pedro Fernandes d'Açagra* Lord of Albarazin, *Athou de Foces*, L. Steward, *William de Moncade*, *Rodrigo Lizines*, *Arial de Lune*, *Simon Perca*, *Blasco Maca*, *Pedro Peres* Iustice Maior of Arragon, and *Pedro Sanches* Secretarie of State in Arragon. For the defraying of this warre, D. *Sancho* was forced to imploy his treasure, which was very great: for hauing liued long in this solitary life, hee might easily gather together, haue no caufe of expence. He therefore deliuered to the king of Arragon, an hundred thousand solz of gold, besides at such time as the army was to march against Castile, newes came vnto the king of Arragon, that the Iland of Maiorca had rebelled: wherefore being more carefull to keepe his owne, then to take from another, he made vse of those souldiers which hee had leauied for the warre of Castile, and led them into Maiorca, so as the king of Nauarre found himselfe too weake to attempt any thing against Castile, whereas the Earle D. *Lope d'Haro* was in armes to fight with him at the passage. He was of opinion that the King D. *James* had mocked him, so as falling into a great rage, he would breake the accord which they had made. King *James* was aduertized of all that he sayd and did, by some Knights of Nauarre, which were false vnto their Prince, and discontented with this strange and disdainfull manner of liuing, of the which D. *Pedro Ximenes* of Valtierra was one. The warre of Maiorca being soone ended, the king Don *James* returned to Tudele to excuse himselfe, and to offer satisfaction hereafter, yea to furnish 2000. horse, with other forces for the warre of Castile, but the King Don *Sancho* would by no means enter into conference with him. Moreouer, Don *Garcia Almoravid* and Don *John Peres de Barzan*, captains of the armie, which was vpon the frontiers of Castile, being in fight of the enemy, were reduced to that extremitie by Don *Lope Diaz de Haro*, as they feared every day they should be forced to fight, he neglected both them and all they did: and they write, that a Gentleman being sent from them to acquaint the king with the estate of their affaires, and to demand two hundred horse of Supply, with the which they should be able to give battell vnto the Castillians, he attended foure dayes, and could neither haue entry nor audience. This strange and disdainfull behaviour caused the king Don *James* to returne into Arragon much discontented, whereupon the Castillians spoiled Nauarre, the which he might easily haue prevented, whereupon he grew wayward, and insupportable euen to his household seruants, who could not please him. This waywardnesse and distemperature, together with the burthen of a repleate and ill-disposed bodie, his long incurable disease, together with his many yeeres, brought him to his graue, in the yeare 1234. hauing reigned nine and thirty yeeres, nine moneths, and ten dayes. He was buried in the royall Monastierie of the Chanoinis of Saint *Mary* of Roncevaux, the which hee himselfe had caused to be built.

Spies in the  
Kings Council.Strange beha-  
uour of Don  
Sancho the  
King in his  
age.

1234.

### D. Thibault first of that name, the 22. King of Nauarre.

17 The Nauarrois sent into France to *Thibault* Earle of Champagne, the sonne of D. *Blanche*, sister to the deceased king, to aduertise him of this succession, and to aduise him to make halt, before that Don *James* King of Arragon should leaze thereon, in vertue of the pretended rights, by reason of the mutuall donation past betwixt the two kings at Tudele, and also by meanes of the intelligences which he had within the Country: wherein the Earle was nothing slouthfull, for hauing many partizans in Nauarre, who had aduertised him of all that had past betwixt the two kings, and in the end of the death of his vncke. The Ambassadors found him already in order, and ready to march towards Nauarre, where hee arrived happily, for the well effecting of his designe, by reason of

some

*Thibault Earle  
of Champagne  
obtains the  
Realme of Na-  
uarre.  
Arragon.*

*Zeit King of  
Valencia bapti-  
zed.*

*Pe'arre in Va-  
lencia against  
the Moors.*

*An. 1236.  
Alfonso is slain  
for the  
warre of Va-  
lencia.*

some lets which restrained the King Don James, the which were more fitting for him to A care for, then to pursue the donation made vnto him in preiudice of the right heire of that Crowne, without any reason or proportion, by a king troubled with violent passions both of body and mind. But it is very certaine, that the king of Arragon did little respect it: yea some haue written, that without any difficulty, he discharged the Nauarros (they requiring it) of the oath, fealty and homage, which they had iuror, when as the contract betwixt him and the deceased king D. Sancho, was past at Tudela: others say, that afterwards he gaue all his pretensions and right to D. Pedro his sonne, to pursue it when o-  
pportunitie did serue, as a matter whereof there was but small hope. Thus D. Thibault Earle of Champagne, was receiued, proclaimed, and crowned King of Nauarre, to the great ioy and content of all good Nauarros.

The king of Arragon was then by the aduice of all his faithfull Councillers, entred in- to the conquest of the Realme of Valencia, hauing a fit opportunity offered, by reason of the diuisions which were in the kingdome, betwixt the factions of *Zeit* *Aben Zeit*, and *Zael* or *Zsen*, which were both strong. This *Zeit* *Aben Zeit* seeing himselfe pursued, hee made open declaration of that which he had long before designed, and making himself vassall to the king Don James, he became a Christian, and was called D. Vincent de Bellui. He afterwards married a Lady called *Dominick Lopes* of Sarraçossia, of which marriage was borne a daughter called *Lude Fernandes*, who was married to *Blaize Ximenes d. Arenos*.

21 The warre of Valencia being reloued, the Generall of the army vnder the king was D. *Blaico Alagon*, by whose valour and diligence Morelia was taken, a place which was held impregnable: Buriane was also besieged, and with great difficulty taken: Peni-  
cola, Chiuer, Ceruera, Polpes, Alcalaena, Albufera, Almenara, Vxo, Noles, Castro, Alfandecho, Paterna, Bulla and other places, some by force, some by composition, and partly by the meanes and intelligences which king *Zeit* had, and by the fauour of such as held his partie, came into the power of the king D. James, so as by degrees hee enuironed the city it selfe, cutting off their victuals and all other commodities. In these expugnations they did then vse rammes, mooring towers with many stages, and other sorts of engins. The resistance of the Moores which held *Zaens* partie was very great: neither were they abandoned of their friends, nor of the kings raigning in Affricke, for twelue galies, and fixe vessels called *Zabres* of Tunez, shewed themselves often, as if they would land, or assaile the places held by the Arragonois along the coast, but without any effect. The

Estates of Arragon and Cattelogne were assembled at Monçon in the year 1236. for the continuance of this warre, and the conquest of Valencia, without the which it was not lawfull for the king to vnderake any matter of importance. The President at these estates was *Pedro Perez* Iustice maior of Arragon, where there assisted D. *William* of Montgrin, co-adiutor to the Arch-bishop of Tarragone, the Bishops of Barcelona, Saragossia, Vic, and Tortosa, the Master and Prior of the Templers and Hospitaliers, Friar *Raymond* of Pegnafort, a most famous Iacobin, *Roger Bernard* Earle of Foix, and Don *Fernand* the kings vncle, D. *Ponce Cabrera* Earle tutelarie of Vrgel, D. *Pedro Vgo* Earle of Ampurias, D. *Nuño Sanchez* Earle of Rossillon, D. *Gerard* Vicount of Cabrera, D. *William* of Cardona, D. *William*, and *Pedro* of Moncada, *Berenger Puçuet*, *William* and *Berenger* *Anglesol*, *Bernard Portella*, *Hugues Mataplana*, sonne to *Hugues*, *Gislerand Pinos*, *William* of Laquila, *Raymond* of Peralta, *Peter* Vicount of Villemuir, *Raymond* *Villiam* *Odena*, *Berenger Erille*, and *William Ceruera*, all Knights and Noblemen of Cattelogne. And of the realme of Arragon, D. *Pedro Cornel* Lord Steward, *Bernard William*, *Garci Romeo*, *Simon Vrrca*, *Artorella*, *Artal de Lusa*, *Blaico Alagon*, *Roderigo Lizana*, *Blaico Maza*, *Berenger*, *Gombaid Entenza*, *Simon de Foces*, *Alfaisa Gualis*, *Fortun Verga*, *Simon Lueza* and others. The meanes to defray this warre, besides the Croisados, pardons and indulgences, were ordaind to be leuied vpon the people, by the imposition of a custome called *Morabentine* and the exaction of the Impost for cattell. In this assembly it was decreed, that all peeces of gold and silver coyned, should be of one goodnes and weight, in Arragon and Cattelogne: to the obseruation of which Edict for coynes, all were bound to tieware, that were about 14. yeares old. During the sege of Valencia many Noblemen, and common souldiers strangers, French and English came to D. James his campe.

The

A The Authors of the Arragon Historie write, that the Kings army, at the hottest of the siege, might bee 60000. foot, and a thousand horse (meaning Knights and Masters) fol- lowed according vnto the Order and Discipline of warre in those dayes, by their vassalls, besides the forces at sea. This warre was long, and the sege troublesome: yet it was at- tempted, battered and assaulted, and the Moores within it brought to so great extremity, as *Zaen* the Vlturper of that Principalltie, being nor yet well fedled nor assured of the peoples wile, abandoned it, and retired to Denia. The citie was yecledd the 28. of Sep- tember, 1238.

The King Don James had in the year 1232. bene diuorced from D. *Elenor* of Ca- stille his wife, and yet had declared D. *Alphonso* their son, the lawfull heire of the realmes of Arragon and Maiorca, the lands of Cattelogne, Virgel, Montpellier, and others: ap- pointing for Gouvernors of his youth, the Bishop of Tarragone, the Masters or Priors of the Templers and Hospitaliers, and *William Ceruera*: ordainning, that he should be bredde vp at Monçon: and if he should chance to die, then did he substitute vnto his Realme of Prouence his cousin. Notwithstanding the king Don *Pedro* during this warre of Va- lencia contracted a new marriage with the daughter of *Andrew* king of Hungary, named *Violant*, by whom he had a sonne called D. *Pedro*, who was king, after him, of Arragon and Valencia, and Prince of Cattelogne: he had moreover the Infant Don *Jaime*, and a third was king of Maiorca and Minorca, and Earle of Rossillon and Montpellier, and a who called

C Don *Sancho*, who was Arch-bishop of Toledo, and Primate of Spaine. Hee had also fixe daughters by her: D. *Isabell* married to *Philip* the third King of France, sonne to Saint *Lewis*: D. *Violant* who was Queene of Castile and Leon, wife to D. *Alphonso*, King of Castile, D. *Constance* married to Don *Manuell* brother to the sayd D. *Alphonso*, King of Castile, D. *Mary* and D. *Elenor* who dyed young. The dowrie of Queene *Tolant* or *Violant*, as *Su- rities* writes, was ten thousand Markes of silver, and two hundred of gold, for her mothers rights, for the which the Duke of Austria became answerable. Moreover, a portion of the Countie of Namur in Flanders, and the lands and rights which her Predecessors had enioyed in France, with certaine places which she did then possesse in Hongarie, and o-  
thers that were fallen to her in Bourgoigne, by her mothers right and succession. This

D Princesse was conducted to Barcelona in the year 1235. by the Bishop of the fixe Churches, and a kinsman of his called Cont *Denis*, who remained in Arragon, and was the Author of the noble family of *Denis*, which is vnto that of Vtrez, hee had two sonnes *Amour* and *Gabriel Denis*. Don *Pedro* the eldest son of Queene *Tolant*, was married young to *Constance*, daughter to *Manfroy*, bastard to the Emperour *Frederick* the second, whom they called Prince of Tarentum, which was a degree to attaine vnto the succession of the Realmes of Naples and Sicily, and by the marriage of his daughter *Isabell* with *Philip* the Hardy, sonne to Saint *Lewis* the French king, the Kings of Arragon obtained (as the hi- stories of Spain report) a full freedome of the Principalltie of Cattelogne, and Earldome of Barcelona, to enioy it from that time in full proprietie and Souerainty, without ac-  
knowledging themselves any more vassalls to the Kings of France: the which was done at Clermont in Auvergne, whereas both Kings met in the year 1260. In recompence the King of Arragon did also quit for his part the rights of Souerainie which he preten- ded to Carcaffone, Rhodes, Beziers, Locate, Albi, Amillaire, Nismes, Saint Giles, and other lands in France, the which he assigned in dowrie to his daughter D. *Isabell*, with the reuenues of Carcaffone and Beziers: and moreover, he quit all right which he could pre- tend to the Earldome of Prouence, Folquaquier, Arles, Auignon and Marselilles, in fa-  
uour of Queene *Marguerite* of France.

E The death of D. *Sanche* king of Nauarre, the beginning of the warre of Valencia, and the second marriage of D. James King of Arragon, happened all in the year 1234. by rea- son whereof, and to giue order for the affaires of the Infanta D. *Elenor*, whom he had put away, by reason of the strict allyance which was betwixt them, according to the Popes decree, there was an interview of this King of Arragon, and of Don *Fernand* king of Ca- stile, in the Mouasterie of Huerta, vpon the confines of Castile; where it was accorded, that the Infant Don *Alphonso*, whom Don James had by Donna *Elenor*, named King of

Arragon, According to the King of Castile and Arragon for the diuorce of D. *Elenor*.

*Palencia tak-  
en by the Arrago-  
nois.*

*Genealogie of  
Arragon.*

*Dowry of D.  
Tolant.*

*22.  
Cattelogne  
freed from the  
Souerainty of  
France.*

*Dowry of D.  
Isabell.*

*According to the King  
of Castile and  
Arragon for the diuorce  
of D. *Elenor*.*

The King of  
Arragon an-  
gelyard in  
the Pope.

Arragon, if he had liued, should remaine in the custodie of the Queene his mother, to whom for an increase of her dowrie, the towne of Hariza was given, to enioy it during her life, but in case shee should marry againe, then should it returne to Arragon. These and other things being friendly accorded betwixt the two kings, they parted with great loue, to make warre against the Moores, euery one apart. Some haue left in writing, that D. *Thersa* of Bidaure, with whom the King D. *Lames* had had familiar acquaintance, before he married the Queene D. *Yolant*, and had children by her, sued him vpon a promise of marriage before the Pope, where she lost it for want of proofes, and D. *Yolant* was declared his lawfull wife. There the Bishop of Gironne then the kings Confessor (hauing vnderstood by his confession of this matrimoniall promise) had reuealed it vnto Pope *Innocent* the fourth, but to what end he did it, it is vncertaine: but his testimonie alone was not allowed. The king being wonderfully incensed against the Bishop, hauing sent for him into his chamber, caused his tounge to be cut out. For this outrage committed vpon the Bishop, notwithstanding that he were faultie, hauing reuealed the Kings confession, the Pope made great complaints, being at the Councell of Lyons, and in the end did interdict all the Realme of Arragon, and excommunicate the king D. *Lames*. To free them from this interdiction, and to get absolution, the king sent the Bishop of Valencia vnto the Pope to carry his excuse, and to make an humble petition, wherewith the Pope being somewhat pacified, he yielded to send two Legates into Arragon with full power. Hauing assembled a Synode of Bishops at Lerida, they caused the king to come thither, who confessed his fault vpon his knees before these Fathers, with great submission and teares: who gaue him absolution, vpon condition, that he should cause the Monastery of *Bienface*, neere vnto Torrofa to be built, (the which hath bene since a Conuent of Charrtous Monkes) and to indow it with an hundred and forty pounds of siluer of annuall rent. And moreover, that he should endow the hospitall of Saint *Vincent* of Valencia, with foure hundred pounds waight of siluer by the yeare for the nourishment of the poore: and that he should giue a Prebendarie to the great Church of Gironne, for the maintenance of a Masse-priest. Then fell he to the loue of this ladie againe, and entertayned her during the life of this Queene D. *Yolant*.

Castile and  
Alouet.

23 As for the king D. *Fernand*, he was affronted with the power of king *Aben-Hut*, who was mightie: but seeing his forces increased by the succession of the Realmes of Leon, which were fallen vnto him, he was in hope to effect his desseignes. Wherefore he assayed him towards Baega which he held, and went and layed seage to Vbeda, a neere towne, strong, and well fortified, yet he prest them in such sort, as the Garrison compounded to depart with their liues: into the which the king D. *Fernand* entred the same yeare 1234. in the which his fortunes were seasoned with some bitterness, according to the condition of humane things: for he lost the Queene D. *Beatrix* his wife, who died in Toro in the kingdom of Leon: her body was carryed to the Monasterie of las Huelgas of Burgos, and buried neere vnto the king D. *Henry*. Vpon this subiect the king D. *Fernand* came into the territories of Leon: during his absence the garrisons vpon the frontier tooke certaine Moores Almogueres (for so they call their Mortepaiez) of the citie of Cordoua: and for that they were in quarrell with the Inhabitants thereof, they were easily corrupted, promising to giue entry to the Christians into the citie of Cordoua. The plot being layd, and all things disposed accordingly, there came a good troupe of Christians in the night with ladders, the which they planted vnto the wall neere vnto the tower and Bourg, called Axarquia, where by the helpe and fauor of those Moores whom they had wonne, *Aluaro Colodro*, and *Benoist* of Bagnos entred first, being well followed by their companions, without any discourie of them of the towne, who slept without feare or apprehension vntill the morning, when as they saw the Christians had seized vpon the tower, and there did fortifie themselves, attending succors from Don *Aluaro Perez*, whom they had sent vnto being at Martos, vpon their entry: and as men expecting some great resistance, they had also sent to aduertise the King Don *Fernand* of their enterprize and happy successe, to the end he should approach neere to fauour them. The Moores of Cordoua seeing themselves surprized, went to armes, and beleaged the Christians in this tower, where they defended themselves: the combat was furious, and often

condue fur-  
prised by the  
Christians.

A often renewed, euery one doing his best indeauour, wherein they spent some dayes, yet could they not chase the Christians out of the tower, which they had intrenched from the rest of the towne. In the meane time, the king D. *Fernand* aduanced with all speed, giuing order for the rest of his forces to follow, and passing by Extremadura, neere vnto Bienguerencia, the Gouernor a Moore, furnished the kings armie with victuals as it pass, yet being summoned to deliuer the fort vnto the king, he made answer, that when he had taken Cordoua, it should be at his commandement, and in the meane time he would keep it: Wherefore the king of Castile passed on, and arriving at Cordoua, hee found that D. *Aluaro Perez de Castro*, and other Captaines and souldiers in great numbers, were already come to succour his men. King *Aben Hut* being aduertised of all these things, and of D. *Fernands* arrival with small forces, although there came great troupes afterwards, thought it fit to prevent him, if he could, or at the least to strike some terror into the Christians, and force them to retire from this seage. He had in his armie which lay about Ecacia, a Christian Knight, a banished man called D. *Laurenz Suarez*. Hauing imparted his desseigne vnto him, he resolved to send him one night vnto the campe, vnder colour of seeking to recover the kings fauour: but it was to espie, and to discouer vnto him the true estate of the Christians armie. This Knight hauing obtained a passport, came vnto the campe, and spake vnto the king, doing the contrarie to that which he had in charge: for he discouered vnto the King D. *Fernand*, all the Moores desseignes, and what forces hee had: wherefore being assured from the king, of his grace and fauour, he retired to *Aben Hut*, to whom he concealed what he had seene and vnderstood, telling him that the Christians army was much stronger then it was indeed. Wherefore king *Aben Hut* durst not attempt that which he had resolved, and thinking that they of Cordoua would hold good for a time, he resolved to employ his forces to succour king *Zaen*, who was prest by the king of Arragon towards Valencia, thinking after that he had repulsed the Arragonois, to returne fortified with *Zaens* forces, and cause the Christians to retire from before Cordoua. Being arrived at Almeria, to imbarke his army, a vassall of his, whom hee did much esteeme, called *Aben Arramin*, invited him to supper, where he so feasted him, as being drunke, he cast him into a great vessell full of water, and there drowned him: whereupon the army disbanded, and D. *Laurenz Suarez* whom king *Aben Hut* had ledde with him, retired to the king of Castile, who receiued him graciously, notwithstanding that he had betrayed him who had entertayned him during his exile. This death of this Moorish king, being generally knowne, especially at Cordoua, the beleaged depayred of succors, so as they yielded the citie vnto the king of Castile, the sixt moneth of the seage, in the yeare 1236, which was 522. yeares after that it had bene first taken by the Moores. The king Don *Fernand* caused a crosse to be set vpon the tower of the great Mesquide, in token of our redemption, and neere vnto it the standard of Castile, which Mesquide was purified (being one of the goodliest buildings in Spaine) and made the Cathedral Church, of the which Don *Lope de Histero* of Piquerga was made bishop: The king did indow it with rents and reuenues like the rest, and so did the Arch-bishop Don *Roderigo* in his returne from Rome, where he had bene during the seage, and was not at the taking thereof, to his great griefe, but affaires of greater Importance had kept him absent: in the meane time Don *John* Bishop of Olma was his Vice-gerent and Chancellor to the King. There the bells of Saint *Lames* were found, which the Alhagib Almanzor had taken away in the yeare 975. and placed them in this great Mesquide, making them to serue for lampes, which the king Don *Fernand* caused to be transported to their ancient mansion. The affaires of this great citie, which had bene the chiefe of the Moores estate, were ordered by the king, both for religion, iustice, and for the guard and safety thereof, with great care. Don *Tello Alphonso de Menezes*, was made Gouernor of the citie, and Don *Aluaro Perez de Castro* of the whole frontier.

D. Laurenz  
Suarez betrays  
king Aben Hut  
who had enter-  
tained him in  
his exile.

Cordoua yielded  
1236.

D. Lope de Histero  
first Bishop  
of Cordoua

The

## The kingdom of Granado.

BY the losse of Cordoua and the death of king *Aben Hut*, the Moores were wonderfully dismayed and voyd of Councell: wherefore they returned to their old course every one respecting his private interest: so as the Infidels estate was dismembred into many parts. *Aben Hudiel* among others, seized vpon the Realme of Murcia, *Zeit* and *Zarnbo* yet in warre, and contending for the realme of Valencia. In the country of Algarbe, whereof Niebla was the chiefe city, *Aben Isafon* reigned, who had for his successor *Aben Amarin*, and then another called *Aben Mosad*. Those of Seuille would haue no king, but only a Gouvernor: where one *Axatuf* was in great authoritie, and it was he which lost it. But aboute all the power of *Mahomad Alienahagmar* or *Aben Alamar* was great; so called for that he had a red face: who from a shepheard hauing followed armes, had attained to the chiefe places of honour, and was in such credit by reason of his valour, force, and stature, as in these tumults, the Inhabitants of Arjona, where he was borne, chose him for their king, and then other people submitted themselves vnder him, especially the townes of Iuen, Baeza, which was ill guarded, and Guadix, and in the end the city of Granado, which he afterwards made his royall seat, and the chiefe of all his country and Seigneuries. This was the first king of Granado, whereas vntill that time there was no kingdom: it was erected at such time as Cordoua the chiefe citie of all the Moores Estate in Spain was made subiect vnto the Christians.

25 Whilest that the king *Don Fernand* is busie at this honorable enterprize of Cordoua, and *D. Jaime* or *James* king of Arragon, at that of Valencia, which was nothing inferior, *Thibaud* the new king of Nauarre had meanes to settle his affaires without any difficulty, for he found all the Estates of the Kingdom willing to obey him. At his reception he did sweare and confirme the liberties and priuiledges of the country, the which he did also augment. This was the beginning of the second masculine line of the Kings of Nauarre, the first ending in *D. Sancho*, the which since *D. Garcia Ximenes* had continued 518. yeares. Successions of States and Soueraignties falling to women against all lawe and presidents of well ordered kingdoms, in the first ages, is the cause that strange and vnknowne Princes, of diuers humors, come to raigne ouer Nations, which sometimes haue succeeded well, but very often great troubles and inconueniences haue followed. At this time the Nauarrois were not vnfortunate, to haue a king of the French nation, who was a meane to augment the power and dignitie of that Crowne, by many accessories from France: his mother *D. Blanche* daughter to the king *D. Sancho* the Wife, and sister to the last *Sancho*, was the first which brought the succession of women into Nauarre, although he did not raigne, beeing dead before the king *Don Sancho* the Strong her brother. *D. Pedro Ramires* of Pedrola, Bishop of Pampelone, among others did faithfully maintaine the rights of this king *Thibaud*, who was called the Elder, to distinguish him from his sonne and successor, being also of the same name: of whose deedes wee haue no great instructions out of histories, only we haue gathered out of some writings and records tending to other ends, that which we shall relate of him. He was thrice married, as the Spaniards write. First, he had to wife a Lady of Lorraine, daughter to an Earle of Metz, fro whom he was diuorced by the Popes authoritie hauing no children. His second wife was daughter to *Guichard* Lord of Beaujeu, who it may be was the 3. of that name: from which marriage issued *Blanche*, who was married to *Iohn* Duke of Brittainie, furnished thered. Thirdly, he married *Marguerite* daughter to *Archembaud* one of the Earles of Foix (it may be there is some error in the name, for there is no mention made in the Histories of that time, of any *Archembaud* of Foix) of whom he begot *Thibaud* and *Henry*, who succeeded one after another in the Realme of Nauarre, and one daughter called *Donna Leonora*, and *Don Pedro* Lord of the house of Murugabal (which is now ruined) neere vnto Mendegoria, so called in the Biscaine tongue, which signifies a redde mountaine.

All

A All these marriages, or at the least the two first, were before his coming to the crowne of Nauarre, which was in the 33. yeare of his age. The manners of this Prince are commended by the Spaniards, saying, That he was liberal, modest, a great builder, louing musicke, curious of matters belonging to tillage, by reason whereof he planted his country of Nauarre with many sorts of vnknowne frutes, the which he caused to bee brought out of France: so as there is yet a kind of Pearre of Nauarre, which they call *Thibuatinas*, or *Thibaudines*: he was a great catholike, and zealous of the Romish Religion: the castell of Treuas was of his building.

Dis. of King Thibaud.

In his time there was a great sute ended betwixt the blacke Monkes Benedictines, and those of Cisteaux, for that the deceased king *D. Sancho*, would haue changed the ancient Monkes of Saint *Sauueur* of Leyre, and placed them of the Order of Cisteaux there, the which he could not effect, being violently oppugned by the Benedictins: who during the raigne of king *Thibaud* lost their cause: but notwithstanding that they were condemned and dispossessed, yet they gave it not ouer, vntill they were restored to their ancient possession: the which was after the death of *Thibaud* the second, *Henry* his brother raigning, to whom they bound themselves to pay 600. charges of corne yearly, vntill they had deliuered the summe of 8500. Maraudis of gold. Finally, to end the new instances which were daily made by the one or the other, *D. Sancho* Archb. of Toledo, Infant of Arragon, and he of Tarragone, hauing authority from the Apostolike see of Rome, commanded the Monkes of *S. Benet* to perpetuall silence, and restored them of Cisteaux to the possession: and after the death of the king *D. Henry*, the Gouvernor of Nauarre freed the Monks of this tribute, for the discharge of the Kings conscience, as an excoffine & vnusit Impost.

Thus the Cistercian Monkes of *S. Bernard*, remained in quiet possession of the Monastery of *S. Sauueur* of Leyre. By reason of the contentions of these Monks, there were many letters, remembrances, and records of this Monasterie lost, the which did serue much in those times for the illustrating of matters of Nauarre. The Christian affaires in Syria being ill managed, and their estate in those parts declining much, Pope *Gregory* the 9. caused a Croysade to be preached throughout all Christendome, by the Monkes of the Orders of *S. Dominick* and *S. Francis*: wherefore many Princes and great Personages of France and other countries inrolled themselves, of which expedition *Thibaud* king of Nauarre was the chiefe. The Noblemen and Knights Christians, desiring to passe their troups by sea, could not be accommodated by the Commonweales of Genoa and Pisa, who were then very strong in shipping, by reason of the mutuall warre they had together, to the great preiudice of Christendome. The Venetians in like manner troubled with the affairs of the Empire of Greece, gaue them no meane to performe this voyage. Wherefore king *Thibaud* and his troupe were forced to take their way by land into Syria, where beeing arrived at Antioch, after infinit toyle, hauing to encounter with hunger, diseases, and want of all things, besides the enemy, who had seized vpon the passages in the streights of Mouit Taurus, he found that two parts of his souldiers which had come out of France, Nauarre, and the frontiers of Germany, were wanting, beeing either dead by the way, or slaine by the Turks: the remainders of these poore Christians arrived at Acre, which is the ancient Ptolemaide, where they began to make war against the Turks with small successe.

Thibaud then, king of N. here goes into Syria.

A little before this expedition, the Emperor *Fredrick* the 2. had bin in Palestina: and as if he had had no other occasion to make this voyage, but ambitiously to seeke to ioyne the vaine title of king of Ierusalem, to the rest which he carried of many kingdoms, he entered the city of Ierusalem without any resistance, hauing purchased the fauor of *Coradin* Sultan of Egypt: and hauing caused himselfe to be crowned there, he returned presently into Italy, hauing made a truce with the Infidels. Iest some Germane souldiers in those countries to supply the garrisons, who had no good correspondency with the king of Nauarre nor his men, neither could they cuer draw any succors from them, for that they held the French to be affected to the Pope, with whom their Emperor had had great quarrels: wherefore they were forced to make war alone. And the more to crosse *K. Thibauds* good fortune, it fell out that many Noblemen which came in his company disbanded, and returned home, among the which was the Duke of Brittainie: so as the king *D. Thibaud*, after many vnfortunate encounters, was forced to returne by sea into the weill.

Parties of the Emperor Frederick the 2. desiring the 2.

K k

Beeing



Being arrived in France, he made some abode there to visit his lands, and then he past into Nauarre. Don *Thibaud* king of Nauarre made not this voyage in the company of Saint *Lewis* the French king, as some write: but some yeares before, being in the yeere 1238. where as that of *S. Lewis* was ten yeares after, or twelue, as some affirme, as it appears by the histories of France.

1238.  
Arragon.Valencia taken  
Treasury of  
Valencia.

26 In the same yeare 1238. the city of Valencia, hauing beene long besieged by Don *Jaime* King of Arragon, and reduced to great necessitie, was yielded vnto him by *Zen* the Moore, who had viurped that Principalltie, who retiring to Denia, left it without men or goods, leading with him about 50000. Moores, who carried with them (according to the composition) their gold, silver, armes and all their moueables: so as that citie which was held one of the richest and most stately of all Spaine, was to be peopled anew, if they would keepe it: wherefore there were chiefe men appointed by the king *D. James*, to distribute the houses and buildings, lands, and possessions to the new Colony, which was sent out of the countreys of Cattelogne and Arragon. These were *D. Berenger Palatit* Bishop of Barcelona, *D. Vidal Canelis* Bishop of Huesca, *Don Pedro Fernandez de Agagra*, and *Don Symon d'Yrraca*, knights: who disposed of the places vnto those that should people this great citie, according vnto euery mans ranke, dignity, and merit.

There were 380. heads of families, among other men of make, or old fouldiers, (hauling faithfully and valiantly carried armes, as well as this seage, as in former warres) then to this effect inrolled, to hold the first place and prerogative among the Inhabitants thereof, and there were primate lawes made for them of Valencia: yet the Gentlemen of Arragon, who were appointed for this new Colony, did insist, that they and their inheritors might enioy the priuiledges of Arragon, the which did afterwards breed troubles and dissensions betwixt them and the rest of the people. The Episcopall see was restored to this city, and *D. Ferrer* of *S. Martin* was the first bishop, being made subiect to the Arch bishop of Tarragone: notwithstanding that in the Goths time, that church did acknowledge the Metropolitan of Toledo. *D. Rodrigo Lizana* was made the first Viceroy of Valencia, by the king *D. James*: there were many Christian families found in it, who did exercise their religion in the church of *S. Sepulcher*, called at this day *S. Bartholomew*. It was then of a round forme, and but weakly walled, at this day it is enlarged and made square, and hath 12. gates, where as it had but 4. The chiefe citie of this realme being now in the power of the king of Arragon, he soone recovered all the other places and fortre, which was a goodly conquest, and a great increase to his other Estates. The other places continued peopled with the ancient inhabitants, who were contented to liue vnder the king of Arragon, enioying their religion.

Castile.

Don aluarez  
de liu.

The affaires of Spain being in this estate, *D. Fernand* king of Castile, after the death of *D. Beatrix* his wife, married a French Lady called *leanne*, daughter to *Symon* Earle of Ponthieu, who was somewhat allied to the house of Castile, by the mothers side; for that her mother, wife to Count *Symon*, called *Mary*, was daughter to *Adella* Countesse of Ponthieu, grand-child to king *Lewis* the 7. and *D. Isabella* of Castile, daughter to the Emperor *D. Alphonso*. This Lady was very mild, and greatly beloued and honored of the Spaniards. The king had by her the Infant *D. Fernand*, Iurnamed of Ponthieu, one daughter called *D. Leonora*, and another son, whose name was *D. Louis*. The marriage being consummated, the king led his new spouse through the townes of Castile and Leon, whereas great honours were done vnto her. In the meane time he disposed of all necessarie prouisions vpon the Mores frontiers, where they were continually annoyed by their incursions, to prevent the which, the Gouvernor *D. Aluaro Perez de Castro*, a wife and polittick Capitaine, omitted not any thing that might concerne the duty of his charge. The Mores were so insolent vnder their new king *Mahomad Aben Alhamar*, as *D. Aluaro Perez* was forced to come in person to conser with the king at Aillon, and to acquaint him with the affaires of that frontier: where the Mores were the stronger, and had a little before his departure, besieged Martos, the which (without the succors which *D. Tello Alphonso de Meneses* brought, had bin taken, and in it his wife, whom he had left there. Whereupon the king commanded he should be supplied with all things that were needfull: but as this knight returned into Andalusia, he dyed at Orgas, in the yeare 1239. whose losse was great: and at the same time there

A there dyed also *D. Lopez Diaz de Haro*, another valiant and wise knight, leaving one sonne, heire of the teigneury of Biscay and other lands, called *D. Diego Lopez* the 3. of that name. The good successe which the kings of Spaine had in their conquests, made them and their subiects the more superstitious. They of Arragon shewed great deuotion at that time, to an image which was found during the war of Valence, to the which there was a Monastery built at Puig, and it recommended to the Monks, called *de la Merced*. Then was the Episcopall seat of Calaoarra remoued to *S. Dominick* de la Calçada, by the procurement of *D. John Perez* the bishop, who spared not his paines to go to Rome, where he obtained what he pretended from Pope *Gregory* the 9. the holy Father providing, and giuing power vnto the Bishop to take his Diocesses, for the defraying of his charges. If this touched the glory of God, or the edification of his church, let the wife indigent this did not hold, for some yeares after the church of Calaoarra was restored to her former dignity, and yet that of *S. Dominick* remained a Cathedral, being in former time but a Collegial, yet one bishop holding both vnto ourtime. At that time there liued a Doctor called *Hugues Candido* a Iacobin, of whom Spaine makes great account. After the death of *D. Aluaro de Castro* the king of Castile, hauing led an army in person into Andalusia, and giuen order for the safe keeping of the citie of Cordoua, he tooke partly by force, partly by feare, and partly by accord, the citie of Ecchia, and the townes of Estepa, Almodonal del Rio, Sietefilla, Lucena, Luque, Porcuna, Core, Moron, Castellar, Marchena, Coerros, Cabra, Oluna, Baena, Monraquilar, Tenexir, Ballar, Bute Morgu, Pardal, Casra, Ormaqueles, Mirabel, Fuentequemel, Moratilla, and *S. Ella*, most of which places the knights of Calatrana, they of *S. James*, and the Prelates obtained from the king, and was giuen to the Noblemen and knights. The kings affairs were much advanced by the taking of a Moore Almoade, who had past out of Affrick into Spaine, to challenge that which the kings of his race had enioyed there. *Caid Arrax* then reigned at Marroc, being grand child to *Aben Mahomad* the Greene, borne at Buxaf, who dyed while his father liued.

Townes and  
castles taken  
from the Mores.

In the yeare 1240. a truce was made betwixt the king of Castile, and *Mahomad Aben Alamar* of Arjona, who reigned in Granada. Vntill this time *Don Roderigo* the Archbishop and Primate hath written the historie or Chronicle of Spaine. The title which *Don Fernand* king of Castile gaue himselfe at that time, was, king of Castile, Toledo, Leon, Galicia, Cordoua, and Baeça, leaving that of Nagera, and other small places, for the which he tooke those of the great townes which he had conquered from the Moores. Hee gaue the like titles to the Queenes his mother and wife, as it appears by that which was written of him in Latin the same yeare, as the custome was then: where particular mention is made of the infants *D. Alphonso* and *D. Frederick*, *D. Martin Gonzales* of Mijancas, being Merino Maior of Castile. Besides the Art of warre, wherein the king was very expert, he was also very careful to maintaine Iustice in his kingdomes, with all other good gouernment, by reason whereof, he transported vnto Salamanca the Vniuersity which *D. Alphonso* his grandfather had instituted at Palenca, as a place more commodious for the good of all Spaine, and in a country more fertile, and abounding with all things necessary, to which Vniuersity this king, his sonne *D. Alphonso*, and others their successors, haue giuen great reuenues, priuiledges, and exemptions, so as it is thought there is no Vniuersitie in the world where as the professors haue greater pensions.

Pointe of  
Salamanca.  
27.

Whilest that he busied himselfe in these good and honorable actions, hee had some troubles by the means of *D. Diego Lope de Haro*, who was retired into his country of Biscay, discontented with the King, yet after some little warre attempted against him, by the Infant *D. Alphonso*, the king was aduised not to estrange from his seruice a Nobleman of so good a race, from whom the kings of Castile had receiued so good seruices in their wars against the Moores: wherefore *D. Diego Lope* was receiued into more fauor then before.

The truce made with *Mahomad Aben Alamar*, expired in the yeare 1241: wherefore the Infant *Don Alphonso* was sent vnto the frontiers of Andalusia: being arrived at Toledo, hee found the Ambassadors of *Alboaquez*, or according vnto some, of *Aben Hacer* King of Murcia, who went vnto the King *Don Fernand*, to offer him the Realme of Murcia, whom hee caused to returne backe, marching himselfe with them to receiue this realme, which was voluntarily offered vnto him, hauing in his company *Don Pelayo*

Pera.

K k 2



*D. Sancho king  
of Portugal  
abandoning his  
realm in re-  
vires into Ca-  
stille.*

*Ch. II.  
1245.*

*Booke found in  
Spaine.*

Some write, that the Earle came to Lions, to kisse the Popes foote, and accepted from A his hands the charge of Gouvernor of Portugal, and afterwards at Paris he sware the Articles and capitulations which were made in that behalfe: from whence he went into Portugal with the Popes Briefes, where he was received by the subiects but not by *D. Sancho*, who would not obey the Popes commandement, but retired into Castile. The Authors do not agree well about the time of this retreat: some saying, that it was during the raigne of *Don Fernand*: others attribute it to the time of *D. Alphonso* his sonne, which is the most likely; wherefore continuing to treat of the affaires of Castile in *D. Fernand* time, we will afterwards returne to the Estate of Portugal.

The yeare 1245. was the last of the life of *Don Roderigo Ximenes* Arch-bishop of Toledo, a Prelate of great esteeme among the Spaniards. He dyed in his returne of a voyage from Rome, vpon the confines of Castile and Arragon, in the Monasterie called Our Lady of Huerta or Horta, where he was interred: famous for his doctrine, good life, great experience, and rare eloquence, according to the time, and especially for his hatred against the name of the Mahumetits and Moores, to whom hee made warre with all his power, spirit, body, and wealth: he was a fauourer of the rents and priuiledges of the Clergie, the which he did much augment in Spaine, especially in his owne Sea, and built and peopled many places which had beene ruined. *Don Iohn* the second succeeded him in the Arch-bishopricke of Toledo, Primacie of Spaine, and Chancelorship of Castile. About the end of *Don Roderigo Ximenes* dayes, mention is made of a Booke found by a Jew in a stone, in the which it was contained, without any shew of ioyning together: it was written in three languages, Hebrew, Greeke, and Latin, the which made mention of three worlds from *Adam* vnto Antichrist, shewing the nature and disposition of the men of either world: and in the beginning of the discourse of the third world, it contained, that the Sonne of God should be borne of a Virgin, and suffer for the saluation of mankind: and (the which seemed more then wonderfull) it was written in this booke, that it should be found during the raigne of *Don Fernand*. Whether this were a thing done of purpose, or accidentall, by this strange inuention, rather then for that which the Booke contained, this Jew was moued to become a Christian at Toledo: for hee might haue learned the comming of the Sonne of God in *Isay*, and other bookes of the old Testament, and in the Gospell, if he would haue read them.

In Segobia there was a stranger accident of a woman Jew, who had a great deuotion to the Virgin *Mary* in secret, who being wrongfully accused by her husband of adultery, as by the order of law she was ready to be cast downe from a high rocke neere the town, she recommended herselfe to the blessed Virgin, who preferring her in the fall, layd her at the foot of the rocke without any harme. This Jew being ill instructed in her religion, and worshipping that of the Christians, published this miracle vnto the people, and was ledde with great admiration vnto the church of *S. Mary* the great in Segobia, where being baptised, she was named *Mary* that leaped from the rocke: these are the tales of *Friar Alphonso d'Espina* in his booke called *Fortalitium fidei*.

*An. 1246.* The King *Don Fernand* hauing a great desire to chase the Moores of Seuille, about the yeare 1246. prepared an armie at sea in Biscay and Guisufcon, whether hee sent a Captaine of great experience, called *Raymond Bousface*, borne at Burgos, inioyning him to be at a prefixt time vpon the coast of Andalusia, that he might at one instant beseege the citie both by sea and land. In the meane time he so annoyed the towne of *Carmona*, as he forced them to some submission: hee tooke *Constantine*, the which he gaue to the city of Cordoua, and to the towne of Reyna, wherewith hee endowed the knights of the Order of *Saint James*, the which is at this day a goodly Commanderie. The towne of *Lora* hauing yielded for feare of a seege, the king gaue it to the Order of *Saint Iohn* of Hierusalem: he afterwards tooke *Cantillana* by force, where there were aboute seven hundred Moores slaine: *Guilena* yielded by composition, so as they sped well for that time, but rebelling afterwards, it was razed. Hereupon the king fell sicke, which stayed the course of his victories, for that he could not be in person in the army, the which is of great importance: yet *Alcala del Rio* was taken after a long seege, and a great resistance.

The king hauing recovered his health, they treated a marriage betwixt the *Infant Don Alphonso*,

*A* *Alphonso* and *D. Violant* Infanta of Arragon, daughter to the King *D. Jaime*, and the Queene *D. Violant* his second wife, the which was consummated in the towne of *Valladolid*, whether the Princeesse was brought this yeare 1246. By this marriage all quarrels betwixt these two Kings were reconciled: for the King *D. James* held himselfe wronged by him of Castile for many respects, but especially for that hee had assisted and supported his sonne *D. Alphonso*, who had conspired against him some yeeres before, with the Nobility of Arragon and Valencia, for that the King *D. James*, hauing in the yeare 1243. propounded vnto the Estates, assembled at Daroca, to allot portions vnto his children which he had by diuers ventures, that he might leaue them in peace after his death: he had assigned vnto *D. Alphonso* the eldest, the crowne of Arragon, and to *D. Pedro*, which he had by Queene *Violant*, the Principality of Cattelogne: which Prouince notwithstanding he would restraine by the river of Sigro, leauing by that meane the towne of *Lerida*, in Arragon, whereat the Cattelans seemed to be much discontented, and the *Infant D. Alphonso* more, who would not haue this principality dismembered from the crowne; this businesse being referred vnto the Estates which were held sometime after at *Barcelona*, the limits and iurisdiction of Cattelogne were extended vnto the river *Singra*, so as *Ribagorze* and *Pallars* were contained in Cattelogne: notwithstanding the King persisting to leaue *D. Pedro* his younger sonne heire of that Prouince, the *Infant D. Alphonso* conspired with *D. Fernand* his great vncke, *D. Pedro* of Portugal, *D. Pedro Fernandes d'Araya*, *D. Iohn Goncal* of Heredia, and drawing vnto him all the Nobility of Arragon and Valencia, he had taken armes, and being aided and fauored by *D. Fernand* King of Castile, he had caused great troubles in Arragon, the which the King using by good counsel somewhat pacified, hee was this yeare reconciled to the King of Castile, by meanes of this marriage, many Noblemen of both Kingdomes hauing beene mediators therein, yea and some learned men, whereof there were many in Castile, for this King *D. Fernand* was the first of the Kings of Castile, which did honour his counsell of Estate with learned men, choosing twelve, which were well read in the law, who did alwaies accompany him, the which was initiated by many Kings his successors.

*D* By these graue and learned men, was then begun, by the Kings commandement, the bookes of the lawes of the realme, called *Las Siete partidas*, the which was finished in the time of *D. Alphonso* his sonne: a worthy worke, copious and full of variety: this assembly of learned men was continued for a time, and then changed, mingling sometimes church-men amongst them, and knights that were not learned, for the affaires of the Estate. In the end they did conuert it into a Chancery, whereas suites were decided, the which was as a court of Parliament following the King, and afterwards it was diuided into two Courts or Chanceries, one seated at *Grenado*, and the other at *Valladolid*, as welles in our time. In like manner *D. James* King of Arragon, caused the lawes and customes of Arragon, to be reduced into writing; as it were in one body, hauing til that time bene obserued by tradition, which volume was confirmed by the Estates held at *Huesca*, in the yeare 1247.

The King being at *Alcala del Rio*, he was aduertised that his Admiral *Raymond Bousface*, was come into the mouth of the riuier of *Guadalquivir*, with thirteene ships of warre, which had bene set vpon by twenty Moores ships of Seuille, *Centa* and *Tanger*, whom the Christians had vanquished, taken three ships, broken and disarmed the second, and sonke one, the rest hauing recovered the sea. Of which danger the King hauing intelligence before, and that there was a fleet of Moores at sea, which attended his army, hee had sent some troupes of horse and foote vnto the sea coast to fauour them, if they should bee forced to run on shore: but they arrived after the victory: these thirteene vessels keeping the mouth of the riuier, the land army came and camped about the city of Seuille, in the mouth of August 1247, not without great and bloody skirmishes against the Moores, who fallied out vpon them which made the approaches, especially towards the sea, vntill many politike stratagems to fire the ships which lay at anchor within the riuier, which attempts the Admiral *Raymond Bousface* did valiantly withstand, and repulsd the Moores, so their great losse and shame.

*Marriage of  
the Infant of  
Castile with  
D. Violant of  
Arragon.*

*Learned men  
first admitted  
into the coun-  
sell of Castile.*

*Castile*

*Cast. Siete parti-  
das contrap-  
ning the lawes  
of Castile.*

*Seuille besieged.  
An. 1247.*

The

The beginning of this sieg was so prosperous for the Christians, as the garrison and Inhabitants of Carmona, being but sixe leagues from Seule, resolved to yield themselves to King *Fernand*, supposing that if they did protract it any longer, they were vndone. The city being enuironed, and all passages stoppt, so as there could no victuals enter, they were daily in fight both by land, and sea, where the Moores were most annoyed, and therefore they had a great desire to burne the navy, but they found good resistance. Hec amongst the commanders which did most feats of armes, was *D. Pelayo Perez Correa*, maister of the Order of Saint *James*, and of the Knights *Garcia Perez de Vargas*, of Toledo.

Whilst they were busie about this sieg of Seule, the Infant *D. Alphonso* of Castille was in the realme of Murcia, where he sought to take the towne of Xatua, which is not farre from Valencia, hauing already seized vpon Enguerra; but the King *D. Jaime*, his father in law, crossed his conquests, saying that he attempted vpon his right, for that Xatua and other neighbour places belongeth vnto him, according to the last limitation. And for that the Infant *D. Alphonso* did not retire his forces, the King of Arragon tooke Villena and Saix in the country of Castille, the which were held by the knights of Calatrava; and from the Moores he tooke Capdetes and Burgarra, places belonging to the conquest of Castille. These differences being like to cause greater troubles, some great personages interposed themselves, procuring the father in law and the sonne to meet at Almisra, where they reconciled them: yet the King of Arragon shewed himselfe very strict against *D. Alphonso*, refusing to giue him leaue to conquer Xatua, the which he promised to hold in doury of his wife *Tolind*. There they did assigne the lands which should belong to either Realme, appointing for the frontier to Murcia against Valencia, Almansa, Sarazul, and the riuer Cabriul: and to Valencia, Castralla, Biar, Saxons, Alarch, Finefrat, Torres, Polop, La Menle lez d' Aguas, and Altea, with their confines. The mediators of this accord were the maister of Saint *James*, the Prior of the Temple, and *D. Diego Lopes de Haro*, who returned with the Infant *D. Alphonso* of Castille, and all their troupes, to the campe before Seule, where the King of Granada arrived also, well accompanied, and there were some succors sent from the King of Arragon; at this sieg there were great and dayly skirmishes, especially about a bridge of boates which was betwixt the city, and the Bourg of Triana, vpon the riuer of Guadalquivir, the which in the end was broken by the Christians, hauing taken the opportunity of a great and violent winde, in the which they let slippe two great boates, the which came with such violence as they brake the bonds wherewith the bridge was tied: the which did wonderfully amaze the Moores.

This great city was so straightly besieged as they began to want victuals, and therefore doubting they should not be able to defend it long, they demanded a composition, the which was granted them vpon these conditions. That the city should be deliuered vnto the King *D. Fernand*, and that all the Moores that would should depart, with their goods, to whom there was left for a retreat the townes of Saint *Lucar*, *Aznalfarache*, and *Niebla*: and for that they should haue time to depart, the King nor his garrisons should not enter but a month after the making of this accord, and in the mean time the fort or castle of the city should be deliuered vnto the King. According to these Articles there went out of Seule about a 100000. Moores of all ages and sexes, which past into Affrike, besides such as remained in Andalusia and Granada. Thus the King *D. Fernand* got this goodly great city in the yeere 1248. hauing continued his sieg sixteene monthes: it was not commanded by any King, but only by a Gouvernor called *Asatuf*.

The first thing the King did was to provide for matters of religion. He went in a sollemne procession to the great Mesquite, the which was cleansed and hallowed, and a Mass song by *D. Guttiere* elect Archbishop of Toledo, successor to *D. John* deceased. *D. Raymond Lozano* was chosen Archbishop of that church, the king resolving to enrich it with great reuenues like vnto the rest. The greatest personages which were at this sieg with the King *D. Fernand*, were his children, *D. Alphonso*, *D. Frederic*, and *D. Henry*, *D. Guttiere* Archbishop of Toledo, see of Saint *James*, called *D. John Arias*, *D. Garcia*

confines of  
Murcia and  
Valencia.

Seule yielded  
to King  
Fernand.

An. 1248.

*A* *D. Garcia* Bishop of Cordoua, *D. Sancho* Bishop of Coria, with other Prelats and Clergy men, as *D. Pelayo Perez Correa* the fourteenth maister of the Knights of Saint *James*, *D. Goncalo* bane of Quintana, the fifteenth maister of Calatrava, the maister of the Alcantara, the Priors of the Temple, and of Saint *John*, with a great number of their Knights. Of secular Noblemen, there were *D. Diego Lopes de Haro*, Lord of Biscay, *D. Pedro Nunez de Gusman*, *D. Goncalo Goncalves* of Galicia, *D. Pedro Ponce* of Leon, *D. Ruy Goncalves Giron*, *Arias Goncalves Quixada*, *D. Alphonso Telles de Meneses*, *D. Gomes Reis de Manzanedo*, *D. Rodrigo Aluarez* of Toledo; *D. Rodrigo Froles*, *D. Fernand Yanez*, *Ruy Goncalves*, first Alcaide or capitaine of Carmona, *Garcia Perez de Vargas*, of Toledo, *D. Laurence Suarez*, and *Diego Martinez Adalia*: all these were in the Land army. In that *B* at sea was *Ruy non* Boniface Admiral, with many knights and Squiers of Biscay and Guipuscoa, with whom there ioyned many mariners and souldiers Basques, from about Bayonne in France: all that had done the King any seruice in this warre, were rewarded according to their merits and callings, much land, and many houses were giuen to the Nobility, wherein the Clergy was not forgotten. And for that the city was vnpeopled, the King inuited people from all parts, with gifts, preuiledges, and great immunities, so as it was loone full of inhabitants.

Soone after this prize, the King sent part of his victorious army against some places of strength thereabouts, the which were made subiect vnto him, some by force, and some by a voluntary composition, as *Medina Sionia*, *Alcala Bejel*, *Alpechin*, *Aznalfarache*, *Arcos* & *Lebrina* and others towards the sea. By this conquest the King *D. Fernand* was free from all warre behinde the limits of his Prouince, for hee ment to entertaine peace and friendship with King *Mahomad* of Granada, who had alwaies carried himselfe faithfully towards him: wherefore he began now to conceiue in his imagination the conquest of all Affrike, and resolved to passe the Straights in the spring, with a great army, against *Caid Arrax*, *Miralmumin* of Maroc, but death preuented him, in the city of Seule, newly conquered, in the yeere 1252. hauing reigned in Castille about fise and thirtie yeeres, and in Leon one and twenty. There were present at his death, his sons, *D. Alphonso*, *D. Frederic* and *D. Henry*, *D. Alphonso* Lord of Molina, the deceased Kings brother, and the Archbishop *D. Raymond*. Hec gaue many admonitions to his sonnes, touching concord and the publike peace, recommending the Queene *Donna Ieanne* very straightly vnto them.

This King was reputed a Saint among the Spaniards, but he is not canonized by the Popes, yet he was a great fauoror of the Sea of Rome, and of all the Clergy in General, whom he advanced to honour and riches, as much as any of his predecessors. He did wonderfully persecute the Albigeois, who descouered themselves in his countries, burning them aliue, and he himselfe setting fire to them. In his raigne and during the life of *D. John* Archbishop of Toledo, Saint *Lewis* King of France imparted vnto the church of Toledo, some of the singularities which he and others had brought from the holy land, from Egypt and other places; as, of the wood of the true crosse, one of the thornes of our Sauours crowne; of the Virgin *Maries* milke: a peece of the purple robe wherewith Christ was couered, some of the towel wherewith he wiped the Apostles feet, of the sheet wherein he was buried, and of the toyes wherewith he played when he was little, with other such reliques, whereof the Princes, Arabians and Turkes, yea and they of Constantinople, made rare presents vnto the French, who (about all other Christians) did reuerence these things, and did afterwards distribute them to other nations. These goodly Jewels were receiued by the Spaniards with great deuotion, and of this subiect there is a letter found written by that King *Saint Lewis*, in Latin, to the Chapter of Toledo, with a seale of gold, giuen at Ettampes in the yeere 1248. The death of the King *D. Fernand* was much lamented by the Christians, and by the Moores also of Granada, who did mourne with great teares and lamentations after their manner.

*32* Soone after the decease of *D. Fernand*, died *Thibault* King of Nauarre, the first of that name, in Iuly in the yeere 1253. in the towne of Pampelone, leauing the realme to his sonne *Thibault* the second. After his returne from Syria, he had great troubles and difficulties with the Nobility and commons of his Realme, or that held in fee of him, whom

Death of  
D. Fernand King  
of Castille.

Acquits.

whom he desired (as it was needfull, beeing new come and a stranger) to content, the A which he did by his wisdom great patience and dexterity. Those which crost him most were D. William Vicont of Sola, D. Raymond Arnaud Vicont of Tartax, and D. Gaston of Moncade, Lord of Bears, who made great complaints of the King; but he gaue them the best satisfaction he could. To the Vicont of Tartax, he gaue *Ville-neuue*, with all the land of Miexa, and Hostauares, and to the rest he gaue other things, so as he pacified them all.

The King had great controuersie with D. Pedro de Gasolas Bishop of Pampelone, for the rights and immunities of his church, the which proceeded so farre, as the Bishop presumed to excommunicate the King, and did not onely interdict his owne Diocese of Pampelone, but the whole realme of Nauar, where by reason of his pretensions and B controuersies, there was no Masse nor Mattins sayd, but whereas the King did force them, from the which they did appeale: and in the meane time the Bishop kept at Nauardun in Arragon: from whence going sometimes forth, the King caused him to bee taken and put in prison as a traitor, but it was too hardy an attempt, the people could not endure it, so as he was forced to set him free. These stormes continued three yeeres, whereas the Spaniards lay all the blame vpon the King. In the end by the mediation of Noblemen, Knights, Prelats and some good religious men, the King and the Bishop were reconciled. The King acknowledged his fault, and the interdiction was taken away, and some affirme that he went in person to Rome to demand absolution, the which he obtained of Pope Innocent the fourth. As we haue sayd, this King died in the yeere 1253, and was buried in the great church at Pampelone. About the same yeere there C died also D. Blanche of Castille, Queene mother to Saint Lewis King of France, leauing vnto her sonne a good title to Castille (if he would haue followed it) and to his descendants: she was buried at Saint Denis neere Paris.

*The end of the eleventh Booke.*

THE



## THE TWELFTH BOOKE of the Historie of Spaine.

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*Continuance of the royall houses of Spaine mentioned in this twelfth Booke.*

C  
 CASTILLE. LEON. NAVARRE. PORTUGAL. ARRAGON.

11. D. Alphonso. 10. 30.      23. D. Thibaud. 2.      5. D. Alphonso. 3.      9. D. Pedro. 3.  
    24. D. Henry. 1.      6. D. Denis. 1.  
    25. D. Jeanne, and  
    in respect of her  
    Philip the faire.



D. Alphonso the eleuenth of that name, the tenth King of Castille and thirty one of Leon.

*Castile.*

**T**He Moores of Spaine were reduced to that extremity, as they did all obey the Kings of Castille and Arragon, as their vassals, every one in their iurisdiction, the yeere that D. Alphonso the eleuenth came vnto the crowne: but they continued not long in this Estate, for as liberty is the most pleasing of all things, when as they found any subiect of alteration they embraced it. Yet in the beginning they kept themselves quiet, seeking to confirme the alliances which they had made with the King D. Fernand deceased: and for that King Mahomad of Granada shewed himselfe ready to doe this homage, the King D. Alphonso, who was alwaies bountifull, abated him 50000. Marauidis of gold of his yeerely tribute, being in the city of Seuille, where hee was proclaimed and crowned King of Castille, Leon &c.

The first Ordonance he made, was to decry the money which was then current, called Pipions, in place whereof he caused an other peece to be coyned, which they named Burgaleses,

A Burgaleses, every one being ninety deniers, six deniers making a solz, and fifteene solz a marauidis of gold, so as the Burgalois and the marauidis in gold were all one in value. This change of money made all things deere in Spaine; whereupon the King did much augment the Estates fees and ordinary pensions of his followers. The first alteration which happened in the Moores countries, was in Tareada, but they were easily suppressed, for the petty King of that place, called *Amet*, was so amazed, as hee quit the place vnto the Christians, and fled into Affrike.

We haue sayd before that King D. Alphonso had married D. Violant daughter to D. Laime or Lemes King of Arragon, by whom hauing no children in six yeeres they had liued together, he intended to leaue her: whereupon hee sent into Denmarke, to treat a marriage betwixt him and *Christienne*, the Kings daughter, attending the returne of his Ambassadors at Toledo, where he was againe visited by King Mahomad of Granada. The King of Arragon hauing some intelligence of this diuorce, which D. Alphonso pretended to make, was much discontented, and in a manner ready to proclaime war against Castille, if he had not bin diuerted by some noblemen and great personages of his realm, notwithstanding their subiects, vpon the frontiers, did for a long time spoile one another, & their was a league also made betwixt Arragon and Nauarre, which did incense them more.

Thibaud the second of that name, and three and twentieth King of Nauarre.

C  
 T His league was to defend the realme of the young Thibaud the second, who had succeeded his father in the yeere 1253, being not yet 15. yeeres old, whose government, and the Regency of the realme was in the hands of *Marguerite* of Foix his mother. The Histories of Nauarre say, that the King of Arragon came in person to Tudelle to visit the Queene widow, and King Thibaud her sonne, whereas they made an offensive and defensive league: the King D. Laime offering vnto the widow and to this Pupil, whatsoever hee could doe, or they demand, alwaies reseruing the rights which he pretended in Nauarre, the which he would end friendly, when as King Thibaud should be come to age, and in the meane time it was agreed that being of full yeeres, he should marry D. Constance or D. Sancha, daughters to the King of Arragon, and if King Thibaud died, then should D. Henry his brother marry one of them: the King of Arragon promising moreover not to marry his daughters into the house of Castille, without the consent of Queen Marguerite: she promised also for her part, to do her best endeauor that the King her son should not marry with any of the daughters of Castille, lawfull, nor bastards, especially of King Fernands second marriage. In this league was comprehended the French King, and the Emperour, by Queene Marguerite: and the King of Arragon would insert a condition, that this present league should be allowed and confirmed by the Popes authority, within a certaine time, and great penalties and censures set downe by him, for them that should breake it. The Queene mother was assisted by D. Garcia Almoraid, D. Sancho Fernandes of Montagu, D. Garcia Gomes of Agoncillo, D. Gonçalo Yuaues of Bazan, D. Corbaran of Leet, D. Martin Gares of Eusa, D. Pero Gonçales of Morentiu, D. Martin Gonçales of Morentia, D. Guerrero Siere, Symon Gires, D. Pedro Ximenes of Valtierra, and D. Lope Arce, Deane of the Collegiall church of Tudelle, who did all solemnly sweare to obserue the Articles of this league. The company being gone from Tudelle, the King of Castille was presently aduertised of the league which they had made; whereupon hee sent many companies of horse and foote vnto the frontiers of Nauarre, pretending that the realme did belong to him, and that hee would pursue his right by armes. On the other side Queen Marguerite the Regent, manned the townes & forts ioyning vpon Castille with good garrisons, being also succored by the King of Arragon; so as the Castilians passed no farther at that time. In the meane time King Thibaud grew to be full 25. yeeres old, wherefore they thought it fit to declare him of age, & to crown him, the which was done in the yeere 1254. in the great church of Pampelone, where

League con-  
ferred be-  
tweene Nauar-  
re and Arragon,

where he did sweare to obserue and augment the preuiledges of the country. Being in possession of the government, he would haue the alliance and league which his mother had made with the King of Arragon newly confirmed, for the effecting whereof, the two Kings met in the church called our Lady of Montaga, where they did capitulate: and it was sayd that the King D. *Laine* should defend the realme of Nauarre against al, and that not any one of the two Kings should make any peace or truce without the consent of the other, for assurance whereof, especially of the aboue mentioned marriages, there was deliuered in pawner, for King *Thibaud*, the forts of Gallipienço, Arguedas & Monreal: and for Arragon, the castles of Rueda, Sos and Vncastillo: which places should remaine in the hands of certaine knights of Nauarre, who notwithstanding should be discharged by the King of Nauar of the oth which they did owe him, and with his consent should take an oth to the King of Arragon, with a reseruatiou and promise to yeeld the places to him against whom the other had made the offence: all this was promised and sworne by both Kings, and the chiefe of their subiects; for the King of Nauarre, by D. *Sancho Fernandes* of Montaga, Seneshal of the realme, D. *Garcia Almoravid*, D. *Gil of Rada*, D. *Gonzalo Tuanes* of Baztan, D. *Martin Ximenes* of Ayuar, *Fernand of Lect*, *Ramir Perez* of Aronon, D. *Corbarran* of Lect, D. *Arsal* of Luna, D. *Pedro* of Varillas, and other knights, with six Bourgeses of Tudela: and for the King of Arragon, D. *Alphonso* Infant of Arragon, D. *Garcia* Bishop of Tarrasone, D. *Garcia Romeo*, D. *Pedro Cornet*, D. *Symon de Efferes*, D. *Frederic Lizana*, D. *Pedro Martinez de Luna*, D. *Sancho d' Antilla* and others. In this league were comprehended and named by the King of Nauar, the King of France and his brethren, and by the King D. *Laine*, Charles Earle of Provence, brother to the French King. This being concluded betwixt these Kings, the warre grew hot and furious vpon the frontiers of Nauarre and Castille; where the King of Arragon did more willingly assist, for that the same yee the Moores of the country of Valencia being rebelled to the number of 60000. vnder one *Alardus* their leader and capitaine, the King of Castille did support and aide them vnder-hand, vpon a secret hatred which hee bare vnto the King D. *James*: yet by the diligent endeauors of some great personages, there was a truce made for some months, during the which the King D. *Laine* being come into Nauarre, D. *Diego Lopes de Haro*, Lord of Biscay came vnto him, and made himself his vassal, being discontented with the King of Castille, which was no smal aduantage for the affaires of this league against Castille: for D. *Diego* was a braue & valiant capitaine. King D. *Alphonso* pretended the realme of Nauarre by ancient right from his predecessors, or at the least that D. *Thibaud* should doe him homage, as the king D. *Garcia Ramirez*, and the kings D. *Sancho*, his sonne and Grandchild had done to King D. *Alphonso* the eight, Emperor of Spaines, and to other Kings of Castille; the which King *Thibaud* refused, alledging that it was a forced acknowledgment, without any reason, and that he was so far from submitting himselfe to the Kings of Castille, as he pretended to recouer the territories of Bureua, Rioja, Alaua, Guipuscoa, and other lands in old Castille which the predecessors of D. *Alphonso* had vsurped of the crowne of Nauarre: these were the causes which made these Kings enter into warre, who (the truce being expired) went to fight with their forces: the Nauarrois and Arragonois assembling the body of their army about Tudela; and the Castilians towards Alfaro and Calaterra.

Castilians  
armes against  
the Nauarrois  
and Arrago-  
nois.

The Kings of Castille and Arragon lead the contrary armies, and were so nere one vnto the other, as they expected the houre when they should ioyne: but there were many good men which laboured to preuent this disorder, amongst Christian Princes, so neere allied: The King D. *Alphonso* gaue him of Arragon to vnderstand, that it was an vnworthy thing, and beyond all expectation, to see him that was his father in law, carry armes against him, hauing done him no wrong; wherefore he intreated him not to hinder him in his iust pursuit of the right which he had to the realme of Nauar, which the Earle *Thibaud* detained from him. The King D. *Laine* answered, that he could not in conscience, nor duty, abandon the defence of a young Prince, which was recommended vnto him, whose affaires he esteemed as his owne. Many Prelats and men of great authority hauing employed themselves in vaine to make a peace betwixt these Princes, a simple gentleman of Cattelogne, borne at Besalu, of the house of D. *Violant* Queene of Castille, preuailed

A preuailed more then al the rest. This gentleman came to the King of Arragon, and persuaded him with such liuely reasons, as he yeilded to a peace. Hauing done this good office with him, he did the like to the King of Castille, and was so happy in his negotiation, as they promised to confer personally together of their disputes and quarrels, wherefore certaine Tents being pitched in a plaine betwixt both armies, the three Kings met, and embraced one another louingly, where they feasted each other, and made a good accord before they parted. Yet notwithstanding the league made betwixt the Kings of Nauarre and Arragon, and the courage which the young King *Thibaud* did shew, he yeilded to doe homage to the Kings of Castille, as his predecessors had done for the realme of Nauarre, for the King of Castille thinking that he had won the King of Arragon, his father in law, by this interview, the which in truth did auail him much, for that the Queene Donna *Violant* his wife was there present, he demanded of King *Thibaud* the hardest conditions he could, desiring nothing lesse then to make an accord with him: but nothing being refused, they compounded, King *Thibaud* remayning vassal to the King D. *Alphonso*: and it was sayd that he should entertaine a Lieutenant in the court of Castille, and that whensoever the King of Nauarre should bee called vpon any occasion of warre, he should be bound to come and serue himselfe in person, or by his sayd Lieutenant with two hundred horse. The young King yeilded to all these conditions, either for that he was not able to resist his aduersary, or else doubting that the King of Arragon was wonne, or it may be in consideration of the public quiet; besides hee did not new thing, but what his predecessors had done before him: yet D. *Sancho Fernandes* of Calcante, and other knights of Nauarre dissuaded him from it, the like did the Inhabitants of the Bourg of St. Sermin of Pampelone, who after that all the Prelats, knights and commonalties of the realme had approued this peace, they still disallowed it, and would not subscribe, wherevpon the King did punish them by fines, as multitudes, yet his choller being past, some few daies after he considered that those of Pampelone were good and faithfull subiects, louing his honour and greatnesse, and that they had resisted his will by a true zeale, and loue, which they bare vnto the crowne of Nauarre, so as he caused their money to be restored vnto them againe, wherevpon there grew a custome which continued, that in matters concerning Castille, this Bourg did not let to their seale.

Interview of  
the Kings of  
Castille, Arra-  
gon and Na-  
uarre.

3  
King of Nau-  
uarre consi-  
dereth himselfe  
vassal to king  
of Castille.

Inhabitants of  
Pampelone re-  
fuse the league  
which their King  
did to king of Cas-  
till.

Castille.

4 The diuorce which D. *Alphonso* King of Castille pretended to make, as we haue sayd, from the Queene D. *Violant*, could not take effect, for that the cause of sterility, which he objected against her, did cease, being the wil of God she should be with child, in the yee 1254. and yet the Ambassadors which were sent into Denmarke, had wrought so, as they brought the Princesse *Christienne* to Toledo, wherewith the king D. *Alphonso* was wonderfully troubled, so as not knowing how to couer this fault, D. *Philip* his brother presented himselfe vnto him (being Abbot of Vailledolit, and Cuenca Rubia, and designed Archibishop of Seuille, for which cause he had bene brought vp in studie, and had remained sometime in the Vniuersity of Paris) and demanded this Princesse in marriage. It greeued the King much to giue D. *Philip* a portion, yet finding no better meanes to saue this disorder, hee caused him to marry her, and in fauour of this marriage allotted him great rents and reuenues, but it was short and vnfortunate, for this Princesse *Christienne* thinking her selfe contemned and scorned, was so oppressed with griefe as shee pined away and died. Thus the marriage of D. *Violant* of Arragon with the King D. *Alphonso* remayned firme; to whom afterwards shee gaue an ample off spring. Her first child was D. *Berenguela*, then D. *Beatrice*, D. *Fernand*, surnamed de la Cerde, D. *Sancho*, who was King: after the father, D. *Pedro*, D. *Iohn*, D. *Laine* or *James*; of all which wee will hereafter make ample mention, and in the end these had Donna *Isabel*, and Donna *Leonora*: Besides these lawfull children, the King had D. *Alphonso Fernandes*, whose mother is ysknowne, and D. *Beatrice*, begotten of D. *Major Guillen* of Guzman, daughter to Don *Perez* of Guzman, in which familie the Kings of Castille haue often found Ladies for their seruice: This daughter D. *Beatrice* was Queene of Portugal. The same yee of our Lord 1254. there came vnto the Archibishopal dignity of Toledo, and Primacy of Spaine, one called

D. *Alphonso*  
second mar-  
riage preuen-  
ted and finally  
broken.

Genealogie of  
Castille.



D. *Sancho*, whom the Spaniards hold to bee an Infant of Castille, sonne to the King D. *A. Fernand* deceased, and brother to this *Alphonso*, but it is not verie certaine. D. *Pascal* successor to D. *Gutierre*, had bene Archbishop before him. The same yeere there arrived at the Court of Castille, *Edward*, sonne and heire to *Henry* the third, King of England, who according to the custome of those times, was armed and made knight, by the King D. *Alphonso*.

Moore.

As for the Moores, they were, as wee have sayd, diuided into petty States, except *Granado*: all which had done homage to D. *Alphonso* King of Castille. In *Algarbe* there reigned in this quality *Aben Mofad*, who held *Niebla* and *Xeres*: a Lady a Moore ruled at *Lebriza*, or *Nebriſſa*, and *Arcoſ*: *Murcia* was held by *Mahomet Aben Hudiel*, and other places by other captaines and Lords, which did al hold of the King of Castille, whom notwithstanding, when occasion serued, they shewed no great loyaltie: wherefore in the yeere 1256. King D. *Alphonso* dispossessed al these petty Kings, & he received

An. 1256.

5

Petty Kings of

the Moores

dispossessed

and the

King of Spain.

An. 1257.

*Xeres* of the frontier, by a voluntary yielding, where D. *Nugno de Lara* was made Governor, and *Garcia Gomez Carrillo*, a hardy knight, his Lieutenant. *Arcoſ* and *Lebriza*, following the example of *Xeres*, yielded also to D. *Henry* the Kings brother, who was sent thither from *Xeres*. The yeere following 1257. the King came into *Algarbe*, where he tooke the towne of *Niebla*, and appointed lands about Seuille for King *Aben Mofad*, and many rents in that city, so as by this means he had al the rest of the country of *Algarbe*: that is, the townes of *Gibralcon*, *Huelma*, *Serpa*, *Mora*, *Alcabin*, *Castro*, *Martin*, *Quina*, *Faro* and *Laule*, al held by Moores, who did not in any sort acknowledge the King of *Granado*, with whom D. *Alphonso* entertained firme friendship, so as hauing ordained an Annuity in the city of Seuille, for the King D. *Fernand* deceased, the which was celebrated yeerely in the Cathedral church, King *Mahomet Aben Alhamar*, sent many of his chiefe Moores thither, with a hundred footmen, carrying so many great torches of white waxe, the which they set about the dead kings tombe.

All matters betwixt *Nauarre* and Castille, were in outward apparence quiet, but the effects shewed this yeere 1257. that peace betwixt Princes, is most commonly entertained by no other bond, but their pleasures and commodities, without any respect of records, othes or promises: for the king of Castille hauing rayſed a mighty army, vnder collour of some doubt he had of the Moores, caused it to turne head towards the frontiers of *Nauarre*, to make some notable breach there, before they suspected him. Wherefore the two Kings, D. *James* of Arragon and D. *Thibaud* of *Nauarre*, went sodainly to armes, and soone after D. *Henry* Infant of Castille, the Kings brother, and D. *Diego Lopes Dias de Haro*, sonne to D. *Diego Lopes Dias*, who was dead a little before, at the bathes of *Bagnerets*, came vnto the King of Arragon, being at *Estelle*, with whom they made a league against Castille, the Infant making great complaints against the King D. *Alphonso*. With the young Lord of *Haro*, there came D. *Diego Lopes de Mendoza*, *Nichol Iniguez de Saaga*, *Inigo Ximenes* of *Nanclares*, *Sancho Gonçales* of *Heredia*, *Ruy Sanchez* of *Landa*, which were al principal Noblemen of the Prouince of *Alaua*: *Lopes de Velasco*, *Gonçalo Gomes* of *Aguero*, *Lopes Garcia* of *Salazar*, *Lopes Iniguez* of *Orozco*, *Sancho Garcia* of *Salzedo*, D. *Gonçales* of *Cauillos*, great Noblemen in the Mountaines, who came al with D. *Diego Lopes Dias* their Lord, & did there homage to the King D. *Jaime*, promising to follow him against al Princes whereoeuer he would lead them. The affaires standing vpon these termes, likely to breake out into an open combustion, those which loued peace labored in such sort, as the Kings of Castille & Arragon had an interview at *Soria*, where a new accord was made.

Nauarre.

And for that the Estates which king *Thibaud* had in France, that is to say, *Champagne* & *Brie*, required his presence, or of some great personage, Queene D. *Marguerite* went thither, but he died in the towne of Prouince, from whence he was carried to the Monastery of *Cleruaux*, and there buried: for this cause the king was forced to go himselfe, wherefore he recommended his country of *Nauarre* to the king of Arragon, and left a French knight for Seneschal and Governor thereof, his name was *Jeffrey* of *Beaumont*, of whom the *Nauarrois* made no great account, and lesse of the king of Arragon, to whom they would yeeld no obedience, so as there began to be a breach of friendship be-

twixt

A twixt the *Nauarrois* and *Arragonois*, in the yeere 1257. at which time D. *Gil de Rada*, a knight of *Nauar*, did homage to the King D. *Jaime* for his castle of *Rada*, for him and D. *Maria de Leez* his wife. The Seneschal seeing the costury, which was committed vnto him, ready to fall into a combustion, came vnto the King D. *Jaime*, who was at *Barcelona*, and obtained of him an assurance of peace, for a certaine time betwixt the two Estates.

The King of Castille finding himselfe in peace with all his neighbors, both Christians and Moores, he tooke care for the good government of his subjects, who at that time made great complaints, for that by reason of the altering of the value of coines, al things were growne exceeding deere, which thinking to prevent, by setting a certaine price vpon al wares that were sold, he wrought a contrary effect; so as the death increased,

wherefore he disannulled that law, and gaue them free liberty to sel their viduals & wares at their pleasures. About that time there was great trouble in the Empire of Germany, betwixt *Conrade* sonne to *Frederic* the 2. King of *Naples* and *Sicile*, and *William* Earle of *Holland*, both which carried themselves as Emperors. The death of *Conrade* happened, who as the Italians write, was poisoned by *Manfroy* his Lieutenant and bastard brother, who usurped the realmes of *Naples* and *Sicile*, which the Popes would draw vnto them since *Frederic* their time, and exclude the house of *Soaue*: notwithstanding that *Conrade* left *Conradin* his son and heire, in whose preiudice *Manfroy* made himselfe king, suggesting that he had newes of his death in Germany, hauing in the meane time corrupted some to poison him, as he had done the father, but they failed him their vowed seruice. *William* Earle of *Holland* had bin chosen Emperor by the praistiles of Popes against *Frederic* who held that title vnto his death, which was soone after that of *Conrad*: for hauing war against the Friscons his rebels, he was defeated by them and drowned in a Marsh. He being dead, the Electors of Germany were diuided, some struing to haue a Prince of Germany chosen, according to the lawes of the Empire; and the others (it may be corrupted with money) fought to haue some forraigne Prince placed in the Imperiall dignity, that he might pacifie the troubles and tumults which did afflicke Germany, and Italy. Two Princes were then vpon the file: *Richard* sonne to *John* King of England, and brother to *Henry* the third, then reigning; and D. *Alphonso* King of Castille. *Conrad* Archbishop of *Cologne* and *Lewis* Count *Palatin* of *Rhin* Electors, praistied by the English man who was present, did chose him King of the Romans, where vnto the Archbishop of *Mentz* consented:

But *Alphonso* duke of *Saxony*, the Archbishop of *Treues*, and the Marquis of *Brandeburg*, disallowing of this Election, they named the king of Castille, who was absent, who being aduertized of this Election by a sollemn Ambassage, yet would he not go into Germany, hearing that *Richard* would force obedience by armes, & that the war was hotter among the Germans then before, wherefore attending the euient, he kept himselfe within the city of *Toledo*.

The same yeere of our Lord 1257. D. *Sancho Capello* King of Portugal, whom they had deprived of the government of the realme; to giue it to his brother D. *Alphonso* of *Bologne*, came into Castille, to King D. *Alphonso* the wife (according to the most certain Authors) intreating him to aide him in the recovery of his dignity, and to punish his rebellious subjects, who had made his brother their King in his life time: wherevnto the King of Castille was well affected: but a priuat respect made him to abandon the cause of the afflicted, for the Earle of *Bologne*, Regent of Portugal, knowing that his brother made this purpose, intreated King D. *Alphonso* by his letters, not to trouble him in the charge wherevnto he had bene called by the Estates of the realm, for lawful considerations, the which had also bin allowed and confirmed by the authority of the Roman sea. That if he would forbear to annoy him; he promised to marry D. *Beatrice* his bastard daughter, which was then of age to be married, & would be divorced from the Countesse *M. hault* his wife, & moreover did reuue the ancient homage which Portugal did to *Leon*. These offers made king D. *Alphonso* to open his eares, who entreating the king D. *Sancho* with good words, concluded the marriage of D. *Beatrice*, with the Regent his brother, to whom he gaue in doury the country of *Algarbe*, newly taken from the Moores. This union of the realm of *Algarbe* to that of Portugal, was the cause that from that time the kings of Portugal carried in their armes; a border guesles semed with castles or

Castile.

Fallen in Germany for the Empire.

Impiety of Manfroy Elected by the Germans.

Richard of England chosen Emperor.

Portugal.

D. Alphonso of Portugal married his sister, and so by this means the Countesse of Bologne, to marry with Beatrice of Castille.

*D. Sancho Capello being out of al hope to raigne in Portugal, died soone after in Castille, where for that short time he was entertained in a royal Estate, by D. Alphonso King of Castille, whose case was like vnto his some few yeeres after, for he was dispossest by his owne sonne D. Sancho, where it was happy for him to haue preferred the friendship of the Moores: for there was not any Christian Prince, that did either fauor him or aide him. Whilst that the King D. Sancho of Portugal liued, the city of Coimbra resisted D. Alphonso his brother, and would neuer acknowledge him for Regent, and much lesse for King. And the writers of Portugal say, that the newes of the Kings death being published; he which commanded within the towne, whom some call Fleet, demanded a passport to goe vnto Toledo, to informe himselfe, of the Kings death, and that the tombe wherein he had beene laied, being opened, he began to sigh, and to lament the aduenture of this Prince, and to protest of his loyaltie vnto him, and of the affection of the citizens of Coimbra, and laying the keyes of the city vpon his hands, he sayd, that seeing he had receiued them from him, with the charge and gouernment thereof, he deliuered it vp vnto him againe: and then resoluing to acknowledge King D. Alphonso for his lawfull Prince, and to draw the citizens therevnto, he returned into Portugal.*

### D. Alphonso the third of that name, the fifth King of Portugal.

*By the death of King D. Sancho Capello, which was the fifth yeere of his age, hauing*

*raigned foure and thirty yeeres, leauing no children, the realme of Portugal felte D. Alphonso his brother, without any dispute, who was crowned King in the city of Lisbon, in the yeere 1257. and being married to two wiues, hauing no lawfull cause of diuorice from the first, he was the cause of many troubles and miseries to the realme of Portugal, for the preuenting whereof he had beene called. He had children by the Countesse Mahault: Fernand, who accompanied his mother into Portugal and there remained, and Robert who succceeded his mother in the county of Bologne. Fernand, whom some call Peter, lies in the Monastery of Saint Dominike of Lisbon which this King built.*

*The Countesse his mother led him with her, when as being aduertised of this second marriage she came into Portugal, to know the cause why she was thus abandoned. She landed at Calcais, a sea towne at the mouth of the riuer of Tayo, fise leagues from Lisbon, and from thence sent to intreat, exhort, and to summon the King her husband of his duty: for want whereof she made the protestations ordaind by the Canons in that cause: but she could haue no other reason nor answere from the King, but if it were lawful to breake the lawes, it was for a kingdome; and that if he thought to augment his dominions by marrying againe, he would euery day take a new wife. These were the fruits of her voyage, and D. Alphonso shewed himselfe so rigorous vnto her, as hee would not vouchsafe to see her, nor to heare any counsel that was giuen him by his seruants, who had a regard to Iustice, & feared God more then him; wherefore this poore Countesse returned, and left this sonne in Portugal: being in France, she made her complaints of the disloyalty of her husband to the King Saint Lewis, and sent some to doe the like to Pope Alexander the fourth, that by his Ecclesiastical censures, D. Alphonso might be forced to leaue D. Beatrix, and take the Countesse his lawful wife againe. The Pope did what he could, exhorting, commanding, yea and excommunicating the King, and interdicting his realme, but D. Alphonso was so obdurate as he suffered the realme of Portugal to remaine interdicted ten or twelue yeeres, as long as the Countesse liued. During the which time the Portugals had leisure to forget that which they had learned in religion, when as the King finding himselfe free, he was absolved by Pope Clement the fourth, retaying D. Beatrix without any let, who in the meane time brought him foure children, the Infant D. Denis, so called for that hee was borne on Saint Denis day,*

*Contumacy of D. Alphonso King of Portugal.*

*A* in the yeare 1261. who was king of Portugal and Algarbe: the Infant D. Alphonso who was Lord of Portalegre, Ronches, Murban, Castile de Vide, and other lands, and had to wife D. Violant daughter to D. Manuel of Castile, sonne to D. Fernand the third, and two daughters D. Blanche, who was a Nunne in the Monasterie of Lorban, and afterwards Abbess of Saint Mary de las Huelgas de Burgos, and D. Constance. Besides these lawfull children, this king D. Alphonso had one bastard sonne called Fernand Alphonso of Portugal, and one daughter whose name was D. Leonora of Portugal, married to an Earle called D. Goncalo. Whilst he stood excommunicated, he made warre against the Moores which remained in Algarbe, in the yeare 1260. and chased them out of Faro, Laule, Algezir, and Albofera, and augmented his dominions therewith. Hee built the towne of Castro of Portalegre and Extremos: he repayed Veja, and other places which had beene ruined by the Moores. He did not leaue to build Monasteries and religious houses during the Interdiction: for he finished that of the preaching Friars of Saint Dominike at Lisbon, and did build that of Saint Clara, of Saint Iren, and others: he gaue great almes, and did many charitable deeds, to expiate the sinne which he intended, by the taking of a second wife, not being separated from the first. Moreouer, to ease the people, and to haue greater store of fruites in the country, he caused certaine barren and waste ground to bee tilled: neither did he forget to maintaine Iustice, punishing theues and malefactours, whome his brothers carelesnesse had made insolent. To conclude, although hee were defective and blemished in his marriages, yet was hee a profitable Prince for his country.

*C* Whilst these things passed in Portugal, and that the warre continued in Germany against the fauourers of Richard clea king of the Romanes, D. Alphonso king of Castile sent an Ambassage of certaine Clergi-men to Pope Alexander the fourth, the which were D. Dominike bishop of Auila, D. Garcia bishop of Sylues, and John Alphonso Archdeacon of the church of Saint Iames, learned men, and of great authoritie, who demanded assignation of the time of his Coronation, and also to contradict the election of Richard, who did not care to prosecute his right by iustice, but by force and armes. Attending the euent of these troubles, and the returne of his Ambassadors, D. Alphonso king of Castile ordered some things touching the policie of his Realm, he decayed those sorts of money which he had coyned, called Bourgalos, and caused others to be made, which they called blacke pence, and in old Spanish, Prietos, fiftene of which were worth a Marauidis of gold: and he made other lawes which were profitable to the Common-weale. Whilst he was buisie about these things, and irresolute of his voyage into Germany, hee had another crosse which stayed him more: for his brother D. Henry a turbulent Prince, and an enemy to all quiet, committed many insolencies at Lebrixa, where he did remain; tending to open rebellion: wherefore he sent D. Nuño de Lara from Seuille to suppress him, by whom he was vanquished, and forced to fly to Valencia, from whence the king Don Jaime caused him to dislodge, for that he would not discontent his sonne in lawe: wherupon he past into Affrick to the King of Tunes. This Prince foure yeares after croft into Italy, and was made Senator of Rome (which is the chiefe dignity of that city) and grew to haue great authority and credit in the estate of Italy, in the time of Pope Clement the fourth, who was successor to Urban the fourth.

*E* The king of Nauarre, who was come into France, finding his affaires in great disorder, sought to settle them, & to maintain his rights in the Counties of Brie and Champagne, being in controuersie, the which he preferred by the fauour and authority of the King Saint Lewis: and moreover a marriage was made betwixt him and Isabel of France, the kings daughter, at Melun, whom he led into Nauarre. D. Iame king of Arragon was the mediator of this marriage, who in a manner at the same time gaue his daughter Isabel in marriage to Philip the Hardy, sonne to the king Saint Lewis, and heire to the crown of France, promised vnto him long before. King Thibaud had not any children by this Prince, wherefore his brother Henry succceeded him in the Realme of Nauarre. He had one bastard daughter called D. Marguise, whose mothers name was D. Marguise Lope de Rada, who we may coniecture was allyed to that Gil de Rada, who it may be for this iniurie left Nauarre, and retired into Arragon, where he did homage to the King D. Iame for his castell of Rada. This daughter was afterwards married vnto Don Pero Fernandes Lord

1260.

*Religious houses built by D. Alphonso during the interdiction.*

Nauarre.

*Children of king Thibaud the 3.*

Cathila.

compiler of  
the Letters of  
Spaine.Tables of  
Arithmeticall  
of Don  
Alphonso.

Lord of Ixar, sonne to the King D. Iaime, and to D. Thereja Gil of Bedaura, whom he had A secretly married, as we have sayd.

9 It was at that time that by the commandement of D. Alphonso king of Castile, many learned men laboured to reduce into one body, the booke of the lawes of Castile, commonly called *las siete partidas*, which the King D. Fernand had caused them to begin, and which since hath beene augmented by the succeeding kings, with many ordinances, the which was reviewed againe by Pero Lopes Alcocer, Doctore Escudero, Pero Lopes Arrieta, and in the end by Bartholomew of Arrienza, Lawyers: these are the lawes by the which the Realmes of Castile and Arragon are gouerned, and the administration and practise of Iustice in those countries.

This King Don. Alphonso giuen to study, it may be more then was fit for a Prince B which had so great a kingdom to gouerne, caused also those famous Astronomical tables to be made, which carry his name, hauing drawne into the city of Toledo a great number of men learned in the Mathematickes and Physickes, as well of his owne countries, as out of Affricke and other parts, both Christians and Arabians, where he comprehends a certaine supputation of the heavenly motion of the starrs, and planets, and of their aspects and encounters, setting downe for a rule and fundamentall point of all astronomical account, the situation of Toledo, where he consumed an infinit treasure. Hee did becausethese goodly Sciences of Physicke and Philosophie, causing the writings of the Arabians, and other Ancients to be put into more familiar tongues: whereby he deserves, that thankfull posteritie should maintaine a commendable memorie of his vertue: yet he is to be blamed, for that these honest exercises did so rauish his spirits, and hindered the care he ought to haue had of the affaires of State, that hee shewed himselfe so slacke and negligent, as thinking to be Emperor, he found himselfe not onely excluded from that dignity, but also dispossest of his owne Realme, hauing reaped no other fruites of his studies, but the vaine surmase of Wife and Learned. Which doth admonish Princes to preferre action before contemplation, yet ioyning the one to the other with moderation. He left some markes of him in the Province of Guipuscoa, in the town of Mondragon, the which was so called by him for certaine caules, whereas the auncient name was Arracate: and did indow it with great priuiledges, whereof the letters are to be seene at this day, Giuen in the towne of Exnorafe, called at this day, as the Spaniards say, Adelantamiento de Caçorla, which are the most ancient letters which are to be found in the Castilian tongue in all Spaine: for vntill this Kings raigne, all records, instruments, and publike writings were made in Latin: but he brought in the Castilian style, in all sorts of writings, causing many bookes, yea of the holy Scripture, to be translated into that tongue, whereby it was much beautified. In this priuiledge there are many assistants or witnesses named, as well of his owne Realmes, as strangers: which shewes, that his Court was frequented (as if hee had beene peaceable Emperour) by Princes and Noblemen of the Empire, which are there named his Vassalls: as Hugh Duke of Bourgonie, Guy Earle of Flanders, Henry Duke of Lorraine, Lewis Earle of Beaumont, and other Princes holding their Lands and reuenues in fee of the Empire: Many Princes of the Moores are there also named as Vassalls to this King. In the same qualitie are named in this priuiledge, Gaston Lord of Bearne, Guy Vicount of Limoges, who (it may bee) had some times in Spaine, or depending of the Empire. Many also are named in this priuiledge as Benefactors: Queen Violant, his children Don Fernand, and Don Sancho, according to the custome of the Kings of Spaine: and of windeles a great number.

This king Don Alphonso did also cause a collection of the Histories of Spaine to be made, the which is read at this day, called a generall Chronicle. Being by reason of these things in great reputation, and esteemed among strangers, by the report (as it is likely) of learned men, whome he did cherisn in all countries. The Sulcan of Egypt, a Turke which raigned then, called Alaudexaner, sent him presents of cloth, and beastes of Egypt, Lybia, Ethiopia, and other neighbor Countries strange vnto the Spaniards, the which were requested by him with other gifts.

Being thus respected by Barbarians afarte off, hee was contemned by them which

A which held their lands, dignities and liues of his bounty: for in the year 1261. there being an assembly at Granado, of all the Princes Moores, which held any lands in Spaine, they made a league together, and conspired all against him, and without any long delay, being long before prepared, they went to field and forced the townes of Xeres, Arcos, Bejar, Lebrixa, Medina Sidonia, Rota and Saint Lucar, king Mahomet Aben Alhamar of Granado being the chiefe, against whome Caria Gomez Gouverneur of Xeres defended himselfe valiantly, but it auayled not. This reuolt did much annoy the elect Emperour Don Alphonso, yet hauing sent some troupes of horse and foote, the Moores which were disperst in the Christians countrie, were soone suppressed.

The Realme of Valencia had beene subdued by the king of Arragon, so as that time D. Simon de Foffes being Vice-roy, there was no alteration in those parts by the Moores: yet this Prince was neuer in good quiet with his subiects, by reason of the importunite and contumacie of his eldest sonne Don Alphonso, who did continually stirre vp new tumults, vpon colour of portions betwixt him and his brethren: a question which had bin handled, but not decided in many Assemblies of the Estates, and by Iudges appointed by them during D. Alphonso's life-time. He died about the year 1260. soone after his marriage with Constance daughter to Gaston Lord of Bearne. In the year 1261. the marriage of the Infant D. Pedro was consummated (who then tooke the degree of the eldest) with Constance daughter to Manfrey Prince of Tarentum, soone after the celebration of the marriage of his sister D. Isabel with Philip of France, at Clermont in Auvergne. After which solemnities the question for the Infants portions was reuiued, with as bad successe as it had beene when Don Alphonso liued: for Don Pedro could not indure that any thing should be dismembred from the Crowne, nor that any lands or titles should bee assigned to his brethren, but would haue them to depend wholly vpon him, the which the King their father did not hold fit for the quiet and tranquillity of the Realme, knowing wel the rough disposition of Don Pedro, who was cruell and inexorable: wherefore notwithstanding the protestations of Don Pedro, which were ordinarie, refusing to allow of Order in that respect, but by constraint, and to obey the king his father. It was decreed, that after the decease of the king Don Iaime, the Infant D. Pedro should succede in the realme of Arragon and Valencia, and should haue by the same right the Principalltie of Catterlogne, limited from the riuer of Singa vnto Cap de Crux. That Don Iaime the younger should haue, with the title of a King, the Ilands of Majorca, Minorca, and the Pityules, and moreouer the Counties of Rossillon, Collobre, Conflans, Cerdagne and Vallespire, with the rights of Montpellier, with charge to acknowledge the Soueraigntie of Arragon for these Segenries vpon the maine land: but Don Pedro did complaine wonderfully at this portion which was assigned to his brother D. Iames. There were other quartels pretended by the Nobility of Arragon, complaining that the king D. Iaime did breake their priuiledges and liberties: by reason whereof they made many leagues and factions. The matter being debated in the Estate of Sarraçossa, and then at Exea, in the year 1265, there were orders made for the pacifying of those troubles: As not to giue any honors or militarie fees to any but to Gentlemen of race, and borne in the country. That no Gentleman should be subiect to the tribute of cattell, nor to any other. That in all controuersies which the Nobility might haue against the king, or among themselves, the Magistrate, called the Iustice Maor of Arragon, should be Iudge, being assisted by the Councell. That the King should not giue the fees and military rewards, affected to them that do him seruice, as a recompence of their vertue and valor, to any of his lawfull children, who by right haue their portions in the realme. In this assembly of the Estates the King was solicited by the Pope to roote the Moores out of his Dominions, the which was hard to effect, neither was it done.

The warre in Germany began to grow cold by the absence of Richard, who for want of money was forced to dissolve his army, and to go into England, to make a supply, whereas he found his brother Henry engaged in ciuill warres, whereby he stayed there, and neuer returned into the territories of the Empire: so as Don Alphonso by his delays lost many good occasions to effect his desseignes. Approching neare vnto the Moores frontiers with a great army, he built a castell in the territorie of Alarcos, which hee named Vill

An. 1261.  
Moorcs.

Arragon.

Death of D.  
Alphonso 1<sup>st</sup>.  
Infant of Arragon

Villa Reall, and since called city Reall by the king D. John the second. The place where A it was built, was before called Pozuello of Saint Gil. Leaving all care of the Empire for a time, he made violent warre against the Moores of Granada, Murcia, and other confederates, so as *Mahomet Aben-Alhamar* was forced to flee to *Aben Joseph* Miralumin of Maroc for succors, who sent a thousand genets or light horse Arabians into Spain, in the year one thousand two hundred, sixty three, which was the first succors which past into An. 1263. Spaine since that the kings of Maroc had abandoned and lost it, one and fifty yeeres after the rout in the fields of Toloufa, or Muradal in Andalusia. The towne of Xeres was recovered by the Christians, and manned with a great garrison: Bejar, Medina, Sidonia, Rota, and S. Lucar were in like manner taken, as also Arcos and Lebrixa, from whence the king chased the Moores and planted Christians. Port S. Mary was built, and other small exploits of warre done whilest the good time lasted. Winter coming on, the king dissolved his army, the which was exceeding great: for he had called all such as had in former times bene at the warre, and had horse and armes, exempting them of the village of Martiniega, from the Custome of cattel, and other Tributes and Impositions, besides their ordinary pay. The king with some Noblemen stayed at Seulle: during this warre which was in the year 1264, his father-in-law D. Jaime of Arragon met with him in Alcaras, with good troupes of footsiders, to second him against the Moores of Murcia, the which with their king was reduced vnder the obedience of the king of Castille, the year following 1265.

An. 1265.

Moors.

Accord betwixt Castile and Granada.

Castile.

The king of Granada was so ioyfull of these succors which were come vnto him out of Affricke, and gaue such great entertainment to these Arabians, at his subiects charge, as many began to murmur against him, in so much as the Captaines of Malaga and Guadix, off friends became his enemies, and many of his followers holding themselves less esteemed then these new come, conceived a great hatred against him, so as hee began to feare a revolt of his subiects. And for that he would not be engaged in two wars at once, one ciuill, another forraigne, he laboured to make his peace with king D. Alphonso, coming vpon assurance vnto him to Alcalá de Benaide, and there sware his fealty and homage anew, in the presence of *Mahomet Alamir* his son, promising to pay him 200000. Marauidis of gold for a yearly tribute, and renounced the allyance of *Aben Hudiel* king of Murcia. Wherefore king D. Alphonso did more easily subdue him, who yielded with all his townes, demanding pardon for his offence, the which he obtained by the intercession of the king of Granada newly reconciled: his life was saved, and some rents assigned him, but his royal dignity was taken from him, in the which the king of Castile placed another Moore, called also *Mahomet*, brother to *Aben-Hut*, who had bene slaine in Almerie, to whome he gaue the third part of the revenues of that Realme. As for the Captaines of Malaga and Guadix, D. Alphonso had promised vnto the king of Granada by this last accord, not to fauor them against him, the which he kept at that time, & did procure a truce betwixt them for a season. During the which *Mahomet Aben Alhamar* came vnto D. Alphonso at Murcia, to intreate him againe (the truce being expired) not to support these two Captaines, which had rebelled against him: wherein the king of Castile dissembled, refusing to promise him directly, for he had an intent to bridle him by this meanes, and in the end to ruine him. Whereupon the king of Granada returned discontented: being in his country, he sought to corrupt the captaines of the king of Castiles forts, which were neere vnto him: namely, Don *Nugno Gonçales* sonne to the Earle Don *Nugno de Lara*, who was discontented for the wrongs and grieuances which his father Don *Nugno de Lara*, and his Vncle Don *John Nugner* had receiued from the king, perswading him to rebell against his Prince, with assurance that he would fauour him, and would giue him succors vpon all occasions.

During these actions king D. Alphonso, Emperor elect, had newes of the death of *Richard* his competitor, who had bin slaine in England, at the siege of a towne of smal consequence, being greatly sollicit by his partisans and fauorers to go into Germany, assuring him that he should be receiued without any contradiction: but he excused himselfe, either for that he wanted courage or money, or else being stayed by the aduertisements he had of the king of Granados practices: yet he called a Court in the city of Burgos, to con-

fere

A ferre of this voyage with the Estates of his countries, who did exhort him to march, yea offering him money, whereof he had then need, but there was no meanes at that time.

He had sent Ambassadors into France, for the marriage of his son D. *Fernand* surnamed *de la Cerda*, with the eldest daughter of the king S. *Lewis*, called *Blanche*, as her grand-mother, in the end of the year 1267: this Princeesse being not full ten yeares old, according to some Spaniards, and the supputation of *Garrybay* himselfe, who makes profession to be a great obseruer of times. By this marriage was decided a great contentiouse betwixt the house of France, and that of Castile, for the succession of the Realmes of Castile and Toledo, the which by right, and the custome receiued of the succession of the elder, did belong vnto the king S. *Lewis*: for that after the decease of the king D. *Henry* the first, who dyed without children, being slain with a tyle which fel vpon his head, the succession came to his eldest siter D. *Blanche*, mother to this S. *Lewis*; and not to D. *Berenguela* the yonger mother to king *Fernand* the 3. whom she had by the king of Leon. But the Spaniards disdaining to be governed by a stranger, did easily frustrate this right, through the carelessness of the king S. *Lewis*, choosing D. *Fernand* his cousin germaine for their King. In fauor therefore of this marriage made betwixt D. *Fernand de la Cerda*, son to D. *Alphonso* the wife, K. of Castile, and D. *Blanche* daughter to the king S. *Lewis*, he did quite renounce al the right and interest which he and his successors kings of France might pretend to the crowne of Castile and Toledo, transferring it to Don. *Fernand* and to D. *Blanche* his spouse, and to their heires. This accord was made in France betwixt the king S. *Lewis* his counsell, and confirmed by him, and the ambassadors of Spaine, with whom the Princeesse was sent thorough the country of D. *Thibaud*, who had married *Isabel* her siter some ten yeeres before.

An. 1267.

Marriage of D. Fernand with Blanche daughter of France.

S. Lewis quits the right he pretended.

The Princeesse and her conductors were honourably intertained by the Nauarrois, al though that they and the Castillians were no great friends: yet for that theee was their Queenes siter, they spared not any thing that belonged to duty and honesty. D. *Thibaud* was then in France, during his absence there were many things done in Nauarre by excellence, or through the error of Governors, or the policy of neighbor Princes. One of the principall knights of Nauarre called *Gonsalo Tunes* of Baztan, retired to the king of Arragon, and made a fort vpon the frontiers betwixt Arragon and Nauarre, which hee called Boeta, from whence he made great spoyles in the country of Nauarre. Notwithstanding the friendship which was betwixt the kings of Arragon and Nauarre, yet there wanted no grieuances and subiect of quarrels betwixt them. One of the most apparent pretensions, which the king D. *Laine* had, was, that he sayd, that to succor the king D. *Thibaud* hee had made great expences, whereof he would be rembourised: making alwaies vse thereof when there happened any disorder. The summe which he demanded was so great, as neither K. *Thibaud* nor his brother *Henry*, who reigned after him could euer acquit it. About that time, or soone after was the passage of the Princeesse *Blanche* into Castile, whom the king D. *Alphonso* her father-in-law receiued at Logroño: the king D. *Thibaud* arrived in Nauarre, where he labored to set some good order in his affairs, and to prepare all things necessary for his voyage beyond the sea, which he pretended to make with the king S. *Lewis* his father-in-law. He did somewhat repaire the breach of friendship which had bin betwixt the K. of Arragon and him, and renewed the accord with him of Castile: and hauing left his brother *Henry* Earle of Ronay, for Governour in Nauarre, he came into France, leading with him D. *John Nugner de Lara*, eldest son to D. *Nugno Gonçales de Lara*, and many other knights of Nauarre and Castile. He also led *Q. Elizabeth* or *Isabel* with him, whom he left gouernesse of his Counties of Champagne and Brie, and then he parted with the king S. *Lewis* his father-in-law, who imbarked at Marfilles, with his whole army in May, 1269, to go into Syria: but he was forced by foule weather to land in Sicily, from whence hee past into Affricke, tooke Carthage, and besieged Tunes; but the issue of this expedition was vnfortunate, as we may read in the Histories of France.

An. 1269.

F Some monthes before D. *Laine*, or *Lames* K. of Arragon, moued with the like zeale to make war against the Infidels in the East, and to free himselfe of a vow which he had made, had imbarked himselfe, but he was driuen back by a storme to Aiguemortes. Hee had by reason of these enterprises, familiaritie, and treaties with the great *Cham* or Emperor of Tartaria, sending a Bourger of Perpignan, called *Alain*, Ambassadour vnto him. He consulted

Arragon.

sulted of the voyage at Toledo in an assembly of Princes, where hee did protest to go in person, although he were very old. King D. *Alphonso* promised money, *Michel Paleologue* Emperor of Constantinople offered ships and victuals by his Ambassadors, but he could not put it in execution. Yet his children D. *Pedro*, and D. *Fernand* proceeded in their voyage, and arrived in Palestine, where they stayed not long. At their returne they landed in the Island of Sicily, then enjoyed by king *Charles* the first brother to S. *Lewis*, from whom they received great honour and good wages: there the infant D. *Fernand* was made knight by the hands of king *Charles*, whereas D. *Pedro* his brother took occasion to hate him, and neuer after loved him. As soone as K. *Thibaud* was gone out of Nauarre, whether hee neuer more returned, the king D. *Jaime* forgetting not the right he pretended to this realme, made donation and transport thereof to D. *Pedro*, resigning all his interest to him, by vertue of the mutual donation made betwixt him and the last king D. *Sancho* the Strong.

Castile.

In Castile there was nothing but feasting for the new marriage of the Infant D. *Fernand*, at the which (being as statelly as any had beene scene in Spaine) there were present D. *Jaime* of Arragon, *Philip* eldest son to S. *Lewis* king of France, *Edward* eldest son to the king of England, who had beene armed knight by the king D. *Alphonso*: D. *Pedro* Infant and heire of Arragon, and *Mahomet* king of Granado, not yet proclaimed an enemy with other Princes Moores: the king D. *Alphonso* himself, Emperor elect, his brethren and children, with his vncl D. *Alphonso de Molina*, and a great number of Prelats and Noblemen of his countries, and of France, England, Italy and other places: who did then conferre with the Lords of Lara, D. *Lope Diaz de Haro*, and other mal-contentes, who whither also came the king of Granado, and concluded a dangerous league with him. Of this marriage were born the Infants D. *Alphonso* and D. *Fernand de la Cerde*, of whom we will make mention in the discourse of this Historie.

The feast being ended, D. *Alphonso* Emperor Elect, began to thinke afresh of his passage into Germany, whither they called him by ordinary messages: but whether feare or necessity did hinder him, he could not begin it. It may be the quarrels of Germany seemed too dangerous vnto him, being also loth to charge his subjects with the expences, for the conducting of an army into Italy and Germany: for that his prodigality had exhausted his treasure, and emptied his coffers. For besides the great expences which hee had made in searching out the Mathematickes and other commendable things, which amounted to so great summes of money, as a Spaniard writes, that for the compiling of the work which they call *Tabulas Regis Castille*, hee spent more then the revenues of S. *Peters* patrimony could amount vnto in ten years. He gaue at one time an hundred and fifty Kintals of siluer to the Empreffe of Constantinople, who came vnto him to Victor, to beseech him to ayde her, to redeeme the Emperor *Baudwin* her husband, prisoner among the Turkes, from whom *Michel Paleologue* detained the Empire. And withall it is likely, that he spared not any money to practise the Germaine Electors, by whom hee had beene chosen: together with the feasts, triumphs, gifts and presents of his sons marriage: and the prouision for war which hee honoured him to make, to defend himselfe against the treachery of the Moores, and of those that were vnto them. All which things kept him low, as he had neither means nor courage to pursue that which he had ambitiously affected. The rebellion of D. *Lope Diaz de Haro*, Lord of Biscay, the first of that name, who had beene made king during the fore-sayd marriage, and of D. *Nugno de Lara*, and others, may in some sort excuse him. These with other their confederates were entred into a secret league with *Mahomet Aben-Alhamer* king of Granado, who for his part had openly broken the truce with the capitaines of Malaga and Guadix, vassals to the king of Castile, annoying them all he could by open force: wherefore king D. *Alphonso* came to Seulle to oppose himselfe against this king of the Moores, and to prevent the designs of these conspirators, calling an assembly there of all his knights and other his faithfull subjects. Having a great army readie, and an occasion being offered, hee did assaile and suddenly take the town of Cadiz ill garded, and the Island which was vnder the protection of the K. of Maroc, where the souldiers got great spoiles: but for that there wanted people, he left it still in the Moores hands. This was in the year 1269.

Portugal.

The King being at Seulle, D. *Denis* infant of Portugal came vnto him, being well accompanied

A accompanied by the Noblemen and Knights of the country, who besought his grandfather to make him knight, and moreover, that he would discharge the Realme of Portugall, of the homage and vassalage it ought to the king of Leon. King D. *Alphonso* was desirous to gratifie this young Prince, soonne to his daughter D. *Beatrice*: but thinking it would be taken ill by the Noblemen his subjects, hee aduised the Infant to propound it in an open assembly, the which he called to that end. The demand being made in the name of Don *Denis*, who was yet a child of eight yeares old, by a Knight of Portugall, the opinion of D. *Nugno de Lara* (who had not yet declared himselfe) was, that by no means he should diminish the authority and greatnesse of his Crown, the which he should do, if hee did quit this homage to the king of Portugall, and that in any other thing he was of opinion, the king should gratifie his grand-child D. *Denis*: wherewith the king seemed discontented against the Earle D. *Nugno*: wherefore the rest seeing that he would haue it so, they aduised him to do it. Whereupon the Realme of Portugall was freed from all homage and obedience due to the kings of Leon and Castile, this year 1269. And D. *Denis* being made Knight by the king, he returned ioyfull to his father, who about the same time was absolved, and the generall Interdict, in the which the Realm had beene for twelue yeres space, taken away by Pope *Clement* the fourth.

1771st aduise  
of D. Nugno de  
Lara.  
11.

This prodigality with some other reasons, did much discontent the Noblemen of Castile: and made the Earle D. *Nugno* to run into open rebellion, for that the king had taken it ill, for deliuering his opinion freely in open Councell. After these things audience was giuen to the Ambassadors of the Miralumin *Aben-Isoph*, who were come to complain in their Masters name, for the taking and sacke of Cadiz, and to demand reparations: but they were sent home with good words: King D. *Alphonso* being pained from Seulle to come into Murcia, being at Villa Reall, he was abandoned by his brother D. *Philip*: the Earle D. *Nugno de Lara*, D. *Lope Diaz de Haro*, and other Noblemen & Knights which came into Castile, to put the League in execution which they had made with the king of Granado against their king, and to seeke to draw others vnto them, making the ground thereof to be the dismembred of Portugal from the Crowne of Leon: which league was renewed in Lerma. Many other Noblemen and knights ioyned with them, the chiefe whereof, besides the Infant D. *Philip*, the Earles D. *Nugno de Lara*, and *Lope Diaz de Haro*, were D. *Estenun Fernandez*, D. *Fernand Ruiz de Castro*, D. *Ximen Ruiz de los Cameros*, D. *Jean Nugno*, and D. *Nugno Gonçales de Lara*, children to the Earle D. *Nugno*, D. *Aluar Diaz*, D. *Diego Lope de Haro*, brother to D. *Lope Diaz*, D. *Lope de Mendoza*, D. *Gil Ruiz de Roa*, D. *Aluar Diaz de las Asturias*, and D. *Roderigo Rodriguez de Saldagne*, all discontented with K. D. *Alphonso*: some for one cause, some for another.

The first thing they did, after they had sworne the League, was to send the Infant D. *Philip* into Nauarre, to see if he could draw D. *Henry* the Regent of that Realme to ioine with them, for the interest he had to pull downe D. *Alphonso*, who detained so many Provinces belonging to the Crowne of Nauarre, the Confederates promising him (yet without any such intent) to ayde him in the recovery thereof. If hee would fauour them with the forces of the Realme which he had vnder his command, where they pretended to stay, and there assembled all forces, friends and means. The Regent Don *Henry* hauing duly considered of the consequence of this enterprize, being wise and well aduised, excused himselfe, that he was but Lieutenant to his brother, to whom hee must yeeld an account of his gouernement, and that he desired nothing more, then to restore him his Realme in the same estate that he had deliuered it him, without attempting to trouble his Estate by any new enterprises, vpon a vaine hope of bettering it. Don *Philip* returned into Castile with this answer, being frustrate of his expectation. Soone after D. *Henry* had newes of the death of his brother K. *Thibaud*, which happened in the town of Trapani in Sicile, in his returne from the voyage of Tunes, whereas the king S. *Lewis* was also dead, and the army forced by pestilence, and other discommodities, to returne, hauing done nothing of consequence.

1771st aduise  
of D. Henry of  
Nauarre to  
the Confede-  
rates of Castile.

M m

D. Henry

D. Henry the Groffe, first of that name,  
24. King of Nauarre.

**D**On *Thibaud* hauing held the Crowne of Nauarre 17. yeares and about foure moneths, and dying without any lawfull children, *Don Henry* his brother succeeded him in the year 1271. he was surnamed the Groffe, for that he was exceeding fat. And although the common opinion be, that fat men are most commonly of a soft and mild disposition, yet this was of a lower and froward conuersion; the which he did especially shew to *Don Armingol* Bishop of Pampelone, whom he did afflict much. *D. Ihabel* the Queene Dowager who was in France, when as *D. Thibaud* her husband dyed, receiued his bodie (the which was carried with that of the King *S. Lewis*) and caused it to be buried in the Church of *Prouins*: and whether it were for the griefe of her husbands death, or some other infirmity, she liued not long after him. The Confederates of Castile, seeing *Don Henry* receiued king of Nauarre, sent to *Don Philip* againe, to sollicite him to ioyne with them in league. The new king *Don Henry* made answer, that seeing he was now absolute, and was not to make accompt of his actions to any one, hee was very willing to receiue the Confederates into his Realme, and to assist them with all his power: but vpon condition, that they should in like manner come with all their forces and friends, to put him in full possession of the lands of *Bureua*, *Rioje*, *Alaua*, *Guipuscoa*, and others, the which king *D. Alphonso* had vniuilly vsurped and detained, belonging to the crowne of Nauarre.

Answer of the  
king of Nauarre  
to the Confede-  
rates of Castile.

This demand seemed great and difficult to the Infant *Don Philip*; and as one which had not reiected all loue of Brother or Country, he refused this allyance which would be so deare and burthen some, and therefore he made answer, that neither he nor his companions had any such power, as to accomplish that which he demanded, confessing freely that he would not do so great wrong vnto the King his Lord, as to dispossesse him of so great a country. The king *Don Henry* hearing this answer, would not enter into their League, being loth to breake the accords which Nauarre had with Castile, but vpon great aduantage: wherein he did wisely not to incense so mighty an enemy against him. *Don Philip* returning into Castile, met with his Confederates, to whom he related what he had done, the which they allowed.

Castile.

King *D. Alphonso* was wonderfully perplexed, during these practices, employing all his friends to pacifie and to diuert these conspirators from their enterprise. First he sent *Don Henry Perez* of Arana with letters of credit vnto them: the king went in person to *Valencia* with Queene *D. Violant* his wife, to intreate the king *D. Jaime* her father to mediate an accord for him, or to keepe him from ioyning with the Confederates: with whom *Don Henry Perez* labored in vaine, aduertising the king of all that past, as many of the Councell of Castile did in like manner wherefore after many messages of either side, and many fruitlesse negotiations, which did rather kindle the fire then quench it, king *D. Alphonso* was forced to come to Burgos. The Confederates did not onely sollicite the king of Portugal to enter into their league, but also *Aben Joseph* of Maroc, promising a safe access and all fauor against this Prince: the which was discouered by a letter written by this Moorish king in the Arabian tongue to the confederates: In the meane time the king of Granada began to make open war against Castile, ouer-running the country of Andalusia with the horsemen which he had out of Affricke: against whom he sent the Infant *D. Fernand de la Cerde*. *D. Alphonso* being come to Burgos some of the rebels came vnto him vpon passport, where there were diuers conferences, the king shewing himselfe tractable in many things, for the desire he had to go into Germany: but all prevailed not, notwithstanding that there was an assembly of the Estates at Burgos for this pacification, the which was held without the towne, for the safety of the Conspirators, who reiecting all treaties of peace, retired to Granada, their troupes committing infinit spoiles where they past without any respect, loue, and charity of their country, yea in the country of Guadix, whereas the Captaine a Moore was enemy to *Mahomet Aben Alhamar*: and they say, they entred into Granada with about 5000 catel, and many carts laden with spoile which they had taken.

Mahomad

Mohomad Mir, the second King  
of Granado.

**W**Hile these fugitiue Knights were at Granado, the king there dyed, which was in the year 1273. hauing reigned 36. yeares, and some moneths. By their support and assistance, his sonne obtained the Crowne, being also called *Mahomad* as his father, but surnamed *Mir Almus-Lemin*, otherwise *Abekille* & *Abasditke*, and *Alamir Aben Azar*: for after the death of *Aben-Alhamar* there were great diuisions vpon the election of a new king: some demanding a younger brother to this *Mahomad Mir*, who was called *Ioseph Aben Alhamar*, others would haue one of the Captaines of Malaga or Guadix, desiring thereby to make them leaue the allyance of the king of Castile, to the end they might vntie all the Moores of Spaine. For the fauour which the Christians did herein to *Mahomad Mir*, he caused a pallas to be built, which was called the pallas of *D. Nuño*. Such as had held the party of *Ioseph Aben-Alhamar* escaped, and retired with him to Malaga, from whence he went & spoiled the country of Granada; But the knights which were with king *Mahomad*, hauing assembled some forces, went against them, and defeated them neere vnto Antequera.

King *D. Alphonso* was come neere vnto Toledo, alwaies negotiating a peace, for the which they assembled the Estates againe at Auala, whither came *D. Fernand Ruiz de Castro* and *Roderigo Rodriguez de Saldaigne*, who abandoned their companions. Nothing being concluded, the King resolved to make war with all violence: he came to Requena, whereas *D. Jaime* king of Arragon should meet him. During his abode there, he had intelligence from his Agents in Germany, that the Electors, tyred with his delays, and desiring to settle a good peace in Germany, had proceeded to a new election in the person of *Rodolphus* Erie of Habsburg and Holfcia; against the which his said Agents had objected many things, and protested in his name of nullity. These newes did much trouble king *D. Alphonso*, who was ingaged in these ciuill dissensions, the which he then resolved to compound, at what price soeuer, to the end he might go into Germany to recouer his imperiall authority by armes, the which he had let slip by negligence. Wherefore hee sent the Queene *D. Violant* his wife to Cordoua, with some of his Councell, to treat a peace with the king of Granada, and with his owne rebellious subjects, and likewise with the Miramumin *Jacob Aben Joseph*, who threatened to passe into Spaine. He intreated and conuined the king of Arragon to ayde him to subdue them, if they would not yeeld to reason, the which he promised, and he sent Ambassadors presently into Italy to Pope *Gregory* the 10. to make new protestations against the Election of *Rodolphus*, and to lay open vnto the Pope his pretensions and reasons. The Ambassadors were *Friar Aymar* a Iacobin, & *Fernand* of Zamora, Chancellor to the king, and Chantoine of Auila, who deliuered their charge in open Consistorie: yet the negligence and little regard which the king their master seemed to haue of the Empire, did make good the election of *Rodolphus*, so as they returned into Castile, without any effect.

Pope *Gregorie* hauing afterwards called a Councell at Lyons, whether he came in person for the reformation of Christendome, especially for the reconciling of the Greeke Church with the Romaine or Latin, and in like manner to releue them in the East, who went to ruine. He aduised king *D. Alphonso*, and admonished him by the Bishop of Astorga, to desist from his pretension of the Empire, where hee should do nothing but spend, and thrust himselfe and his kingdoms into open danger, without any hope of benefite: which aduice could not please the King, who being aduertised that the Queene, who was at Cordoua, had brought the king of Granada, and the Noblemen Confederates to some reasonable conditions, he came to Seuille, whither all the Noblemen came with the Queene, and the Infant *D. Fernand*, where as an accord was made. The Noblemen and Knights were restored to the kings fauour, and to their goods and honours.

M m a

The

Moors.  
Ann. 1273.

13.

Council at Lyons  
under  
Pop. Gregory  
eleventh.

Accord be-  
twixt D. Al-  
phonso and his  
rebellious sub-  
jects.

An. 1274.

The King of Granado promised to pay a yearly tribute of 300000. Maraudis of gold A to him of Castile, and did pay him a great summe of ready money: the which D. *Alphonso* demanded to make his voyage into Germany, whereof he still dreamed. There was great dispute touching the Capitaines of Malaga and Guadix, for king *Mahomad* would haue D. *Alphonso* wholly to abandon them. but in the end the Queene D. *Violant* prohaue D. *Alphonso* for them for a year. Thus the conspiracie made against D. *Alphonso* was dis- solved in the year, 1274 the which had continued almost five years. Hee that wrought best effects in this negotiation of peace, and that tooke most paines was *Gonsal Ruiz* of Atienca, a gallant Knight, and a faithfull seruant to the king D. *Alphonso*. There is no doubt, but this Prince, by his inconsiderate bountie, his negligence in great affaires, and contempt of his subjects and Councillors, was the cause of great troubles and diuisions, D which were both preiudicial and dishonorable vnto him, although that conspiracies can not be excused.

Many Princes came to the Councill of Lyons, and many sent their Amba- sadours: namely, *Michei Paleologue* Emperour of Constantinople sent *Germain* Patriarke of Constantinople, *George Asopolite*, and *Theophanes* Metropolitan of Nicea in Bithynia, with charge to make a shew to desire an Accord betwixt the Greeke and the Latine Churches: but in effect it was to diuert, by this goodly pretext, the Armes of *Baudouin* his aduersarie, and of *Charles* King of Naples and Sicily, who pressed him, and to assure his Estate which hee had gotten by vniust and violent means.

Arragon.

Thither went Don *James* king of Arragon in person, who came to do his filial sub- mission vnto the Pope: yet the king being desirous to be crowned in this Councill, by the hands of Pope *Gregorie*, (a Ceremonie whereof he made great account) he refused him, vntill he would acknowledge himselfe Vassall to the Church of Rome, and pay the arrerages of the Rent which the deceased King Don *Pedro* his father had promi- sed: the which the King Don *James* would not do, holding it an vnworthy thing, so to debate the greatnesse of his Crowne, and restraine the libertie of his Realme in any sort. Wherefore seeming to haue some feeling thereof by his words, and making his merits knowne vnto the Church, by so many victories gotten against the Moores, in regard whereof, they should do him honour, hee returned very much discontented to Mont- pellier.

Both this yeare 1274. and some others before, the Realme of Arragon and Cate- logne had bene in continuall tumults and rebellions, the Nobilitie opposing them- selves against the king, vpon colour of breach of their priuiledges and liberties, be- sides the continuall praetises of the Infant Don *Pedro* against his brother Don *Fernand*, who drew the Nobilitie and Townes of Arragon into pernicious factions: Don *Pedro* proceeding so maliciously, as the king Don *James* their father was forced to take the gouernment of the Realme, and the managing of affaires from him: the which hee did in an open assembly of the Estates called to that end at Exca, in the which were condemned for contumacie, Don *Artal* of Luna, *Lopes Ortis* Sentia, *Symon* of Ahones, *Diego Garra*, and *Pedro Ortis*, by the sentence of *Roderigo Castellio*, hol- ding then the Magistracie of Iustice Maior of Arragon: by reason whereof, and of these seditions and quarrells, hee was afterwards slaine by *Bertrand Canetia*, and Don *William Raymond Odens* smothered in the water, by the commandement of the Infant Don *Pedro*, who accused his brother Don *Fernand* of treason, and pra- ctises against the life of their father: whereof diligent information was made, and Don *Raymond Fouquier*, Vicount of Cardonne, Don *Pedro Verga*, *Galferrand de Pinos*, and other Noblemen were pourfused, both by reason thereof, and for that they re- fused to do their due seruices and obedience vnto the king, in his warres, voyages, and expeditions, as feudataries are bound, whereuppon they were deprived of their fees and military honours, according to the custome of Spaine, by the which Places F and States were giuen to be held in fee, vnder the Soueraignie of the Crowne, vpon condition to yeld them vp vnto the king being demanded.

It did auail them nothing to object the priuiledges of Cattelogne, which were That

A That the Nobility might quit the kings obedience in case of controuersies and suites, especially if there were question of their liberties, and to protest it publicly. To com- pound which troubles the Estates were assembled againe that yeare 1274. at Lerida, and Iudges appointed by them: but the disorder was so great, as the king incensed with a rash and inhumane fury against his son D. *Fernand* and his confederates, he gaue him o- uer in prey to his brother D. *Pedro*, who beleaged him in the Castell of Pomar, took him, and caused him to be drowned in the riuer of Singa, and obtained his goods and spoile, for the execution of this cruell act. D. *Fernand* had married Donna *Aldoncia* of Virea, by whom he left a sonne called Don *Philip Fernandes*, which was the stemme of the noble house of Castro in Arragon.

Don Pedro of  
Arragon  
drownes his  
brother.

B These disorders were seconded by the proceedings of the Inquisitors Monkes, a- gainst them that were suspected to fauour the opinion of the Albigeois, condemned by the Popes. This Commission was affected by Friar *Raymond* of Begnafort a Iacobine a- bouementioned, and giuen to Friar *Pedro Cadrasta*, and *William Colonito* of the same Or- der, who inquiring of this crime with great vehemency, did many exploits in Cattelogne, namely in the Diocesse of Yrgel, where they tooke out of the graue the bones of *Arnaud* of Castellon, and of *Ermeinde*, or *Branicende* his daughter, Grandmother to *Roger Ber- nard* Earle of Foix, deceased a little before, and caused them to be publicly burnt, con- demning their memorie. Such was the estate of Arragon after the returne of the king D. *James* from the Councell of Lyons.

C D. *Henry* king of Nauarre newly come to the Crowne, was to dispute with D. *Pedro* in- fant of Arragon, for the right which he pretended, to the Realme of Nauarre, as Cessio- narie to D. *Jaime* his father: but it fell out happily for him, that there grew so great diu- sion betwixt the father and the sonne: by reason whereof the Infant D. *Pedro* entered into familiarity with the king of Nauarre, that he might be fauoured by him in his enterprises: and the better to incourage him, he sent a knight vnto him called D. *William* of Crullas, to make an accord betwixt them for this pretended right, whereof the king D. *Henry* made no great account, yet he gaue him good words, and intreated this young Prince, still keeping Don *Jaime* in feare, that they would agree to his prejudice, which was a good means for the king of Nauarre to be assured of him: for D. *Jaime* fearing this league D should take effect, preuented his sonne, and fought D. *Henries* friendship, making a truce for many yeares with him, during the which they should not talke of right, pretensions, nor of any reall nor personall actions. So King *Henry* the Groffe ioyed his Realme quietly, by the discord of others.

Nauarre.

This king was married before he came to the Crowne, being but Earle of Ronay, to *Jaime* daughter to *Robert* Earle of Arthois, Brother to Saint *Lewis*: so as thence was allied to the Royall houses of France and Spaine. The king had Don *Thibaud* by this marriage, whome the nurse let fall out of a Gallerie, in the towne of Estella, and slue him: some say, it was his Gouernour, who let him fall vnadvisedly, and was so grieved, as hee cast himselfe headlong after the child, and slue himselfe: Hee had no other sonne, Wherefore the masculine line of the Earles of Champagne in Nauarre, ended in this king, hauing continued but forty yeares. Hee had besides one daughter by his wife called Donna *Jaime* by her mothers name, who came to inherit the Realme of Nauarre with the Counties of Brie, Champagne, and other Estates of her Father. The Spanish Authors write, that the King and Queene, her father and mother, caused her to bee re- ceived and declared Queene in the Estates of Nauarre being but two yeares and seueri months old, which was a meanes to vnitte Nauarre to France for some yeares. This King Don *Henry* being Lieutenant in Nauarre for Don *Thibaud* his brother, being yet vnmarried, had the company of a Lady, the heire of the house of Lacarra, of whom hee begate a sonne, whome he named *Henry* as himselfe. Being growne, he was much fa- uoured by the kings which succeeded his father, and obtained the dignitie of Marthall, or chief Commander of armes in Nauarre: They hold, that the noble family of *Henri- quers* in Nauarre, Lords of Ablitas, is descended from him. D. *Henry* the Groffe reigned only three yeares, 7. months, and 17. dayes. He died in the city of Pampelone in the Bi- shops palace this yeare 1274. and was interred in the Cathedral church.

Generality of  
Nauarre.

Family of Hen-  
riques of Na-  
uarre Lords of  
Ablitas.



There is no particular mention of his deedes, nor of his gouernement in Nauarre, but that he brake an vnion made in the time of the king *D. Sancho*, betwixt the Bourgers and inhabitants of Pampelone, from that time diuided in Nauarriere, a Bourg, the reason that moued him thereunto, is not set downe, but that it was prejudiciall to the Cittle.

*D. Ieanne heire  
of Nauarre,  
15.*

*D. Pero San-  
cho de Monta-  
gu Regent in  
Nauarre.*

*The heire of  
Nauarre trans-  
ferred into  
France by  
her mother.*

Donna *Ieanne* the onely daughter and heire to the king *D. Henry*, remained in the power of the Estates of Nauarre, being onely three yeares old: presently there grew great troubles among the Nauarrois, as well for the gouernement of the Realme, as for the bringing vp of the Infanta. The gouernement of the Realme was in the hands of *Pero Sanches de Montagu*, Lord of Calsanti but for the bringing vp of the Infanta *D. Ieanne*, who was then in the custodie of the Queene her mother, there was great dispute in an assembly called to that end in the city of Pampelone. Some would haue her deliuered to the king *D. Alphonso*; and of this number was *Don Garcia Almorauid*: against these *Don Pero Sanches de Montagu*, *Don Armingol* Bishop of Pampelone, with many others, were of opinion, that she should be put into the hands of *D. Iames* king of Arragon: but the Queene her mother desired the might come into the hands of the French, demanding *Philip* king of France to be tutor to her daughter and Realme. In these debates which were neither gouerned by modestie nor reason, the Queene (feeling lest some inconuenience should fall vpon her daughter and her selfe, being assisted by the Noblemen and Knights which were of her faction) stole away in the night, and carried the Infanta (who was the cause of all the quarrell) with her into France, where shee was courteously intreated by King *Philip* the third then reigning, her cousin germaine. The Nauarrois hearing of her departure, disputed no more for the daughter, but applied themselves wholly to the things which were made betwixt the kings of Arragon and Castile, either of the one side, or the other. Hee receiued King of Nauarre, vpon fauour of the rights which they pretended to haue.

*Revenues of Na-  
uarre, allotted  
by the kings of  
Castile and Ar-  
ragon.*

*Don Iaime* of Arragon was first aduertised of the death of the King *Don Henry*: wherefore hee sent Ambassadors presently vnto the Estates, intreating them not to hinder him in the possession of the Realme which did of right belong vnto him, nor onely by reason of the adoption and donation which the king *D. Sancho* the strong had made vnto him, but by a more ancient title: for that (sayd they) the kings which had held the Realme since *D. Alphonso* the Warrior, had vsurped it by force, and were intruders without any lawfull title, to the prejudice of the Kings of Arragon. Moreover, he let them vnderstand, that there was due vnto him by the deceased kings of Nauarre, 60000. markes of silver, which did augment and better his pretension to the sayd Realme: for which considerations the Ambassadors required them to receiue the king *D. Iaime*, or *D. Pedro* for their king, which they should best like of, promising them all good vsage. On the other side, king *D. Alphonso* desiring that his sonne *D. Fernand de la Cerde* should obtaine this Realme, renouncing the ancient rights which he pretended thereunto, and without any other request, he gaue him an army to seaze thereon. It fell out that these two pretendents demanded ayde and support one of another, to recouer that which they both desired.

The Noblemen and Deputies of the Estates, seeing the great danger which did threaten the Realme by these diuisions, resolved to send the Bishop of Pampelone, and the gouernour, to soe, to accommodate their affaires in some sort with *D. Pero* of Arragon, who came thither, where they agreed, that in regard of 60000. markes of silver, they should stand to that which should be set downe by *Don Sancho* Arch-bishop of Toledo, and brother to *Don Pedro*, who was held to be a Prelate of a good conscience, and as for the rest, they should vse no force of either side, but all peaceable meanes: whereupon they made truce for a certaine time. The Ambassadors being returned, the place of the Nauarrois assembly was changed to Puente la Reyna, whether came the chief Prelates, Noblemen, and knights of the Realme, and the Deputies of the Townes of Pampelone, Tudela, Estella, Olite, Sanguesia, Puente la Reyna and others of the same iurisdiction.

There in the presence of this honourable Assembly *Don Garcia Ortis* of Açagra, one of

A For the Agents for the Infant of Arragon, required to haue the King *D. Iaime* receiued for King of Nauarre, making a large relation of his rights, with promises and assurances that it should redound to the great good of the Realme: whilst they are thus busied, *D. Fernand de la Cerde*, Infant of Castile, entred the country in armes, where he had many knights of his party: Comming therefore by the country of Oja hee past Ebro, and besieged the towne of Viana, but finding it well garded, hee left it, and came to Mendaciua, which hee took; and afterwards won the towne of Moreda, and committed great spoiles finding no resistance in fildes. This force offred by the Castilian, made them incline more to Arragon; and to the end they might preuent the danger which did threaten them, they sent the Bishop *D. Armingol* againe to the Infant *D. Pedro*, being at Tarassone, who although he were a Castilian; yet washee not of *D. Fernands* faction, and with him were the Gouernor *D. Ganpalo Yuaues* of Batzan, and his sonne *D. John Gonçales* of Batzan, *D. Gil Balduin* Gouernor of Tudela and *D. Martin Garcet* of Vnça. These Deputies gaue him to vnderstand from the Estates, that they should bee very glad if hee had any good interest to the realme of Nauarre, and that they desired much to know from him, what good alliance they might now treat together. To whom *D. Pedro* made answer that he desired there should be a promise of a marriage betwixt the Infanta *D. Ieanne*, and his eldest sonne *D. Alphonso*; and if that he should die before she came to full age, then shee should marry with *D. Iaime* his second sonne, and if the marriage could not be accomplished with the Infanta, that it should then be with some one of her cousin germaines, issued from the daughters of King *Thibaud* the first, especially of the Duchesse of Brittan. He offred to giue them his sonne *D. Alphonso*, to assist them in the gouernement of the realme: he did withall lay open vnto them the right which his father *D. Iaime* had to the realme of Nauarre, and the cession which had bene made vnto him, concluding, if these things were not pleasing vnto them, that they should aduise to receiue him for their King within a yeere, deliuering the whole realme freely vnto him.

The Ambassadors being returned with this answer, the assembly was put off to O-  
lite, where hauing consulted of their affaires, they made an accord with the Infant of Arragon, according to the Articles which follow. That the marriage betwixt *D. Alphonso* of Arragon his eldest sonne, and the Infanta *D. Ieanne* should take effect: and if shee should die before the consummation, the Estates should seeke to marry him to one of her cousin germaines, daughter to *John* Duke of Brittain; and in case *D. Alphonso* should die before the consummation of the marriage, the Infanta, or one of her cousins, should bee giuen to him of *D. Pedros* sonnes which should bee next heire to the crowne of Arragon. And whereas the Estates of Nauarre, could not for some lawfull let accomplish it, then they should pay vnto *D. Pedro*, a hundred and forty thousand Markes of silver, for the expences hee had bene at in the defence of the realme of Nauarre, and that out of the reuenues of the crowne, besides the 60000. markes which were already due, making in all the sum of 200000. markes, as it was curant at that time, payable within one yeere after the sayd let, accounting from Easter day: which accords should not bee any prejudice to the rights and pretensions which his father *D. Iaime* and he had to the realme of Nauarre, wherein the Estates promised to bee fauourable vnto them, and to aide them all they could. These promises were made and sworn by most of the Noblemen and Deputies assembled in the yeere 1274. vpon paine of high treason if they failed, except in regard of the marriages, for that the Princesses were not in their power.

But *D. Garcia Almorauid* and others, who were otherwise affected, did not allow of these accords, neither would they consent, nor sweare them, which caused great troubles and diuisions within the realme, neither did any of these Articles take effect, for that *Philip* King of France, tooke the realme of Nauarre into his protection, and made his sonne King, to whom hee married the Infanta *D. Ieanne*, frustrating the King of Arragon; for the Queene *D. Ieanne* widow to *D. Henry*, being retired into France, with the Infanta her daughter, heire to that crowne, and being aduertised of all that had past in the assembly of the Estates at Olite, was so incensed, as shee deliuered her daughter into the hands of King

*Accord be-  
twixt the Es-  
tates of Na-  
uarre and D.  
Pedro of Ar-  
ragon.*

*Nauarre vnder the protection of the French.*

King *Philip*, who receiued both her and the realme of *Nauarre* into his protection, and *A* caused her to be brought vp with his two daughters, *Marguerite* and *Blanche*, whom he had had by his second wife, *Mary* of Brabant, being also very young. This Infanta *D. Ieanne* was tall, beautiful, and of as good a grace as any Princesse of her time, wherefore King *Philip* married her very young, by a future promise, to his sonne *Philip*, surnamed the faire, who succeeded in the realme of France.

*Eustache of Bellemarche Governor of Nauarre.*

16 The Estate of *Nauarre* standing vpon these termes *D. Garcia Almoraid*, a great enemy to the Gouvernement of *D. Pedro Sanchez* of Montagu, Lord of Calcaute, and a fauourer of the Castilian faction, tooke occasion to enter into quarrell and to trouble the realme, vpon certaine iarrres which were betwixt the Inhabitants of *Pampelone*, who had beene long diuided and in mutiny one against the other. Those of the quarter, called *Nauarriere* would haue made certaine fortifications against the Bourg, but they were hindered by the Gouvernor, who thought that such barres betwixt the Inhabitants of one towne would be the very nurfes of hatred and sedition: Wherefore *D. Garcia* taking vpon him to support the Inhabitants of *Nauarriere*, the realme grew into such factions, as there was nothing but Insolences, murder, thefts and such like disorders committed, to remedy the which the Estates were againe assembled at *Pampelone*, whereas disagreeing who should gouerne the country, they resolu'd to send into France, to beseech King *Philip* to send them a Nobleman to supply the place of Viceroy, for their Princesse, who was vnder his Gouvernement. King *Philip* sent them a knight, who was wife and very vertuous, called *Eustache Beaumar*, or *Bellemarche*, who was receiued and respected, in whose hands the Estates did swear fealty vnto their Queene, whose person he did represent.

This knight by his wisdom and milde courses did soone reduce the realme to a quiet peace, *D. Jaime* King of Arragon, being ialous that the French did thus set footing into *Nauarre*, and being out of hope of the marriages which were concluded with his sonne *D. Pedro* at Olite, he beganne to demaund the other point of the Capitulation, which was to deliuer him the Realme, and that the Estates should assist him with their forces to recouer his rights, the which being not accomplished, a warre began betwixt *Nauarre* and Arragon. The pacification made within the realme by the French viceroy, continued not long, for some knights, enemies of all rest, began vnder hand to accuse, and to speake seditious words against their Gouvernor, saying, that it was an ignominious thing for the *Nauarrois* to be gouerned by a stranger, seeking to draw the people of *Pampelone* into a muteny. Moreouer hauing practised some gentlemen of Castille, nere vnto the frontiers of *Nauarre*, making them to enter the country in hostile manner, to the end they might draw the Gouvernor into armes, and to haue meanes in some incounter or charge, to dispatch him. The French Gouvernor seeing the affaires troubled towards Castille, came to *Eftella*, hauing giuen commandement to all knights and souldiers to come thither with their armes and horses, where he was aduertised of the treason which was plotted against him: wherefore in the night time he returned to *Pampelone*, where hauing complained in open council of this treachery and rebellion, he did wonderfully amaze the confederats, but especially the chiefe actors, seeing their mallice discovered: wherefore as it often happens that the wicked, being reproched of their wickednesse, grow more impudent and mad, these conspirators were so rash, as they commanded him to retire into France, saying, there were men ynough in *Nauarre*, better able to gouerne then he: to whom the Gouvernor answered, that he doubted not of the sufficiency of the Noblemen of *Nauarre*, and that for his part hee had not affected that charge, but it had beene imposed vpon him by King *Philip* his Lord; who was Tutor and Protector of their Queene and her realme; wherein they (who were priuat persons) should not hinder him, neither was he resolu'd to obey them: notwithstanding hee would assemble the Estates, and if it were sayd by a common consent that he should retire into France, he would obey, so as they gaue him a discharge, and testimony of his administration, otherwise he could not with his honour. shew himselfe before his Kings, the which hee esteemed more then his life.

The assembly being called at *Pampelone*, there was nothing concluded, for they found

*A* found not any iust cause why they should refuse the Gouvernement of this French knight: wherefore after many disputes, and seditious speeches vied by the confederats of *D. Garcia Almoraid*, the chiefe Author of this disorder, they departed, and presently went to armes: so as the Gouvernor was constrained to fortifie himselfe in the Bourg of *Saint Sernin*: the Inhabitants whereof promised to assist him; and to die at his feet, rather then to suffer him, who was Lieutenant to their Soueraigne Princesse, to take any wrong, whether also *D. Corbaran* of Bidaure retired. Against this Bourg, they of *Nauarriere* banded for the other faction, *D. Garcia Almoraid* being their head: committing all acts of hostility, one against the other, which choller and the fury of a barbarous multitude could inuent; so as neither the authority, admonitions nor intreaties of Prelates, and other great personages, which seemed Neuters and Meadiators of peace, preuailed any thing, but did rather adde oyle to this fire.

They did labour much to make a truce for forty daies, which did but giue them means to fortifie themselves, to commit all the cruelties which ensued, for the mutines of *Nauarriere* during the truce drew in, by the meanes of the Bishop of *Pampelone*, great supplies of strangers, with the which the truce being expired they attempted the Bourg: but seeing they could not force it, they went into the Vignes of the aduersie partie, the which they cut and pulled vp by the rootes; and not satisfied therewith, they murdered all the little Infants which they of the Bourg had put forth to nurse in those villages, beating out their braines (with a most barbarous inhumanity) against the stones and walles, adding to these impieties, many iniurious words against their aduersaries, to the dishonour of their Queene.

Moreouer this brutish people hauing intelligence that *D. Pedro Sanchez* of Montagu, who in this last tumult had beene opposite to the Gouvernor *Eustache Bellemarche*, would reconcile himselfe vnto him, they came in the night into his lodging, and murdered him cruelly. Such insolencies did the Inhabitants of *Nauarriere* commit against the Maiesty of God and their Queene: wherefore they drew a heauy iudgement vpon them: for the French King being aduertised of their rebellious actions, vpon the discovery of their conspiracy, was wonderfully offended: wherefore he raised a great army, meaning to punish those which had carried so little respect vnto his greatnesse, and had beene the cause of the ensuing miseries, which army he himselfe would lead into *Nauarre*, in the yeere 1276. but being arriued at *Saluaterre* in *Bearn*, and forced to stay there some time, by reason of the abundance of snow which had fallne, and stop the passages of the mountaines, he was so solicited by them that were not well pleased with this voyage, as he resolu'd to returne, giuing the floure of his army to *Charles* (the Histories of France call him *Robert* the second) Earle of *Artois*, to conduct it into *Nauarre*, who crossing the mountaines by *Iacca*, came by *Sanguessa* to *Pampelone*, refusing to passe by the Valley of *Roncal*, for that the Inhabitants held the party of them of *Nauarriere*: To whose succors there were certaine bands of Castilians entered into the realme, who would haue retired, when as they heard of the coming of the French, but being charged in the reereward, they lost some men, and as they retired slowly, the French and *Nauarrois* of their party charged them againe, wherevpon they turned head, but they were defeated and put to flight, with great losse. And for that during the fight the *Nauarrois* cried often vnto the Castilians, *Aqui tornass*; that is to say, doe you returne? and that this demaund was often heard; they say that the hospital which was built to bury them that were slaine in this incounter, was for this caused named *Aqui tornass*; and so continues vnto this day. The Earle of *Artois* besieged *Nauarriere*, the which he press in such sort, as *D. Garcia Almoraid*, who was within it with many of his confederats, fearing they should not be able to defend it, got out in the night, abandoning those miserable wretches to the punishment which they had deserued. These

commanders retired to the castle of *Sar*, from whence the French dislodged them, forcing them to flee into the Island of *Sardaigne*.

The Inhabitants of *Nauarriere* finding themselves in the morning without captaines, were much troubled, and like men which were better theues and mutines then soldiers, they beganne to cry out for merrey, and to craue pardon of the Earle of *Artois*: who seeming

*D. Garcia Almoraid chiefe of a faction.*

*Pampelone diuided into two factions.*

*Bishop of Pampelone a fauourer of the sedition.*

*D. Pedro Sanchez murdered.*

*Ar. 1276.*

*Earle of Artois sent into Nauarre to pacify the rebels of Trema pelone.*

*D. Garcia Almoraid abandoned the rebels.*

*Navarriers of  
Pampelane  
ruyn.*

seeming to pity them much, whilst he entertained them with words on the one side, hee A  
caused the walled and forts which were vnmanned to be assailed on the other, so as the  
souldiers entred suddenly, and made a cruell butchery of this wretched people, neuer  
ceasing to kil whilst that day lasted, and when night came they fel to the spoile, commit-  
ting such excesse and violences, as victory, hatred and fury doth sugiest to insolent foul-  
diars: and not content to haue flaine the men, and taken their goods, without respect  
of holy or prophane, they extended their rage euen vnto the houses and buildings,  
which they did ruine and burne: wherewith the other quarters of the towne were indo-  
maged, the fire flying from one to the other, doing great harme to them that had not  
offended. The Chamber of accounts was fired, where there were many titles, letters  
and ancient Records of the realme of Nauarre burned: the rest which could be saued, B  
was carried to the castle of Tiebas, whereas the Treasor and Chamber of accounts of  
Nauarre hath continued long. The fury being ended, those which had escaped the  
sword, were condemned, and publicly executed as traitors: not any one escaping the  
seuerity of that sentence, but such as the innocency of their age excused, and all their  
goods were confiscated.

*Seuerer punish-  
ed.*

Thus Nauarriers of Pampelone was ruined by a iust iudgement of God, in reuenge of  
the brutish cruelties, which these mutines did vie against innocent age, in the villages, a-  
gainst the city, and other their insolencies and rebellions. For the murthor committed  
vpon the person of D. Pedro Sanchez of Montagu, Lord of Calcanne, and other their in-  
solencies, there were called in question and accused before the Estates of Nauarre which  
were called to that end, D. Goncal Inigo, John Ingalbiz and his sonne, Symon of Varriz, Mi- C  
chel Garces of Varriz, Garcia Perez of Licoani, Pedro Ximenes of Sabalca, Symon Perez of  
chel Garces of Varriz, Garcia Perez of Licoani, Pedro Ximenes of Sabalca, Symon Perez of  
Opaco, Inego Gil of Vrdauiz, Sancho Iniques of Vrdaniz, Goncaluo of Arbizu, and Ray Go-  
ncales his brother, Sancho Perez of Aguerre, & Ochoa Perez his brother, John of Armenda-  
riz, John and Sanchez the Biscaian, al which appeering not, their cause was more hainous,  
hauing for their aduerser parties, Ray Peres of Echales, Fernand Perez of Echales, Michel  
Perez of Subica, and Pedro of Aybar. By these proceedings and executions, the rest of  
mutines were terrified, and the realme remained in peace.

*Castile.*

17 During these actions in Nauarre, D. Alphonso King of Castille, made preparati-  
on to march, with an intent to despoesse the Emperor Rodolphus, who had bene chosen  
to his prejudice, notwithstanding that he had bene perswaded by many of his friends D  
not to make any more account of the Empire, seeing the occasions which might haue  
fauiored him were lost: yea Pope Gregory being come to the council of Lyons, consider-  
ing the miseries which might come to Christendome, if D. Alphonso should wilfully  
pursue his pretended right, hee sent one vnto him, called Fredul Abbot of Lunel, after-  
wards Bishoppe of Ouedo, to perswade him to rest satisfied with his royall Estate,  
and not to trouble himselfe any more with the affaires of the Empire, seeing that by  
the consent of all the Electors, Rodolphus had bene crowned in the towne of Aix La  
Chappelle. And to make him beleue that hee gaue him fatherly counsell, hee dispen-  
sed with him to take the tenth of all the revenues of the Clergy, for sixe yeeres to make E  
warre against the Moores. But D. Alphonso being obstinate, hee thought that if hee  
went to see the Pope, he might draw him to set downe some order betwix him and  
Rodolphus, so as both might intitle themselves Kings of the Romans: wherefore hee told  
the Abbot of Lunel, that he desired to passe into France, and to confesse personally  
with his Holinesse, in some commodious towne, either Montpellier, or where hee  
pleased.

*Pope ratifies  
the election of  
Rodolphus.*

The Pope hearing this answer, perswaded, himselfe that D. Alphonso had no great de-  
sire to be Emperor, wherevpon without further deliberation, hee ratified the Election of  
Rodolphus, with the consent of the whole consistory, in a conuocation at Lyons, calling  
him King of Romans, and commanding all the Princes and Prouinces of the Empire,  
to obey him: aduising Rodolphus to passe speedily into Italy, to receive the crowne of the  
Empire. It may be he had regard to the diuersity of humors betwix the Germans and  
Spaniards.

D. Alphonso hauing in the meane time seised his affaires, with his Nobility, and  
guen

A giuen order for the government thereof, not caring to seeke any truce with *Aben Joseph*  
King of Maroc, holding it would be dishonorable, which notwithstanding was the cause  
of great mischief, as we shall see he went from Toledo, to goe into France, to the Pope,  
yet was he aduertised, that he had proceeded to the confirmation of Rodolphus. He was  
accompanied by D. Manuel his brother, the Queene D. Violant the Infants D. Sancho, D.  
John, D. Pedro and D. Jaime his children, with many Noblemen and Knights of Marke,  
of Castille, Leon, and his other dominions. He left the government of the realme to his  
eldest sonne D. Fernand, and the Moores frontier, to the Earle D. Nugno of Lara. Hee  
had giuen order to haue a fleet prepared of many ships, in the ports of Asturia, Galicia,  
and Andalusia, the which coasting along Spaine, Languedoc and Prouence, should at-  
tend him at Marceilles, being furnished with many souldiers, and great store of victuals, B  
sending with it the superfluous horses and baggage of his traine, D. Alphonso marching  
through the country of his father in law D. Jaime, he came to Tarragone where he was  
honourably entertained by him, then they arrived at Barcelona, about Christmas, in the  
yeere 1275. D. Alphonso stayed there with his traine six weekes, being often aduised by  
the King of Arragon, not to proceed, giuing him many great and considerable rea-  
sons: but there was no means to diuert him from this voyage, being so farre ad-  
uanced.

*An. 1275.*

Being come to Perpignan, hee stayed some time to conclude of the time and place  
of their interview: the towne of Beaucaire was chosen, and the Archbishop of Nar-  
bonne had commendement to goe and meet him, and to conduct him. Hee left the  
Queene his wife and his children at Perpignan, except D. Sancho whom he sent into  
Castille, by the aduise of the King of Arragon; and crossing Languedoc hauing the Arch-  
bishop for his guide, hee arrived at Beaucaire, whereas the Pope met him with some of the  
chiefe Cardinals, the council of Lyons being ended. D. Alphonso treated of many matters  
with the Pope, but he could not obtaine any thing that hee propounded. He shewed  
him the nullity of Rodolphus election by many reasons, complaining greatly of his con-  
firmation, making a great instance vpon that point in vaine; but the Pope wanted no  
excuses. Then he laied open to the Pope the reasons hee had to the succession of the  
house of Swabe after the death of Conradin King of Naples and Sicile, and Duke of Sua-  
be, who was inhumanly beheaded by the French at Naples, in the yeere 1269, who ha-  
uing left no lawfull children, the succession of the house belonged to him, in the right  
of his mother D. Beatrice, who was the right heire of that Duchy, whereon Rodolphus  
had to his prejudice seized: besides hee complained of the French King, who had in-  
truded, and seized vpon the realme of Nauarre, which by ancient rights belonged to the  
house of Castille, whereof he produced some reasons to iustifie his saying, but all was  
in vaine: finally he besought the Pope to be a mediator for the deliuey of D. Henry  
his brother, who since the bataille, and defeat of Conradin, was prisoner in the hands of  
Charles King of Naples and Sicile. D. Alphonso propounded many other things vnto the  
Pope, but without any effect: So as he spent the whole spring and part of the Sommer  
in this negotiation, vntill that the Pope leaving him much discontented, returned  
to Rome, yet hee still vsed the title and armes of the Empire, vntill that he was forced  
by censures to leaue them, the Archbishop of Seuille hauing charge to intimate them  
vnto him.

*Pope and D.  
Alphonso  
King of Cas-  
tile met at  
Beaucaire.*

*Complaints &  
reprochs of D.  
Alphonso to  
the Pope, sent  
in vaine.*

18. King D. Alphonso being buied in this vaine pursuit, the Moores his confederats  
and vassals of Spaine, called in *Aben Joseph Miralumin* of Affrike, thinking they might  
not still shake off the Christians yoke, but make some notable breach in the Estates  
of Leon and Castille, the King being absent, or at the least they should seize vpon And-  
alusia; and for that wee haue often made mention of this King *Aben Joseph*, it is  
needful we should relate what he was, and treat some thing of the Moores Estate in  
Affrike, for that those of Spaine haue had their support from them. The *Miralumin*  
*Aben Mahamed* the old, of the race of the Almohades, being dead, after hee had lost the  
bataille of Muradal, we made mention that his Grand-child called *Caid Arrax*, reigned,  
who was the sonne of Buxaf, dead before his father *Mahumer*. This *Caid Arrax* was the  
fifth King of Affrike, of the race of the *Almohades*, whose Empire extended from the  
West

*Narri.*

Kingdome of  
Tremessen.

Reigne of  
Fez.

Almoracida the  
first Almoravide  
King of Maroc.

Budebuz the  
Jewell King  
of Maroc.

Jacob Aben  
Ioseph first  
King Merin at  
Maroc.

West Ocean vnto Egypt. There were many Admirals, or *Gouernors* vnder him, ruling the *Pröuinces*, among the which *Gomaranga Aben Zein*, of the Linage of *Abdaluces*, held that of Tremessen, who behauing himselfe couetously and violently in his gouernment, fell in disgrace with his King *Caid Arrax*, so as carrying himselfe rebelliously, the King came and besieged him in a castle called Tremezezir, whereas a Moore, cousin to *Gomaranga*, going out of the fort flue the *Miralmumin*, seeming to yield vnto him, and shewing him a place whereby the castle might be taken. The army amazed at the death of their King, was instantly set vpon by the garrison of Tremezezir, being led by *Gomaranga*, and put to flight, by which victory the Moore did appropriate that Prouince vnto himselfe, causing himselfe to be called King of Tremessen, and this was the beginning of that Kingdome.

At the same time there was in the city of Fez, a family of Moores, called the *Bemolaxez* and *Merins*, which descended from a famous Moore, called *Merin*, who had bene a Christian and became a Mahometist. The chiefe of this house at that time, was called *Bucar Aben Merin*, and gouerned the city of Fez, vnder the *Miralmumin Caid Arrax*; after whose death, and the defeat of his army by *Gomaranga*, before Tremezezir, this *Bucar Aben Merin* fell vpon the *Almohades*, which had escaped, and gathered them selfes together about Fez, whom hauing put to rout, he carried himselfe for King of Fez, imitating that which his companion *Gomaranga Aben Zein* had done in Tremessen, and giuing a beginning to this new Kingdome. A brother of his called *Jacob Aben Ioseph*, usurped (in the same troubles) the Principality in Ribat: so as the Estate of the *Almohades* raigning in Maroc, was then much decayed. These being aduertised of the death of *Caid Arrax*, and of the tyrannies aboue named, did presently aduance a kinsman of his, to the royall seat, his name was *Almoracida*, who was the sixth *Miralmumin* of the race of the *Almohades*. He was no sooner crowned King, but he went to field with an army, to punish these rebels which had intitled themselves Kings in their gouernments: First he came and assailed *Bucar Aben Merin*, the new King of Fez, but he was repulst, and vanquished by him: so as the race of the *Merins* kept the possession of Fez, and of the territory in the plaine country, or *Algarue*, as the Moores call it. So as *Bucar* dying a peaceable King, his sonne *Hiaja* raigned after him, vnder the tutelage of *Jacob Aben Ioseph*, his vnckle, for that he was then very young, but he liued not long; wherefore *Jacob Aben Ioseph* remained heire of the realme of Fez, and was much esteemed and feared amongst the Moores, being called (as an honour) the old or elder of the *Merins*. This Moores good fortune was not so bounded for *Budebuz*, nephew to *Almoracida* king of Maroc, being rebelled against him, and retired to Fez, he gaue him an occasion to get the realme of Maroc, and to ioyne it vnto Fez. *Budebuz* intreated *Jacob Aben Ioseph*, to aide him against his vnckle, promising to giue him all that he held of the realme of Fez, vnto the issue of his Natib.

*Jacob Aben Ioseph* gaue him such succors, as *Almoracida* being amazed, durst not attend him within Maroc, but fled, being pursued by certaine horsemen which *Budebuz* sent after him, whom they ouertooke and flue, carrying his head to the King of Fez: wherefore *Budebuz* was peaceable King of Maroc, the seuenth and last of the *Almohades*. Finding himselfe seised in his Kingdome, he would haue mocked *Jacob Aben Ioseph*, who had helped him to attaine this dignity, not caring to performe any promise, but threatened to take Fez from him, by reason of which Ingratitude, there beganne a cruell warre betwixt them, the which hauing continued three yeeres, at the last it was ended, by the defeat and death of King *Budebuz*, being slaine in bataille, of whose Estate *Jacob Aben Ioseph* seized, giuing an end to the raigne of the *Almohades*, and a beginning to that of the family of *Merin* in Affrike, about the yeere of our Lord 1270. It is this *Jacob Aben Ioseph*, whom we haue sayd, had sent one thousand light horses Arabians into Spaine to *Mahumet Alhamar* King of Granado, vnder the conduct of a captaine with one eye, of great authority: with whom *D. Alphonso* the wise, King of Castille, hauing not vouchsafed to treat of a truce, when as he went in France to court the Pope, *Mir Almuz* who had succeeded in Granado, and hee conspired together, to the preiudice of Castille, and all the Christians in Spaine: to this King of Granado being discontented with the

Accorde

A accords which he had made at his first entrance, in the which he could not procure King *Alphonso* to abandon the captaines of Malaga and Guadix his enemies, he feared that these Moores which had bene enemies to his father and him, would attempt some thing against his realme; and therefore he reholde, at what price soeuer, to ruine them. And for that it was a meane to imbatke him in a warre with the King of Castille, hee did sollicit *Jacob Aben Ioseph* to undertake the enterprise of Spaine, as his predecessors Kings of Arabia had done, offering him the townes and ports of *Algezire* and *Tariffe*, for his descent, whereof the *Miralmumin* did willingly accept, finding himselfe assured in his Estate, and mighty in men and armes: But it happened that they of Malaga and Guadix, seeing that the truce which they had with the King of Granado, was nere expired, and doubting they should haue warre, and not be releued by the forces of Castille, by reason of the Kings absence, they held it the best course to reconcile themselves to the King of Granado, as in like manner the captaine of Comares did, who was of the same league.

Notwithstanding the *Miralmumin* hauing leauied great forces to passe into Spaine, sent some troupes of Moores to receiue the townes of *Algezire* and *Tariffe*, according to the accord, the which were deliuered vnto them: so as he stayed not long to come himselfe in person to *Algezire*, whereas afterwards he past his troups to the number of fiftene thousand horse: The two Kings met in the country of Malaga, whereas they concluded to make warre against the Christians; the African King towards *Eccia*, and he of Granado by *Iaen*. This passage was contrary to the expectation of the Christian Princes, for the *Miralmumin*, who could not make so great a leauy of horse, without knowledge, made a shew as if he would goe against one of his subiects which was rebelled, and had by stealth taken the towne of Ceuta; and the better to dissemble his designe, hee had sent to intreat the King of Arragon to assist him in this warre with tenne Gallies, and some ships of burthen, and with fiftie hundred horse, to whom hee promised good entertainment. Don *Fernand de la Cerde* Viceroy and Lieutenant generall in Spaine for his father, did not disceuer that these forces were prepared for Castille, vntill they had past the straight, being then at Burgos, hee was aduertised of the League betwixt these Moorish Kings, and of the reconciliation of them of Malaga and Guadix with the King of Granado, all which inconueniences grew by the Kings absence, wherefore, both of himselfe, and at the instance of Don *Nugno de Lara*, who was at Cordoua, hee made the speediest preparation hee could, to oppose himselfe against the violence of these Infidels.

Don *Nugno* knowing that the *Miralmumin* tooke the way of *Eccia*, drew neere vnto that quarter, with such forces as he could gather together: but finding the passage stoppt, hee was forced to fight with the Moores, where after a long fight hee was defeated and slaine, yet most of his men which escaped entred by night into *Eccia*.

The victorious Moores hauing found the body of Don *Nugno*, cutt off his head and sent it to *Mahumet* King of Granado, who was glad of this victory, but very much discontented for the death of the Earle Don *Nugno*, who had bene the cause that hee rigned, wherefore hee sent his head to Cordoua, to be buried with his body. The like misfortune happened to Don *Sancho* of Arragon Archbishop of Toledo, who hauing gathered together all the souldiars of Toledo, Guadalajara, Madrid and Taluera, presented himselfe vpon the frontier, where hee encountered the King of Granados army, inuading the Diocesse of *Iaen*, where hee was slaine and his army put to rout. His body, head and hand, where hee was the Pontifical Ring, being separated, were recovered from the Moores, and brought to Toledo, where they were buried with great sorrow of all the people, taking it for a mournfull preface for the affaires of Spaine: *D. Goncale*, Bishop of Burgos succeeded him in this dignity, and was afterwards made Cardinal, the first amongst all the Bishops of the Church.

They write that the Archbishop Don *Sancho* did not die fighting, in the charge, but that being taken, there grewe debate betwixt some captaines Moores, some striving to lead him to the *Miralmumin Jacob Aben Ioseph*, and others to King *Mahumet*, and thus

The King of  
Maroc presents  
himselfe into  
Spaine.

D. *Nugno* de  
*Lara* van-  
quished by the  
Moore and  
slaine.

Rout and  
death of D.  
*Sancho* of Ar-  
ragon Arch-  
bishop of Toledo  
by the Moores.

N n

that the Gouverneur of Malaga called *Alexander* arriving, foreseeing that by the content  
Moore, he cast an Azagaye, or Moonish dart at the Archbishop, and peeced his belly  
through, saying, God forbid fo. many brave men should kill one other for a dogge.  
The day of this defeat, there arrived, *D. Lopez Diaz de Haro*, Lord of Biscay, with a great  
number of souldiers, horse, and foote, which he had sodainly leuied, and lead by great  
iointneices towards the frontier, by fauour whereof many, which had remained at the bat-  
taile, ioyntly with his troupe, and without any delay, went all ioyntly together to in-  
counter the Moores, who receiued them courageously, so as neither party could vant  
the victory, when as the night parted them. The greatest deeds of armes in this incoun-  
ters, were done about the Archbishop *D. Sancho* crosse, the which he cauled to be carried  
before him, as primat, and had fallne into the Moores hands: but the Christians recou-  
red it againe, which made them hope for better.

**Castil'e.**

Death of the  
Infant D. Fer-  
nand de la  
Cerde,

Truce betwixt  
the Christians  
and Moores.

*Ar. 1276.*

D. Sancho's re-  
-action to  
- his wife's  
- of  
- the Kingdome.

[illegible]

Being returned into Spain about the end of the yeere 1276. he found the flatin great disorder, whereof he had bene alwaies aduertised during his aboad in France. That which most grieved him, was the death of his eldest sonne *D. Fernand*, & not without cause, for that other sonne *D. Sancho* made shew that he had some disordred enterprise in his conceit, he which he put in execution, to the dishonor and prejudice of his father, and elder brothers children, wherein *D. Lope Diaz* de Haro, Lord of Biscay, did amilla, counsel and conduct him: for as soone as the Infant *D. Sancho* arrived at Villa Real, *D. Lope Diaz* came vnto him: whereas *D. Sancho* knowing that where his brother died, *D. Lope Diaz* came vnto him: whereas *D. Sancho* knowing that he was ill affected to the King *D. Alphonso*, and the deceased *D. Fernand*, and his familiar friend, he did freely acquaint him with the desire he had to reigne, saying it was fit that he who was a knight, and had learned to gouerne a realme, were it in warre or peace, should reigne after his father, rather then his Nephews, the sons of his brother *D. Fernand*, who were yet very young, hauing need of Regents or Gouernours, charges which were effected by great perages, who by reason therof, grew into quarrel one with the other, to the oppression of the people, and hazard of the Estate, the which was chiefly to be feared in these reuolts & tumults of the Moores; who could embrace such an occasiō, to augment their Estate with the preuidice of the Christians: intreating him to assist him to effect his desire, adding therewithal great promises: wherevnto *D. Lope Diaz* answered, accord- ing to the Infants desire, incouraging him to proceed in his enterprise, with assurance to aide him: with this resolution they past with the army by Cordoua, and repulst the Moores in such sort, as the Miralmumins retreat, & the abouementioned truce followed. Here-

A Hereupon the King D. *Alphonso*, did somewhat stay his sonnes enterprife, but not quite ouerthrow it : for not long after D. *Sancho* not only assured himselfe to succeed his father in the Kingdome, but would also raigne in his life time.

in the Kingdome, but would also raignt in his ne tyme.  
D. laime King of Arragon, being intrembed by the Castilians, had invaded the Moores  
by Meria during this warre, but with as bad successe, as the rell, for his men were put to  
rounner Xatua, whereas D. Garcia Oris of A pagra with many others were flaine. The  
King refusing to goe in person in his army, being old and broken, he fell sicke, and died  
at Valencia, whether he caused himselfe to be carried, having raigned threfore yeeres  
and ten monethes . A Prince whom Spaine and especially his realme of Arragon, ought  
much to commend for his great willickie, and military vertues, and his great zeale to

Arragon,  
  
Death of D. laime King of Aragon  
to goe.  
  
His vertues,

**AIRBORNE.**

Death of D.  
Name of Ar.  
T. 1901.

His vertex,

*His buildings  
and valor.*

the religion of his age. They write of three notable precepts which hee gaue vnto D. *Alphonse* King of Castille, being with him at Toledo. That hee should make the townes and common people his friends, against the Insolencies of great men. That he should neuer punish offenders secretly; and that hee should neuer seeme fearefull in doing well. The Authors of Arragon write, that in his time hee built about two thousand Churches and Chapells, and that hee fought thirtie times in battaile against the Moores; Hee left his sonne Don *Pedro* successor in his realme of Arragon, Valencia and Catalogne. To D. *Lames* his second sonne, he left the Islands of Majorca and Minorca, with the title of a Kingdome, and the right of Soueraintie, but it continued not long. He gaue by testament to the children of D. *Therçail* of Bedaure, that is, ro D. *Lames*, *Xirica*, *Tora*, *Eljida*, *Belu* and *Ahin*: and to D. *Pedro*, *Ayerbio*, *Lufia*, *Ahuero*, *Lifa*, *Atsillon*, *Cattillon*, *Sulçico*, *Borota*, *Azuero*, *Cabalarots* and *Benimenua*. It is credible that he did marry this Lady secretly, yet after the death of *Queene Isolan*, which was about the yeere 1251. hauing accompanied with her before, it may be betwixt these two marriages, and not as some haue written, before his first marriage with D. *Leonor* of Castille. These two fonnnes D. *Lames* and D. *Pedro*, borne of D. *Therçail*, were the Authors of the families of *Xerica* and *Ayerbio*. He also gaue by testament to D. *Pedro* *Fernandes*, whom hee had by D. *Berenguela Fernandes*, *Isar*: and did substitute vnto his lawfull fonnnes, the children of his daughters D. *Isabel*, *Constance* and *Isolan*: hee was interred in the habit of a Monke of Cîteaux, in the royal Monastery of Poblet.

20 **D**on Pedro his eldest sonne, was King in the yeere 1276. being surnamed the great; by reason of his great exploits, some good, some bad. *Alphonso* had the yeere before, by the care of *D. James* his Grandfather, beene sworne King of Arragon and Valencia, after *D. Pedro* his father, by the Estates assembled to that end at *Le-rida*. He had him by *D. Constance*, daughter to *Manfroy*, bastard to the Emperor *Fredric*, the second King of Sicile and Naples, of whom hee also begat *D. James*, who was King of Sicile; whose elder brother dying without children, he came to succeed in the Realme of Arragon. Besides these, he had *D. Fadrique*, or *Fredric*, to whom was given the realme of Sicile, and *D. Pedro*, who alone of all the brethren was no King, and two daughters. *D. Isabel*, who was married to *Don Denis* King of Portugal, and *Constance* or *Violant*, wife to *Robert* King Naples. In the right of his wife *Constance*, daughter to *Manfroy* the vamping King of Naples and Sicile, hee challenged these realmes for him and his successours, who in the end enjoyed them, and thus the Historie records it.

*William* the second of that name King of Naples and Sicile, being dead, being of the  
F Normans race, about the yeere 1189. *Pope Clement* the 3. then reigning, pretended that  
their realmes were fallne to the church of Rome. But the noblemen and barons of the  
realm, for diuers considerations, did make *Tancred* bastard son to *Roger* the 3. their King,  
who first intituled himselfe King of Naples and Sicile, whereas *Pope Celestine* the 3. suc-  
cessor to *Clement*, being discontented, he would haue dispossessed *Tancred*, to inuelt

### Genealogy of Aerobin.

at Sicile and  
Naples held by  
the Normans.

Emperor *Henry* the sixth sonne to *Frederic Barbarossa* Duke of Suabe, in the realmes of A Naples and Sicile. And the better to assure him the royall title, he caused him to marry *Constance* Niece or lawfull daughter of *Roger*, who was a professed Nunne in the Monastery of Saint Mary, or as some write at Saint Peters of Palermo, dispensing with her vow and profession, by his papal authority, by whom the Emperor *Henry* had *Frederic*, who was afterwards Emperor, the second of that name. *Henry* fought long to dispossesse *Tancred*, but it was in vaine. He being dead, his sonne *Roger* reigned little, after whose deceale, Queene *Sibille* caused an other sonne called *William*, to be presently crowned, being very yong, whom the Emperor *Henry* found meanes to circumvent, upon collour of making some good accord with him: and hauing by policy drawne him to Palermo, without entring into any conference, he caused him to be gelyt, and sent him into Germany, with his three sisters. By this meanes the Normands command in Naples and Sicile, fell into the hands of the house of Suabe. After the death of *Henry*, *Frederic* his sonne being Emperour, and duke of Suabe, succeeded in these realmes, the which hee enjoyed, notwithstanding many crosses which the Popes gaue him, against whom *Gautier* of Brene, husband to Queene *Sybbille*, who had escaped out of prison, led an army, but hee was taken and slue himselfe in prison. *Frederic* had by many wies many children: by *Constance* of Arragon, *Henry* the elder, duke of Suabe, and King of Romans: by *Jolant* of Brenne, daughter to the King of Ierusalem, *Conrad*, also duke of Suabe, and King of Romans, after the deceale of his brother, and moreover by testament King of Naples. By *Mahant*, or *Isabel*, according vnto some, daughter to *John* King of England, he had *Henry* the yonger, who was King of Sicile by Testament, and by a concubine *Manfroy*, *Conrad* and *Henry* succeeded after their father *Frederic*, respectively, in the realmes of Naples and Sicile. And for that they were young and absent, *Manfroy* was appointed to be Gouverneur of these Estates by the Emperor, in his brothers names. Against whom Pope *Innocent* did chose the King of Englands brother to bee King of Naples and Sicile, but he neuer past into Italy. By the practises of Popes, these realmes were in great combustion, so as *Manfroy* was obeyed but by the lesser part. Wherefore *Conrad* King of Romans was forced to passe into Italy, with a great army, by meanes whereof he reduced these realmes vnder his obedience, who was afterwards so transported with a desire of raigne, as he caused his brother, *Henry* the yonger, to bee slaine at Saint Felix, in Basilicata, and *Frederic* his Nephew, sonne to the elder *Henry*, to bee poysoned, hauing inuited him to supper: for which parricide God suffered that hee himselfe should die of poyson, which *Manfroy* his bastard brother gaue him.

Paricide committed by Conrad.

Manfroy parricide.

Charles of Anjou made king of Naples and Sicile.

By these deathes the realmes of Naples and Sicile came by lawfull succession to *Conrad*, brother to *Frederic* that was poysoned, sonne to *Henry* the elder. But *Manfroy* who had gouerned in an others name, and tasted the sweet of command, refused then to keepe these realmes for himselfe, sending men into Germany to dispatch *Conrad*, if it were possible, were it by poison or otherwise: in the meane time he held his authority of Lieutenant or Viceroy, against the Popes attempts: and after a while feigning that *Conrad* was dead, he clad himselfe in mourning, and making a great speech in an assembly of the Noblemen and States of the realme, seeming to bee very sorrowfull for the death of his Nephew, he perswaded them to choose him King of Naples and Sicile by a generall consent, where he reigned thirteene yeeres: and the better to maintaine himselfe, he made a league with the Venetians and other Potentates of Italy: Against whom Pope *Vrbain* the fourth, called out of France *Charles* brother to Saint *Lewis*, Duke of Anjou, and Earle of Prouence, who had married *D. Beatrix* of Arragon, Proprietary of that Earldome, according to the Arragonois, who was inuested by him in the realmes of Naples and Sicile, in the yeere 1262. with charge that hee should expel *Manfroy*, and pay a rent vnto the Church as feudatary. *Charles*, by the perswasion of *D. Beatrix* his wife, who was ieaalous to see her two sister Queenes, the one of France, the other of England, vnderooke the voiage of Italy, where his inuestiture was confirmed, and he crowned with his wife, at Rome, at Saint *John* of Laran, by Pope *Clement* the fourth. Then passing on against *Manfroy*, who came to encounter him, both armies met about

A about at Bencuent, in the yeere 1266. whereas *Manfroy* was slaine in bataille, and his men vanquished; so as *Charles* remained peaceable King of Naples and Sicile. The body of *Manfroy* was not buried in holy ground, for that he stood excommunicate, but in a field nere vnto Beneuent, from whence hee was afterwards transported vnto the confines of Campania, his wife and children, being taken by the French, died in prison. Some yeeres after *Conrad* (the right heire of these realmes) past into Italy, being perswaded by many Italians of the Gibeline faction, who hauing encountered the French army nere vnto Arezzo, vanquished it: wherefore marching boldly on, hee had a second encounter with King *Charles* his army, nere vnto Alba, the which was vnfortunate for him; for his army was not onely defeated, but himselfe taken prisoner (thinking to saue himselfe, in a disguised habit) and carried to Naples, whereas King *Charles* by a detestable inhumanity (thrust on by Pope *Clement*) in the yeere 1269. cut off his head, with that of his cousin *Frederic* Duke of Austria, and of many Noblemen of Naples and Sicile, which had followed *Conrad*s party. By these meanes the Popes gaue these realmes vnto the French, and called them the two Sicilles, the one on this side, the other beyond the Far. *Henry* brother to *D. Alphonso* King of Castille, Lieutenant of Rome, was partizan to *Conrad* in this warre, and was taken, as hath beene sayd.

If the Sultan of Egypt, a barbarous Prince, hauing the King Saint *Lewis*, and his brother *Charles* prisoners, had intreated them in like manner, the French would haue held it very strang. But God powred forth his vengeance vpon the French some yeeres after, in the Island of Sicile, whether they called *D. Pedro* King of Arragon, who had succeeded *D. Jaime* his father, in the yeere 1276. who without delay caused himselfe to be crowned in Saragossa, by *D. Bernard Olinueta* Archbishop of Tarragone: but before he receiued the crowne, he made protestation, that he would not be bound to any submission, nor promise, which *D. Pedro* his Grandfather had made vnto the Pope, or the church of Rome, to the preiudice of the liberty of his realme, to the end they should not pretend that hee was their Legee-man, or vassal.

In the same assembly of Estates of Saragossa, he caused the oath to be confirmed to his son *D. Alphonso*, to raigne after him, as heire presumptive, and for that at his coming to the crowne, he had not assembled the Estates of Cattelogne at Barcelona, according to the ancient customes, there to promise and sweare the obseruation of the rights, lawes and preiudices of the country, the Noblemen of Cattelogne, being long inured to tumults, they made a league and conspired with the townes, for the preferuation of their liberties: the chiefe of which conspiracy, were *D. Roger Bernard* Earle of Foix holding many tees, and much land in Cattelogne, *Arnold Roger* Earle of Pallars, *Ermengud* Earle of Urgel, and *Aznar* his brother, *Raymond Foulques* Vicont of Cardone, *Bernard Roger* Eril, *Raymond Anglesol*, and *William Raymond* Ioffe, whereof we will hereafter make mention: But wee must returne into Castille, where we haue left King *D. Alphonso* the wise much troubled, for the disorders which had happened during his absence.

E 21 Being arriued at Toledo, euery man repaired thither, and especially the Infant *D. Sancho*, who had made truce for two yeeres with the Moores. Thither came also *D. Lope Diaz* of Haro, who was so hardy, as to deliuer a message for them all, that it would please him to declare his sonne *D. Sancho* his successor in the realmes of Castille, Toledo, Leon and other places, seeing hee had already giuen some proofes of his vertue and valour against the Moores, and that he was the eldest of his sons lying to whom the King made but a cold answere in the beginning, but hauing afterwards assembled the Estates in the towne of Segobia, by the counsel of the Infant *D. Manuel* his brother, he resolved to gratifie *D. Sancho*, whom he made heire of the crowne after his deceale, and in this quality hee was receiued by them all. Thus *D. Alphonso* and *D. Fernand*, the children of *Don Fernand de la Cerdie*, were put from the royall succession, which did belong vnto them by right, although that some excuse this fact of *D. Alphonso*, saying that there was no law at that time which did binde him to leaue the realme more to one then to another; as since there was made and receiued in the time of *D. Fernand* the fifth, in the city of Toro, where it was decreed vpon this difficultie that the children of the elder brother deceased,

*Manfroy* was justified and slaine by the French.

*Castille*.  
An audacious speech of *D. Lope Diaz* of Haro.

*D. Alphonso* reiects the children of *D. Fernand* his eldest sonne from the succession, and gives it to *D. Sancho*.





Portugal.

The new King of Portugal, who would not trust king D. *Alphonso* his Grandfather, A was now in quarrell with his brother, called also D. *Alphonso*, whom he purfued with Armes, but aswell this controuersie, as that he had with his mother, were pacified by the meanes of Don *Sancho* of Castile, and of Don *Pedro* King of Arragon, to whose daughter called Don *Isabel*, borne of the Queene Don *Constance*, daughter to *Manfred* King of Naples this Prince was married, which marriage was celebrated at Troncoso, in the year 1282. with royall pompe, about that time Don *Sancho* burst forth into open rebellion against his father. This King Don *Denis* did afterwards enter into league with Don *Sancho*, who drew vnto his seruice D. *John* his brother, besides D. *Lope Diaz de Haro*, *Diego Lopez* his brother, *Ramir Diaz*, D. *Nugno de Lara*, Don *Pedro Aluarez* of the Alturies, *Fernand Roderigo* of Cabrera, and many others, which were out of the countrie since the death of the Infant Don *Fredericke*, and of *Symon Ruiz* de los Cameros.

Castille.

D. *Sancho* takes  
upon him the  
regency, and  
refuses the title  
of King.

The Infant Don *Sancho* was so well beloued, as in a short time all men followed him, leauing the king D. *Alphonso* poore and miserable. The conspirators beeing assembled at Vailledolit, they were all of opinion, that D. *Sancho* should intitle himselfe king of Castile, and of the other dominions which his father had enioyed: but he shewed himselfe so newhat modest, saying, that he would not do his father that wrong, to intitle himselfe King during his life time: but would rest satisfied to be tearmed Infant of Castile, the eldest and heire of those Realmes. So D. *Sancho* carried great respect vnto the king his father, in words and vaine titles, but he made himselfe king in effect, ordaining lawes both for peace and warre, disposing of Captaines and Gouernors, and of the treasure at his owne will: the king D. *Alphonso* beeing driuen to that extremity as hee was forced to send his royall Crowne, with Jewels of inestimable value, in pawning for 70000. doubloons C to *Jacob Aben Joseph* Miralumin of Maroc, complaining vnto this Infidell king, of the wrongs he had receiued from his sonne and subiects who were Christians. They say, that king *Jacob* beeing a Barbarian, did heare of D. *Alphonso*'s afflictions with teares in his eyes, and shewing this royall Crowne vnto his Knights, he sayd, That he did willingly embrace this occasion, to succour a King of an ancient race, with his person and goods against the impietie of a wicked sonne: giuing so good an answer vnto the King D. *Alphonso*, as he was much esteemed and commended of all men. Necessitie and indignitie did so transport D. *Alphonso*, as he accepted the Moores offer, intreating him to passe D the streights with his forces, the which he did: In the meane time D. *Sancho* married D. *Mary* daughter to D. *Alphonso*, Lord of Molina, his great vncle, brother to the king D. *Fernand* the third, who seeing himselfe supported by the kings of Arragon and Portugal, came to Cordoua, where by the aduice of the Noblemen and Knights of Castile that were present, and by a decree pronounced by the mouth of D. *Manuel*, in the name of the whole Nobilitie, the king D. *Alphonso* was deprived of all his Realmes: the causes they pretended, were the death of D. *Fredericke* and of *Symon Ruiz*, obseruing no forme of Iustice, nor any orderly proceeding: the breach of the rights and priuiledges of the Nobility, and the waisting of the treasure. D. *John Nugnes de Lara*, nor D. *John Nugnes*, and *Nugno Gonzales* his children, D. *Aluaro Nugnes*, D. *Fernand Perez Ponce*, with many others, would not assit at this assembly, nor consent vnto this act of so pernicious a consequence.

The Miralumin *Jacob Aben Joseph* past at Algezire, with great troupes of horse, and the two kings had an interview at Zahara in Granado, whereas he of Maroc arrived first. The manner of this interview is worthy obseruation, for the humanity and courtesie which this mightie Moorish King vsed to a Prince of a contrarie Religion, sometimes his enemy, and dejected from his dignitie. Hee caused a great and rich Pauillion to be set vp in the open field, in the which were two seats placed like thrones, the one being higher and more eminent then the other: and hauing placed the chiefe Noblemen of the family of the Merins (from whence he was descended) at the entry, he commanded them all to kisse D. *Alphonso*'s feet, and that they should not suffer him to light from his horse before he were neere vnto the Pauillion, where beeing arrived, King *Aben Joseph* and hee E embraced one another like brethren, and so entered into the Pauillion holding hands. The royall and magnificent ceremonies which they vsed in their sitting downe, were great and long, either struing to giue the more honorable place vnto the other: but in the

A the end the king of Castile was forced to sit in the highest, the king of Maroc saying: It was reasonable that D. *Alphonso*, a king defended of kings, and borne of a king, should be set above rather then himselfe, whom God by his mercy had aduanced to that dignitie of late time.

Humanity and  
modesty of the  
Moorish King.

These Monarkes beeing set, they conferred of their affaires, and hauing resolved, king D. *Alphonso* returned to Seuille, to gather together those small forces which were faithful vnto him. The Moote marched with his army towards Osiuna and Estepa, and then came to Ecija, where the two kings ioyned, and hauing taken Castro, they presented themselves before Cordoua: but the Infant Don *Sancho* had entred into it the night before with great troupes of horse, where as they spent twenty dayes in vaine, without any memorable act done by either side. Rising from thence, the king of Maroc, with the consent of D. *Alphonso*, did ouer-runne the champian country, and going through the pace of Muradal, he entred into the fields of Montiel, destroying all he encountered, and finding no resistance. Returning towards Ecija, D. *Alphonso* parted from Seuille to go and meet him, according to the king of Maroc's desire. Beeing come vnto the campe, king D. *Alphonso* grew into so great a distrust, vpon reports, or some other vaine imagination, that the king of the Moores would slay him, as he parted by night in great haste, and returned to Seuille. The Miralumin beeing much discontented at this ialousie, sent vnto him to excuse himselfe, and to assure him that he neuer had any such thought, intreating him to send him his troupes, the which he would entertaine, and so enter into the countie of Granado against king *Mahomed* his enemy, hauing conspired with Don *Sancho* his sonne: whereunto D. *Alphonso* yeelded, and sent him a thousand horse, who presently receiued pay: but growing suddenly into a ialousie that they would leade them into Africke, they abandoned the Miralumin, and sent him the remainder of his money. The King of Maroc seeing these proceedings, grew discontented, and returned into Affricke; yet nothing eltranged in his affection to pleasure D. *Alphonso*, D. *Fernand Perez Ponce* of Leon, Commander of these thousand horse, durst not returne to king D. *Alphonso*, hauing no lawfull excuse to haue abandoned king *Jacob Aben Joseph*: but whilst he entertained himselfe about Cordoua, there was an oportunitie offered which did deface this ble- C mish.

D It was strange, that these thousand horse did charge ten thousand which sallied out of the city, the which were assembled from all the parts of Spaine for Don *Sancho*, and defeated them. Wherefore returning to Seuille they were well receiued: D. *Sancho* (who was then absent from Cordoua) was much discontented at this route, and did so sharply rebuke his men for their rashnesse, daring to present themselves against his fathers Standard royall, the which he did euer greatly reuerence. Thus Don *Sancho* did honour the Images and royall enignes, but not the king his father: who beeing much incensed with the continuall vexation of his sonnes rebellion, who had vsurped his Realmes, hee pronounced in the presence of many men of marke, both Clergie and Secular, in the Cittie E of Seuille, about the end of that year 1282. the curse of God and his vppon D. *Sancho*, a sonne, sayd he, disobedient, rebellious, and a parricide, declaring him incapable and vnworthy to raigne: depriving him of his succession and inheritance, and discharging the subiects, as much as in him lay, from all oath and homage which they had done vnto him. This act was done with great solemnitie and maiestie, but they were but words, which D. *Sancho* did not much esteeme; who at the same time returned to Cordoua, and conferred with the king of Granado at Priego, to whome hee restored Arenas, and renewed their League.

Hypocrite of  
the Infant D.  
Sancho.

An. 1282.  
Curse of the  
father vpon D.  
Sancho.

In the year 1283. D. *Sancho* beeing come to Carcetes, to Pont d'Alcantara, and to Ledema, he forced the Infant D. *Pedro* his brother to hold his party, who notwithstanding had a great desire to follow his fathers, who intended to giue him the countie of Murcia, with the title of a king. He did the like to the Infant D. *John*, who aspired to haue the kingdom of Leon for himselfe, all which was forced. Many knights which followed these Princes, and which were well affected to king D. *Alphonso*, escaped, and passing thorough Portugal came to Seuille. The towne of Agreda revolted and followed the kings partie, the Infant D. *Sancho* beeing come against it, he had newes that *Alastin d'Avbar*, Gouernour

1283

Gouvernor of Treuigno, was also resolved, and had receiued Don *Iohn Nuges de Lara*, A with a great bootie which he had taken in the territories of Burgos, into Treuigno, from whence he made roads, and did annoy his people. D. *Sancho* sent D. *Lope Diaz de Haro* against them, who made them to keepe within their fort. Thus was the warre mannaged betwixt the father and the sonne in Castile and other places depending.

25

During the which D. *Pedro* king of Arragon, had giuen libertie to his soldiers vpon the frontier, who were daily in skirmish against the Nauarrois, especially they of Sos and Filera, against the Inhabitants of Sanguessa; and they were so incensed one against another, as they could not be pacified: yet the diligence of *Eustache Bellemarche*, Gouvernor of Nauarre, made them to lay aside armes, and to conclude a truce for a time. *Bellemarche* returned into France, and in his place a Knight called *Guerin* of Amplepuis, governed the Realme of Nauarre. *Philip* the third King of France, being Protector of this Realme for his Neece *Queene Isabe*, had also occasion to thinke of the affaires of Spaine, for that the children of D. *Fernand de la Cerde*, borne of his sister D. *Blanche*, had not only bene dejected by the King D. *Alphonso* from the right of succession to the Crowne of Castile, which did belong vnto them, as children to the eldest sonne, but also these two young Princes, D. *Alphonso* and D. *Fernand de la Cerde*, were kept prisoners in the castell of Xatuna by the king of Arragon: and moreover being aduertised, that besides the Arragonis attempts in former times, their king had made a new accord at Campillo with D. *Sancho* of Castile, where among other things it was concluded, that they should inuade the Realme of Nauarre at their common charges, and diuide the conquest equally. Moreouer, that at another interview betwixt D. *Sancho* of Castile, and D. *Pedro* of Arragon, the Infant had resigned vnto D. *Pedro* all the right he pretended to Nauarre, promising neuer to make warre there without his liking, to the end he might bee the more freely assisted with the forces of Arragon, to dispossesse his father. King *Philip* was wise, and of power to prevent all these practises, all which he made frustrate in regard of Nauarre. Yet he did in vaine sollicite the kings of Castile and Arragon for the deliuerance of his Nephewes, who were at Xatuna. He sent good troupes of horsemen into Nauarre, for the guard of the countrie, and to be ready vpon all occasions.

practises of the  
Castilians and  
Arragonis  
against Nauarre.

The factions betwixt the Nobilitie of Castile (some holding the partie of King Don *Alphonso*, others that of Don *Sancho* his sonne) fell out happily for the French and Nauarrois in many things: for Nauarre serued for a retreat to all those that were in diligence with Don *Sancho*. Many of the chiefe of Castile, and other places depending, came and ioyned with the troupes of France and Nauarre, and making roades into Castile, did alwaies keepe the Realme of Nauarre in reputation, and made the forces to be redoubted, the which changed many Gouvernors in a short time: for after *Eustache Bellemarche* and *Guerin* of Amplepuis, *William* of Broede was sent thither, and then *Iohn* of Constans L. of Dompierre, Marshall of Champagne, in the yeare 1283. when as among other Noblemen of Castile, there fled into Nauarre Don *Nugno de Lara*, Don *Pero Aluarez* of the Asturias, Don *Ramir Diaz*, Don *Fernand Ruis de Cabrera*, and Don *Fernand Ruis de Saldañuega*, who ioyned with others which made themselves strong in the Countrie, which were the Infant Don *Laine* of Castile, Don *Iohn Nuges*, Don *Aluar Nuges* and others, all being assisted by the troupes of France and Nauarre, they made roades as far as Toledo, with great ruine of the country and people, for the French King hated Don *Sancho*, as an usurper of his Nephewes right, neither was he lesse enemy to Don *Pedro* King of Arragon, as well for the detention of his nephewes, and his practises with Castile, as for that which had happened in the Realme of Naples, betwixt the Arragonis and the French, as you shall heare.

These spoilers being a competent armie of foure thousand horse, and great numbers of foot, returning towards Toledo, had a desseigne to enter into Arragon, and to assaile Tarrassone, whereof Don *Pedro* being aduertised, who kept a garrison of three hundred horse at Logroño, for the defence of Castile, he sent to intreat the Infant Don *Sancho* to march thither, and to succour him against the French and Nauarrois, who came to destroy his Realme of Arragon, the which he did presently: so as being ioyned with the king Don *Pedro* they saued Tarrassone: yet the Arragonis lost the castell of V1, the

which

A which was well defended by *Ximeno* of Artieda: they also lost Lerida and Filera, the which were giuen in gard to them of Sanguessa: Baylo and Arbujs were ruined, and the French and Nauarrois past vnto Verdun. Vpon their returne, the army of D. *Pedro* and D. *Sancho* attended them, where as they could not auoyd the battaile, which the French presented them: but the Knights of Castile which did accompany them, told them that they had willingly ouer-runne the country, and done their indeauors in all assaults, but to charge their lances against Don *Sancho*, it was not their intention: that is to say, to spoile towns, & to ruine poore innocents, who had no interest in great mens quarrels, they did it willingly, yet would they not attempt any thing against the heads, who might giue them impunity for all their infolencies, and could take reuenge of them, if they shewed themselves too eager enemies. So the troupes of France and Nauarre returned towards Pampelone, from whence some of the Noblemen of Castile went to D. *Sancho*, hauing made their peace.

26 The King D. *Pedro* finding himselfe in this danger, it made him to seeke a peace with Nauarre for some moneths: for he had many questions to decide with his Noblemen and Knights of Arragon and Cattelogne, who complained much of his fower disposition, and his tyrannous manner of gouernement, insuluing ouer the greatest, yea against his owne bloud, contrarie to all lawe and nature. For wee reade, that there were scarce two yeares expired, after the decease of his father, when as he forced his brother Don *Laine*, to whom the Ilands of Maiorca and Minorca, with other places adiacent, had bene giuen by testament, with the title of a king, to hold them of him, as fees depending of the Crowne of Arragon, and therfore he caused him to take an oath and do homage, as also for the Counties of Rossillon, Cerdagne, Conflans, Vallespiere, Colibre, Omeledes, Carlades, and for the rights of Montpellier: with promise for himselfe and his descendants Kings of Maiorca, to come to the Estates of Barcelona being called, and to deliuer the city of Maiorca, the towne of Perpignan, and the castell of Cerdagne, vnto the Kings of Arragon, whensoever they should demand them, in regard of which submissions and promises, the king Don *Pedro* did confirme these lands and portions to the king Don *Laine* his brother: for the which he would haue the Earles of Foix and Empurias, D. *Dalmas* of Rocabertin Vicount of Castellau, *Raymond* of Virgio, *William Canet*, *Bernard Hugo Serralongue*, *Dalmais* of Castellau, *Ponce Zagardia*, *Arnaud Corfaccio*, *William Sans*, with the Deputies of the Ilands of Maiorca and Minorca to become cautions. Sometime after picking a quarrell against the Nobilitie of Cattelogne, and their priuiledges, this king Don *Pedro* did so furiously assaile the Earles of Foix, Virgel, and Pallars, with the Vicount of Cardona, who were the most apparent, as hauing beleeged and taken them in Balaguer, he detained them long in a miserable prison, especially the Earle of Foix, whom he intreated vnworthily in the castell of Siurana. Moreouer, a little before this last warre of Nauarre, hee had attempted and executed great matters against the French, raigning in Italy, hauing employed the men and means of Arragon and Cattelogne, to the great discontentment and oppression of all his subiects, and hee was newly returned out of France, whether the warre of Naples and Sicily had drawne him, vpon the occasion which followeth.

27 The French hauing conquered Naples and Sicily, vnder *Charles* the first brother to Saint *Louis*, they committed many vnaccustomed infolencies among these nations, against the honor of women, with other exactions and spoiles vnder colour of Iustice: by reason whereof (as also by the iust iudgement of God, to whom without doubt the cruel deaths of *Conradin*, and of the Duke of Austria, whose heads King *Charles* had caused to be cut off, by the pernicious counsell of Pope *Clement*) the Sicilians did sollicite D. *Pedro* King of Arragon to pursue the right which he had vnto these Realmes, as husband to Q. *Constance* heire thereof, being daughter to king *Manfred*, promising to ayde and assist him with their persons and goods: he which did most labour in this pursuit was called *Iohn de Proculla* or *Prochida*, borne at Salerne, Phisition to the deceased King *Manfred*, who by his perswasions induced the king Don *Pedro* to affect this conquest: for the effecting whereof, he first made a secret league with Pope *Nicholas* the third, and with *Michael Palaeologue* Emperour of Constantinople, obtayning from the Pope a promise of Inuestiture

Arragon.

fruition of  
D. Pedro an  
ginst his bro.

Infolencies of  
the French in  
Sicily.

Inueſtiture of the Realmes of Naples and Sicily. *Martin* the 4. being Pope after the deceaſe of *Nicholas*, the king ſent *Hugh Maſuplana* a Catalan to Rome, to found his diſpoſition, touching the confirmation or renewing of this League, and to intertaine him (for *Martin* was friend to *Charles* King of Naples) and to diſguiſe the cauſe of his Ambaſſadors voyage, he had charge to moue the Pope and the Conſiſtorie, to cōſonize Don *Friar Raymond* of Pegnaſort according to the aduice of a Prouinciall Councell held a litle before at Barcelona, by the Prelates of Arragon and Cattelogne. In the meane time *D. Pedro* did arme forty galleys with many ſhips, the which he cauſed to paſſe along the coaſt of Affricke vnder a colour of reſtoring *Bouqueron* king of Conſtantine in Affricke, who was expelled by his brother: and the better to couer his enterpriſe, the Ambaſſador beſought the Pope to take the Realme of Arragon into the protection of the Church, whileſt that the king *D. Pedro* ſhould be abſent in the warre of Affricke, and to demand leaue to exact a tenth of his Cleargie. The king was demanded by the Ambaſſadors of France, the reaſon of this great preparation, with offers, that if it were againſt the Infidels, King *Philip* their maſter would ayde him with all his forces, and withall proteſting, that if it were to prejudice *Charles* king of Naples, he would take it ill: to whom he made no other anſwer, but that he had meanes ſufficient to end the warre which hee had vnder-taken, without employing any others. To *Arnaud Roger* Earle of Palliers, who demanded of him, in the name of the whole Nobilitie, whether he meant to leade them, he made a ſharpe anſwer, that if his left hand preſumed to inquire too curiouſly of that which the right intended to do, he would cut it off. So the army parted from Tortoſa, being folli-cited by *Nicholas Copula* and *Raymond Portella*.

Sicilian towns  
ſeag.

In the meane time the French were ſlaine thorough out all the townes of Sicily, with ſuch rage and hatred againſt the nation, as whereas they knew any women to be gotten with child by the French, they opened their wombes, and ſlue both mothers and children, for that they would not leaue any of their ſeed in the countrie. Onely one French-man called *William Portocel* Gouverneur of Galataphimia was let go vntouched, for the good opinion they had of his modeſtie and temperance. And then *D. Pedro* arriving at Palermo, he cauſed himſelfe to be crowned King, in the yeare 1281. King *Charles* being deſirous to be reuenged of this iniurie, he led an army againſt *Meſſina*, but he was repulſed into Calabria, without any effect. The king of Arragon left *Queene Conſtance* his wife in Sicily with three children: *D. James* who waſking of Sicily, *D. Frederick* and *D. Tolant*, eſtabliſhing a Councell of Eſtate, whereof the chiefe were *Wiliam Gaſſeran* a Catalan, *Alain Leonisue*, holding the place of chiefe Juſtice of Sicily, and chiefe author of their rebellion againſt the French, *John Prochida*, and *Roger de Loria* his Admiral, to whom hee appointed an army of 25. galleys: but he wold haue in either of them two Captains, one a Catalan, the other an Italian, the mariners ſhould be part Catalans, and part Italians, but the rowers ſhould be all Italians. Hauing thus ſetled the affaires of this Realme, hee returned into Spaine, where he had many matters to attend: for beſides open force, there paſt many ſcandalous books betwixt *Charles* King of Naples, and *D. Pedro* king of Arragon, ſo as not able to decide their quarrels neither by law nor armes, they challenged one another with a certaine number of Knights of either part: and this combat was allowed by the Pope, an vnworthy thing for a Chriſtian Prelate. The place being appointed at Bourdeaux, in the king of Englands country, a neuter-Prince in this cauſe. King *Charles* came at the day appointed, but he found not his aduerſarie. Wherefore hauing attended moſt part of the day in the place appointed for the combat, and ſeeing no man appeare, he returned. The King of Arragon who had onely an intent to circumuent his enemy by the expectation of a combat, and in the meane time diuert him from the war of Sicily, had ſtayed in a ſafe place, from whence he came vnkowne to Bourdeaux with great ſpeed, where attending vntill king *Charles* were parted, when he thought he was far enough off, he ſhewed himſelfe in the place of battell, as if hee had had a great deſire to fight, complaining that he had ſayled, where after he had made the proteſtations requiſit in the like caſe, he tooke an act of his preſence from *Iohn Graile* Senefhall of Guien (to whom he left his helmet, his target, his lance, and his ſword in witneſſe of his appearance, and that he had kept his faith and promiſe) he returned with the like ſpeed into Spaine: and

A and a litle before the French and Nauarrois forraged Caſtile, he arrived at Logrognio, where hee intertained a garrifon in fauour of *D. Sancho*, as we haue ſayd. For theſe ſubtilties, Pope *Martin* (who had ſucceeded *Nicholas* the 3.) being a French-man borne, did excommunicate the king *D. Pedro*, giuing his Realme of Arragon to *Charles* of Valois ſecond ſonne to *Philip* King of France, who with the Popes diſpenſation married *Conſtance* daughter to *Charles* Prince of Salerne, the onely ſonne to this *Charles* King of Naples, cauſing a Croylado to be preached againſt this king *D. Pedro*. Whileſt that *Charles* King of Naples was in Gaſcony, the king of Arragon's Admiral called *Roger de Loria* a Calabrois a very expert man in ſea-fights, came running along the coaſt of Italy, with 45. galleys, and many other veſſels, doing much harme: ſo as this army being diſcouered at Naples, approaching ſo neere the city, as the ſouldiers might be heard, prouoking the garrifon by iniuries and caſting of darts into the towne, *Charles* Prince of Salerne iſſued forth with 36. galleys, and ſome other veſſels againſt his enemies, where there was a furious fight, but the Admiral of Arragon was victor, who tooke and carried away nine galleys, with a great number of priſoners of note: and amongst the reſt *Charles* who would needes go forth againſt the will of the Popes Legat, and contrary to the commandement which his father had giuen him at his going into France, not to depart out of Naples, nor to hazard a battell, either by ſea or land in any ſort whatſoeuer. The deſire of glorie prouoked it, and brought him to this miſery, which coſt many Noblemen their liues, for the priſoners being brought to Meſſina, he beheld with his eyes the heads of 200. Gentlemen cut off, to reuenge the death of *Conradin*. His father being returned to Naples, found the affaires in a pittifull eſtate, and liued not long after. At his death there were two Legats in Sicile to treat of an accord with *Queene Conſtance*, who was a wife and religious Lady, but not able to draw her to any reaſon, they did aggravate the Excommunication againſt the King *D. Pedro*, and interdicted the Sicilians, the which did fo incenſe them, as running in a rage to the priſons where the remainder of the French were that had bene taken by *Roger de Loria*, they fought to enter to murder them: but the French made reſiſtance, ſo as theſe mutiners ſeeing there was no meanes to effect what they intended, they ſet fire to the priſons and burnt them all. After which there was an aſſembly of all the chiefe Magiſtrates of the townes of Sicile, to reſolue what was to be done with *D. Charles* Prince of Salerne, and nine other Noblemen which were priſoners with him, whereby they concluded, that after the example of *Conradin*, and the other Noblemen, they muſt all dye.

Charles Prince  
of Salerne de-  
ſtroyed: and ſa-  
ken by the Ar-  
ragons.

Reuenge of  
the death of  
Conradin of  
Sualce.

Whereuppon wee may not let paſſe an act of *Queene Conſtance*, full of pietie and courage: for this Princeſſe hauing ſent on a Friday morning, to aduertile *Charles* to thinke of the ſaluation of his ſoule, and that he was condemned to die after the ſame manner that *Conradin* had done: he answered, that hee tooke his death the more patiently; for that hee ſhould receiue it the ſame day that our Saviour Ieſus Chriſt had ſuffered. This anſwer deliuered to the Queene, ſhee ſayd, If it be ſo that the Prince takes his death ſo patiently by reaſon of that day, for my part I am reſolued to ſhew him mercie for his ſake, who the ſame day ſuffered death and paſſion for vs all. Whereuppon ſhee commanded he ſhould be preferred without any harme, letting the people vnderſtand (who did preſſe her to put him to death) that ſhee ought not in a matter of ſo great importance, and which might be the cauſe of great inconueniencies, reſolute nor execute any thing, without the priuity of the king her husband: and therefore ſhe commanded that Prince *Charles* ſhould be carried into Cattelogne to the king *Don Pedro*, to diſpoſe of him as he ſhould thinke fit by good aduice. This generous and Chriſtian-like act, is wor-thie of eternall prayſe, as the exceſſe which king *Charles*, through bad counsell, and an ill-governed paſſion, had committed againſt *Conradin* and other Noblemen his priſoners, is to be blamed and deſet. This *Charles* Prince of Salerne was afterwards king of Naples the ſecond of that name.

21 After the king *D. Pedro* returned out of France, expecting daily (by reaſon of the Popes cenſures, and his enterpriſes againſt Nauarre) to be ſet vpon by *Philip* k. of France, and *Charles* of Valois his ſon: and the Noblemen and Knights of Arragon & Cattelogne, being tyred by him in the former wars, & ill-intreated, as they thought, in their freedoms,

(whereof

*Union in Aragon against the king for their liberties.*

(whereof the townes and commonalties of his Countreys did also complaine) they did A  
also stirre vp troubles and seditions, and made an union together. The heads of the rebellion were, *Symon* of Virea the elder, *D. Pedro Fernandes* Lord of Isar, and *D. Pedro* of Ayerbio, both base brothers vnto the King, *Pedro Cornel*, *Artal Alagon*, *Lope Fernex de Luna*, *Alfonso de Poffes*, *Sancho* of Antillas, *Gombald* of Beneuent, and *Symon* of Vitrea the younger, all of Noble families, and moreover *Lope William* of Oteicia, *Pedro Lourean* *Pegna*, *Gombald Transjet*, *Giles* of Bidaure, *Pero Gaces Nuez*, who were Knights, whose predecessors had bene advanced by Kings. These hauing made a league with the people did promise and sweare to let the king and his sonne *D. Alfonso*, (who was his Lieutenant generally) vnderstand, that if they did not containe themselves within the limites of the lawes of the country, they would withdraw themselves from their obedience, and declare themselves enemies, and pursue them by armes that should seeke to breake them. The king had called, the Estates to Tarasone, and afterwards to Saragossa. There he intreated, promised, and did all he could to breake this vnion: but he was forced to yeeld, and therefore he granted vnto the Arragonois, the priuiledge which they call general, whereby the liberty which had bene somewhat restrained, was againe restored, the ancient maners of the Country, and customs of their Ancestors, fit for the country, put again in practice. And moreover, there were lawes made for their Kings, which they should be bound to obey. And for that they were in a mutine in some places, by reason of certaine Impositions layed vpon salt, the trafficke thereof was made free by the Estates. Notwithstanding all these things, the king refused the iudgement of the Iustice Maior of Arragon, the which was then exercised by *Pedro Martinez Arasone*, whom he deposed from his office: but soone after this dignity was fortified with stronger lawes. The like assembly was made at Barcelona, and to the same ends; where they obtained confirmation of their old statutes and customs, which they call *Usuages*. They of Valencia beeing called to the Estates of Arragon, would not appeare, pretending liberty to assemble apart. In this Realme of Valencia there was a Magistrate established, who was President of the Iustice, who should be an Arragonois, and should do right vnto the townes and Noblemen of that Realme, who enioy the priuiledges of Arragon: the first in this dignitie was *Alfonso Martinez*. In Ribagorça there was also a peculiar Iudge created at Grados, from whence the first peeples should go to Barbastro, or to the Iustice of Arragon, and the second to the king, or to Iudges deputed by him: but these last ordinances were made and executed in the yearre 1285, at the Estates held at Huesca, where as the king did preside. They being transferred to Zuzaria, the king beeing absent, *John Giles Tarin* Iustice Maior of Arragon was President, where it was sayd, that he was a lawfull Iudge, yea in causes commenced against the King: who beeing cited and not appearing, there were decrees made against him in many instances. In the end the king confirmed the decrees of the Iustice Maior, and whatsoever should be concluded by the Estates, the Deputies, and Councillors hauing giuen their suffrages. At that time the king *Don Pedro* spoiled his brother *D. James* king of Majorca, of the County of Rossillon, for that he had retired himselfe into France, and had made a League against him with king *Philip*, who had promised him the Realme of Valencia, after the conquest which he did hope to make thereof, and of the rest of *D. Pedros* country. In these combustions was the estate of Arragon about the returne of the king *D. Pedro* from the warre of Nauarre attempted with the Castilians.

*King of Majorca deposed by his brother.*

*Castile.*

29 As for *D. Sancho* Infant of Castile, he with all his followers had bene also excommunicated by Pope *Martin* the 4. The Arch-bishop of Seuille, the Deane of Tudele in Nauarre, and the Arch-deacon of *S. James* in Galicia were the denouncers thereof: wherefore it was concluded in *D. Sancho*s Council, to kill all those that should intimate or bring these censures: yet the Commissioners deputed by the Pope went on in their Commission, and did interdict all parts of Spaine, holding the Infants party. On the other side the fury of armes ruining the country, Queene *Beatrice* the widow of Portugal, *D. Mary* wife to the Infant, laboured to procure a peace, and to remedie those great miseries, at which time there was some hope that the king and his sonne should haue an interview: for the king was come to Constant, & the Infant to Guadacanal, but the Infants minions and bad Councillers did hinder it. The Ladies pursuing this holy enterprise, *Don Sancho* fell sick

A sick at Salamanca, and in such extremity, as the Physicians had abandoned him: the king in like manner fell sicke vnto death, whereby it seemed that God was highly offended against these miserable Princes, whose reconciliation was thus preuented. The king seeing his end drawing nigh, he gaue by his will, Seuille and Badajos, with the title of a Realm, to his sonne *Iohn*, with charge, that he should hold them of the Crown of Castile and Leon. To *D. James* his other sonne he gaue the Realme of Murcia with the same condition. He pardoned all such as had carried armes against him, except his sonne *D. Sancho*. In the beginning of a will of his made in November 1283, he makes great complaints of his aduersities, and doth much blame the kings of Portugal, Arragon, England, the Pope, and others, who had fauoured *D. Sancho*, cursing him and all his posteritie, and leaving heires of his Soueraigne Realmes, *D. Alfonso* and *D. Fernand de la Cerde*, one in default of the other, and if they dyed without issue, he gaue them to *Philip* king of France, and to his descendants: He gaue many other Legacies to his other children, to Churches, and to his Officers and domestique seruants. By another testament apart, made in the yearre 1284, he ordained, that his heart should be carried and interred on mount Caluarie in the city of Ierusalem, and his body in his city of Seuille or Murcia, in the which his Executors should please. He dyed in the yearre 1284, and was buried at Seuille, hauing reigned 34. years, 10. months, and 23. dayes.

*Alphonso king of Castile giues portions to his sonnes.*

*Curse of the father vpon D. Sancho and his posterity.*

*An. 1284.*

This Prince was a president of the weaknesse and inconstancie of humane things, not only in the goods which they call of Fortune, but also of those of the mind, whereof he was well furnished as any Prince that hath bene before or since him, all which did him more harme then good: for neither vertue, knowledge, honour nor riches auayle not, if the blessing of God do not accompany them, but they rather ruine a man. And in truth this Prince may be tearmed miserable in all these things. He was a great and mighty king, but nothing did suffice him, by reason of his prodigality, and ill-measured bounty: he was neuer sincerely beloued of his subiects, by reason of his fower disposition and wilfulness, proceeding from too great a presumption of his knowledge: so as hee did neuer beleue any good counsell: It was the fruite of his Philosophie, the which had made him so overweening, as he presumed to controule the Author of Nature, saying, That if he had bin present at the Creation of the world, he should in many things haue bene of another opinion, with other such speeches full of impietie. By iudiciarie Astronomie, whereunto he was giuen beyond all reason, he had foreseene (as he thought) his adventures, the which made him affect the Imperiall dignitie, where hee purchased more dishonour then euer any Prince. This vanity made him cruell to his brother *D. Frederick*, and other Noblemen, to prevent the conspiracies which threatened him, but could not auoid them: the which he had done, if leauing these diuinations, hee had relied wholly vpon the providence of God, without any further search. But it is the will of God, the curious should haue this torment, alwaies to feare their misfortune, which they would know by damnable means, giuing effect to vanity, and to the spirit of error, against those that follow it. The Queene *D. Beatrice* his mother (who it may be was superstitious, and giuen to these impieties) had neuer any contentment after his birth, hauing vnderstood when hee was in his cradle, from a Grecian, who was a great Sorceresse, that he should bee deprived of his Realmes.

*The end of the twelfth Booke.*



## THE THIRTEENTH BOOKE of the Historie of Spaine.

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D	CASTILE.	LEON	ARRAGON.	NAVARRÉ.
11	D. Sancho	4-23.	10 D. Alphonso 3.	25 Philip the faire 1.
12	D. Fernand	4-33.	11 D. James 2.	26 Lewis Hutin 1.
13	D. Alphonso 11-34. Some number him for the	12.		27 Philip the Long 2.

O o 3

D. Sancho

D. Sancho the Braue, the fourth and last of that name,  
the 11. of Castile, and 32. of Leon.



*D. Sancho  
of Castile's title*

In the yeare 1284. D. Sancho caried himselfe as king, hauing performed his fathers obsequies in the city of Auiia, where he was at the time of his decesse, where he mourned in shew, for that which he had long desired, as we may iudge by his actions. He commanded that D. Maria his wife should be called Queene, and their daughter called Elizabeth, beeing but two yeares old, to be declared and receiued heire of those Realmes, if he had no issue male: the titles which he gaue himselfe were, King of Castile, Leon, Toledo, Galicia, Seuille, Cordoua, Iaua, Murcia, Badajoz, and Algarbe. He came to Toledo with D. Maria, and there they were crowned. By a complot made with D. Pedro king of Arragon, D. Iohn Nugnes of Lara was dispossessed of the fort of Albarrazin, a free place holding of no man, the which was very preiudiciall to Castile: this place was afterwards given by the king D. Pedro, to a bastard sonne of his called D. Fernand, whome he had by D. Agnes Zapate. The Infant D. Iohn brother to the new king, with the helpe of some knights, which were fled out of Castile, thought to surprize Seuille: but the king posted thither with speed, & disappointed their desseignes. Being in that city, Ambassadors came to him from Aben Iosaph king of Maroc, to settle some order betwixt Affricke and Spaine, but the king D. Sancho being incensed, that the king of Maroc had come to make warre against him in his fathers fauour, answered his Ambassadors very sorely, saying, that he held his bread in one hand, and a staffe in the other, and that if any one would seeke to take away his bread, he would strike him with his staffe. The Ambassador, whose name was Abdalla, returned to Algezire, from whence they began to make roads into the territories of Medina Sidonia and Xeres, which caused the king D. Sancho to looke to his affaires: who for this cause began to make prouision of galleys and other vessels, in the sea townes of his Iurisdiction, and did entertaine a Captaine of Genoa, called Benet Zacharie with 12. gallies, to whom he gaue the port of S. Mary in propriety, vpon condition, that he should for euer entertaine one galley armed. This king hauing called a Court at Seuille, hee disannulled many priuiledges which were extorted in time of necessitie. Beeing returned into Castile hee disposed of matters of Iustice, and punished many which had bene rebels vnto him, causing some heads to be cut off.

These things past in the yeare 1284. about the end of which he had newes of the preparation which the king of France made to invade Cattelogne, by reason whereof, he and his vnkle D. Pedro of Arragon had an interview in Ciria, where they were moreouer aduertised that there was intelligence betwixt king Philip and him of Maroc, to make warre at one instant, the one in Cattelogne the other in Andalusia: wherefore beeing parted D. Sancho came to Burgos, to hold an assembly of the Estates.

D. Iohn Nugnes of Lara being dispossessed of Albarrazin, as we haue sayd, by Don Lopez Diaz de Haro, being the Commander, he put himselfe into Tudele, the which hee desired for Philip the faire king of Nauarre, against the king D. Pedro, and not onely repulled him, but also tooke great store of victuals and cattell which was brought to the enemies campe: for he had within it about 300. horse, and a great number of foote: so as D. Pedro seeing that he should do no good before Tudele, hee spoiled the countrie, and returned vnto his Realme, to defend the passage against the king of France, who came to assaile him: from whom the Earle of Artois, whome the Spaniards call Charles, and the French Robert, was sent to the king Don Sancho beeing at Toledo, to perswade him to set at liberty without exception the sonnes of his deceased Brother Don Fernand de la Cerde, who were

As were prisoners in the hands of D. Pedro King of Arragon; and then he intreated him not to succor the King of Arragon in the warre which the French King pretended to make against him, to whom the King D. Sancho made no other answer, but that he would send his Ambassadors to King Philip, to treat of those affaires: wherevpon he sent vnto him D. Martin Bishop of Calaurra, and D. Games Garcia of Toledo Abbot of Vailledolre, who found King Philip at the entry of the country of Cattelogne, with a great army, besieging Girone, who were but slightly entertained, and returned without any effect. They write that the Earle of Arthois being dispatched from the court of Castile, taking his leave, the King D. Sancho received a packet out of France: hauing opened it and read the letters, he sayd vnto the Earle that he had good friends in the court of France, who aduertised him of all that passed, intreating him to ioyne with them, and to become his friend: yet the Histories of France say, that this Earle of Arthois had bene before in Castile, after the suppression of the rebels of Nauarre, in the life time of King D. Alfonso, at which time this packet was brought, and not now: the which the Earle of Arthois hauing reported to the King it caused a great tumult and search in court. In the meane time the King D. Sancho made preparation to succor Xeres, the which was already inuested by the army of the Miralmumin of Maroc, where there were eighteene thousand horse Moores, or Arabian Affricans; and came from Toledo by Talauera and Merida to Seuille, whether the Moores made daily roads euen vnto the gates, the King D. Sancho hauing not yet sufficient forces to suppress them: but within few daies after there came vnto him about foure thousand horse, as well of the military orders of Spaine, as of Noblemen, with the which he made a sufficient army to goe to field. Hauing mustred his troupes, he marched towards his enemies, to whom hee presented battle, but the King of Maroc would not accept thereof: for besides the great forces at land which came daily to the King D. Sancho, hee had a mighty army at sea, which lay in the Port of Saint Mary, where there were about a hundred saile of great vessels. The King of Maroc raised his siege from Xeres, and afterwards they were made friends, hauing an interview at Pegna Ferrada, or according vnto some in Albuhera, where the King of Castile receiued a present of Jacob Aben Iosaph, of two millions of Maraudis of gold, then current. This peace was not pleasing to the Infant D. Iohn the Kings brother, nor to Don Lopes Diaz of Haro, who demanded nothing but warre. About the end of the yeere 1285, the Queene D. Maria was brought to bed in Seuille of a sonne, called D. Fernand, who succeeded the father in those realmes.

Philip the 3. King of France, and his sonne Philip the faire King of Nauar, being entered into Cattelogne, had taken Perpignan, ruined seuen and twenty townes and castles, & laied siege to Girone. The victuals for the campe were brought from Narbone to the nearest hauens and ports of Empurias, Roses and others, and from thence was carried a little space by land with a gard of horsemen. Which the King desiring to prevent and withall to take the treasor which he knew was brought to pay the souldiers, hee came and laied an ambush of fife hundred horse, and about two thousand foot betwixt the sea and the french campe: whereof the King of France, being aduertised by his spies, sent before, by the aduice of the Constable of France, three hundred choise men at armes, vnder his charge, who being come to the ambush, and discouered to be few in number, were presently inuironed and charged with great cries, by the Arragonis, who thought to defeat them, but the French who were come thither to fight, did encounter them in such sort, as although they were much inferior in number, yet they seemed more then equal in valour and courage.

The Arragonis animated by their King, who was present and fighting, behaved themselves valiantly, so as the one yeelding nothing vnto the other, the fight continued long without aduantage, vntill that the King D. Pedro being grievously hurt in the face with a Lance, retired himselfe out of the fight, wherevpon his men beganne to faint. Many of his horsemen escaped with him, but as for the footmen they were all cut in peeces, there were some horsemen slaine vpon the field, on either side, but most Arragonis.

The King D. Pedro hauing caused himselfe to be carried to Villa-franca, died soone after

*According to  
some the  
Kings of Maroc  
and Castile,  
he*

*Arragon.  
Perpignan taken by the  
French.*

*The siege of  
Girone.*

*Arragon.*

*Castile.*

after of his wound. He had reigned nine yeeres, three monethes and foure daies; A generous Prince, but ambitious beyond all measure, being growne an irreconcilable enemy to the French, since the successe of the Island of Sicile, the which he left to D. Jaime or James his younger sonne.

### D. Alphonso the third of that name, and the tenth King of Arragon.

<sup>3</sup> On Alphonso his eldest succeeded to the realme of Arragon, this yeere 1285. Don Pedro being aduertised by his Physitions, the chiefe whereof was Arnaud of Villeneuve (whose workes we haue but much curtailed by the Inquisitors) that he drew neere his end, he did sollicite his sonne D. Alphonso to hasten the conquest of Majorca, which he had undertaken, and did much desire; wherefore D. Alphonso presently after his fathers death, led the army to Majorca, and tooke the Island, joyning that of Majorca to the other titles of the Kings of Arragon. In this action the chiefe Commanders were D. Blasco of Alagon, Sancho of Antillas, Pedro Garces Nuez, Pedro Sefes, Blasco Ximenes of Aierbio, Simon Perez Andalsilla of Arragon: and of Cattelogne, D. Pedro de Montada, Raymond of Virgi and Maimon Plaigaman. Euen vpon the death of the King D. Pedro, there arrived in Cattelogne, Charles Prince of Salerno, called the halting, a prisoner, being conducted by Raymond Alteman, Simon of Estorion and William Ponce Catalans, who had bound themselves to the Infant D. James, who was appointed King of Sicile, to carry him into Cattelogne, or to loose their liues, swearing that if any came to rescue him, and that they found themselves too weake, they would kill him and cast him into the sea. You must vnderstand that one of the chiefe conspirators in Sicile against the French, called Alain Leontain, a councillor of Estate, and chiefe Iustice of the realme, which is one of the greatest dignities, staid not long before he received from the Arragonis, a worthy reward for his notable treachery, and immoderate appetit of reuenge: for being discovered that he sought to reconcile himselfe vnto the French, for some discontentment, he was sent prisoner to the castle of Siurane, from whence he neuer parted, being knowne to be a double traitor: and God brought him to this end, to shew that he detests those, that for their priuat passions seeke the ruine of Estates.

D. James King of Sicile was disposed by his death.

Alain Leontain Author of the Sicilian Exile, long a double traitor and his end.

Girona taken by the French.

The Conitable of France returning to the campe before Girona, he was received with all possible signes of joy: whereas soone after they had newes of the death of D. Pedro King of Arragon, whereof hauing aduertised the besieged that they should not continue obstinate; Raymond of Cardona, who commanded within the towne, demanded leaue to send one thither to vnderstand the truth, who brought him word that hee had seene the King his maister dead: wherevpon he yielded vp the towne to the French King, the souldiers and Inhabitants departing and carrying away what they could, except gold and siluer which they were to leaue, for the which they were serched. At this siege the plague fell into the campe, and the King himselfe grew sick, so as this warre ceased, and they began to thinke of their returne into France. The King had entertained certaine gallies of Pisa and Genoa, which hee now sent backe, hauing no more use for them.

Saying towards Italy, they were met by Roger of Loria Admiral of Sicile, who came to Cattelogne with fife and fortie gallies, to succour the King of Arragon his Maister, of whose death he was then aduertised. This man who was politike, and loath to loose any opportunity, hauing vnderstood from these captaines the Estate of the affaires in Cattelogne, and especially of the enemies army, he entertained all their fleet, and lead them backe towards Ampurias, where they found the remainder of the French fleet in the haven, whom they did sodainely set vpon and burne, all the souldiers and mariners hauing escaped, and ioyned with the rest of the Land-army. King Philip, who caused himselfe to be carried in a litter, was much grieved at this losse, and his sickness

A sickness did so increase, as he gaue vp the ghost in the towne of Perpignan, whether the armie came with great difficulty, the Arragonis hauing stoppt the passages of the mountaines, so as they were forced to make their way by the sword.

Death of Philip the third King of France.

### Philip the first of that name, the fife and twentieth King of Nauarre.

<sup>4</sup> Philip his sonne, called the faire, who succeeded him, was both King of France and Nauarre, hauing a little before married D. Jean the heire of Nauarre. Of which marriage were borne three sonnes, Lewis Hutin, Philip the long and Charles the faire, all which three were Kings of France and Nauarre one after another, hauing no children. They had also two daughters, Joane who died young (who is not in the French Genealogies) and Isabel Queene of England, mother to Edward the third, who contended for the succession of the Realme of France against Philip of Valois.

Nauarre.

At that time 1286. the Realme of Nauarre was governed by a Gentleman called Clement of Launay in quality of Viceroy, who defended it against the daily inuasions of the Arragonis. A captaine of Nauarre, whose name was D. John Corbaran, hauing the charge of the frontier towards Arragon, was defeated and taken by D. Pedro Cornet, an Arragonis. The Nauarrois also entering into the country of Arragon, besieged Tiermas, but could not take it, yet they did great spoiles. About the end of the yeere there was a truce made betwixt these two Kingdomes, and a defence made not to molest one another vpon paine of death. There was also a truce concluded betwixt Philip King of France and Nauarre, and Don Alphonso King of Arragon, during the which they sought means to make a peace betwixt them, for the controuersies of Sicile and other places.

At 1286. Clement of Launay Viceroy of Nauarre.

The death of Philip the third King of France being knowne in Castille, the King D. Sancho sent backe the Archbishop of Calaoarra, and the Abbot of Valledolit, his Ambassadors, to Philip the faire his sonne, to seeke some meanes of an accord, for many considerations: one and the most important was, that the Kings of France, father and sonne had beene the meanes at Rome to stop the dispensations of the marriage which D. Sancho had made with D. Maria his cousin. These Ambassadors carried backe into Spaine: an enterview of both Kings graunted in the towne of Bayonne; yet they met not, for the King of France would not passe the mount of Marcan, and he of Castille staid at Saint Sebastian, sending their deputies to treat and end their quarrels. For King Philip there came Robert Duke of Bourgongne and others, for the King of Castille came D. Gutierrez Archbishop of Toledo, successor to the Cardinal D. Gonzalo, with the Bishops of Calaoarra, Burgos and others. The first demand which the French made, and whereon they did insist, was, that the King D. Sancho should leaue his wife D. Maria, to marry one of king Philips sisters, which should be either Marguerite or Blanche: which the Ambassadors of Spaine found to be out of reason: and hauing giuen aduice thereof vnto their King, who was neere, he was so much offended, as hee recalled them, and would not haue the conference to proceed any further. The Abbot of Valledolit, who was superintendent of the Kings reuenues, by this voyage fell into disgrace with his maister, and was accused to haue put this sauage demand into the Frenchmens heads: wherefore hee was straightly looked into, and dismist from all affaires. The King went from Saint Sebastian to Victoria, where the Queen attended him, from whence they past to Burgos, from thence he went to Saint James in pilgrimage. Passing by Sahagun, he caused the bodies of the King D. Alphonso the sixth, and the Queenes which werethere interred, to be removed.

Castille.

Conference of Deputies for the Kings of France and Castille.

His voyage being ended, hee honoured D. Lope Diaz de Haro, Lord of Biscay, with the dignity of high Steward, and Standard-bearer of the realme of Castille, giuing the surmountance vnto D. Diego Lope de Haro his sonne, with promise neuer to dispossesse them of their offices, so as they did serue him and his sonne D. Fernand faithfully, without affecting

Haro Lord of Biscay excellently honoured by the King D. Sancho.



affecting any other parties, appointments or alliances, the which they promised for solemnly, upon paine of losing Biscay, and all they had in Castille and Leon: and the King gaue into the hands of D. *Lope*, for assurance of that which he had promised, most of the forts in Castille.

By means of these things D. *Lope Diaz* was made Earle the first day of the yeere 1287. with command ouer all the country, from Burgos vnto the sea. To D. *Diego Lopes de Haro* the Earles brother, was giuen the Government of the Moores frontier: about which time the marriage was made betwixt D. *John* the Kings brother, and D. *Maria Diaz de Haro*, daughter to the Earle D. *Lope*: who had a great desire to see the King D. *Sancho* diuorced from the Queene his wife, to haue him marry the daughter of *Gaston* Lord of Berne his cousin, hoping that the children which should come of that marriage, should inherit those realmes, and those which hee had had by Queene *Mary* should be excluded, for that the marriage was made without the Popes dispensation: but God did otherwise dispose. This Princeesse was brought in bed this yeere of her second sonne, called *Alphonso*, and then the King retired D. *Jabel*, heire of the Estate of Molina, whom her mother D. *Blanch*, sister to Queene *Mary*, would haue married to D. *Alphonso* King of Arragon. This great power and authority which the King had giuen to the Earle D. *Lope*, discontented many Noblemen of Galicia, but especially of Leon, so as hee was prest to abate this power, too great for a subiect, the which hee abused: but the King had no will to diminish any thing, wherefore hee tried to content them with good words: and in the meane time hee ordained, that the Earle D. *Lope* should goe into the Marches of Galicia, with good numbers of souldiers, to suppress such as would attempt any thing against his will. The Earle D. *Lopes* held a garrison at Astorga, and the King went another way to see his Nephew D. *Denis* King of Portugal, to reconcile him with D. *Alphonso* of Portugal, who held some places vpon the frontiers of Leon, where by reason of his quarrels hee kept some souldiers, whether also some banished men of Castille retired themselves, who made roades into the territories of Leon. The two Kings of Castille and Portugal met at the siege of Ronches, and tooke it by composition: by the which D. *Aluaro de Luna*, who had retired himselfe to D. *Alphonso* of Portugal, was restored to D. *Sancho* his fauour. At this siege the King of Portugal did counsel the King of Castille to humble D. *Lope Diaz de Haro*, who did abuse the authority which he had giuen him tyrannously, else it was to be feared there would grow great troubles in Castille.

This aduice was wel taken by the King D. *Sancho*, and from that time hee began to study by what meanes he might take away or diminish that extraordinary power, but it was too late: It is not the custome for such as are once mounted, to stoop. The Earle D. *Lope* finding the Kings intent, retired to *Gaston* of Berne his cousin, there to make some faction: where he had newes of the death of D. *Aluaro de Lara* his competitor and enemy, whereof he was exceeding glad, and returned into Castille, but hee found that the King had giuen his offices, and all that D. *Aluaro* had enioyed to his brother D. *John Nages de Lara*, so as D. *Lope* found himselfe preuented; whereupon hee debauched the Infant D. *John* his sonne in law, leauing the court much discontented. D. *John* made some roades about Salamanca; wherefore the King being in the towne of Carrion, the weeke before Easter, whether the Earle D. *Lope Diaz* came well accompanied, hee complained vnto him of the excesses which his sonne in law D. *John* had done, to whom the Earle answered proudly, that hee had not done any thing but what hee had aduised him; and that if hee would heare the Infants reasons, hee should goe to Valledolit, and hee would bring him to Cigales. This proud manner of speech of the Earles, seemed strange vnto the King, and increased his desire to punish them both: Notwithstanding hee went to Valledolit, and the Earle with his sonne in law came to Cigales, not daring to come in the Kings presence in any great towne. There the Deputies of either part did confer daily, at a place called Loueruela, whereas these iarres were somewhat reconciled: whereupon the King came towards the frontiers of Arragon, to treat with the King D. *Alphonso* touching the deliuey of his Nephewes, the sonnes of *La Cerde*, whereof hee was much sollicitated, euen by the Earle D. *Lope Diaz*.

Not

A Notwithstanding before the King D. *Sancho* could approach neere to Tarassone, where the King of Arragon was, the Earle had preuented him, who hauing spoken with the King of Arragon, hee reported vnto his maister, that hee found by the way, that the King of Arragon would not be pleased with this kinde of enterview, and therefore hee had no need to passe any farther. The Earle finding himselfe somewhat crost by the enterview of the King D. *Sancho* and him of Portugal, did also thinke that this would bee nothing fauorable vnto him.

6 As for D. *Alphonso* of Arragon, whom we haue left carefull to execute the charge which the King his father had giuen him, to dispossesse the King D. *James* his vnkle of the Islands of Majorca and Minorca: after the conquest thereof hee had brought backe his victorious army to Valencia, and there was receiued and acknowledged for King by the Valentians. Yet he was admonished by D. *Bernard William Entenza* and *Symon* of Virea, Ambassadors for the Estates of Virea, to come speedily to the assembly at Saragossa, where hauing sworn and promised the obseruation of the customes, rights and preiudices of the country, and receiued the oth of fealty from the deputies, he might lawfully take vpon him the title of King of Arragon, the which (said they) he might not vie before this act and ceremony, according to the ancient customes of Arragon. The King hauing giuen them audience at Moruedro, he answered them courteously, that hee would repaire thither with speed: and as for the royal title, hee had held it reasonable to take it, seeing hee had beene so saluted by the Archbishop of Tarragone, and by the Catalans and Valentians. Being come to Saragossa, hee tooke and receiued the oth, and was crowned by the Bishop of Huesca, in the absence of the Archbishop of Tarragone, to whom (by the Popes decree) this office doth appertaine, where he protested that hee held the realme as hereditary from his father, and was not bound to any. At this assembly of the Estates, which was in the yeere 1286, there grew great contention touching the reformation of the manners of courtiers, and the ordering of the Kings house, the noblemen and deputies of the Estates of Arragon maintayning that the knowledge thereof was incident to their charge; the King and his household seruants on the other side denied that there was either law or custome which tied the King or his followers to any such subiection.

D In the end it was concluded that the reformation of the court should bee made by twelve of the principal families (which they call in that country *Mesnadas*) the like number of Knights, foure Deputies of Saragossa, and one of either of the other cities the which should giue their voices in that case. This vnion of Arragon obtained a decree, that the King should haue certaine counsellors chosen, that is, foure of the chiefe Noblemen, which were D. *Pedro d' Aierbe* the kings vnkle, *Pedro Cornel*, *Artal Alagon* and *Pedro Martines de Luna*; foure knights of noble and ancient races, which were D. *Fortun Sanchez Vera*, *Symon Perez Salanous*, *Symon Perez Vera*, and *Arnau de Castro*, and foure of his household seruants: that is D. *Gyles de Bedare*, *Rodrigo Sanchez Pomar*, *Alphonso de Castenou* and *Fernand Perez Pigna*: Moreouer two knights for the realme of Valencia, two citizens of Saragossa, and one of either of the other cities of Huesca, of Tarassone, Jacca, Barbastro, Calatajub, Turul and Daroca: with a condition that whilst the King should remaine in Arragon, *Ribagorça* or *Valencia*, two of the noblemen, two of his household seruants, two Knights of Arragon, one of Valencia, and the foure Deputies of the realme of Arragon, should follow and reside in court, as counsellors appointed by the vnion, the which by the mouth of D. *Fortun Sanchez de Vera*, *Sancho Martines Lacanella*, and the Deputies of Saragossa, Huesca and Turul (who were sent to that end) protested that if hee did not receiue, obserue and maintaine these orders, they would seize vpon his reuenues, and of all the fees, offices and dignities of such noblemen as should contradict them: thus were the Kings of Arragon intreated in those times.

F This yeere the King restored D. *Philip de Castro*, sonne to his vnkle D. *Fernand Sanchez*, who as we haue sayd was cast into the riuer of Singa, as wel to the possession of the castle of Pomar, as to the rest of his fathers patrimony: and for that there were some remainders of Moores which stood out in the Island of Minorca, the King tooke after went thither with an army in person, and densed the whole country, having forced them

Speech said  
out of the Earle  
D. *Lope Diaz*  
de Haro.

Reformation  
of the Kings  
of Arragon  
house being  
get to the generall  
 Estates.

Admiral  
of the  
Island of  
Minorca.

to fly into the castle of Agaie, and to compound, from whence according to the treaty, A they were transported into Affrike, by D. Raymond Marques and Berenger Majol. In the meane time King D. Alphonso did sollicite the Pope by his Ambassadors to receive him into fauour, which the French did hinder: for besides the rights, pretended by Charles of Valois, and granted to him by the Pope, to the realme of Arragon, and lands annexed, which were interdict, there was moreover, that not onely the two yong Princes D. Alphonso and D. Fernand de la Cerde were detained prisoners by the King of Arragon, but also Charles, called the Limping, sonne and heire to Charles of Aniou, King of Naples and Sicile: for whose release Philip the father and sonne, Kings of France, had bene earnest solicitors, and taken armes, and even at that instant Philip the faire did presse the Kings of Castille and Arragon, and in regard of Charles the Limping, Edward King of England did labour to make a peace betwixt him and the Kings of Arragon and Sicile brethren. In the meane time there was continual warre in Italy, whether Robert Earle of Arthois had bene fene, who with the aduise of a Cardinal the Popes Legat, and Mary Princeesse of Salerne, wife vnto Charles, who was prisoner, gouerned the realme of Naples. They were then vpon termes of a good accord, when as these Gouernours hauing sent a great army into Sicile, vnder the command of Renaud del Balso, Earle of Auellin, tooke the towne of Cattanea; whereof King D. Alphonso being aduertised, he sent backe Roger de Loria Admiral of Sicile, to succor and defend his brothers country. The Earle of Auellin hauing made this prize, hee sent the galleys, which had transported his army, backe to Naples, to bring the rest of his troups which were yet on land: and at the same instant, Guy of Montfort, Earle of Langillare, with the Earles of Boullen and Flanders, hauing leauied men in Tuscany, were ready to imbarke vpon the bankes of Sienna, when as Roger de Loria the Admiral arrived in the Italian seas, who hauing descouered the fleet which went to transport the fouldiars at Naples, hee pursued them, and tooke them easly, hauing none to make any defence, and soone after hee espied about faxy galleys sayling towards Sicile, which was the army of those French Noblemen aboue named, which had imbarqued in Tuscany, whose Admiral was called Arrighin, a Genouois. Roger charged them couragiously, and put them to rout, without any great difficulty, for the fouldiars in the French fleet could fight better at land then at sea: the Commanders were taken, all which paid their ransoms, except the Earle of Montfort, D who was detained prisoner, and there died.

Conditions of  
peace betwixt  
the King of  
Arragon and  
Naples prisoners.

Charles of Valois  
yielded up his  
right to Castile.

These two victories were the recovery of Cattanea the which was yielded to the Arragonois, by the Earle of Auellin, who with his companions, returned with their bag and baggage to Naples. By this meane the treaty of peace which Edward made was broken, but he desired not, vntill he had drawne them to these conditions: That Charles should be set at liberty, paying twenty thousand, or (as some say) thirty thousand markes of siluer for his ranfome. That he should procure the Pope to inuest King James in the realme of Naples, that he should take away the Interdict, and absolue the two brethren of Arragon, and that he should be a meane to make Charles Earle of Valois quit the interest he pretended in Catalogne, by vertue of a donation made vnto him by Pope Martin: for the execution whereof hee should haue three yeeres time, and in case he could not performe them, hee should returne againe to prison: for assurance whereof, hee should giue his three sonnes, Lewis, Robert and John in hostage, with forty gentlemen of the country of Prouence. The which Charles hauing promised, and the hostages deliuered, he was released foure yeeres after his taking. He came into France, and labored in vaine with Charles of Valois, who would neuer relinguish the title hee had to Catalogne. Pope Nicholas also would not yeeld vnto that which Charles had promised touching the realme of Sicile, the which hee sayd was a fee belonging to the church, wherefore he past speedily into Italy with good troups of men, led by Emery of Nabone. Being in Tuscany, he spent some time to fauour the Guelphes party, against the Giblins, the which were two frantike factions, afflicting Italy since the dissolution betwixt the Popes and Emperor Frederic continued among the Italians without subiect or fence, with horrible examples of Impiety and inhumanity. The French which desir these quarrels, held the Guelphes faction.

Charles

A Charles being come to Rome, Pope Nicholas the fourth crowned him in the yeere of our Lord 1289. King of both Siciles, from the which he could not be dissuaded: where- with they Arragonois held themselves much wronged, and fell to armes more violently then before. Suritez affirms that this yeere King Charles the Limping came and pretended himselfe armed betwixt the valley of Inguera and the hill of Panizage, making a shew as it he came to yeeld himselfe to the King of Arragon, according to the treaty, and that hee returned sodainly to Perpignan. The Calabrois, neighbours to Sicile, were daily solicited to revolt; the which the Inhabitants of the Cathenzan did, who gaue themselves to King James: wherevpon King Charles being accompanied by the Earle of Artois, led an army thither, to succor which place, King James being come with his Admiral, and hauing landed his men, hee was incouraged and defeated by the French, and forced to saue himselfe in his galleies, yet without any great losse; wherefore the Arragonois desiring to diuert this siege, they sailed towards Gayete, where hauing seized vpon a hill neere vnto it, they gaue many assaults, but without any effect. King Charles, and the Earle of Arthois, leauing sufficient troups to entertaine the siege of Cathenzan, marched towards Gayete, being resolu'd to giue bataille to the Arragonois: but they kept themselves from fighting, being lodged in a place of aduantage and neere vnto their galleies.

There was a mediation for a truce betwixt the two kings and the realmes of Sicile and Naples, the which King Charles yielded vnto for foure yeeres, against the aduice of the Earle of Arthois, who held the victory in his hand, assuring himselfe to force the enemy to fight: wherevpon hee grew much discontented, and leauing Italy, returned into France with his troups; vpon this truce Cathenzan was yielded. This first conquest which the kings of Arragon made out of Spaine, was the cause of great broyles, warre and ruines in Christendome, for which they chiefly finaried, whereof the Popes were the subiect, as they stood well or ill affected to those Princes, of whose miseries, and of their ruines they were secure spectators, being defended from all danger through the opinion of their holinesse and authority.

At the death of Pope Martin, his successor Honorius the fourth, had settled and confirmed D. James of Arragon, and absolued the King D. Pedro, but Pope Nicholas the fourth, maliciously and without any feare of the shedding of Christians blood, did kindle a new warre betwixt the French and Arragonois, whereas hee would not crowne Charles King of Naples alone, but of Naples and Sicile together. D. James of Arragon holding Sicile at that time, at his coronation hee tooke the armes which the realme hath since carried, which are an Eagle sable in a field argent, the which Manfred was wont to beare, and the bends geules in a field Or of Barcelona.

8 The King of Castille being solicited, and much troubled to resolu'e vpon the delivery of his Nephewes of Cerde, detained in Arragon, and to recompence them in such sort as his souerainty might remaine entire and peceable to him and his successors, hee sent to that end Ambassadors to Philip the faire, King of France, being at Lions: but what they could not then effect by treaties and negotiations, occasion did afterward bring to passe, for there happened a great excele in the court of Castille, wherevpon ensued the deliuey of the Infantes of Cerde: the which notwithstanding was as much displeasing to the King of France, who had pursued it, as to him of Castille, who feared it, and avoided it all hee could. A most dangerous freedom for them that were deliuey, but of the restraint of their persons, as shall appeere.

The King Don Sancho being at Alfaro, with the Queene his wife, Don Gonzalo Archbishop of Toledo, with many other Prelats and Noblemen of his realmes, hauing alwaies a desire to restraine and punish the pride of the Earle Don Lope Diaz de Haro, and of the Infant D. Iohn his sonne in law, who were there present, hee sayd vnto them, that if they would not remaine both prisoners, they should deliuey vp the forts which they held within the realm, whereat the Earle and D. Iohn grew into such choller and rage, as beside words of contempe which they vsed, they laid their hands vpon their swords before the King their Lord, threatening to kill them that should offer to lay hands vpon them,

Pp

them,

An. 1289.

Truce for foure  
yeeres betwixt  
the French  
and Arragon  
1289.

Castille.

Quarrels in  
court where  
D. Lope Diaz  
de Haro is  
slaine.

The mother  
persuades her  
sonne to re-  
venge his fa-  
thers death.

9

King of Ar-  
ragon sets the  
Infants of cer-  
de at liberty.

D. Alphonso  
de la Cerde  
suesued for  
King of Castille.

Portugal.

Genealogy of  
Portugal.

them, and called to their friends for aide : but instantly all the Noblemen and Knights A there present, drew their swords and slue the Earle vpon the place, whose right hand was cut off at the first blow (this was the reward for the seruice he had done in raying D. Sancho to the crowne) the Infant D. John did hurt D. Sancho *Martines de Leyua, and Gon. calo Gomes de Mancanado*, and made great resistance, by reason hee was somewhat spa- ralled, for that he was the Kings brother : but when he saw his father in law slaine, he be- ganne to flie for safety towards Queene Mary, who staid the King (that pursued him with the rest) from killing him with his owne hand. Becing taken hee was put into a straight prison and fettered in the towne of Logroño, from whence the King went with some troupes, to Treuigno and tooke it, and after that the castle of Haro. Queene Mary remaying at Saint Dominick de la Calçada, shee was visited by the widow of B the Earle that was slaine, whom the King D. Sancho let vnderstand, that her husbands rashnesse had brought him to that desalter, aduising her to perswade D. Diego *Lopes de Haro* her sonne to lay downe armes, and not to minister any further occasion of trouble that if he did containe himselfe within the duty of a subiect, the King would forget what was past, and both cherish and honour him, as his predecessors had benechouered. This Lady promised to doe her best endeavor for a peace, but shee did the contrary: for shee ceased not to incense her sonne, who was full of rage and desire of reuenge: so as hee retired into Nauarre, with his sister Donna Maria Diaz, wife to the Infant D. John, who was prisoner, where hauing left her, hee past into Arragon to the King Don Alphonso, whether also came Gascon, Lord of Bearn, who was no lesse desirous to reuenge the death of the Earle his cousin. These Noblemen wrought in such sort, as the King C Don Alphonso, let Don Alphonso and Don Fernand, Infants of Cerde, at liberty, who had bene detained ten yeeres in the castle of Xatua: and the King sending for them to la- ce, hee caused D. Alphonso the elder to take vpon him the title of Castille and Leon, to whom D. Diego *Lopes de Haro* did instantly doe homage, and acknowledged him for his soueraigne King.

The King D. Sancho being aduertised of these things, was much discontented, and sought to dispossesse D. Diego *Lopes* of all his lands. Parting from Victoria, whereas the Queene was brought in bed of a sonne, who was called D. Henry, hee came to Vrdugna, the which hee tooke, and then hee forced la Bastida and Ocio in Rioje, where they had pro- claimed D. Alphonso de la Cerde. The King D. Sancho being in this perplexity, Anab. D sadors came vnto him from Philip King of France and of Nauarre, who concluded an enterview of the two Kings at Bayone. Thether also came Ambassadors from Iacob Aben Joseph King of Marock, to renew the alliances past. D. Diego *Lopes* Gouvernor ge- nerall of the Moores frontiers, brother to the King D. Sancho could grieve him, in his death, beganne to grow fearefull, and to fortifie himselfe within Carmone, and not withstanding all the promises and assurances, which the King D. Sancho could giue him, hee could not bee satisfied: so as hee was forced to passe into Arragon, where his Ne- phew was, who died there soone after his vnles arriual: wherevpon the Estates of Bis- cay, being without a Lord, fell into great combustions.

The King of Castille sent Don Diego *Lopes de Salcedo* thether, who tooke all the ca- stles and forts of the country, except the towne of Vnquera, the which was so well de- fended by the Lord thereof, as all the batteries and assaults which Salcedo could giue, could not force it. The King D. Sancho being much perplexed at these broiles, came to Burgos, whether hee caused the Infant D. John to be brought and put into the castle, & being confident that he should haue warre with Arragon, hee sought to fortifie himselfe by Portugal, wherefore hauing sent to intreat D. Denis his Nephew for an enterview, they met at Sabugal.

There D. Sancho demanded aide against the King of Arragon, and made a relation vn- to the King of Portugal of all that had past betwixt him and his subiects in Castille. A- bout that time the king D. Denis had by his wife D. Isabel of Arragon one daughter, F named D. Constance, who was afterwards married to the Infant D. Fernand of Castille. Afterwards the king D. Denis had by her the Infant D. Alphonso, who was king of Portu- gal. Others adde a daughter named Isabel.

The

A The warre which the Nauarrois had against them of Arragon, gaue some respite to that betwixt Arragon and Castille, for King Philip intertaining strong garri- sons of French in Nauarre during the pretensions of Charles of Valois in Cattelogne, there was no truce could hold, but they were still at blowes, the French and Nauarrois taking from the Arragonis the towne of Sauveterre, in the yeere 1289. The yeere following 1290. Queene Isabe of France and of Nauarre was brought in bed of a sonne, named Lewis, who was heire of both realmes, and surnamed Hurin.

This yeere was the enterview betwixt Philip King of France and D. Sancho of Castille at Bayone, little fauorable to the Infants of Cerde, for the King of France being iealous that they were aided and supported in their quarrels by the King of Arragon, whom hee B loued not, abandoned the, and made a strict league with him of Castille, yea in such sort, according to the Spanish Histories, as to take away all occasions of quarrell betwixt them hee did againe renounce in fauour of D. Sancho, all the right hee had to the Realme of Castille. The King of Arragon desirous to cometo some accord with the French, employed Edward King of England, who vied great diligence to reconcile them, as we will see. After the conference of Bayone, the King D. Sancho returning by Gui- pulcoo he granted priuiledges for the foundation of Tolouse, Segure and Villefranche, townes in that country.

C During these broiles, the inhabitants of Badajos, by meanes of a quarrell betwixt two factions, reuolted against the King D. Sancho, and embraced the party of D. Alphonso de la Cerde, who intituled himselfe King of Castille. The Bejarans and Portugalois, fac- tions among the inhabitants of Badajos, fell to great contention among themselves, for that the Portugalois against all right had vlturped many possessions belonging to the Bejarans, through the fauour of the King D. Sancho: whereof many complaints being made by them that were dispossessed, the King commanded Iustice should be done them, and that they should bee restored to their goods: the which being decreed, they that were in possession would not obey: wherefore the Bejarans hauing taken armes, and slaine many of their aduersaries, and chased the rest out of the towne, they recovered their owne in this manner: but the excess and violence which they vied was such, as feare to bee severely punished, as they deserved, they seized vpon the high towne, and being fortified there, they proclaimed D. Alphonso King of Castille and Leon.

In the beginning the King D. Sancho sent the Maisters of the Knights of Saint Iames, Calatrava and Alcantara, with the priors of Templers and Saint Iohn, who wrought in such sort as they retired the Bejarans from their folly, with assurance of their liues, but afterwards the King neglecting his faith promised by his Lieutenants, caused this people to be cruelly murdered, to the number of foure thousand, sparing neither wo- men nor children, for the which hee was iustly blamed.

There was also an other massacre at Talauera, for the like faction; proclaiming D. Alphonso de la Cerde for King of Castille, whereas one of the ports of the rownes is called at this day Quartos, for that there were about foure hundred of the chiefe inhabitants slaine there. The continuall griefe wherein hee was by reasons of these difficulties, both at home and abroad, made him to commit these outrages, contra- rie to all reason, the which was no signe of magnanimitie, besides, that the furies (twice may so say) by reason of his impetie and disobedience towards his father did pursue him.

In the yeere of our Lord 1291. Queene Mary was brought in bed of her fourth sonne, who was named D. Pedro, and the warre being now begonne with Arragon, the King D. Sancho came to Cuenca, and sent good troupes against D. Iohn *Nugues de Lara*, who spoiled the countries of Cuenca and Alarcon, who were defeated, and many Ensignes and Guidons carried to Valencia, whereas the king of Arragon and D. Diego *Lopes de Haro* were: these with other discontents made the King to fall into a double Quartane, which brought him in danger of his life. In the meane time the King of Arragon, D. Diego *Lopes* and D. Iohn *Nugues* being returned to Albarrazin, they did ouerrunne the territories of Molina, Sigüenza, Atienza, Berlanga and Almazan, where they committed great spoiles, and carried away a great booty finding no resistance. D. Iohn

Pp 2

Nugues

Nauarre.

An. 1290.

Castille.

Remission  
restored of  
the rights  
which the  
Kings of  
France com-  
ming from  
Saint Lewis  
to Castille.

Tumult at Ba-  
dajos.

Cruelty of the  
King D. San-  
cho.

An. 1291.

*Nugnes* was sed with hope to recouer *Albarrazin*. The Queene who was come to *A* *Cuenca*, to see the King her husband sicke, wrought meanes to winne *Don Iohn Nugnes de Lara*, whom they had often attempted to draw vnto the Kings seruice, but hee trusted him not, but now hee was perfwaded, vpon a promise to giue in marriage to his sonne, called also *D. Iohn Nugnes*, *D. Isabel*, the heire of *Molina*, and the Queenes Neece, the which was performed: but hauing his head euer fraught with ieaiousie and distrust, hee was so easily induced to belecue any aduertisement, as hee was still ready to dislodge so as the King beeing at *Palenca*, and discontented with *D. Nugnes* carriage, beganne also to distrust him. And for that hee had need of capitaines, hee drew the Infant *Don Iohn* his brother out of prison, in the yeere of our Lord 1291. to employ him against his rebels, hauing caused him to take a new oth, to be faithfull vnto him, and to his sonne *D. Fernand*, whose hands hee caused them all to kisse, as to the heire of the crowne. From *Palenca* hee went in pilgrimage to *Saint Iames*, and by the way reduced vader his obedience *D. Iohn Alphonso d'Albuquerque*, a knight of great authority in *Gallicia*, who had beene wonne by *D. Iohn Nugnes*. At his returne to *Vailledolit*, he found that his second sonne *D. Alphonso* was dead.

Arragon.

Peace betwixt  
France and  
Arragon.

The same yeere a peace was concluded betwixt the Kings of France, Naples and Arragon, the Ambassadors of these Princes being assembled with the Popes Noncio at *Taracon*, at the instance of *Edward* King of England. For the King of Arragon came *D. Nugnes Mataplanc* Bishop of *Sarragossa*, *Raymond Anglesol*, *Berenger Puchert*, *William Lunfort*, and *Bernard William Puello* all Lawiers, who treated and agreed vpon these conditions. That the donation, made by Pope *Martin* to *Charles* of Valois, of the realme of Arragon and the appurtenances, should bee voided and of no force, paying a tribut of thirty ounces of gold yearly to the Church of Rome. That the Island of *Majorca* should bee restored to the lawfull Lord, vpon condition that hee should acknowledge the King of Arragon for his soueraigne. That the Arragonois should depart out of the Island of *Sicilie*, and leaue the free possession vnto *Charles* King of Naples. That *D. Alphonso* King of Arragon should bee at Rome on Whitsonday that present yeere, & lead an army against the Infidels. That he should perfwade his brother *D. Iames*, and his mother *D. Constance*, to quit the realm of *Sicilie*, or else to make war against them.

These were the principall Articles of this peace the which the Arragonois held infamous, accusing their King of impiety towards his mother, and treason to his brother: yet it was concluded and signed. And for the confirmation thereof, the bishop of *Sarragossa* and *Berenger Puchert* went to Rome. Some doubt whether the full conclusion thereof were made during the life of King *D. Alphonso*, or at the entrance of the King *D. Iames*: for *D. Alphonso* died about this treaty, as hee made preparation to marry the daughter of *Edward* King of England, called *Leonora*: yet it is likely this peace was made in the life time of King *D. Alphonso*, yea some Authors affirme, that King *Charles* the Limping and he met in the valley of *Lunquera*, either of them being accompanied with twelve gentlemen onely, who carried no other armes then their swords, and that there they ratified and signed this accord: as for the effects and execution thereof, it is credible they followed in the time of his successor. King *D. Alphonso* died in the feuen & twentieth yeere of his age, hauing reigned fife yeeres and feuen monthes. Being nere his end he would bee attired in the habit of *Saint Francis*, for an opinion which reigned then, that there consisted some great vertue in that weed, and so hee was carried to the conuent of *Franciscans* at *Barcelona*.

1290.

About that time the King of *Granado*, had conference with the gouernor of the frontier of *Castille*, for the King *D. Sancho* being called *D. Fernand Perez Ponce de Leon*, and renewed the treaty and league with *Castille*, for the confirmation whereof there was a Moorish knight sent to the King to *Burgos*. *Ioseph Aben Iacob* had succeeded his father *Iacob Aben Ioseph*, in the realme of *Maroc*, since the yeere of our Lord 1285, hee hauing reigned fife and twenty yeeres, with the reputation of a generous Prince, and a good Iusticer. This yeere hee past into Spaine, and came to besiege *Bejar*, but hee could not take it, wherefore hee returned into *Affrike* with little honour. Meaning to returne some time after into Spaine with greater forces, hee could not passe, being slayed by the dece

A of *Castille*, which was great and mighty, for feare whereof hee stayed vpon the banks of *Tanger*, for *Benoist Zachary*, Admiral of *Castille*, had taken threene galleys from him: by fauour of which victory the King *D. Sancho* marcht into *Andalusia*, to make an enterprise vpon *Tariffe*.

By the way hee conferred with *D. Denis* King of Portugal, made a new league with him, and a future marriage was concluded betwixt *D. Fernand* of *Castille* and *D. Constance* of Portugal, who were both very young. And for the fulfilling of all promises in due time, there were townes and castles deliuered in pawne of either side, yet the King *D. Sancho* had no aide from him of Portugal, in this expedition. Being come to *Seulle*, and hauing their ordained what was needfull for the siege, *Tariffe* was battered, and furiously assaulted, and in the end taken, the gard whereof was giuen to *D. Roderigo*, mai-ster of the *Calatraua*. A little before a marriage had beene treated of by Ambassadors, betwixt *Don Iames* the new King of Arragon, and the Infant *D. Isabel* of *Castille*, daughter to *D. Sancho*, being onely nine yeeres old. For confirmation whereof, pacification of the troubles, and other alliances, the two Kings of *Castille* and Arragon, met together in *Calatrabub*, in the yeere of our Lord 1292, but the marriage tooke no effect.

For as much as *D. Iohn Nugnes de Lara* the elder, continued still to trouble the realm, the King *D. Sancho* hauing taken *Canette* and *Moya* from him, hee forced him to retire into France, whether Ambassadors were sent soone after, to renew the league with King *Philip*, *Don Sancho* fearing that by some sinister reports hee might bee diuerted from his friendship, *Don Iohn Nugnes* being absent, *Don Isabel* of *Molina* his daughter in law, died without any children, whose inheritance fell to the Queene *Donna Maria* her aunt. The Infant *D. Iohn* carrying still a hatred in heart against the King his brother, rebelled againe, ioyning with *Don Iohn Nugnes de Lara* the younger; and drawing vnto his partie many Knights, but the King pursued them in such sort, as *D. Iohn de Lara* was forced to yield vnto his mercy, and the Infant to flee into Portugal.

11 About that time *D. Alphonso Perez de Guzman* lived in great reputation in Spaine, being a wise and valiant Knight, who had long serued the *Mirabimim Aben Iacob* of *Maroc* and his father, leading their armies in qualitie of Lieutenant generall in the warres which they had against the other Moores of *Affrike*, where hee had wonne honour and great riches, with the which being returned into Spaine hee purchased much land and great Seigneuries. This knight and *Donna Maria Alonso Cornel* gaue beginning to the family of the Dukes of *Medina Sidonia*, famous in our time in Spaine, the Lords whereof in the beginning intituled themselues Earles of *Niebla*. To this *D. Alphonso Perez de Guzman* the King *D. Sancho* gaue the gouernment of *Tariffe*, the which hee promised to keepe safely with lesse charge by two third parts then the Master of the *Calatraua* had done. The Earle *Don Iohn Nugnes de Lara* hauing continued some time in France, had meanes to make his peace with the King and to returne into *Castille*, where they did presentlie employ him against the Infant *Don Iohn* of *Castille*, and *Don Iohn Alphonso* of *Albuquerque*, who with many other of their confederates spoiled the whole countrie of *Leon*: but in an encounter hee was defeated and taken: afterwards being but slightly garded, hee found meanes to escape, and came to the court at *Toro*, whereas Queene *Mary* was deliuered of *D. Beatrice* her daughter, in the yeere of our Lord 1293. The King *Don Sancho* being aduertised that *Mahumet Mir Almas Lemi* King of *Granado* was like to make soyme attempt, hee sent the Earle *Don Iohn Nugnes de Lara*, with *Don Iohn Nugnes* his sonne, and *Don Nuzno Gonzales* vnto the frontier. The Earle of *Lara* the father being come to *Cordoua* died.

E This motion of the *Granadin Moores* was but an idle brute, wherefore the troups returned. And for that *Don Denis* King of Portugal did receiue the Infant *Don Iohn* of *Castille* and the other rebelles, the King *D. Sancho* sent him word, that according to their capitulations, hee could not giue any retreat vnto his enemies, and therefore hee intreated him to cause them to depart his Countrie with all speed, the which hee did.

*D. John of Castille brings the Moores into Spaine against the King his brother,*

*All of great cruelty of D. Alphonso Perez de Guzman.*

*Cruelty of D. John of Castille.*

The Infant *D. John* going to sea, meaning to passe into France, was driven by a storme *A* to Tanger, from whence hee went to kisse the hands of the Miralmunin *Aben Isach*, who entertained him courteously, and hauing conferred with him of the affaires of Spaine, knowing that he was desirous to annoy the King of Castille his brother, hee offered him fise thousand horse to make the enterprise of Tariffe, the which *D. John* did willingly accept, returned into Spaine, and besieged Tariffe, thinking to finde it vnfortified, but *D. Alphonso Perez de Guzman* had wisely provided, and defended it valiantly. It is not knowne by what accident a sonne of *D. Alphonso Perez* was fallne into the Moores hands: but some Authors write that *D. John* seeing there was no meanes to take this place by force, hauing demanded a parle, hee led this child vnto the ditch, and told the father, who was vpon the walles, that if hee did not deliuer the fort, hee would cut his sonnes throat: wherevnto *D. Alphonso* answered, that the towne was the Kings, who had giuen it him to keepe, and that it was his duty to defend it: as for his sonne, hee might doe what hee pleased, adding moreouer, that to let him vnderstand that he ment not to preferre the loue of his house, before that of his Prince, and the crowne of Castille, hee would rather giue a knife, if hee needed one, and at the same instant threw him his sword from the walles, and so retired to his lodging.

The Infant *Don John* incensed at this disdainfull answer, presently caused this poore Innocents head to be cut off: at which spectacle the souldiers which were vpon the walles gaue a great shout, the which was heard by *Don Alphonso Perez*, being at the table with his wife: whereat being moued, hee tooke his armes, and commanded them to follow him.

Being come to the place where they had made this noyse, hee beganne to incourage the souldiers, saying that hee was there to succour them, if they were prest, thinking it was some assault which the enemy gaue vnto the towne: but the souldiers told him that no man prest them, and reported vnto him the cruelty which they had seene executed vpon his onely sonne: If it bee no other thing, sayd *Don Alphonso*, bee carefull of your gard, and so returned without any outward shew of alteration, and without speaking any thing to his wife, hee sat downe at the table with her. This is honour amongst the Spaniards for one of the most generous acts in this house of *Guzman* that hath bene seene in Spaine. The Moores and their captaine *Don John*, seeing that they had to deale with resolute men, rayed their siege, and returned into Africke. Heerevpon the Miralmunin deliuered vpon Algezire to the King of Granada, for that the enterpraying of so great a garrison was both chargeable and preiudiciall vnto him. Thus the Kings of Maroc were dispossessed of all they held on this side the sea.

Soone after there arriued in Spaine the Infant *Don Henry*, sonne to the King *Don Fernand* the third, and vncle to this King *D. Sancho*, being freed from a long imprisonment with the French at Naples. Hee was well receiued, and did accompany the King into Biscay, whereas *D. Diego Lopes Dias*, being come out of Arragon, had caused some troubles, the which were pacified by the Kings presence. The country did then belong vnto *D. Maria Lope de Haro*, wife vnto the Infant *D. John*, who was banished out of Castille. The King being returned to Vailledolit, and from thence to Alcalá de Henares, he sell sicke, which made him to dispose of the affaires of his realme: hee left *Don Fernand* his sonne and successor, vnder the government of the Queene *Donna Maria*, to whom hee would haue all the Noblemen which held the chiefe dignities, and others which had charges within the realme, swear: wherevnto hauing obeyed in his presence, hee caused himselfe to be earried to Madrid, and from thence to Toledo, where hee died in the yeere of our Lord 1295, hauing reigned cleuen yeeres, and was buried in the great church of that city.

*Death of the King D. Sancho.*

*An. 1295.*

*Navarre.*

Whilest these things past in Castille, the realme of Nauarre was gouerned in the name of King *Philip* and of the widow *D. Lane*, by a French Knight called *Hugh* of Constans, after the accustomed manner, notwithstanding the great Estates of the Realme, governments and other charges, were for the most part giuen to the *Nauarrois*, all which were entertained with the Kings money, and then they made their accounts.

*A* accompts by Liures, Solz, and Deniers, after the manner of France. Aboue all things the frontiers towards Arragon were carefully garded, in which country in the latter wars they had made a great breach, and taken many places which they held by the treatie of Tarascon, or at the least in making a peace there was no mention made of yeelding them vp. *Diego Sanchez de Garritz* being Merino or Prouost of Pampelone, the towne was set on fire in the night by *Symon* of Ardaiz, *Michel* of Alcanegui, and *Garci-Sanchez*, men of bale condition, desirous to do ill, wherewith many houses were burnt: these men being taken, were hanged. The Gouvernor did fortifie many places and houses within the realm, especially vpon the frontiers, and caused the English to dislodge out of the country, about the yeare 1295, by reason of the ciuill warres betwixt the kings of France and England: *B* vnto that time continued the League betwixt France, Nauarre, and Castille, which was vnto the decease of the king *D. Sancho*: but then by reason of the factions which were reuiued betwixt his children and them of Cerdes, all leagues were broken.

## D. Iames the 2. of that name, 11. king of Arragon.

*12* IN Arragon presently after the death of King *D. Alphonso*, *D. Pedro* his brother assembled the Noblemen and Deputies of the Townes at Sarragossa, to consulte least the Realme should receiue some preiudice, during the absence of the king *Don Iames* his elder brother: thither came *Don Symon* of Vitea, *Bernard William Entenza*, *Pedro Cornes*, *Philippes Fernandes de Castro*, *Athou de Foset*, *John Ximenes* of Vitea, *Sancho Antillas*, *Artal* and *Blasco* of Alagon breethren, *Lope Perence*, *Pedro Martinez*, *Roderigo Ximenes de Luna*, *Gombald Entenza* and others. The king being arriued at Sarragossa, hee was there receiued and crowned, hauing sworn and promised the obseruation of the rights and priuileges of the Country: protesting that hee tooke possession of his fathers kingdom, belonging vnto him by right, as the elder, and not as an increase by reason of his brothers death, the which hee declared, to the end he might keepe his interest to the Realme *D* of Sicile, against his brother *Don Frederick*, who murmured, that the intention of the deceased king was to leaue him this Iland for his portion, being discontented at the peace concluded with *Charles* king of Naples and the French: the which *D. Iames* desired might take place, confirming it as soone as he came to the crowne, seeking by all meane to haue peace with the French, but especially with the Sea of Rome, held at that time by *Boniface* the 8. who then did much fauour the French king.

*Peace concluded betwixt the French & Arragon.*

*13* By the meanes of Pope *Boniface* the eight a small accord was made, about the coming of *Don Iames* to the Crowne of Arragon, with *Charles* king of Naples, the King *Don Iames* promising to deliuer his children, who were detayned in Cattelogne for Hostages: and moreouer to marry one of his daughters called *Blanche*, and to quit him the Realme of Sicile, which was but a charge or losse to Arragon. The Pope and king *Charles* for their parts, promised to procure *Charles* of Vallois to relinquish the right which hee might pretend in Cattelogne, by the Inuestiture made vnto him by Pope *Martin* the 4. for the accomplishing of which accord King *Charles* stayed some time in France, and also by Commission from the same Pope to mediate a peace betwixt France and England: but returning into Italy, and thinking to haue free possession of Italy, hee found that *Don Frederick*, brother to the king *Don Iames* of Arragon, had seized thereon, by reason whereof there began a more violent warre then before. The Pope hauing cited the two breethren of Arragon, *Don Iames* came to Rome, and purged himselfe by oath, that he was ignorant of his brothers enterprise, offering to king *Charles* (who was present) *E* ayde to recouer the Iland: wherevpon they continued friends. Thither also came queene *Constance*, widow to *Don Pedro*, and *Roger de Loria* the Admirall, who were much honoured by king *Charles*, intertaining *Roger* into his seruice.

*Frederick of Arragon seized upon Sicile.*

*14* The king *D. Iames* was made Standard-bearer of the Church by the Pope, who moreouer did inuest him in the Ilands of Corfica and Sardinia, which were held by the *Pisans*.

*Robert Sans to K. Charles put to rout the Sicilians.*

*D. Frederick  
put to route by  
the French.*

*Roberts sonne  
in King Charles  
put to route by  
the Sicilians.*

Pisans and Geneuoi: vpon condition, that he should conquer them by armes at his own charge, and a certaine rent, which (some say) was two thousand markes of silver to the Church of Rome, with other burthenfome conditions. According to the offer which the king of Arragon had made vnto king *Charles*, he gaue him thirty gallies, with the which hauing ioyned his fleet of forty gallies, whereof *Roger de Loria* was Admirall, they sailed all towards Sicile, and hauing incountred *D. Frederick* with 60. gallies, commanded by *Frederick d'Orta* a Geneuoi, they gaue them battell, put them to route, took 22. gallies, and about 6000. prisoners, and if the Cattelans, who tooke part with *Charles*, had not made way, to giue *D. Frederick* meanes to escape, he had bene also taken. *Roger de Loria* was deuiued of his goods in the lland of Sicile, and condemned as guilty of high treason. Don *Frederick* saued himselfe in Cattelogne, where he did somewhat repaire his forces, and then returned to Messina. There hee found that the Sicilians had had their reuenge vpon the French, for they had fought with them, and taken *Iohn de Loria*, nephew to *Roger*, with sixteene gallies, and had cut off his head as a rebell, which caused *Roger* to shew himselfe cruell vnto his prisoners. Afterwards king *Charles* hauing sent *Robert* his third sonne with commission into the lland, and hauing taken Cattanea, as he reloted to go and meet with a fleet of 60. Gallies, which *Philip* Prince of Tarentum, his brother did leade the Sicilians, vnderstanding that *Roberts* gallies were in the port of Cattanea, vnmanned, went and assailed them, tooke some, and disperst the rest in the view of *Philip*, against whom hauing directed their prowes, they also gaue battell to his 60. gallies, whom they put to route, tooke him prisoner, and carried him to Palermo: wherefore *Robert* their king after these two routes, thinking that he should not be safe in Sicile, abandoned Cattanea, and returned to Naples. Whilest these contended for Sicile, the King *D. James* did quietly enjoy his Estates of Arragon, hauing in the year 1295. made a new league with the Kings of France, Portugal, and Granado, against the new King of Castile in fauour of *D. Alphonso de la Cerde*, the titularie king of that Realme.

### D. Fernand, or Ferdinand the 4. of that name, 12. king of Castile, 33. of Leon.

*Castile.*

IT is a scourge greatly to be feared, with the which God (being displeased) doth punish nations, when he giues them children for Princes, and women for Governours: for the young age and weakke sexe being alwaies little respected, and these instruments easie to gouerne by flatterers, and to be terrified by the violent, wee haue alwaies scene in such raignes, Maistie in contempt, Iustice troden vnder foot, the people oppress, the good reuoyled, Truth banished, and the Country in prey to their neighbors. *D. Fernand* of Castile being a child, the year 1295. when his father *D. Sancho* dyed, the gouernment of him, and of his Realme by the will of the deceased King, should remaine in the hands of the Queene *D. Mary* his mother. A little before *D. Henry* his great vncke was come into Spaine, who hauing bene chased out of the country for his turbulent spirit, during the raigne of *Don Fernand* the third had runne through many countries, both Christians and Infidels, and tryed diuers conditions: so as after many yeares he brought backe into Spaine the same qualities which had expelled him, yea far worse: by whose aduice the Queene was forced to gouerne herselfe, so as in effect he was Regent himselfe, which the Earle *D. Iohn Nunez de Lara*, and his brother *D. Nugno Goncalves* did enuie. Besides the Noblemen who during the life of the deceased king were out of the Realme, hoping in this new raigne to be restored, through the fauour of their partisans and friends, were now returned, which did not a little trouble the Queene mother, who for these considerations was forced to giue *D. Henry* great authority against her will. *D. Diego Lope Diaz de Haro* had vsurped the authoritie in the ancient patrimonie of his house of Biscay, and there were newes that the Infant *D. Iohn* came out of Affricke, to contend for the kingdome: Besides, that on the other side *D. Alphonso de la Cerde*, fauoured by the forces of Arragon, France, and Nauarre, carried himselfe openly for king of Castile.

*D. Alphonso de  
la Cerde, and  
D. Iohn of  
Castile, sent  
for the reuoc.*

Not.

Notwithstanding all these crosses and dangers, this Princeesse who was of a great courage, caused *Don Fernand* her sonne to be proclaimed and crowned King of Castile, Leon, and other lands depending in the city of Toledo, writing vnto the Noblemen and Prouinces to acknowledge and receiue him: and to the end they should doe it the more willingly, she did release them of a tribute called *Sica*, which the deceased king, being prest with great necessitie, had imposed. In the beginning no man refused it, but the Noblemen mentioned bred such a confusion, as she had almost sunke vnder the burthen. *D. Henry* to settle his authoritie of Regent, which he sayd did belong vnto him, stirred vp the townes of Castile to open rebellion, so as the Queene mother and her sonne being come to Vaileadolid, where she had called an assembly of the Estates, they shut the gates against them, and caused them to stay without vntill night: neither would they then suffer such as had accompanied them to enter, but onely she, her sonne, their Officers and household seruants. Don *Henry* came thither, who hauing scarce saluted the Queene, he began to perswade her to end this dangerous warre, and to disperse the conspiracie of so many Princes against her and her sonne by her marriage with *Don Pedro* of Arragon, to whom this Princeesse gaue a couragious and sharpe answer, reiecting this marriage as vnfit and pernicious.

*Troubles raised  
by D. Henry*

The Infant *Don Iohn* the Kings vncke, being arriuied in Granado, came to Extremadura, and seized vpon the towne of Pont, or Alcantara, and then entred into Portugal, where by the fauor of the King *Don Denis*, he tooke vpon him the title of King of Castile, both of them writing to the Inhabitants of the frontier, that they should hold him for their Prince and Soueraigne Lord: and *Don Denis* not content herewith, sent to proclaime warre against the Queene *D. Maria*, and *Don Henry*. The wife Queene mother withstood all these dangers, and prevented them as well as she could, yielding to the malice of the time, resisting foine, and giuing contentment to others, with the least prejudice she could.

The king of Portugal came to Cite Roderigo, whereas the afflicted Queene mother with her sonne and puple were, and there they did in some sort renew their old allyances: they imposed silence to the Infant *Don Iohn*, who seemed to relinquish: and they did againe conclude a future marriage betwixt the king *Don Fernand*, and *D. Constance* Infanta of Portugal.

To these intestine troubles, were added the enterprises of the Nauarrois and Arragonois, who led by *Alphonso de la Cerde*, calling himselfe King of Castile, entred the country by *S. Estuan de Gormas*, and passing vnto Leon, hee was there received without any difficultie. There *Don Iohn*, who was rebelled againe, caused himselfe to be crowned king of Leon, diuiding betwixt them the Realmes of Spaine: so as *Don Alphonso* should be king of Castile, Toledo, Cordoua, Murcia, and Jaen: and the Infant *Don Iohn* of Leon, Galicia, Extremadura and Seuille. Into this confederacie entred the Kings of Arragon, Portugal, Granado, and the Queene *D. Violant*, widow to the king *Don Alphonso*, with whom there also ioyned *Philip* of France and Nauarre, with many Noblemen and Knights of the Countie: in all whose names *Don James*, king of Arragon, had sent to proclaime warre against the Queene *D. Maria* and her sonne *Don Fernand*, in the year 1269. so as there was a pittifull reuolt in all parts of Spaine: these afflicted Princes, mother and sonne, hauing no entrance into any towne without great difficultie. After this inuasion of Leon, the Nauarrois and Arragonois led by *D. Alphonso*, entred into Sahagun, where they crowned him king of Castile, and tooke Villagarcia, Tordeillas, Medina del Riosecco, la Mora, Villa Fafila, with many other places and forts.

*D. Alphonso de  
la Cerde, king  
of Castile.*

*Confederacy  
against the  
king of Castile.*

Notwithstanding being at the seige of Maiorga, a place distant fve leagues from Sahagun, he continued there three moneths, and finding no man to make resistance, God shewed his power, for the plague falling in the Nauarrois and the Arragonois Campe, they were forced to rayle their seige, and make a truce with the Queene widow to return home, who being oppress with infinit miseries, without counsell, ayde, or support, not onely made a truce, but also sent them linnen, carpets, and such like things, to the end they might carry away the bodies of many Noblemen and Knights which were dead of this contagion, the more honorably, among the which were the Infant *D. Pedro* of Arragon, *Don Symon* of Vireia, and *Reymond Anglesol* Arragonois, giuing commandement that

*Plague in Don  
Alphonso de la  
Cerde's campe.*

*Infant of Castile by the King of Granada.*

that they should suffer them to carry them away without any let or hinderance. Thus some retired into Nauarre, and others into Arragon. The king D. James on the other side, being entred by the frontiers of Murcia, had conquered the greatest part of that kingdom. Hee of Portugal, notwithstanding the conference and league made at Cite Roderigo, showed himselfe in armes vpon the frontier, and had spoiled the countie vnto Simanca, and neere to Vailelolin, where being aduertised of the Nauarrois retreat, hee returned also, hauing taken most of the places of Alfajates and Sabugal, with some others about those quarters: but the king of Granada thinking to effect some great matter in Andalusia, was repulld by D. *Alphonso Perez de Guzman* Gouvernor of that Prouince.

16 During these warres, many Iewes moued with feare more then with deuotion, turned to the Christian Religion in Spaine, where they had dwellings & Synagogues almost in all the good townes. The occasion was, that in the city of Auila, there rose vpon a certaine man of the Iewish nation, who tearmed himselfe a Prophet, with whom another of the town of Aillon, thrust on with the like spirit, did ioyne: who telling of many secret reuelations, prophesied vnto the Iewes that the time of their deliuerance did approach. The authority of these two personages, well knowne, was not little among them, and therefore they were easily credited; and the rather, for that they did accompany their preachings and discourses, with modestie, grauitie, and holinesse in their outward behaviour: so as these newes running throughout all Spaine, the people gaue themselves to prayers, fasting, almes, and all other commendable good workes, attending the day of their redemption, the which was foretold them by these Prophets, and appointed the last day of the fourth moneth: on the which (sayd they) should appeare many signes in heauen, with a loud sound of a trumpet. Thus hauing past the time in great repentance, feare and terrour, vnto that day, they were throughout all the townes, early in the morning, all attired in white before their Synagogues, as they are accustomed to do the day of their expiation, to pray vnto God to see those celestiall signes, and to receiue their Messias: but seeing nothing, they returned to their houses, whither being come, as they say, there appeared many crosse on the walles, and vpon their garments, whereof some made good vse, thinking it came from our Sauour Iesus Christ, who reprooued their hardness of heart: and therefore acknowledging the error wherein they had liued, receiued the holy baptism; among the which was a great Phisition called *Alphonso*, who did afterwards write against the Iewes obstinacie. Others persisting in their impietie, did beleue that these crosse were illusions of the diuell to deceiue them.

The storme wherewith Castile had beene beaten from Nauarre, Arragon, Portugal, Granado, and her owne rebels, being somewhat pacified, the Queene-mother ledde an armie into the country of Leon, whereas the Infant D. *John* reigned, and beseged *Paredes*: and on the other side D. *Henry* went to the frontiers of Granada, where hee was defeated and put to flight, and without the speedie assistance of *Alphonso Perez de Guzman*, he had beene taken. This losse which did much preiudice the Realme of Castile was accompanied with combustions and praefises, which Don *Henry* made, to the hurt of the king Don *Fernand*, in the city of Toledo, and the Diocesse of Auila and Segobia, where hauing gathered some troupes together, he marched to the campe before *Paredes*, and wrought so, as he made them raise the sege, vnder colour of holding a Parliament which was called at Vailelolin and in the meane time he sought vnderhand to corrupt the Deputies of townes and commonalties, and of the other orders of the countie, to the preiudice of Don *Fernand*. The Queene D. *Maria* preuented all these disorders, which were not hidden from her, but with great paine, seeking to content Don *Henry*. During these garboiles, they had newes, that the Nauarrois breaking the truce, had seized vpon the Iusticie of the citie of Nagera, a place strong by nature, the which they fortified, saying, that they held it in the name of the Infant Don *Alphonso de la Cerde*, whome they called king of Castile, and as they would haue gone on along the riuer of Oja, they were repulld by Don *John Alphonso de Hara*, who beseged them in the Iusticie, and prest them in such sort, as they were forced to leaue it, and to yeeld: this was in the year 1297, when as the kingdom of Nauar was gouerned in the name of the King and Queene of France by *Alphonso de Renay*.

*Alphonso de Renay Gouvernor of Nauar.*  
An. 1297.

At

A At which time Don *James* king of Arragon was in Italy, where the peace made in the year 1295, betwixt him, the king of Naples, and the French king, was renewed and confirmed in the towne of Anania, in the presence of Pope *Boniface*, and the better to confirme the friendship betwixt these Princes, the king of Nauarre yielded vp the townes of Lerda, Vlsiterra and Saueterre vnto the king Don *James*, being taken from the Crowne of Arragon: so as for this cause, the peace and amity betwixt Nauarre and Arragon was firme and vnited against Castile. By these treaties the fort of Albarazin was yielded vnto D. *John de Lara*, to entertaine him, and was taken from D. *Fernand* bastard brother to the king Don *James*, as if it had beene vniuilly taken from the father of Don *John*, who did homage to the king of Arragon.

B The widow Queene of Castile seeking by all meanes to preferue her sonnes Realme from so many imminent dangers, renewed againe the treatie of mariage betwixt him and the Infanta D. *Constance* of Portugal, in the towne of Alcaniz, whether the Infanta was brought by the king her father, and accorded for a future spouse vnto the young king D. *Fernand*, and to make a more strict League of friendship, the King D. *Denis* concluded a marriage betwixt D. *Beatrice* Infanta of Castile, and his eldest sonne D. *Alphonso*, who was then but eight yeares old. These marriages were made with great disaduantage for the king of Castile, for the conuentions made in consideration thereof, were these. That the king of Portugal should hold in pawne Oliuencia, Conguela, Campo Moya, and S. Felix de los Gallegos, places belonging to the Crowne of Castile. Then did the king D. *Denis* renounce the league which he had with the Infant Don *John*, who reigned in Leon, and gaue vnto the widow-Queene three hundred horse to go against him, but they returned loone after, hauing not done any thing. The Infant Don *Alphonso de la Cerde* on the other side seized on the towne of Almagar, and the troupes of Don *John Nugnes*, and of the Infant Don *John* had almost surprized *Siguencia*; who finding themselves in great want of siluer, coyned great store of false money, vnder the stamp of the king Don *Fernand*, and did many other acts which were not commendable, the which necessity, and ambitious obstinacy do force men vnto: so as D. *Denis* king of Portugal, at the instance of the widow and the young King, entred into Castile by Cite Roderigo, in shew to make warre against the Rebels, but it was all counterfeite: for the effects did shew he came more to fauour them then otherwise: whatsoever it were, hee did no act of an enemy against them, but propounded some conditions of peace, fauourable for them; being of opinion, that to retire the Infant Don *John* from his pursute, and to draw him to the king Don *Fernand* seruice, they should grant the Realme of Galicia to him and his for euer, and that of Leon for his life time, the which being disliked by the Councell of Castile, the king of Portugal grew thereat discontent, and so returned into his countie: after which the Rebels tooke heart, and it was the cause of a new reuolt of many knights and townes, and protestations of others to do the like, if they did not what they demanded: wherefore the Queene D. *Maria* and her Councell, were forced to yeeld to many vnworthy things, and was rather gouerned with her sonne and her Councell, by her subjects, then she did gouerne them.

To this was added a new care which came from Nauarre, where as *Alphonso de Roled* *Nauarre*, An. 1300, was Gouvernor in the year 1300, who sent an Ambassador into Castile, in the name of king *Philip* the Faire, and D. *Jeanne* his wife, Queene proprietarie of Nauarre, to demand the lands and ancient patrimonie of the Crowne of Nauarre, vlturped by the precedent kings of Castile, extending from the limits which were then betwixt the two kingdoms, vnto Atapuerca, and places neere vnto the citie of Burgos, which Ambassadour being a knight of Nauarre, was sent backe to the Queene D. *Maria* and her Councell, with the best words they could giue him. The French king was then much troubled with the Flemings of Bruges and others, by whom he had receiued a notable route, with the death of many Noblemen: among the which were *Robert* Earle of Artois, *Renald* of Nesle Constable of France, and about two hundred men of esteeme. The Ambassadour being returned, the Gouverneur held a Councell with the Infant D. *Alphonso de la Cerde*, D. *John Nugnes de Lara*, and other enemies to the king of Castile, at a place called Duegnas, where they resolved to send D. *John Nugnes* vnto King *Philip*, with other Ambassadors,

to



to the end he should authorize the promises made in this assembly, to ayde one another A to conquer the lands of the river of Oja for the Crowne of Nauarre, and the Realme of Castile, for the Infant D. *Alphonso de la Cerde*. These Ambassadors were well received in the Court of France, and present dispatches were made, with approbation of all that had bene done, the king writing vnto the gouernor, that he should giue all ayde and assistance to them that were fled out of Castile against the King D. *Fernand*.

Castile.

Foundation of Bilbao.

17 At that time we find, that the towne of Bilbao was built by Don *Diego Lopez de Haro*, who had made his peace with the young King Don *Fernand*, and did enioy Biscay. This place is built vpon a river called in the country language Ybay cabal, which signifieth Great-river: for it is the greatest in all these quarters, and that it is the river which was anciently called Neruium, very nauigable, the which falls into the sea at Portugalette, two leagues from Bilbao. This towne retained the name of a little hamlet neere vnto it so called as that time, but they now call it Bilbao the old, to make difference betwixt it and the towne, where there is at this day as good trafficke for the Northerne parts, as at any vppon that coast. It was first peopled by men borne thereabout. Beyond that towne the Bascangado language is no more in vse, which they will haue to be the ancient Cantabria.

In the assembly of Vaileddolit, the Queen D. *Maria* had obtained great summes of money from some of the townes and Commonalties, to make warre against the rebels, and D. *Henry* had bene made Gouernor of the Mores frontier, who notwithstanding sought to entertaine the troubles and diuisions, wherein he tooke great delight, neither did he care if that Tariffe had fallen into the king of Granados hands. Don *John Nuygues de Lara*, being returned out of France, hee beganne to ouer-runne the Bishopricke of Calaores, with the Nauarrois and French, against whom D. *Alphonso de Haro* aduanced with some troupes leui'd in haste, and finding him in a conuenient place, he fought with him, defeated him, and tooke him prisoner, deliuering him into the hands of the Queene D. *Maria*, who hauing recovered from him all the places he held of the Crowne of Castile, and made him sweare that he should from thenceforth faithfully serue her sonne D. *Fernand*, she gaue him his libertie. In the year 1301. the King of Portugall came to Plaisance to meet with the Queene D. *Maria*, where they did treat to sue vnto the Pope for a dispensation of the marriages which they had contracted betwixt the Infants of Castile and of Portugall, conferring of the charges they must be at, not onely to obtaine these dispensations from Pope *Boniface*, but also the legitimization of the King D. *Fernand*, for that the marriage betwixt the deceased King D. *Sancho*, and D. *Maria* of Molina, had neuer bene dispensed withall. For the effecting whereof they must haue good store of doubloons: for Pope *Boniface* although he were of a Spanish race, yet would he not do any thing for them without a good fee. After the taking and composition of D. *John Nuygues de Lara*, the Infant D. *John* seeing himselfe abandoned of his best friend, reconciled himselfe vnto the widow Queene, and to the King Don *Fernand* her sonne, quiting the title of king of Leon, and all that he held in that country: and for that D. *Diego Lope de Haro* held the country of Biscay, which did belong vnto his wife D. *Maria Diaz de Haro*, hee had in recompence thereof the townes of Manilla, Paredes, Medina de Riosecco, Castro-nouo and Cabrerros: for the Councell were not of opinion, that they should discontent Don *Diego Lopez* in disposing him.

These things thus repayed, it seemed that all troubles had bene pacified within the Realme, but those which were entertained by the Infant Don *Alphonso de la Cerde*: wherefore it was resolu'd to repell him courageously, beginning by the siege of Almazan, which held for him: but D. *Henry* who desired no peace in Spaine, disappointed this enterprise, and afterwards the King of Arragon and he hauing met at Ariza; they made leagues and confederacies, without acquainting the Queene or her Councell therewith. The King of Arragon tooke Lorca, both towne and castell, by the suffiance of Don *Henry* and Don *John* also. Thus was this courageous Queene oppressed with a thousand insupportable difficulties in her Gouernment and Regency, which were procured by her owne subjects, besides the feare she had of forraigne enemies.

There was a new assembly of estates called at Burgos, and afterwards continued at Zamora.

A Zamora, where there were granted a subuention of great summes of money for the war; and also for the dispensations which they demanded from the Pope, who by that meanes granted them, and they were published. The Infants D. *Henry*, and D. *John* being still discontented, did soone begin to make new practises, to diuide the king and his mother, whose wisdom and iudgement did displease them. The Queene being at Burgos, there came other Ambassadors to her from the French king, to aduise her to do him reason for the lands of Nagera, the river of Oja, and others that were held by the precedent kings of Castile, otherwise they did protest in their Masters name, that he would haue recourse to armes: whereat the Queene was much perplexed, apprehending greatly the forces of such a king as Philip the Faire was. Hauing conferred with D. *Henry*, D. *John* of Castile, and D. *John Nuygues de Lara*, it was concluded with the Ambassadors, that the Queene of Castile, and the Gouernor of Nauar should meet at Victoria, where they should treat of all differences. Whilst that this poore Princeesse did labor to maintaine her sons estate, the Noblemen about-named carried away the king to Leon, and did separate him from her: neither was there any thing concluded at the interview of Victoria, for the great differences of either part.

The king D. *James* sent a knight vnto D. *Maria* Queene of Castile being at Victoria, to tell her, that if she would be a meane, that he might hold the towne of Alicante without any controuersie, he would restore all that he had taken in the Realme of Murcia: wherunto the would not consent: for hauing (like a Lady of iudgement) intelligence what was done by her neighbours, she did not now so much feare the king of Arragon as shee had done, seeing him in trouble with his Nobility, by reason of a tribute which he had imposed as well vpon the Nobility as the rest of his Realme, called *Selga*: wherefore she sought to haue intelligence with the malcontents of Arragon, to intertaine and augment these diuisions. About this time dyed the Queene D. *Constance*, mother to the king D. *James* and D. *Frederick* at Barcelona.

The Queene-mother of Castile hearing the wrong they had done her, in carrying away her son, she came with all speed to Vaileddolit, and to disappoint her aduersaries despoys, she sent vnto the king of Portugall, to effect the marriage betwixt the king her son, and the Infanta D. *Constance*, that by this means the might get from him the places which he held in pawne of the Crowne of Castile, wherunto the Portugais yielded. But they which held the young king D. *Fernand*, desirous to entertaine the king of Portugals fauor, to the end they might be supported by him in their tyrannies, aduised him not to yeeld vpon any thing, promising that the marriage (should be accomplished when he pleased: whereat he was very glad, and stayed not long to put the married couple together, but did not giue vp the townes. Hereupon the king D. *Fernand* called an assembly of the Estates at Medina del campo, whither the Deputies would not come, without the expresse commandement of the Queene-mother, but she appointed them to go, promising to be there her selfe. The Deputies made great complaints, that the kings person was detained by the Infant D. *John*, and D. *John de Lara*. They for their part objected many things against the Queen: In the mean time the king being practised by his mother, stole from the knights which had debauched him, and followed her, holding the way to Burgos, but as he was young and inconstant, before they came vnto the city, he abandoned her, and D. *Henry*, who was newly made great Master, and returned with the others; by reason whereof there was much dispute. The Queene bearing and dissembling all, being wife, and excusing her sons youth, who went to winter at Leon.

Whilst these things were in question, *Mahomet Myr king* of Granado, hauing alwaies entertained the friendship of the seditious Prince D. *Henry* of Castile, by rare & continual presents, after that he had tryed all meanes to recouer Tariffa, in the which D. *Henry* had alwaies fauored him, propounding it in the open Estates, and aduising them to yeeld it vnto him: but seeing he could not preuaile by these meanes, he vfed open force, assailing Andalusia, which was neere vnto him, and laying siege to Alcaudete, the which hee tooke thinking to do the like at Baena: *Alphonso Peres* of Saavedra was Captaine of the castell, and D. *Fernand* *Alphonso* of Cordoua, *Payo Arias*, *John Martines* of Argote, and others, being in garrison in the towne, he was repulst, and forced to returne into Granado:

An. 1302.

But soone after hearing that the towne of Jaen was not well manned, and that a peece of A the wall was fallen, he came with greater forces, and gaue a furious assault, so as many good souldiers dyed in the defence thereof: and among them *Henry Perez* of Arana, a Knight of a noble house, yet it was preferred from the iurie of the Moores: and king *Mahumet* seeing he could not take it, went to *Quesada*, the which hee forced. This king of the Moores was strictly allyed, and a great friend to *D. James* king of Arragon, to whom he had promised to ayde *Don Alphonso de la Cerde* with all his meanes to recover the Realme of Castile, demanding for his part of the conquest of Tariffe, Medina Sidonia, Alala and Bejar, which were wont to belong to the Crowne of Granado, the which was granted, but he did not see it effected, for he dyed in the yeare 1302. the thirtieth yeare of his raigne, and of the Arabians 685. In whole place reigned his sonne *Mahumet* the third called *Aben Alhamar*, or *Alamir Aben-Azar*. About that time dyed *Raymond* that great Philosopher, (yet had he no great learning, but in opinion) he was borne in the Iland of Maiorca, and in his younger yeares was a merchant. Becing wearie of the world, he retired into the desert, and there composed that brieue Art, or abridgement of diuine and humane sciences, whereby they haue beleueed that men in an instant might become very learned: the which (he sayd) he had by reuelation. He was religious, and thinking to draw the *Mahumetists* to the knowledge of Iesus Christ, he past into Africke, where preaching the faith with an inconsiderate zeale, he was stoned by the Moores. Notwithstanding his writings being examined and censured some yeares after his death, by the Iudgement of *Aimeric* a lacobin, and other Inquisitours Spaniards, they were condemned by Pope *Gregory*, sitting at Aunyon, as dangerous and full of ill doctrine, contrary to her faith.

cañila.

Entrevue of  
the kings of Cas-  
tile and Por-  
tugall.

18.

An. 1304.

The king of Castile, becing (as he thought) at libertie, for that he was from his mother desired to confer with *D. Denis* king of Portugall his father-in-law, the which the Queene *D. Maria*, *D. Henry*, and *D. Diego Lopes de Haro* fought by all meanes to hinder, but they could not: for these two kings met at Badajos. The apparent colour of this interview was, that the king *D. Fernand* had of his father-in-law a present of a million of Maratidis of money current in those times; but what was treated in secret was suspected to *D. Henry*, to *Diego Lopes de Haro*, and euen to *D. John Manuel*, son to the Infant *Manuel* with others, who fearing lest they should plot something against them, made a league with the king of Arragon, and *D. Alphonso de la Cerde*, and would haue comprehended the Queene-mother in their league, but she refused it, and gaue good reasons for her excuse: wherefore they reuealed the Infant *D. Alphonso de la Cerde* for king of Castile, the which the Queene seeking to hinder, she laboured in vaine, and retired to Medina del campo, the Inhabitants of which towne were faithfull to her sonne. Thereupon, being in the yeare 1304. *Don Henry*, who was very old, dyed, whose inconstant and turbulent spirit had troubled both himself and others, and so this league vanished: he was buried in the church of Saint Francis at Valledoliz. This death did much content the king, who was then at Cordoua, and hauing there settled his affaires with the new king of Granado, who made a league with him vpon the same conditions, and paying the same tribute which his father had done, he departed, leauing *D. John Nages de Lara* for Gouernor general of the frontier, diuiding all the goods and possessions which *D. Henry* had held among his Knights, whereof a good part fell to *D. John Nages*, although the king loued him liue, but he feared him. The Queene-mother was then forced to follow his humors, yet he did all things for his profit and good. By her meanes *D. Diego Lopes de Haro* reconciled himselfe vnto him. But there fell out another contention betwixt *D. Diego* and the Infant *D. John*, who notwithstanding any accord that had bene made, would haue the Countie of Biscay, which did belong vnto him in the right of his wife. The Queene and the Noblemen of this Councell fought to pacifie them, but not able to do it, they stayed the decision of this controversie, to end matters more important to the realm, with the king of Arragon, and the Infant *D. Alphonso de la Cerde*: for the one held in a manner all the Realme of Murcia, and the other invited himselfe still king of Castile: for the which *Don John* of Castile was sent to the king of Arragon, to take some good course with him, to end their pretensions and quarrels, who prevailed so, as the king of Arragon put that which concerned him.

A himselfe to compromise, choosing for Arbitrators the King of Portugall, who had married his sister *Donna Isabel*, the same *Don John*, and the Bishop of Saragossa. The Infant *Don Alphonso* content in like manner that his right should be friendly decided, did choose and elect for Arbitrators, the kings of Arragon and Portugall, and the same *Don John*: the which, the King *Don Fernand* did willingly allow of, but not the Queene his Mother, who did fore-see, that the end of this compromise would fall out to her sonnes prejudice.

Compromise be-  
twixt the chri-  
stian Princes  
of Spaine.

This election of Arbitrators signified to the King of Portugall, and accepted by him, hee went to Tarassone in Arragon, passing by Medina del Campo, from whence the King *Don Fernand* did accompany him vnto Soria. To Tarassone there also came B the King of Arragon, *Don John*, and the Bishop of Saragossa, who imploved themselves to examine the rights and pretensions of the parties, whilst that the King *Don Fernand*, and the Queene his Mother, attended their sentence in Agreda. In regard of the Realme of Murcia, the King of Portugall, *Don John*, and the Bishop did pronounce: That the riuer of Segura should make the separation betwixt the Lands of Murcia and Valencia, so as that which is to the South of Murcia, should be of the Iurisdiction of *Don Fernand*: and from the sayd riuer towards Valencia, should belong to the King of Arragon: so as *Don James* did not onely get the towne of Alicante, which hee had demanded, but also many other places.

As for the differences betwixt the king *Don Fernand*, and *Don Alphonso de la Cerde*, which were greater, for that *Don Alphonso* pretended the whole Realme of Castile to belong lawfully vnto him, it was iudged and arbitrated by the kings of Arragon and Portugall: That for the right and interest which the sayd *Don Alphonso* pretended, by an arbitrarie sentence pronounced vpon the pretension of *Don Alphonso de la Cerde*, the king *Don Fernand* should gree and surrender vnto him the places which follow: Alba de Tormes, Bejar, Val de Corneja, Gibraltar, Gargantaolla, Torremenga, Passaron, el Reall de Mancanars, Algaua, Mont de la Greda de Magan, the Towne of Sarria, with the appurtenances thereunto adjacent, Monçon, Lemos, Robayna Aliadra, Almonia, Canall, and la Barka Estercolina, Torre Blanca, Rodo Eledia, Hornacuelos, las Hazennas of Corduba, the D Royall right and inheritance of Bonilla, with the appurtenances thereunto belonging, Colmenar of Sepulveda, and Aldea maior, with Sal de Campos, Vencos, Gatón, Ferran, Moliellas, the Salt-pits of Rubio, Belbimbre, Castro Caluon, the Port of Vizagra of the Cittie of Toledo, and the Martinengas of Madrid, and of Medina del campo.

All these fore-mentioned places were adiudged and giuen by the Arbitrators, to the Infant *Don Alphonso*, into the possession whereof, hee should (without any opposed contradiction) bee actually put and inuested by the king *Don Fernand*, by our Lady day (otherwise called the Natiuite of the blessed Virgin *Mary*) in September following: and in consideration thereof, the Infant *Don Alphonso* should no more intitle himselfe king of Castile and Leon, nor carrie the armes quartered of Castile and Leon, as hee had done before, and continued it to that present day: and hee should deliuer vp, and surrender vnto the king *Don Fernand*, the Towne of Almazan with the appurtenances adiacent, and some other places which hee had taken during the warre.

This arbitrarie sentence was giuen and pronounced by the Arbitrators in the yeare one thousand, three hundred and foure, whereunto were added and annexed great penalties and forfeitures to the partie that should infringe or violate the same: at the which were present *Don Raymond* Bishop of Valencia, *Don Martin* Bishop of Lisbon, the Bishop of Huesca, and the Bishop of Cordoua: *Don John* Officer Master of the F knights of Saint James, *John Xamen*, *Diego Gonçales* Secretarie of Tarassone, *Gonçalo Gonçales*, *Raymond Altar* of Aguilar, *Pero Lopes* of Padilla, *Fernand Gutierrez* of Quixada, *Gonçalo Diaz* de Canallor, *Lope Garcia* of Hermosilla, *Martin Fernandez*, *Perto Carrero*, *Alphonso Perez* of Sauedra, *Sancho Ruiz* of Escalante: moreover, there were also present at that time, *Ysaïas Peres* of Leyua, *Stephen Peres* of Auila, *Lope*

*Perez* of Burgos, with many other Noblemen and Knights; and it was written and signed by *Andrew Perez* of Corbera, publique Notarie of Tarrassone. In this last sentence *D. Iohn* was no Judge, but Agent and Attorney for the king *D. Fernand*, in whose name hee yielded. As for the Infant *D. Alphonso*, what shew sooner he made, he was nothing pleased, as it will appeare by the event. The kings having bene some daies together as well at Tarrassone, as at Agreda, parted good friends.

These matters being ended they resolved to determine the controuersie betwixt the Infant *D. Iohn*, and *Don Diego Lopes de Haro*: to which end *D. Diego* was cited to come to Court, which was then at Medina del Campo, to answer to the demands of *Don Iohn* and of his wife *D. Maria Diaz de Haro*, heire proprietarie of Biscay: *D. Diego* would not plead in the Court of Leon, but he appeared in that of Castile, which gaue ninety dayes B respite to the defender, notwithstanding if he let the thirtieth day passe and did not present himselfe, or giue a lawfull excuse, they might seaze vpon their sheepe, oxen, cowes, and swine, and eate them, tying the feete against the walles and trees, in signe of the demands possession.

*Don Diego* appeared, and pleaded for his defence, that considering the accords and transactions made heretofore, betwixt him, *Don Iohn*, and *Donna Maria* his wife, by the which they had yielded vnto him the possession of the Segneurie of Biscay, in regard of the recompences which they had receiued, wherewith they were contented, and had sworne and confirmed it by oath: they were now fallen from all the right they could pretend to the sayd Segneurie, and the dependances. The cause being pleaded of either side, with allegations of maine reason, they were referred to counsell: and in the C meane time, the Queene *D. Maria* foreseeing some new trouble, laboured by all meanes to accord them, or to vndergo an arbitrarie and friendly sentence: but *Don Diego Lopes* would not yeeld thereunto, but departed without the King or Queenes priuitee, and returned into Biscay, the which was very ill taken. The assembly being ended, the king came to Vaileadolid, where he was so importuned by the Infant *Don Iohn*, as he pronounced sentence, by the aduice of his Councell, contayning, That *D. Iohn* and his wife *Donna Maria Diaz* should be put in possession of Biscay: yet he did suspend the execution of the sentence, thinking that *Don Diego* would grow thereby more tractable: but he was resolved to hold his Segneurie: so the king seeing his obstinacie, would haue dismembred D the country of Guipulcoa from his Crowne, to giue it to his vnkle in recompence: wherunto he yielded, to end all quarrels: but *D. Maria Diaz de Haro* being obstinate, sayd resolutely, that she demanded nothing of another mans, and that she would neuer quire her fathers inheritance, no not if they would giue her ten times as much as the Segneurie of Biscay was worth.

Sentence giuen by the king against D. Diego Lopes de Haro.

These poursuites did so trouble and disturbe euery man, and euen *Don Iohn* himselfe, as they all thought it fit and conuenient (the King so commanding) to surcease the processe for two yeares; during the which the parties should haue truce, and not attempt any thing one against another. And for that the great loue and friendship betwixt *Don Diego Lopes de Haro*, and *Don Iohn Nuges de Lara*, was suspect vnto the king, he sought in the meane time to breede and stirre vp some ialousie and diuision betwixt them, gratifying *Don Diego* in many things, making his Sonne *Don Lopes Diaz de Haro* Lord Steward of his house, but it was not possible to diuide them: neither could *Don Diego* by any meanes bring *Don Iohn Nuges* in fauour with the king, who was resolved to make warre against him, against the opinion of the Queene his mother, and all his Councell: so as hee was forced and constrained to dislodge hastily in the night from Aranda of Duero, and came to *Don Diego Lopes* and his sonne, who altogether made a league and confederacie against the king: Whereupon there were many enterprises and encounters, without any great effect: so as being returned to Aranda, and the king not able to draw *Don Diego* from that partie, there was a day appointed to meet at Cerezo, and in the meane time a truce was made.

There *Don Alphonso Perez de Guzman* who did negotiate for the king, preuailed so with them of the league, and the Queen-mother with the king *D. Fernand* her son, who attended the resolution of this assembly in the towne of Pancoruo, that all these, that

A is to say, the Lords of Haro father and sonne, and *D. Iohn Nuges*, should remaine his seruants, and he receiued them into grace, yielding vnto them all they were wont to enjoy, and they for a gage of their faith deliuered some places in pawne. *Don Iohn* of Castile, who pursued the Seignurie of Biscay, was not pleased with this accord, wherefore he did presse the king to haue the sentence giuen by him in fauour of *D. Maria Diaz* his wife, put in execution, wherewith the king was much troubled; and both he, the Queene and others of the Councell, sought by all meanes to agree these parties contending, who were resolved to go to armes: to preuent the which, the king made many great offers vnto *Don Diego Lopes*, the which he refused: but afterwards he repented it often. There was so great labouring for a peace, and especially by the Queene-mother, as in the end they B yeelded to this composition. That *Don Diego Lopes* should, during his life, enjoy the Segneurie of Biscay, and lands belonging thereunto, and that after his decesse the possession should be giuen to *Don Iohn*, and to *D. Maria* his wife, or to their heires, except *Vrdugna*, *Val de Balmeceda*, and *S. Olalla*, which three places should remaine to *Don Lopes Diaz de Haro*, sonne to *D. Diego*: to whom moreover the king should giue for the enter-tayning of this peace, *Miranda* of Ebro, and *Vilalua* of Lofa. *D. Diego Lopes* yeelded to these conditions, to please the king though vnwillingly.

The troubles and seditions wherewith the Realme of Castile was afflicted at that time, was a plague which humane policie could not preuent: for when as one fire was quenched, another was suddenly kindled: so as these miseries continuing, men perished, the C treasures were wasted, and Christians ruined one another in these ciuill warres, giuing meanes and leysure to the Moores of Granada to assure their Estates, who furnished themselves with such store of munition, and built so many forts, towers, and castles, vpon the sea coast, as they maintained themselves for many yeres, against all the attempts of their enemies. *D. Iohn Nuges de Lara* was not pleased to see an accord made betwixt *D. Diego Lopes*, and the Infant *D. Iohn* of Castile: wherefore he retired from Court, and fortified himselfe in *Tordehumos*, where he was besegged by the king: but in the end the King was forced to giue him *Moja* and *Cagnette*, and to receiue him againe into fauour, seeing his vnkle *D. Iohn* so hinder the seerage vnder-hand, caused the Knights to disband: yet for all this they liued not long in peace, for all these feditious men, although they had many quarrels among themselves, yet they agreed in this point, to keepe the Realme in D perpetuall combustion. The Infant *D. Iohn*, and *D. Iohn Nuges* did afterwards make a league against the king, vpon a false aduertisement, that the king meant to kill them: whereupon they troubled the State againe, so as they had great difficulty to retire the Infant *D. Iohn* from this enterprize: but as for *D. Iohn Nuges*, he continued in his rebellion, and would not come to the Estates held at Burgos, where there was question to create of the kings patrimony, and the reuenues of the Crowne, which were greatly impaired.

E

### Mahumet Aben Alhamar, the third king of Granada.

THE Moores (as I haue sayd) during these garboiles, did fortifie themselves in Granada, ouer whom reigned *Mahumet Aben Alhamar* the third king, and third of that name, by the decesse of his father *Mahumet Myr*, who at his death had left two sonnes, the which reigned one after another, and one daughter. The younger was called *Mahumet Aben-Nacar*, *Aben-Lemin*, *Aben-Adille*. King *Mahumet* during his reign was blind by an accident, his sister was married to a great knight, a Moore, called *Ferrachen*, *Aracaz*, or Captain of Malaga, who was alwaies much esteemed by the king, and honoured for his verue. This *Ferrachen* vsurped the towne of Ceuta in Affricke, and did great exploits both by sea and land. He had many children by his wife, who was Infant of Granada, among the which were *Ismael* and *Mahumet*, who reigned in Granada, so we will hereafter shew. This king *Mahumet Aben Alhamar* being blind, had from his entrance continued the war by his capitaines against the Christians, the which had begun in his fathers life time, and tooke *Bethmar* and other places, during the broyles in Castile.

Q 9 3

Wherefore

Orinda.

Wherefore for a time he exempted himselfe of the tribute, which his predecessours had payed to the kings of Castile: but the king Don *Fernand* in the year 1304. hauing as hath bene sayd renewed their League, and sent *Fernand Gomez* of Toledo his Chancelor, with a lew called *Samuel*, to Granado, to demand the tribute, where they treated a truce with *Mahumet*, whereat *Mahumet* was well pleased, and they did agree that either should enjoy the places which they had taken one from another: that is, the king of Castile *Tariffe*, and the king of Granado *Aleandete*, *Quelada*, *Bedmar* and others, and that the yearly tribute should be payed to the king of Castile. Which Articles were signed by king *Mahumet* and the Ambassadors, and afterwards confirmed by the king D. *Fernand* in the city of Cordoua, whether was sent to that end from the king of Granado, an Almagui called *Mahumet*. This truce continued about foure yeares, during the which the Moores were carefull to furnish their countrie with all things necessary, to repell the inuasions of their forraine enemies: yet had they troubles among themselues: for *Mahumet* being growne contemptible among his subiects, by reason of his blindnesse, *Aburabe* an audacious Moore, who was Gouverneur of Almeri, began to tyrannize, and to usurpe the title of King: and although he were chased away, and forced (the towne being taken) to flie into Affricke, yet he left not to call himselfe King, and would haue surprized Ceuta.

During these things, *Arnaud* of Puyane, Bishop of Pampelona, a Basque by nation, held their Synods for reformation of his Clergie, which was very needfull. Two yeares before that had bene a Synode held of many Bishops at Pegnañel, where it was decreed that Priests might keepe Concubines secretly, but not openly.

In Arragon a marriage was treated betwixt the Infant D. *Maria*, daughter to the king Don *James* and *Lewis Hutin* the eldest Sonne, and then with the Earle of Poitiers second sonne to King *Philip* the Faire, and of the Queene Don *Jeanne* his wife, but it tooke no effect. We haue sayd before, that the King Don *James*, the better to entertaine the peace which he had made with the French reigning in Naples, had promised to marrie the issue which followed: Don *James* his eldest, who was married to D. *Leonora* Infant of Castile: but hauing not touched her, he sent her home, and made himselfe a knight of the order of Saint Iohn of Hierusalem, and was afterwards Master of the order of Monteca. D. *Alphonso* his second sonne was king after him. Don *Pedro* the third, Earle of Ampurias, D. *Raymond Berenger* Earle of Prages and Ribagorça, Don *Iohn* who was Archbishoppe of Toledo, and afterwards Patriarch of Alexandria, and Arch bishop of Tarragone. Mououer D. *Constance* married to Don *Iohn Manuel* of Castile, sonne to the Infant D. *Manuel*: D. *Maria* who was wife to Don *Pedro* Infant of Castile, sonne to Don *Sancho* the 4. D. *Blanche* a religious woman, and a Prioreffe of Sixena: D. *Violant* married to the prince of Tarentum: and D. *Isabella* wife to Don *Frederick* Arch-duke of Austria: these were his lawfull children: and by his stolne loues he had a daughter, which dyed young, and Don *James* of Arragon, who hauing married the daughter and heire of Don *Lope de Luna*, was Earle of Luna.

The marriage treated betwixt D. *Maria* of Arragon, and the second sonne of France, by the meanes of Pope *Boniface*, tooke no effect, for that the conditions propounded were very preiudiciall to *Lewis Hutin*, to whom the succession of Nauarre by right belonged as the eldest, the which the Pope and the king of Arragon would haue transferred to the Earle of Poitiers, with the Earldomes of Champagne and Brie, and other lands belonging to Queene *Jeanne* their mother. This Donna *Jeanne* Queene of Nauarre, a little before her death, caused that famous Colledge of Nauarre to be built in Paris, endowing it with good rents in Champagne, as well for the entertraining of Regents, as Professors in Diuinity and Humanity, as of the chappell and Ministers thereof. The same Princeffe built the towne called Pont de la Roine in Nauarre, otherwise called *Cares*, and hauing liued in France one and thirty yeares, and neuer returned into Nauarre, she died in the year 1305. leauing *Lewis*, *Philip*, and *Charles*, who reigned in France and Nauarre successiue one after another, and *Isabel* who was Queene of England, married to Edward the second, her children. She was buried at the Franciscans in Paris. A ycare after the

Nauarre,  
Priests allowed  
to keepe concu-  
bines,  
ARRAGON.

Genealogie of  
Arragon.

Nauarre.

An. 1305.

A the decease of this Lady King *Philip* desired to make an alliance with Castile, demanding by his Ambassadors D. *Isabel*, sister to the King D. *Fernand*, but this marriage tooke no effect, for some reasons not written, some say it was three yeeres after the death of Queene *Jane*.

### Lewis Hutin the first of that name, six and twentieth King of Nauarre.

B 19 *Lewis*, sonne to King *Philip* and Donna *Jane*, surnamed *Hutin*, first of that name amongst the Kings of Nauarre, succeeded his mother in the sayd realme: he did not intitle himselfe King, vntill hee had bene crowned at Pampelone, but only the eldest sonne and heire of the Realme: his surname of *Hutin* signifies mutin or riotous, which he purchased after his comming to the crowne of France, or as some say, before, whether it were that he had bene the cause of contentions, or that hee had pacified them. The Queene death being knowne In Nauarre, the Estates assembled at Pampelone, where they refused to send Ambassadors into France, to beseech King *Philip*: to send them *Lewis* his sonne, their naturall Prince, and hauing written letters to that effect in the name of the Estates, they dispatched D. *Arnaud* of Puyana, Bishop of Pampelone, and Don *Fortun Almorauid*, who were well and honorably accompanied: who being come to the court of France, they gaue the Kings to vnderstand the great grieue the people of Nauarre had for the death of their Queene, and Soueraigne Lady: for whose consolation, they besought them that their new King *Lewis* might goe thither as soone as might bee, accompanying this extreame desire of the Nauarrois, with necessary reasons, for that they had great complaints to make of the gouernment of their Viceroys, who had gouerned the affaires of the realme, to the great preiudice thereof. Whereof the continuall absence of their soueraigne Magistrate was the cause, who could not visibly see the Estate of his country and people, but was serued by the eyes and eares of others, whose reports are commonly false, and the truth either concealed or dissembled. This request seemed iust vnto the Kings, both father and sonne: yet King *Lewis* came not into Nauarre but two yeeres after, and in the meane time hee married *Marguerite* daughter to Robert Duke of Bourgogne, with whom hee had in marriage fifty thousand Liuers in siluer, and the lands of Gyen vpon Seine: of which marriage issued *Jeanne*, who was Queene of Nauarre, married to *Philip* Earle of Eurenx, son to *Lewis* of France, by whom the Kings of Nauarre haue pretended right to the Dutchy of Bourgogne against the Kings of France: for Robert Duke of Bourgogne, father to this *Marguerite*, hauing had many children, most of them left not any heires, and their posterity which had children, failed soone, there remaying no issue of the house of Bourgogne, but that of this Lady, married to *Lewis Hutin*.

E 20 Whilst that the King of Nauarre delayed the time to come into his Realme, there were Gouvernors, or Viceroyes, after the accustomed manner. The great quarrels which had happened in France some yeeres before, betwixt King *Philip* the faire and Pope *Boniface* the eight, had caused many disorders, by reason whereof there was a great famine throughout all the realme. Pope *Boniface* had excommunicated King *Philip*, and giuen his realme in prey to him that could take it; but hee was a prey to the French, who being led by *Nogaret* of Saint Felix, and by the intelligence of *Sarra Colonne*, surprized the Pope at Anania, and intreated him to it, as soone after for rage and spight hee died at Rome: whose successor *Benedict* the eleuenth, absolved the King, his house and his realme, who held the sea but eight monethes. After whose decease there grew great factions for the election of a new Pope, so as the sea was void about tenne monethes, for that the French and Italian Cardinals, being assembled at Perugia, could not agree, who in the end concluded, that three French Cardinals should be named by the Italians, or else three Italians by the French, one of the which should be chosen Pope by the other faction.

Nauarrois send  
Ambassadors  
to the Kings of  
France and to  
Lewis Hutin  
their King.

Genealogie of  
Nauarre.

The

The Italians would needs name three French prelates, whom they knew to bee discontented and enemies to King *Philip*, among the which was the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, called *Bertrand Gor*, sonne to *Bernard*, a Basque by nation, who was chosen Pope by the French, and that at the instance of King *Philip*, who during the delay of forty daies, which had beene referred for the two parties, after the nomination, to aduise which of the three they should choofe, was aduertised of all: and they say that hee aduertised the Archbishop that he was one of the three named, and that if hee would promise and sweare vnto him to doe many things which he propounded, and among others to change the Popes sea from Italy into France, it was in his power to make him Pope. The good Archbishop desirous to attaine to that dignity, promised it, and did effect it being chosen, causing all the Cardinals and Officers of the court of Rome to come to Lions, where he was crowned in the Church of Saint Iust, that yeere 1305. There were present the French King, with many other Princes and Noblemen, and an infinite multitude of people of all sorts.

Duke of Brit-  
tany flares at  
the Kings co-  
ronation.

During the pompe of this coronation, *John Duke of Brittain* was slaine with the iune of an old wal, on the which there was a world of people to see this spectacle, and the King and Pope himselfe were in great danger. Hee was called *Clement* the fifth, who sent three Cardinals to Rome, to gouerne the city, and other places of the territories of the Church. Hee made his residence in France, for the most part in Auignon where other his successors remained for the space of fteenty yeeres, which were *Clement* the fifth, *John* the two and twentieth, *Benedict* the twelfth, *Clement* the sixth, who bought Auignon *C* of *Queene Iane*, *Innocent* the sixth, *Vrbaine* the fifth, and *Gregory* the eleventh, who returned the sea to Rome: It is called by the Italians the new transmigration, and captivity of Babilon. This Pope granted to the French King the tithes of the Clergy, for reparation of the spoiles which the warre had caused, and the right of patronage of many Churches which were vacant, to prouide Ministers and Pastors worthy of their charges. King *Lewis Hutin* did accompany his father during all the alterations, so as he could not so soone goe into his realme of Nauarre, as he desired, besides hee was very young; notwithstanding all dispatches were made in his name. After that the Kings of France had

Protection of  
Soveraignty  
in Nauarely  
the Kings of  
Castille.

An. 1306.

*Lewis King of  
Nauarre comes  
into his realme.  
An. 1307.*

vnited the crowne of Nauarre to theirs, all quarrels for precedence, which the King of Castille pretended, ceased, the which hauing in former times gotten ouer France by their great power, they now lost by the same right of a greater power, which was that of France. *Philip Earle of Poitiers*, brother to King *Lewis Hutin*, to whom the King of Arragon had fought to marry his daughter *Mary*, vpon condition that they should make him King of Nauarre, was married in the yeere 1306. to *Iane* daughter to *Othelin Earle* of Bourgongne, the marriage was celebrated at Corbeil, after the which *Lewis King* of Nauarre went vnto his realme, well accompanied with French Nobility; being at Pampelone, hee was crowned, to the ioy of his subiects, in the yeere of our Lord 1307. and then hee beganne to stile himselfe King, being about sixteene yeere of age. Hee swore to obserue the lawes and rights of the realme, and then hee went to visit the towns and places thereof, with a great concourse of his vassals and subiects, who had not so long time seene their Kings and Soueraigne Princes, to whom the King shewed himselfe milde and affable: Notwithstanding being in the towne of Estella, hee caused *D. Fortun Almorauid* and *Martin Ximenes* of Ayuar to bee put in prison, who had mouined for the preuileges of the Nobility of Nauarre, against the French Gouvernours, and had medled in the gouernment, for the preservation of the country: whereas the Nauarrois were somewhat discontented, but hee paid them with reasons, and parting out of Nauarre, to returne into France, hee carried these two prisoners with him: *D. Fortun* died in prison, but *Martin* got his liberty through the fauour of the Earle of Vallois, who notwithstanding liued not long after. Hee was followed by aboute two hundred gentlemen Nauarrois, whom hee aduanced in France, both to make them more affectionate by his bounty, and to accustom them to the manners of the French, and also to haue so many hostages, of those whom hee distrusted.

Pope Clement  
the fifth trans-  
ports the Pa-  
pal sea into  
France.

21 Pope *Clement* the fifth, hauing (as we haue sayd) done a memorable act, which did much import the Italians and other nations, to haue transported the Papal sea into France

A France vnderooke an other businesse worthy of no lesse fame, the Knights Templers being growne very rich, were by consequence insolent; they were enuied by great men, and generally hated; so as the people either moued in conscience, and desire to reforme, and roote out vice, or seeking to haue part of the spoile, in the yeere of our Lord 1308. made informations against them through al Christendome: sending word to the Bishops to make inquiry in their Bishoppiks, of their liues, manners and religion, citing them generally to appeere at a counsell which hee had called to that end at Vienne in Dauphine, in the yeere of our Lord 1310. Before and after this counsell, many of them (after informations made) being attainted and conuicted of greuous crimes of heresie, Apostasie, & other impieties, against God, nature and al good manners, great executions followed, many being conuicted were put to death by fire, and other punishments: many (whose accusations were not well verified) being cruelly tortured, confessed greuous crimes, whereof they would discharge themselves, being at their executions; and of this number was the great Maister of the Order, called *Lames Mole* of Bourgongne, many also without any confession, were put to death: wherefore the Pope hauing made a strict serch, refused to abolish this Order, and pronounced this sentence against them, in the presence of the Kings of France and Nauarre, of *Charles Earle of Vallois*, *Philip* and *Charles* brethren to *Lewis Hutin* and others. The execution of this sentence was suspended, in regard of the Knights Templers of Castille, Arragon, Majorca and Portugal, the suppression of whom the Pope referred to the disposition of the Apostolike see, to prouide according vnto reason.

An. 1308.  
Prelates for  
the abolition  
of the temple-  
rars.

Sentence given  
by the Pope as-  
gainst the  
Templars.

C Thus ended the Order of the Templers, which had continued about two hundred yeeres: a president which should be followed in other things, which hauing beene instituted to a good end, and whose beginnings were not wholly to be blamed, are since so degenerated, as the professions of Christians is made odious and abominable to other nations. In time the knights Templers of Castille, Portugal and Arragon were suppressed with the rest, being growne the more odious to all men, for that they had beene condemned by a counsell. The Knights of Saint Iohn of Ierusalem were enriched with the spoiles of these Templers, who had in the yeere of our Lord 1308. taken the Island of Rhodes, or at the least hauing beene conquered by other Christians, were put in possession by Pope *Clement* the fifth. These Rhodiens (as they were afterwards called) made profession of the order of Saint Augustine, and obtained great preuileges from the Popes, enioying this Island aboute two hundred yeeres. They had helpe to ruine the Templers, and therefore had part of the spoile. Pope *Clement* and King *Philip* the faire diuided their mouable goods betwixt them.

Hospitaliers  
enriched with  
the spoiles of  
the Templers.

22 Other Orders of holy knight-hood had their beginnings by the ruines of this, as those called of Christ in Portugal, by the deuotion and diligence of the King *D. Denis*: who assigned them rents and reuenues of the Templers Comanderies and benefices: and it was ordained that they should carry for a marke or badge, a white crosse with a red. This King of Portugal wrought so, as the knights of Saint Iames were separated and exempted from the subiection of the Maistry of Castille, wherein hee was assisted by the Apostolike Authority, who made Alcacar de Sal the chiefe place of the order of Saint Iames, the which was afterwards translated to Pamela, *D. Fernand* King of Castille seized vpon the places, townes and forts, and all the reuenues of the Templers in his country, to dispose thereof as should be thought fit.

Portugal.

Order of Christ  
in Portugal  
64.

E 23 The Order called our Lady of Montez took its beginning by the ruine of the Templers, in the realme of Valencia which is like vnto the knights of Calatrava, and vnder the Order of Cisteaux, vnto whom were rents assigned out of the Templers confiscations. This Order was afterwards confirmed by Pope *Iohn* the two and twentieth, successor to *Clement* the fifth. In the time of this *Clement*, *Robert King* of Naples sonne to *Charles* the Limping, was crowned in Auignon, being before Duke of Calabria, a great enemy of *D. Frederic King* of Sicily, of which Kingdome of Naples, we will forbear to speake, for that it concernes not the affaires of Spaine, vntill that the Arragonois were called to that crowne by *Queene Ianne* the two and twentieth, as we shall hereafter shew.

Arragon.



*Entenza*, gave a notable defeat to *Michel Paleologus*, sonne to *Andronicus* (who had A with him all the Cavallarie of Constantinople) nere to the towne of Apros in Thrace, so as *Michel* being wounded was forced to save himselfe by flight, and shut himselfe into Adrianopoli, whereas the Castellans besegged him long.

Their tort of Calipoli being afterwards assailed by *Andriol Moro* (who led *Theodore Paleologus* Marquis of Monterrat into Italy with an army) was so well defended, as there were about six hundred with their commander *Andriol* slaine there. Yet necessity in the meane time did consume these Castellans troupes being in an enemies countie, few in number and farre from all succors, so as finding themselves in extreame despeire, *D. Fernand*, Infant of Majorca, arrived happily, being sent by *D. Frederic* King of Sicile, to give them some releefe. Then was *Berenger Entenza* returned from prison, who B seeking to resume his authority of capitaine generall, against *Bernard* of Rochfort, there grew such a quarrel betwixt them and their partisans, as *Entenza* was slaine; wherefore the Infant of Majorca detesting so rash and mutinous an army left them, and thinking to returne into Sicile, fell vpon the Ile of Negrepoint, where hee was slaine and carried prisoner to Saint Omer, a fort of Athens: being put into the hands of *Gautier* of Brenne, ruling in that country.

The French  
defeated by  
the Castellans  
in Greece and  
Gautier of  
Brenne slaine.

Genealogie of  
Majorca.

Soone after *Bernard* of Rochfort and *Albert* his brother, commanding the Castellans at Calipoli, suffred themselves to be surprized by the Gouvernor of Negrepoint called *Taliband* of Sipoise, who deliuered them to *Robert* King of Naples, who caused them C to die in prison: by reason whereof the Castellans troupes beganne to ouerrunne the country like made men, without commanders, and without order, and falling vpon the country of Macedonie which was nere, they past through it like a lightning, overthrowing all they encountered, untill they came into the territorie of Athens, whereas the French commanded; slaying there they demanded to be entertained in pay by *Duke Gaullier*, but hee desirous rather to chafe away this vagabond people, who were poore and insolent, went to encounter them with his forces, to fight with them, by whom notwithstanding hee was defeated and slaine, and almost all his men. By this victory the Castellans made themselves Maistors of all that the French held in that country, and lodged themselves there, whereas since they had many commanders successfully, as *D. Manfroy* son to *D. Frederic* King of Sicile, then *D. Frederic* *Alphonso* his brother, who remained Gouvernor there, and married the daughter of *Boniface* of Verona a Nobleman of great power in Negrepoint, with others from thence is come the title of Dukes of Athens to the Princes of Arragon. *D. Fernand* Infant of Majorca being deliuered out of prison through the favour of *Robert* King of Naples, his kinsman, married *Isabel* the heire of Morea by whom he had *D. James* who was King of Majorca after *D. Sancho* his vnkle; hee tooke Clarence, and made many other conquests in Morea. *D. Fernand* to his second wife married a Princesse of Cyprus, of whom *Fernand* was borne, who was husband to *Elshine* daughter to *Hugues* King of Cyprus. After this second marriage, and the birth of this sonne, *D. Fernand* of Majorca Prince of Morea, hauing performed great matters both in the East and West, died in the floure of his age, about the yeere of our Lord 1315, so as the affaires of the Arragonois in that countrie went to ruine.

He was the third sonne of *D. James* King of Majorca the first of that name, whose posterity we haue gathered out of histories, after this manner. He had by his wife *Eldermonde* of Foix, *James* his eldest sonne, who being wholly giuen to deuotion, left the succession of the realme to his younger brother, and became a Franciscan friar. *D. Sancho* the second sonne was King after the father, in the yeere of our Lord 1312, who hauing married the daughter of *Charles* the second King of Naples, named *Marie*, had no children by her, wherefore dying, hee left the Realme of Majorca, to *Don James* sonne to his brother *D. Fernand* above named. Of this first stemme of Majorca, wee finde there issued these three Iohnes, *D. James*, *D. Sancho* and *D. Fernand*, and one daughter named *D. Sancho*, married to *Robert* Duke of Calabria; to the which some adde *D. Philip* the fourth sonne.

James.

But returning to Spaine, we finde that about the time of these last wars of Granado, whereof

A whereof wee haue newly made mention, or soone after, the Nauarrois renewed their old quarrels against them of Arragon, to whom (notwithstanding any accords) they were neuer good friends: so as going out of Pitiella, a place then of the Kingdome of Nauarre, they entred the neighbour country of Arragon, and committed great spoiles, whereas *D. James* King of Arragon being incensed, hee sent an army to beseege that place, but they were dislodged by the Inhabitants of Sanguette, a frontire towne of Nauarre, being assisted by some French troupes, who fought with them and they were defeated: The Arragonois being returned againe into Nauarre, and hauing runne as farre as the towne of Olite, and forraged the country, they were againe charged by them of Sanguette and other neighbor places, being ready to passe the riuer of Arragon, at the ford of Saint Adrian, and were there defeated with great slaughter of their men, and the losse of the Standard royal of Arragon, which they of Sanguette carried away, by reason whereof, and in remembrance of their vertue and valour, they carry for their armes, by grant from King *Lewis Hutin*, the bands gueules of Arragon, but in a field argent.

Arragonis  
defeated.

26 In the yeere of our Lord 1312, were the troubles of Lions vpon Rhofne, betwixt the Inhabitants of the towne and their Archbishop *Peter* of Bresle, by reason that he did vsurpe vpon the Kings Iustice: King *Philip* sent his sonne the King of Nauarre thither, who tooke this Prelat prisoner, and sent him to the King his father, for which cause, and for that he durst presume to lay his hands vpon an Archbishop, he was called *Hutin*, or mutin as some say. The citizens of Lion beeing pacified, they mutined againe, by reason of the differences which they had with their Archbishop, but they were lupprest, and punished by the same King of Nauar, and reduced vnder the King, his fathers obedience. It was at that time that *Marguerite* Queene of Nauar, the Countesse *Isabelle* of Poitiers & *Blanche* of la Marche, who had married the three brethren of France, *Lewis Hutin*, *Philip* and *Charles*, were accused of adultery, & put in prison at Chateau Gaillard, of the which the Countesse *Isabelle* of Poitiers, was found innocent and absolved: but *Marguerite* Queene of Nauar, and the Countesse *Blanche* being conuicted, were condemned to perpetual prison, whereas *Marguerite* died soone after: the adulterers were put to death with cruel torments: the which were *Philip* and *Gautier* of Aunoy brethren. An vther of the chamber, who serued as baud and messenger of their lous, was hanged. It is reported of this Queene of Nauar, that seeing any faire yong man passe by, shee caused him to be taken, & brought secretly at night into her chamber, & that after the had taken her dishonest pleasure with him, shee caused him to be cast into the riuer of Seyne, to the end hee should not vaunt thereof: the which was discouered by a scholler, who saved himselfe by swimming, being not wel bound. Thereof grew that ambiguous sentence, *Reginam interficere nolite timere bonum est*. This vnchastnesse is attributed by some to *Isabelle* mother to *Lewis Hutin*, Queene of Nauarre, who was a scourge to the Flemings, and the cause of all the wars betwixt the King and them.

The king *D. Fernand* about the end of the war of Granado, gaue order for the building of Saueterre, and Azpeity in Guipulcoa, granting then the rights & preuileiges of Victoria: he married his daughter *Isabel* to Duke *John* of Brittain, and made *D. John Manuel* of Castile, sonne to *D. Manuel*, Lord Steward of his house, taking that dignity from his brother *D. Pedro*, to whom in recompence he gaue Almagar and Berlanga: whereby it appeares that these offices depended on the kings pleasure. This *D. John Manuel* had two daughters, which were both Queenes, the one named *D. Isabelle*, wife to *Henry* the second King of Castile, and the other *D. Constance*, married to *D. Pedro* King of Portugal. During the marriage of Duke *John* of Brittain, and of *D. Isabel* at Burgos, the Infant *D. John* of Castile, alwaies like himself, turbulent & seditious, came nere vnto the city, accompanied with soldiars, & would not enter without assurance, the which was giuen him: yet notwithstanding the King commanded he should be taken and slaine, wherefore he advertised by the Queene mother, vpon whose word hee was chiefly entered into the Citie; hee went forth verie early in the morning, seeming for to goe a hunting, and so escaped: Being pursued in vaine by the Kings men which hee had sent after him. Many knights and among others *D. John Nugnes de Lara*, detesting the Kings treachery, and withal ill affected to him, followed *D. John*, and beganne new

Dislike of D.  
John of Cas-  
tile, and trea-  
chery of the  
King D. Fer-  
nand, the  
cause of great  
troubles.

R r

troubles



alliance re-  
newed betwixt  
Castille and  
Aragon.

two brethren  
executed ven-  
tously.

Alcaudete tak-  
en by the  
Kings of Cas-  
tile.

troubles in the Realme of Castille. The Duke of Brittain gave them leaue to end A their quarrels, and carried away his spouse into Brittain. The Queene mother, with the Archbishop of Saint Iames, and the Bishops of Palence, Lugo and Mondogedo, labored to pacifie, and content these rebels, and in the meane time D. Constantine, Queene reigning was brought in bed of her sonne D. Alphonso, in the city of Salamanca, who was heire of the Realmes of Castille and Leon. The King of Castille and Aragon, had an interview at Calatajub, where a promise of marriage was made betwixt D. Leonora of Castille, who was but three yeeres old, and the Infant D. James of Aragon, and an other marriage was concluded betwixt D. Pedro brother to the King of Castille and an other marriage was concluded betwixt D. Pedro brother to the King of Castille with Donna Maria daughter to the King of Arragon, and there the two Kings made a new league and confederation against the Infidels, to make warre against whom the King of Castille called an assembly of the Estates of Castille at Villedolit, from whence D. Pedro the Kings brother was sent with an army, to beseege Alcaudete. In the meane time the King staied in Castille, making seizures, and taking by force certaine castles which did belong vnto his Rebels. Afterwards hee came in person into Andalusia where being arrived at Martos, hee caused two knights brethren to bee apprehended, being accused for a murder committed on the person of Don Iohn Alphonso de Bieda, who had bene slaine at Palence, going out of the Kings lodging. These two brethren whom they called Peter and Iohn of Carauajal, being condemned without any great proofes, to bee cast downe head-long from the top of the rocke of Martos, as they were at their execution, protesting of their Innocency, they admooned the King to appeere before the Tribunal seat of Almighty GOD, within thirty daies after, to giue reason of the death which he made them suffer vniuilly: notwithstanding all this, they were executed.

The King being come to the Campe before Alcaudete, hee beganne to beill, and came to Iaca, where hee remained some daies, little regarding his Physitions, in the meane time D. Pedro tooke Alcaudete.

### Mahumet Aben-Azar the fourth King of Granado.

Moore.

IN the realme of Granado, the younger brother having dispossessed the elder, had much ado to be receiued, and obeyed by the Moores Granadins, who resisted him, especially Ferrachen his brother in law, captaine of Malaga: so as Alcaudete could not be releued. The new King Mahumet Aben-Azar. Aben-Lemin, being in some sort settled and assured of his Kingdom, caused his brother that was prisoner to be cruelly slaine, and sent to the King D. Fernand being at Iaca, to renew the league which the Kings his predecessors the King D. Fernand being at Iaca, to renew the league which the Kings his predecessors had with Castille, the which was done, the Infant Don Pedro being present, where amongst other resolutions, it was concluded, that all together should make warre against Ferrachen of Malaga: but the sodaine death of Don Fernand, crossed this designe.

Castille.

Death of King  
Fernand the  
fourth.

The King being laied to sleepe one afternoone, the thirtieth day from the assignation on which was given him by the two gentlemen which were executed at Martos, when as they of his chamber thought that he slept more then was fit, they entred into his chamber to see what he did, where they found him starke dead, the which was attributed to the iudgement of God. This vnexpected death which happened in the yeere of our Lord 1312. did much trouble the Realme, he was about fife and twenty yeeres old, he had reigned about seuentene, and was buried in the great church at Cordoua.

Marra.

Soone after Philip the French King died, leauing the Crowne and Scepter to Lewis Hutin King of Nauarre his sonne. Some hold that this King Philip had the like adiournment to the iudgement of God, in the towne of Bourdeaux, where there was a knight of the Templers executed in his presence, being borne at Naples, who seeing the

A the Pope and the King at a window, to behold this execution, cried out with a loud voice, seeing there is no worldly power to the which I may appeale from the sentence giuen against the Templers by the Pope, at the Kings instance, I doe adorne them both to appeere before God within one yeere, so as that yeere being 1313. they both died.

An. 1313.

Lewis Hutin had then reigned eight yeeres in Nauarre, when he came to the crowne of France, King Philip the faire his father is noted to be very vnfortunat in many things, both in religion, in the gouernment of his realme, and in his owne house. Hee was neuer in peace with the Church of Rome, in the which (although hee were the eldest sonne) hee caused many scandales, hauing had deadly hatred with the Popes, especially with Pope Boniface the eight, whom hee forced to die miserably: hee transported the Sea of

27

performances  
dispositions in  
Philip the  
faire and his  
posterity.

Rome into France, Clement the fifth being made Pope, whom he used as a fit instrument, in many bad practises, as hatred and couetousnesse did moue him: hee did ruine with a strang cruelty and without discretion the Order of the Templers, which sect, admit it were corrupted yet many deserved better vlsage: he falsified the money in France, exacted tithes of the Clergy, imposed the tribute called Maletofts, and the fifth penny vpon all Marchandise: he was prodigall without iudgement: hee intreated the Flemings vniuilly, and their Princes cruelly, by captiuities and vnworthy vexations, not sparing the innocent virgin Philip daughter to Cont Guy, who had bene giuen him in hostage, whom they say hee caused to be smothered: others affirme hee caused her to be poisoned: some say shee was drowned, with many gentlewomen and maidens of honour which

C did attend her, others, and it may be the most certaine, write, that she died for griefe. All this Kings children died young, their wiues were accused and convicted of adultery, and his owne suspected to haue bene vnchaste: yet hee instituted the Court of Parliament of Paris, and caused the palace to bee built, which may bee numbred amongst his memorable deeds. The first notable act which his sonne Lewis Hutin did after his coming to the crowne of France, was that hee caused Enguerrant of Marigni, Earle of Longueville to be hanged, being accused to haue hindered the King from subduing the Flemings, but the chiefe occasion was, for that he was suspected to haue robbed King Philips treasure, the which was found empty by his children Lewis, Philip and Charles: he had no greater enemy then Charles of Valois the Kings vnkle, to whom Enguerrant had once giuen the

D lie, debating in council of the bad gouernment of that traitor as they say. There is no great memory of that which past in Nauarre, after that King Lewis came to the crowne of France, his daies being but short, for eightene monethes after hee died at Bois de Vincennes, being about foure and twenty yeeres old, leauing Clement his second wife, daughter to Charles the second King of Naples and sister to King Robert, great with child of a sonne, which liued not. Hee had married Clement presently after the condemnation of his first wife Marguerite, by whom hee had one daughter, named Jeanne, who was Queene of Nauarre, but not so soone for attending Queene Clementes delivery, Philip of France, Earle of Poictiers, was chosen Regent of the two Realmes of France and Nauarre, so gouerne them vntill the child which should bee borne, if it

Marriage of  
Lewis Hutin  
and his death.

E were a male, should come to the age of foureteene yeere; and if it were a daughter, that to her and her sister Jeanne should belong the Realme of Nauarre, with the counties of Champagne and Brie: but he should succede to the crowne of France, by vertue of the law Salique, as some Authors thinke: but rather by the right of custome inueterat amongst the French, conformable to the order which God hath set in nature, and according to the good constitutions of ancient Estates, not to receiue a woman to the crowne, who is made to bee gouerned, and not to command. Whatsoeuer it were, this law was then practised, as well in regard of France, as of Nauarre, whereas Philip the Long brother to the deceased King reigned, in the yeere of our Lord 1315. not without great troubles and tumults amongst the Nauarrois.

Rr 2

D. Alphonso

### D. Alphonso the twelfth of that name thirteenth King of Castille and foure and thirtieth of Leon.

castile.

28 **T**He vnhappyesse of the house of Castille, continued the minority of King D. Alphonso, being numbred by some the eleuenth, by others the twelfth of that name for the Infant D. John of Castille, and D. John Nuges de Lara (two firebrands which had often put the Realme into combustion) hearing of the Kings death, were returned, the one from Valencia, the other out of Portugal, whether they were fled, to ruine the Estate, after their accustomed manner; and seeing that the Infant D. Pedro, brother to the deceased King, by the consent of the Queene, was entred into the manning of the said fautes, and the government of the King, who was at Auila, they came to Vailledolit, and told the Queene Donna Maria, that they were well content she should gouerne, but that they would neuer endure that D. Pedro should haue that authority: and from that time they sought all meanes to get the King into their hands, but the Inhabitants of A- uila, and D. Sancho, their Bishop elect, gaue him so good guards as they labored in vaine, being resolu'd not to giue the possession and government of this yong Prince to any one that were not appointed by the assembly of the Estates: imitating therein the slye- ness and care of their ancestors towards King Alphonso the ninth, whereof followed great factions, and tyranous ciuill warre throughout the whole realme: the ring-leaders where- of, on the one side, were the Infant D. Pedro, a watlike and factious Prince, who had ioyned vnto him on the other the Infant D. John, a warlike and factious Prince, who had ioyned vnto him D. John Nuges, and the fauor of Queene Constance the Kings mother: either of them be- ing followed with a great number of knights: a generall assembly being called at Pa- lence, the deputies of the Estates were also diuided, some desiring that the Queene D. Maria and her sonne D. Pedro should haue the government of the King, and others de- manding that D. John alone should haue this charge: so as there was nothing done, but to animate them more to ruine the publike, and their priuat enemies. The Inhabitants of Auila, without any further respect, did acknowledge the Queene Donna Maria and D. Pedro for tutors to the King, and Gouernors of the realme, yet would they not suffer them to lead the King out of their towne. D. Pedro with this aduantage made a progresse throughout the Realme, and coming to Toledo, and from thence into Andalusia, hee was receiued, and generally obeyed.

### Ismael the fifth King of Granada.

Morocco.

Section in  
Granada  
against King  
Mahomet.

**I**T happened that in the realme of Granada, the citizens of Granada had rebelled against King Mahomet Aben-Azar, the murderer of his brother: the Author of which rebellion was Ismael, the sonne of Ferrachen, and of the Kings sister, who held Malaga. He with the fauor of his father, and of a mighty Moore, of the lignage of the Merin of Maroc, called Ozmin, pursued King Mahomet in such sort, as he shut him vp, and besieged him in the fort of Granada, called Alhambra, the which notwithstanding was well manned with Moores of his party, and strong both by nature and art. D. Pedro aduertised of this disorder by King Mahomet, who was a friend and ally to Castille, and intreated by him to succor him, went to field with such troupes as he could gather together in so short time: but before he could come to Granada, hee had newes that the fort was yielded to Ismael, and that King Mahomet had resequed the realme vnto him, being contented to liue in a priuat Estate in the towne of Guadix, without any other title, then Lord of Guadix: whereupon D. Pedro returned, and came and assaulted the castle of Rute, a verie strong place, and which hee tooke, whilst that the affaires of Granada were yet in disorder. Thus King Mahomet was dispossessed of his crowne, which hee had gotten

A gotten by tyranous cruelty, hauing enioyed it about foure yeeres.

The faction of Castille which followed D. John, assembled in the towne of Sahagun, whereas Queene Constance fell sicke, and died so poore, as shee had beene forced to sell her Jewels to feed her. This death and the prosperities of D. Pedro, made D. John to propound some meanes for an accord, so as he and D. Pedro agreed, that the nourishment of the King should be at the disposition of the Queene Donna Maria his grand-mother, & as for the government, it should be common betwixt them two, as it seemed the Estates of Palence had thought fit: wherewith the Queene D. Maria seemed wel pleased: for at the least shee got by this accord, that the Kings person was deliuered vnto her, whom she led to Toro, in the yeere 1314, where shee caused him to be bred vp, vnder the care of a noble Lady, grand-child to Theodora Lascari, sometimes Emperor of Grece, her name was Vatafa. An other assembly of the Estates was called at Burgos, where it was decreed that the government of the King, and the regency of the realme should be reduced al- to one body betwixt Queene Mary, D. Pedro and D. John, and if any one of them should die, it should remaine to the two others, that did suruiue, and to one if two died. There was an order set downe for the augmenting of the reuenues of the crowne, with many other decrees, for the good of the King and realme. D. John Nuges de Lara died then be- coming come to the assembly of the Estates, and left no children.

The Estates being ended, D. Pedro came into Andalusia, to assist Mahomet Aben-Azar, who held Guadix, being deprived of the realme of Granada, leauing the Queene D. Maria, and the Infant D. John to gouerne in Castille. D. Pedro had an encounter vpon the frontiers with the Moores, whereas hee slue a thousand five hundred, and did afterwards take from them the castle of Cambil and Ardaudos. Mahomet Aben-Azar, caused him- selfe to bee stil called King of Granada, notwithstanding that hee had promised to leaue this title to Ismael: but this victory of D. Pedros freed him, hauing in his company the masters of the knights of Saint Iames and Calatraua. They write that among the Moores which were slaine vpon the place, there were about forty captaines, and almost all the flower of Granada, so as King Ismael found himselfe much weakened, wherefore D. Pedro and his captaines, both this yeere, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1315, and the next following, made many courtes and enterprises in the territory of Granada,

D spoiling the vignes and fields, cuen vnto the city gate, King Ismael making no resistance in field, nor any pursuite, when as they retired charged with spoiles. After this the King of the Moores hauing tried to besiege Gibraltar, hee was repulst, and forced to retire with shame, by D. Pedros army, the which surprized the towne of Belmes, which was ill garded, and then forced the Moores of the castle to yeeld, at which siege they lay three weekes, and yet no succours came from Granada, (being but eight small leagues from thence) but too late, after the yeelding, which succours returned notwithstanding without fighting. During this warre Ismael laboured to haue a truce, or to make an accord with the Christians, but D. Pedro would not harken to it, desiring to roote that race of Infidels out of Spaine, whereof hee seemed to bee in a good way, and in great hope, wherefore they anoyed one another all they could, but King Ismael seeing that in the end he should not be able to subfist, he sent to sollicite the King of Maroc, for the community that was betwixt them in sect and nation, to aide him to defend the realme of Granada against the Christians, the which being lost hee must not thinke that euer the Arabians should haue any access or entry into Europe, for assurance of which African Kings armies, hee not onely offered Algezire, but also all the places which are from Algezire vnto Ronde inclusively; Ronde, Castellar, Axunuea, Estepona, Marbella and others.

29 Whilst that Christian Princes made warre against Infidels, the Clergy and pillars of the Romish Church were not well vnited amongst themselves. After the death of Pope Clement the fifth, the Cardinals being assembled at Carpentras for the election of a new Pope, they grew into so great a fury, as two of them were murdered in the Conclauce, the rest disbanded, and were dispersed throughout France, abandoning all, seeing there was no meanes to accord them.

King Lewis Hutin who liued then, was very careful to pacifie this scandale, causing

Sarragossa and  
Tolouse made  
Archbishop-  
rics.

them all to come to Lions where they held their conclave in the convent of Iacobins, A where after his death, there was chosen by two and twenty Cardinals, *James of Oca*, Cardinal of Saint Rufinus, Bishop of Portuense, borne at Cahors, who was called *Iohn* the two and twentieth. This Pope made Sarragossa an Archbishopricke, and likewise Tolouse, and erected Cahors, the place of his birth, to a Bishopricke.

### Philip the long, the second of that name, the seuen and twentieth King of Nauarre.

Nauarre.

30 IT was in the yeere of our Lord 1315. that *Philip* the long came to the crowned France and Nauarre, at whose entrance they beganne to dispute of the law *Salique*: for many Noblemen were of opinion, that *Iohn Posthumus*, the sonne of King *Lewis* *Justin* being dead, the realmes of France and Nauarre did belong by right of succession to *Isabelle* of France his daughter, by *Marguerite* of Bourgongne.

Those which held this partie, were *Eude* Duke of Bourgongne, *Lewis* Earle of Nevers, *Himbert* Dauphin of Viennois, and others of their faction: but *Philip*, who for the diuersity of opinions and interpretations feared that the law *Salique* did not extend to the succession of Kingdomes, and that possibly his right was not grounded thereon, contrary to the custome receiued in all other nations, and especially in Nauarre, where of he pretended to disaioynt *Isabelle* the heire thereof as well as of the crowne of France, heayng also many noblemen which fauoured him, hee wonne his cause, by means of greater efficacy then disputes, and allegations of rights: for hee gaue *Isabelle* his eldest daughter in marriage to the Duke of Bourgongne, and for doury the countie of Bourgongne her patrimonie: To the Earle of Nevers his second called *Marguerite*, and *Marie* the third to the Dauphin: in this manner hee stopp their mouthes, and made them consent with the rest, recoyling *Isabelle* his Neece not onely from the crowne of France, but also from the Realme of Nauarre, which was not to bee questioned with Force and authority preuailed in this point; besides this Princeesse was not gratus with the French, by reason of her mothers fault. The Nauarrois followed the authority of the French, because they could not withstand it, and receiued *Philip* the long for their King, that yeere 1315.

Castile.

The Kings Tutors, and the Gouernors of the realme of Castille were required by the Estates in an assembly made at Carrion; to giue caution for their government, and to giue an account what they had done, *Don Pedro* obtained liberty from the Pope to receiue the tithes, and to proclaime a Croisade against the Moores, against whom hee made violent and successfull warre, as hath bene sayd, whereof his fellow Tutor was enuious, and gaue him many crosses, to draw him into danger; of such force is enuie, that to preiudice an other, hee doth often bring ruine vnto himselfe, and to a whole Estate.

Thus the affaires of great Monarkes are often times ill managed by them, who haue the most important charges, who being loth to yeeld one vnto another, in that which concerns the good and profit of the State and the seruice of their Prince, and being alwaies enuious of the honour and glory of their companions, let slippe occasions, dissemble, delay, and had rather incur the perpetuall infamy of traitors, cowards and peruerse emulators, then to aide one another in a good action.

Thus did *D. Iohn* against *D. Pedro*, crossing and hindring his gallant designs and enterprises of warre, vpon the Moores frontiers, whilst that hee gouerned within the heart of the Realme; sometimes slaying the Nobility of Castille and Leon from going to *D. Pedro*, sometimes keeping backe the treasure, and alwaies finding meanes to crosse him, and to make the people lesse obedient vnto him, so as the Queene *Donna Maria*, who was a verie wise Ladie, and saw cleerely into these troubles and bad affections, had

A had much toyle to keepe them from an open diuision: and did often and wisely call an assembly of the Estates to that effect, sometimes at Vaileadolid for the Castilians, and sometimes at Medina del campo for them of Leon and Extremadura.

In their year 1317. *Don Berenger* Arch-bishop of Saint Lemes, brought a commandment and censures from the Pope to put *Don Alphonso de la Cerde* in possession of the lands and goods which were adiudged by the Arbitrators at Tarassone; whereunto the Gouernours would not obey, but sent their reasons to the Pope, excusing themselves, that the Infant had not for his part kept the conditions set downe in the sentence.

31 *Don Pedro* notwithstanding the enuie which his vnkle *Don Iohn* bare vnto him, did still seeke to annoy the Moores all he could, and in the beginning of the year, 1319. he resolved to beseege the towne of Tiscar, which was held by a Moore, called *Mahomet Andon*, and was one of the strongest places in Spaine: yet the happines, iudgement, and good fortune of *Don Pedro* were such, as (notwithstanding it was with great toyle and danger of the souldiers) it was taken: whereat euen the Christians themselves wondered, considering the strength of the place. The castell made some resistance after the taking of the towne, but in the end it yeelded by composition: That the Moores which were within it with their Lord *Mahomet Andon*, should depart with bag and baggage, the which was granted and kept. 4500. soules went out of the place, and were put in safety into Baena. This did increate *Don Iohns* enuie against the prosperities of *Don Pedro*: wherefore he approached then vnto the frontiers, being thrust on by ielousie, to attempt something against the Moores for his part: hee came to Baena, euen as *Don Pedro* prepared to beseege the towne of Belmar, being aduertised of *Don Iohns* coming, he marched that way, that they might ioyn their forces together, and do some notable exploit in the enemies countrie. Having ioyned at Alcudete with great demonstrations of loue, they led the armie ioynly through the champion countrie towards Granado, whereof *Don Iohn* led the foreward, and hauing taken the castell of Ylora, they presented themselves before Granado, standing a whole day in battell in the fight thereof, and yet king *Ismael* neuer sallied forth, not sent any one forth to skirmish with them, nor to discouer them.

*Don Pedro* was of opinion to begin the sege, but *Don Iohn* held it fittest to retire, saying, that they neither had men enough, nor munition sufficient to beseege such a towne: whereas the king was in person, accompanied with all the flower of his knights and souldiers, and an incredible multitude of people: for at that time they thought there liued within that citie about 200000. persons, although there were scarce 500. heads of families: Moores by race, for all the rest were Christians Renegados or their descendants, or Christian slaves.

Vpon these perswasions, the Princes and Captaines began to turne head, hauing changed the order of their march, *Don Iohn* being in the rereward. When as the Granadins saw them dislodge, king *Ismael* sent forth his men, commanding them to charge the enemy in the rereward, and to presse them in such sort, as they might put them out of order, if it were possible, and that they should not then forget that which the discipline of warre required: the which they did execute resolutely, so as *Don Pedro* was forced to turn head with the foreward to succour *Don Iohn*: but the disorder was such amongst *Don Pedros* men, as he could not bring them to march in Battaille, nor to keep any good order: where hee tormented himselfe in such sort, hauing his sword drawne, crying sometimes to one, sometimes to another, as he was out of breath, and lost his speech, and in an instant by this strange accident he fell downe dead from his horse: the which being reported to *D. Iohn* who saw himselfe in danger, the contrarie of passions wherewith he was afflicted, were of such force, as it happened to him as to his nephew, so as loosing his speech, hee amazed from his horse. The armie hauing lost their two Commanders, notwithstanding any indeauour of the Arch-bishop of Toledo, and the Masters of the militarie Orders of *S. Lemes* and Calatrava, all were put to rout, and were pursued farre by the Moores with great slaughter, who spoyled their campe, and ceased their pursuit: wherefore the Christians which were about *Don Pedro* that was dead, and *Don Iohn* drawing towards his end had meanes to escape, laying him that was alieue on an horse, and the dead bodie vpon a moyle: but being surprized by the night, they which conducted *Don Iohn* marching

Strange death  
of D. Pedro of  
Castile, and D.  
John his vnkle

ching more slowly then the rest, saw him expire: wherefore fearing to be pursued, they A left the bodie vpon the field, and saued themselves as they could. Don *Iohn* left one son of the same name, who for that he had lost an eye, was called the blind, and was his heire and successor in the Segneurie of Biscaia. He sent to intreat King *Ismael* to send him his fathers bodie. The King caused it to be fought for, which being found, hee commanded it should be brought to Granado, where it was layed in a great hall, in the fort of Alhambra; vpon a herfe covered with rich cloth of gold, setting a great number of waxe tapers about it, the king commanding the Noblemen, and knights Moores, with all the Christians captiues that were in Granado, to pray about the dead body: doing many other solemnities after their manner, then he sent to D. *Iohn*, that he should send for his fathers bodie, which he gaue him willingly, being sorry for the accident which had happened, for Don *Iohn* had neuer done him wrong. Don *Iohn* the blind sent many Knights thither, to whom the bodie was deliuered, and they were accompanied to the first towne of the Christians, then they tooke their way to Cordoua, from thence it was transported to Burgos, whither they had carried D. *Pedro*, and there they were interred. By this unexpected victorie the affaires of *Ismael* king of Granado grew in reputation and force, recovering many places which had bene lost before. Don *Iohn Manuel* the sonne of D. *Manuel* of Castile maintaining the warre against the Moores. Towards Murcia *Ismael* tooke Huelcar, Ores, and Galere, places belonging to the Order of Saint *James*: and returning towards Andalusia, he besieged Martos, and tooke it by force, commanding them to kill all they found aliue in it: yet most of them saued themselves in the fort, and defended it against the Moores, who lost many of their best men: and among others, a Nephew to C *Ozmin*, the which gaue great occasion of murmure against king *Ismael*, for that he did so hazard his Nobility in these dangerous assaults. In this estate stood the warre of Granado, the which was ended with them of Andalusia, vpon king *Ismaels* returne to Granado, vpon condition, that the Castilians, being ready to chuse new tutors for the yong king D. *Alphonso*, should not receiue nor acknowledge any; but that should confirme this true.

Castile.

During these alterations, the Q. D. *Maria* was gone into Portugal, where the had conference with her son-in-law, D. *Alphonso* Infant of Portugal, at Font d'Aguileto, a Bourg of Cite Roderigo, & frō thence was returned with the yong K. of Castile to Toro, where the had newes of the miserable end of D. *Pedro* and D. *Iohn*: whereupon she made present dispatches to all the chiefe townes of the realme, and to the Noblemen, aduertising them D of this disaster, and exhorting them to continue faithfull vnto the king her grand-child, and not to receiue commandement from any, but from him or them that should bee appointed by the Estates: for the feared D. *Iohn Manuel*, who was rich and mighty, and delirous of innouations, would seeke to attaine to the Regencie of the king and Realme: and saw on the other side, that D. *Iohn* the blind had the like ambition: against whom the Q. opposed D. *Philip* her son, (but as the most certaine Authors say D. *Alphonso*) vnto the king D. *Alphonso*. All these Noblemen being well followed, and keeping the field with good troupes of soldiers, they were ready to ioyne in battell neere vnto Auila, the which E was preuented by D. *Iohn Manuel*. The Infant D. *Fernand de la Cerde*, who was Lord Steward to the king, was an actor in these ciuill seditions, so as the realmes of Castile, Leon, and their appurtenances, were full of all excesse, violence, and insolencies, the which continued long: notwithstanding that the Estates had chosen for tutors D. *Philip* or Don *Alphonso*, D. *Iohn Manuel*, and D. *Iohn* the blind in the year 1320. In the meane time the K. D. *Alphonso* to make his name more reuerent among his subjects, granted certaine priuiledges vnto townes, and among others, to wall in a Bourg, called Renteria, the which was named Villanoua of Ojarcum in Guipuzcoa, and gaue it the title of a town, & the priuiledges of S. Sebastian from whence it is but a league distant. The Infant D. *Philip*, or *Alphonso*, sware the truce made betwixt the king of Granado and them of Andalusia, where in the Citie of Cordoua was comprehended, for that they had giuen their voice for the gouernement of the King to Don *Iohn Manuel*, against whome King *Ismael* was F incensed.

This yeare D. *Iohn*, Infant of Arragon, son to the king D. *James* the 2. was consecrated Archb. of Toledo, in the towne of Lercida in Cattelogne, in stead of D. *Gonzales* deceased, many

Tumults in Castile for the gouernment.

An. 1320.

A many Prelates beeing present, and namely, D. *Ximenes de Luna* Arch-bishop of Tafragone, and Don *Pedro de Luna*, first Arch-bishop of Saragossa, erected to that dignitie in the year 1318. by Pope *Iohn* the 22. ouer the Bishops of Pampelona, Calahorra, Calatassone, Huelca, Segobia, and Albarazin. These two Arch-bishops of Tarragona, and Saragossa did watch if the new Arch-bishop of Toledo, as Primate of Spaine, would march through their Dioceses with his crosse before him, to the end they might oppose themselves by vertue of a certaine Constitution made at the Council of Tarragona, and so it happened: whereupon the Arch-bishop of Toledo and all his followers were excommunicated by them, for entering into their Iurisdiccions: which censure and excommunication was published by him of Saragossa: whereat the King Don *James* was much offended, and did write vnto the Pope, making great complaints of this manner of proceeding: but being afterwards perswaded that it was done to maintaine the dignity of the Churches of his Realme, he was pacified. The Primate appealed from their sentences and proceeded against them. The Pope calling the deciding of this question to the Apostolicke sea, absolved the Arch-bishop of Toledo in the meane time, and gaue him facultie to absolve his followers and seruants. He was the seuen and fiftieth Arch-bishop of this sea, Primate of Spaine.

At the same time, or litle before, the king of Arragon had giuen to the knights of Monteca, the towne and castell of Monteca, whereof this Order carries the name: the first Master was *William* of Errill, who tooke the white habite of Calatrava, in the year 1319. In the Monasterie of Santa Cruz, from the hands of the Commander of Alcaniz. These knights had some yeares after facultie to leaue the habite of Cisteaux, and in stead thereof to carrie a redde crosse vpon their breasts granted by Pope *Benedict* the thirteenth, and confirmed by Pope *Martin* the fifth. The King D. *James* by the aduice of his Estates held at Tarragona, did make a perpetuall vnion of the Realmes of Arragon and Valencia, and the principallitie of Cattelogne, the which from that time, should not for any occasion be di- united. In which assembly, the Infant Don *James* the eldest and heire to the Crown, being ready to marrie D. *Leonora* of Castile, suddenly by a strange affection, quitting both his wife, and so goodly a succession as that of the Realme of Arragon, told the king his father, that he had made a vow neither to marrie nor to raigne: so as notwithstanding all the perswasions of the king and Noblemen, he quit his birth-right to his brother D. *Alphonso*, after the example of *Esaú*. Beeing there let at liberty by the king, he discharged the Estates of the oath they had made vnto him, and presently put on the habite of the Knights of Ierusalem, the which he receiued by the hands of *Bernard Solier*, in the presence of his brother Don *Iohn* Arch-bishop of Toledo, Don *Symon* of Luna, Arch-bishop of Tarragona, *Berenger* Bishop of Vic, and *Raymond* of Ampurias, Prior of S. *Iohn* in Cattelogne, and others. Afterwards this ill aduised Prince, hauing left this Order, became one of Monteca, where he spent his dayes in dissolutenes and filthy pleasures. This age afforded other such like examples in Don *James*, eldest sonne to the king of Maiorca, and *Lewis* sonne to *Charles* the lymping king of Castile, who became Franciscan Friars: but they were moued by zeale of religion, and were not giuen to vices. His second brother D. *Alphonso* was by the same Estates of Tarragona acknowledged, and sworne heire of those kingdomes after the decease of Don *James* their father. This Infant had married D. *Theresa* of Entenza, and had in her right the County of Urgel, which came vnto her by succession from her vnclē Don *Armingol* of Cabrera, vpon condition she should marrie the Infant Don *Alphonso*: of which marriage was borne at that time Don *Pedro*, who was king of Arragon, the fourth of that name. At the same Estates of Arragon were pacified the quarrels betwixt Don *Artal* of Alagon, and Don *Symon Cornely*, who kept the Realme in diuision: and that according to the aduice and order of the Magistrate called the Iustice Maior of Arragon, called *Symon Peres* of Salanoua, the parties should vndergo the iudgement of the King and his Estates. Doubtlesse the authority of this Magistrate at that time was great, who might both censure the King and the Estates, and appoint them a place, and admit them that did assist, or reiect them.

But returning to the affaires of Castile, the election of Don *Iohn* of Arragon to the Arch-bishopricke of Toledo, did not much please the Queene D. *Maria*, fearing he would

Arragon. Order of Monteca.

32. Union of Arragon, Valencia, and Cattelogne.

33.

James heire of Arragon quits his inheritance

AN. 1322.  
Death of St.  
D. Mary of Ca-  
stille.

Aragon.

34.

would not greatly fauour D. *Alphonso* king of Castile, but would alwaies hold the partie of Don *Manuel* his brother-in-law, who was a mighty Prince in Castile, and wonderfull factious: but the Pope assured the contrarie, and past his election: and to speake the truth he neuer supported D. *John Manuel* in any action that was preiudiciall to the King, although that Toledo and the iurisdiction thereof were in his gouernment, by reason of the turtelage: so as they fell to such debate, as Pope *Lohn* was forced to send a Cardinal Legate into Spaine, to reconcile them, and to bring the Archbishop into his sea, the which he had abandoned. The Queene D. *Maria* hauing called the Estates at Palence, in the year 1322. as she prepared her selfe to go thither, she fell sicke at Vaileddolit, wherof she dyed, to the great griefe of all good men: for by her wisedome and bountie, she had bene the support and onely defence of Spaine, against the rebellious and ambitious desires of Princes and Noblemen, wherein she laboured wonderfully, with great happinesse and commendable successe. The young king and the Realme were deprived of this support, for the which he soone after smarted. The Queenes bodie was layed in the Monastie of las Huelgas at Vaileddolit, which she had caused to be built, hauing also founded in her time that of Saint Paul in the same towne, and that of the preaching Friars at Toro, with others. We read as a memorable thing, vpon the religious exercises, and concerning the diuine seruice, in the Constitutions of D. *John* Arch Bishop of Toledo then liuing, that the Priests do offer the Hostie at the least foure times in the yere, and that after Morning prayer.

The same yere the Estates being assembled in the towne of Siracusa in Sicile, the king Don *Frederick* caused his sonne Don *Pedro* to be crowned king with him, and they reigned together in that lland. Don *Pedro* did afterwards marrie *Isabel* daughter to *John* King of Bohemia, or of *Henry* Duke of Carinthia, as some say. It was at such time as the expedition was made for the conquest of Sardinia, wherof D. *Alphonso*, Infant of Aragon, was General by the resolution of the Estates, held at Gyrene, and in consideration of the subuention giuen by them for the charges of that warre. We haue sayd before, that the llands of Sardinia and Corsica had bene giuen in fee by Pope *Boniface* the eight vnto Don *Lames* King of Arragon, and to his successors males or females paying a certain rent to the Church of Rome, for an acknowledgement of Soueraigntie, and that hee should conquer them at his owne perill. The same donation had bene confirmed by Pope *Benedict* in the year 1304. to the same king Don *Lames*, and facultie giuen him to leaue the tythes for this conquest, and a Legate appointed to assist therein: but it was deferred by reason of other lets. The reasons which moued the Popes to make this donation, were their passions and hatred against the common-weales of Genoua and Pisa, who commanded in those llands: but the pretext was, that these llands lying in the Mediterranean sea, as a barre betwixt Affricke and Italy, diuiding it from the North to the South, they entertained the Potentates of Italy, especially these two common-weales of Genoua and Pisa, who were then very strong at sea, in continuall quarrels and warre, most pernicious for Christendome: fighting for the possession thereof, with great effusion of blood, and wasting of their forces and treasures, the which they should haue employed in better occasions, against the Infidels, vnder this colour, the fame of the Castilians and Arragonois and of their Princes being then great, it seemed expedient for the suppressing of all ieaousie and quarrell betwixt the Geneuois and Pisans, to take from them the right of these llands, and to transferre them to a greater power, which might be able to keep and defend them from the inuasions of Sarracons and Arabians, who still made some breach there. The conquest therefore of the lland of Sardinia being vnderaken in the time of Pope *John* the 22. sitting in Auignon, by this king D. *Lames* the 2. there were many ships of warre and burthen prepared, as well in a port called Fangoso, vnder Tortosa, at the mouth of Ebro, as at Barcelona, Tarragone, Valencia & other places of that coast, wher-in they spent much time, whilst that the king D. *Lames* tooke his fourth wife *Eclifende* sister to *Othom* of Moncada, a woman of good yeares: and he made D. *Pedro* his son Earle of Ribagorça and Ampurias, the last Earle *Mangolin* being dead without children. And for that the enterprise seemed difficult, by reason of the Pisans power, who enioyed the lland, and had newly made a peace with the Geneuois, the king of Arragon did sollicite Pope

A Pope *John* the 22. by his Ambassador *Fidal* of Villanoua, to assist him in this warre with his meanes and fauour, to the Princes of Italy: but this Pope being distastied by certaine Cardinals which fauoured the Pisans, sought to diuert this enterprise all he could: exhorting the king of Arragon rather to porsue his right by Iustice, then by armes: notwithstanding the fleet being in a manner readie to set sayle, and the king persisted in his resolution, and bound himselfe to pay great tributes vnto the Church. At that time the chiefe men in the lland were *Brancalton* of *Oria*, and *Hagues* Vicont of *Bassit*: this last being corrupted by the king of Arragon, shewed himselfe an enemy to the Pisans, and began the war of Sardinia with happie successe. The king drew vnto his partie *Guelphe* Earle of Donoratico, Kinman to Caidinall *Luke* *Fieser*, and suddenly sent *Dalmis* Vicount of Rocabertin, and his vnle *Girard*, *Berrand* of Castelet, and *Hugh* of S. Paix Cattelans, with 200. horse, and 2000. foot, to fortifie his partisans in the lland. Whilst that the armie assembled in the port of Fangoso, where there met about the end of Iune, in the year 1233. sixty galleies, and 20. ships armed, and about twice as many other vessels carrying victuals and baggage. The Infant D. *Alphonso* parted with his fleet, vnder the conduct of *Francisco* Carrogo Admirall, and came with a good wind to the port of S. Marke, neere vnto the ruines of the ancient cittie of Sull, a Colony of the Carthaginians. The souldiers being landed, began to presse the towne from the Church, in the which were *Barnabes* d'Oria sonne to *Brancalton* and other Capitaines, who after long resistance yielded into the Infant D. *Alphonso*. The citties of Caillieri, Eglise, Aquafredda, Iosafuarda, Orguilos, Oleastro, Quirano, Patra and other places, held good for the Pisans: whilst they battered the towne of Eglise, the Admirall *Francisco* Carrogo, with 20. galleies beleeged the port of Caillieri, and *Dalmis* Vicount of Rocabertin by land, seized vpon an hill which commanded the castell, or fort of that city: but this place was relected by *Manfroy* sonne to *Regnier*, one of the Earles of Donoratico, who came to Terranova with 25. galleies of Pisa, and some number of souldiers, the which hauing landed at Decimo, a Bourg so called, for that it is ten myles from Caillieri: by the fauour of his armie, he gathered together a great number of Sardes, and fortified himselfe in such sort, as hee presumed to offer battaile to the Arragonois. Those that were before the towne of Eglise were wonderfully afflicted with sicknesse, which grew through the bad disposition of the ayre of Sardinia, and euen the Infant D. *Alphonso* was in danger of death, yet persisting at the sege, the towne being prest by force, and want of victuals, it was yielded, hauing held out eight moneths: during the which many dyed through the infection of the pestilent ayre, Don *Artal* de Luna, and his sonne of the same name, *Gambault* of Beneuent Dalmis of Chastelnoua, *Girard* of Rocabertin, *Gillebert* Centillas, *Pedro* Querauls, *Raymond* Berenger Cerruillon, *Raymond* Alleman, *Galcerand* S. Paix, and *Raymond* of Cardona, all men of note: so as the taking of the towne of Eglise, cost the Arragonois deare. After this exploit, the Infant D. *Alphonso* led the armie to the sege of Caillieri, against whom *Manfroy* aduanced with those Pisans which he had brought, and some Sardes gathered together, where there was a fierce and bloudie battell: but the Arragonois had the victorie, hauing lost D. *Alleman* de Luna, nephew to D. *Symon* de Luna Arch bishop of Tarragone, who was much lamented: *Manfroy* being wounded, saued himselfe in the fort of Caillieri: and at that instant there arriued 18. galleies of supplies to the Infant D. *Alphonso* from Barcelona. Wherefore the towne and fort of Caillieri were more straightly and violently battered then before, so as the beleeged being reduced to great extremities, following the aduise of *Manfroy* their Captaine, and by his leading, made a sudden sally forth with all their horle, (among the which were 500. souldiers, the best and most resolute spirits among all the Pisans) and charged the Arragonois army, with great terror and amazement: yet through the diligence of the Infant and his Capitaines, the enemy was repulled, with the losse of three hundred horse. Here *Manfroy* was grievously wounded againe, whereof, and for griefe of this last losse, he died soone after; the which draue the beleeged into such despaire, that hauing aduertised the Pisans of their estate, and they sent a demand a peace of the king D. *Lames*, being at Barcelona, by the meanes and negotiation of *Brancalton* d'Oria, they came to composition vpon these conditions: That the city and castell of Caillieri should be yielded vp to the Infant, and the prisoners of either

Sardinia inuaded by the Arragonois.

Eglise yielded to the Arragonois.

Defeat of Pisans and Sardes before Caillieri.

either part deliuered; which city and castell should be deliuered againe vnto the Pifans, A  
vpon condition, that they should hold it, and all they enioyed in Sardinia, in fee and ho-  
mage of the crowne of Arragon; Yea some Authors among the Arragonois say, that the  
city it selfe of Pifa, and that it should be lawfull for the Pifans to trafficke in Catalogne  
and Arragon, and to haue a Confull in the city of Barcelona. These things being ac-  
corded and performed, the Infant D. *Alphonso* gaue many castles, lands and reuenues to No-  
blemen and Gentlemen which had serued faithfully and valiantly in this warre, in the  
which many gallies of Majorca had continued. He left D. *Philip de Salces* Gouverneur of  
Sardinia, and Commander of the men of warre, and D. *Berenger Carrofo*, sonneto Don  
Francis, to command the gallies which were left there for the guard of the Iland. Hauing  
thus disposed of the affaires, the army imbarked at Saint Macaire, and sayled with their  
Generall D. *Alphonso* towards Barcelona, where they arriued with a prosperous wind, a  
bout the beginning of August, in the year 1324. There were great signes of ioy made at  
the landing of this victorious armie, and thank-giuing vnto God in the city of Barcelo-  
na; but some write, that the king Don *James* going forth to meet his sonne triumphing  
and full of glorie, for the warre of Sardinia to happily ended, seeing him attired in the ha-  
bit of a Sarde, he grew sad, and would not speake vnto him, vntill hee had taken a more  
seemely garment: wherefore in the midst of this pompe, the Infant put on his coate of  
armes, and then the king his father embraced him, and honored him much, saying aloud,  
that he tooke great delight to see him attired like the Commander of a victorious warre,  
and not in the habit of a slaue. After the conquest of Sardinia, the king D. *James* was fol-  
lowed by *Castruccio Castracani*, gouerning at that time at Luca, to make the expedition  
of Corsica against the Geneuois, promising that he would provide them such worke in  
Italy, as the enterprise of that Iland should be easie: but *Barnabas d'Oris*, who was then in  
fauour with the king D. *James*, diuerted him, shewing that it should bee more expedient  
and profitable, to pacifie the chiefe Noblemen of Corsica, and to draw them to his ser-  
uice. The affaires of Sardinia continued not long quiet, as we will shew: but it is necessary  
to relate first what pass in the other parts of Spaine, during these wars and conquests  
of the Arragonois.

35 In Portugal there was then erected the Order of Knights of *Christus*, by Bulls from  
Pope John in the year 1320. by the which it was receiued into the protection of the A-  
postolike sea of Rome, and the towne of Castro *Marin* assigned for the chiefe of this Or-  
der, being neere vnto the Moors, and since the conuent was transported to Tour. The  
knights of this Order carry a red crosse split and opened by the four branches, with a  
white line, so as one crosse makes two, the one red, the other white. The election of the  
Master belongeth to 13. persons: that is, the Prior, the Commander maior, the Treasurer,  
the Secretary, and nine Commanders. The election was made, euery one of these 13. gi-  
uing his voyce: the which being publicly pronounced, he that had most voyces was cho-  
sen Master. The first was D. *Gil Martinez*, who had beene Master of the militarie Order of  
Aunis. The elect is bound (swearing in the Priors hands) to promise to bee in fauour with  
the Pope, and the Church of Rome, and to present himselfe vnto the King, to do him the  
homage of fealty. The Commanders of this Order, are, the Prior, the great Comman-  
der, the Treasurer, Secretary, Commander of Arquin, of Rodano, of Prouença, Ollas,  
Castilejo, Sanacheira, Prucos, Segura, Lardoça, and Derofmanichal. Since there hath  
been added the Commanderies of S. Michel, and S. Mary in the Ilands, by the king Don  
Mannuel. In the year 1323. the king D. *Denis* endowed this Order with priuiledges fit for  
the dignity thereof, and the ornament of his religion. The same year D. *Beatriz* wife to  
the Infant D. *Alphonso*, was brought in bed of a son in the city of Coimbra, who was na-  
med *Peter*, and raigned after his Grandfather and father: This king *Denis* was in so great  
esteem among the Portugals, as they haue a Prouerbe in vie at this day: *El Rey D. Denis,*  
*que fez quanto quiz*, that is to say, The king D. *Denis* who did all he would. It is as well by  
reason of the institution of these militarie Orders, as of many foundations and remem-  
brances he left of him: as the Monasterie of S. Francis of Portalegre, and the Monasterie  
of Nuns of the Order of Cisteraux, or S. *Bernard*: of S. *Denis*, of Odiuela a league and a  
halfe from Lisbon, where he appointed his body should be interred: and other public  
workes,

Portugal.

Order of Chris-  
tus in Portu-  
gal.An. 1323.  
Genealogie of  
Portugall.

A workes, as caueys, towers, castles, walles, fortifications, and reparations of townes with  
cur number. By him the new street of Lisbon, so much esteemed in Portugall, was  
made, as also the castles of Serpa, Moura, Oliuencia, Campo maior, Argela and the for-  
tresse: that of Portalegre, Odiana, Marban, the castell of Abibe, Alegrete, Monches,  
Monfort, Beyros, Arroyolos, Hebora monte, Bosba, Villauiciofa, Montcarraz, Re-  
dondo, Model, Beja, Geromena, Sabugal, Alfayates, Castelrubio, Villamaior, Castel-  
lobon, Castellomejor, Almeida, Castelmendo, and Pinel, most of the which were wall-  
ed in by this king. He did also wall in Braga, Guimaranes, Miranda of Duero, with the Ca-  
stell of Monçon, and Carastolo. He built new Muija, Saluetteer, Montargel, Atalaya,  
Acerceyra, and many others, which we will omit for breuities sake. The king Don *Denis*  
spent his time, and employed his treasure in such things. He had some warre against Ca-  
stille in fauour of the rebels and otherwise; as we haue formerly related: and moreover,  
against his owne brother, whom he spoiled of his lands, forcing him to retire into Ca-  
stille to his wiues kindred. Towards the end of his dayes, there was no good agreement  
betwixt him and his sonne Don *Alphonso*: for the sonne bred such a reuolt and sedition  
throughout the whole Realme, as he was often in armes against the father, and ready to  
give battell, neere to Coimbra, Saint Iren, Albaran and else where, being thrust on by  
flatterers and counsellors of iniquity: which disorders Queene *Isabel*, a Princeesse full of  
piety, did happily repaire, and prevented the effusion of blood, praying continually vnto  
God for concord betwixt the father and sonne, the which shee obtained before the de-  
cease of the king her husband, which was in the year 1325. hauing reigned 45. yeares,  
nine moneths, and 5. dayes, and the 64. of his age. He dyed at S. Iren, and was interred  
in the Monasterie of S. Denis of Odiuelas, as hee had ordaind by his testament, by the  
which he gaue 140000. lyures of money then currant in Portugall, to be distributed to  
poore hospitals, monasteries, widowes, orphelins, marrying of maydens, redemption of  
prisoners, and such like, at the discretion of the Queene his wife, and the Executors of  
his testament. Besides, his lawfull children, he had by one, or by diuers concubines, Don  
*Alphonso*, the beginner of the family of *Albuquerque*, Don *Pedro*, who gaue himselfe  
to studie, and hath compiled a Volume of the great Houses of Spayne, D. *John*, and D.  
*Fernand*, one daughter that was married to D. *Iohn de la Cerde*, and one daughter a Nun:  
This holy Queene *Isabel*, daughter to Don *Pedro* the third king of Arragon, and  
of Donna *Constance* daughter to *Manfred* king of Naples, was married being but eleuen  
yeares old, and carried her selfe so wisely and religiously, as she was admired and honou-  
red of all men: she shewed in her royall estate a wonderful humilitie and modestie: shee  
laboured with her hands to auoyde idleness, and what shee made shee gaue away for  
Gods sake, wherein shee did not spare her means which were otherwise great: fasting  
and prayer were her delights, and she was in continuall anguish for her sins, and for her  
peoples: she serued God as she had beene instructed, by gifts, offerings, Masses, and suffra-  
ges without measure. Finally, she was so giuen to contemplation, and to the spirit, as she  
tooke no delight in any thing that pleased the senses: shee fledde and forooke (as much  
as possibly shee could) all royall Pallaces, being the Magazine of delights, and of per-  
verse affections, so as the king Don *Denis* who was of a contrarie disposition, made  
small account of her, giuing himselfe often to vnlawfull and lustfull loues, by whom  
hee had children, the which this good and vertuous Queene caused to bee bredde vp as  
her owne, although shee were wonderfully afflicted to see this bad course of the King her  
husband; fearing, and rightly, that God would punish him: for this consideration shee  
pray continually for his amendment, which happened in the end. The K. D. *Denis* did oft  
vie her roughly, wherein she shewed such patience, as she neuer vsed any word of com-  
plaint, but only prayed to God to let him vnderstand the truth: yea when she was in a ma-  
ner chaled from his presence, and retired to her house at Alenguer, by reason of the quar-  
rels betwixt the father and the son, whereof the minions of the Court layd all the blame  
vpon her, perswading the king that shee intertayned them, against all likelihood of truth. Shee  
did wonderfully esteem the Orders of begging Friars, thinking that their estate was the  
most perfect among the Christians, and therefore shee gaue as well to them within the  
realme as without. Shee built the monastery of S. *Clair* the royal of Coimbra, she finished  
S f the

Piety of the  
Queene Isabel.An. 1325.  
Death of the  
king D. Denis.

the house of the Innocents at S.Iren, the which was begunne by D. Martin Bishop of La Garde; and did the like to the Monasterie of Almofter of Nunnes, the which was begun by a Lady called D. Berenguela Ayres; and after the decease of the King her husband, these gaue herself wholly to a religious life, and tooke vpon her the habit of S. Claire, which she vied euer after: she fouled her Jewels, and conuerted them into Ornaments and vessels to serue churches, the which she gaue to many Monasteries. Shee went vnknowne on foot to visit the Sepulcher of S. James, asking almes, and past her dayes in like workes with great zeale: she dyed in the towne of Elstremos, whether she went to mediate a peace betwixt her sonne and the king of Castile her grand-child, borne of her daughter. Besides these aboue-named workes, she had built at Torrefinuous a Monasterie of repentants, and at Leyra an hospital of poore bathfull men. Her body was carried to Coimbra, and layd in the Monasterie of Santa Cruz. The apparitions which the Spaniards write happened vnto her in her life time, and at her death, with such like things, are the impressions of Monkes of those times.

Castile.

36 As for the affaires of Castile, wee find, that after the decease of the Queene D. Maria, (who by her wisdom preuented many mischiefs) the troubles grew greater then euer: all Iustice ceased, and the most insolent were most in credit. King Don Alphonsus, although he were young, was much discontented at these disorders, and fought to redresse them, but he was not obeyed: so as by reason of the violences, tyrannies, ruine of places, murders, and other such wickednesse, which then raigned, he saw his subjects abandon their houses, and retire into Arragon, Nauarre, Portugall and else-where, there to secke peace and rest: the Gouvernours were the cause of all these miseries, vsing the people of their Iurisdiccions tyrannously, being in perpetuall discord among themselves. Those that were of the priuie Councell aduised him to leaze vpon the places belonging to D. Blanche his Cousin, daughter to the deceased Don Pedro, the which were in the hands of Garçilaso de la Vega, in the name of Donna Maria of Arragon her mother: for that (sayd they) it was not fit the King of Arragon should meddle much in the affaires of Castile, nor that he should know all the vices of that kingdome, the which hee did, more then was conuenient, by the means of these places, and vnder colour to procure the good of Donna Blanche his Grand-child, watching in the meane time to make his profit with the prejudice of Castile.

See is taken  
from the de  
l'ishop of Toled  
do.

He which was most vehement in this Councell, was Don Garçilaso himselfe, being Marin Maior of Castile. Don Iohn of Arragon Arch-bishop of Toledo, was by that reason suspected of them, hauing for his chiefe aduersarie Don Iohn Manuel, one of the Kings tutors, who had his gouernement in the Countrey of Toledo, and against whose disordinate desires, the Arch bishop of Toledo, (a better seruant to the King then they esteemed him) had alwaies opposed himselfe. So as they treated secretly with the king to take the royall seales from him, for they held it dangerous, that an Arragonois should be Chancellor of the Realme; who by reason of that dignity was priuie to all that was treated and resolved in the kings Councell.

According to this resolution, there was an occasion offered: The Arch-bishop being in the Kings Pallace, and being demanded of the affaires of the Bishopprieke, touching the Estate, and the kings reuenues, hee excused himselfe vpon the actions of Don Iohn Manuel his brother-in-law, who was there present, who answered very peemptorily for himselfe, so as there were bitter words betwixt them in the Kings presence. For this cause soone after the seales were taken away, and giuen to Don Garçilaso de la Vega: whereas the Arch-bishop Don Iohn being much discontented, hee neuer ceased vntill hee had exchanged his Arch-bishopprieke of Toledo, with that of Tarragone, causing Don Iohn de Luna, to be aduanced to the Archiepiscopall dignitie of Toledo, and Primacie of Spaine by Pope Iohn.

1326.

37 In the meane time came the yeare 1326. when as the King tooke vpon him the gouernement of his Realme, at a Parliament held at Vaileddolit, whereas D. Philip or Alphonsus, Don Iohn Manuel, and Don Iohn the Blind were discharged of their administration, which they had managed with great scandall. There did the king sweare to obserue the fundamentall Lawes of the Realme, and to administer Iustice, maintaining euer

A euerie one in his estate, goods, and honour. To whome also the Deputies of the Estates did sweare fidelitie, and offered the rights and ordinarie seruices due vnto the Crowne. This done, the King did choofe two wife Knights to bee of his Councell of State, Don Garçilaso de la Vega, aboue-named, and Almar Nuges Osorio; and for his treasure a lew called Isoph of Ecchia, to whome he gaue the Superintendencie of the Customes, Impoles, Kents and Reuenues of the Realme.

In the disposition whereof, hee did not gouerne himselfe by the aduice of Don Iohn Manuel, nor Don Iohn the Blind, nor did much esteeme them: whereat being ialous and discontented, they parted from Vaileddolit without taking any leaue of the King, and made a league together at Cigales. The king was soone aduertised hereof, and did in few dayes breake this plot, making himselfe sure to Donna Constance Manuel, daughter to Don Iohn Manuel at Vaileddolit: but this marriage tooke no effect: and he gaue vnto Don Iohn Manuel, (to draw him vnto him) the gouernement of the frontier. Thus was Don Iohn the Blind abandoned, so as hee was more incensed then before: this Prince entertayned such bad designes, as his end was miserable. Hee sought to marrie Donna Blanche daughter to Don Pedro of Castile, to the end hee might enioy the places which shee held vpon the frontier of Arragon, and from thence make warre against the King Don Alphonsus: Hee made a league with the new King of Portugall against him, and attempted all meanes to annoy his Prince, notwithstanding that the king Don Alphonsus tryed all waies to pacifie him, so as he was forced to vse more violent remedies.

38 During these home-bred troubles of Castile, Ismael king of Granado was slaine by his subjects, vpon this occasion. Among the prisoners which the Moores had brought from Martos, there was a Christian woman, exceeding fayre, who fell into the hands of the kings Cousin, sonne to the Gouvernour of Algezire, who was called Mahomet. This prisoner being seene by king Ismael, he grew so in loue with her, as he demanded her of Mahomet: who yielding more vnto his desires, then to the respect hee ought vnto his Prince, refused him plainly: whereupon the king gaue him many bitter and threatening words: Mahomet either for feare or disdain, to haue beene threatened with iniurious words, layed a plot with Ozmin, who was already much discontented for the death of his sonne, whome they had so little spared at the assault of the rocke of Martos, and resolved together to kill king Ismael, and to place in the royall Seate of Granado, a Moore called Mahomet Aven Alhamar, or the Vermeil, who descended from the first king of Granado, and carried the same name, saying, that the Crowne belonged more rightly to him, then to Ismael, who was allyed to these kings only by the Mothers side. This king was called to this Councell, and they made a new confederacie with Ozmin, who should bee readie in Armes with his friends and seruants, whilest that Mahomet, sonne to the Gouvernour of Algezire, with his father, and another brother, should execute the murder vpon the person of king Ismael. These things being concluded, the Conspirators entred into Alhambra of Granado, and addreッシング themselves vnto him, they told him, that they had some matters of great importance to impart vnto him, desiring him to giue them audience in some retired place: the which the king willingly granted, who being entred into a gallerie, the father and the sonne marching before the king, and his brother after, with the great Prouost, or Constable of Granado, whome they called Alguazil Maior, the two foremost turned suddenly vpon the king, and gaue him two wounds vpon the head. The Alguazil seeing this disloyaltie, drew his sword to defend his king, and fought so valiantly against these two traitors, father and sonne, as hee made them giue backe vnto the end of the gallerie, and to enter into a chamber, into the which hee shut them, notwithstanding that the brother, who was the third murderer, had wounded him behind in foure places, who returning afterwards against the king, gaue him a mortall wound in the shoulder. The Alguazil hauing shut vp the two first, came against the third, and forced him to enter into an old cabinet, into the which he also shut him. Being thus freed of the traitors, this faithfull seruante came vnto the king, whom he found grievously wounded, and almost fainting, hauing taken him in his armes, and carried him into a chamber, in the which were his mother, widow to Ferrachen and his wiues, where leauing the cure and care of him to them, hee went into the pallace

Ismael king  
of Granado  
was slaine  
by his subjects

S f 2

Court



Court of Alhambra, where as he found many, as well of the conspirators, as of others A  
which might haue heard the noyse, and vnderstood something of the fact, to whome hee  
sayd, there was no great danger, and that the kings wounds were light: and hauing called  
some vnto him, whom he knew faithfull vnto the king, he entred with them into those  
places where as the traytors were shut, and cut off their heads: then he returned into the  
chamber where as the king was in the Phisitions and Surgeons hands, but there was no  
hope of life: wherefore going out of Alhambra, he met with *Ozmin*, who came run-  
ning at this noyse well accompanied, and asked him of the kings life. The *Alguazil* di-  
scerning the truth, answered, that all was well, intreating him to accompany him to seaze  
sembling those that were suspected to be of this conspiracie, the which *Ozmin* durst not re-  
puse: thus of a traytor he became faithfull by constraint, and running through the city B  
of Granado, they seazed vpon all the friends and seruants of the murthrer *Mahumet*, and  
brought them into Alhambra, where in the heate they were put to death. In the meane  
time king *Ismael* breathed his last, hauing reigned by force about nine yeares: this was in  
the yeare 1322. and the 705. of the Arabians.

### Mahumet the sixt K. of Granado.

TO him succeeded his sonne *Mahomet* the sixt, by the meanes and dexteritie of the  
Prouost or *Alquazil*, who hauing seene the kings death, and keeping it as secret as he  
could, he gaue the Noblemen and Knights *Granadins* to vnderstand, that they should C  
shew themselves in armes before the castell, to receiue the Kings commandements, and  
namely *Ozmin*, who was not well assured in his conscience, but studied what hee should  
do: yet he came well followed. The Nobility being assembled, the *Alguazil* being faith-  
full to the king, euen after his death, taking the eldest of three sons (which he had left) in  
his armes, he went out of Alhambra, and declared the truth vnto the assembly, how the  
king had benne slaine by the treason of *Mahumet*, and what had followed, and presenting  
the child, who was but twelue yeares old, vnto the knights, hee recommended him vnto  
them, and perswaded them to acknowledge him for their lawfull king. *Ozmin* who was of  
greatest authority among them, was wonderfully perplext, and wauering in his discou-  
ries, yet thinking that he should rule this Infant better then any other, he was the first that D  
gaue his consent, saying, *Mahumet* is our king. His voyce was allowed by all that were  
present, and the brute both of *Ismaels* death, and of the election of *Mahumet* his sonne,  
was disperced through the town: and soone after the new king was led through the streets  
and shewed vnto the *Granadins*, who were discontented at this sudden change, as wel by  
reason of the King murthred, as of the hasty election of his sonne, beeing to young, yet  
it held good: but notwithstanding that this yong *Mahumet* obtained the Realme by a law  
full meanes, yet his end was miserable, being a familiar thing among the Arabians, one  
to spoyle and dispossesse another by wicked and cruell treasons, as a people alwaies void  
of all good gouernement. Such of the conspirators as were not taken, fled: among the  
which was *Mahumet Aben-Alhamar*, who in time returned to Granado, and reigned, as E  
we shall hereafter shew.

Nauarre.

What past in Naurre during the raigne of *Philip* the Long, who dyed about the time  
of these reuolutions in Granado, we find not any thing worth the relating: only mention  
is made of a Gouernor for the king in that Realme, called *Ponce* of Morentain, whome  
some terme Lord of Rosillon: others, Vicont of Anay, of *Arnaud* of Barbazan Bishop  
of Pampelona, *D. Martin* of Ayuar Standard-bearer of the Realme, *D. Iuigo Peres* de Re-  
da a Knight, *D. John Arnaud* of Elpeleta, of the Abbot of Lerin, of *D. Martin* *Imenes* of  
Vris, *D. Pedro Ximenes* of Mirafuentes, *D. Garcia Martinez* of Ollaquai, *Diego Martinez*  
of Vris, and *Michel Martinez* of Arleeta, knights, who made the Councell of state of that  
Realme.

### The end of the thirteenth Booke.

THE



## THE FOURTEENTH BOOKE of the Historie of Spaine.

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Charles

### Charles the Faire, the first of that name, and eight and twentieth King of Navarre.

**T**O King Philip, being dead at Fontainebleau without heires male, succeeded in the yeere of our Lord 1321. his brother Charles the Faire, in the two Realmes of France and Navarre, to the prejudice of his Neece Jeanne, the lawfull heire of Navarre. Charles when hee was farre from these successions, had put away Blanche his wife, being convicted of adultery, as hath beene sayd, whose lifewas faued, for that the marriage might bee dissolued without death, by the Popes authority, for that there was betwixt the husband and the wife a spiritual alliance, which had made the marriage unlawfull, so as by consequent there was no adultery, but simple fornication, for that Charles the Faire was Godfather to Blanche. Wherefore hee tooke to his second wife the daughter of Henry of Luxembourg Emperor, and sister to John King of Bohemia, having first demanded in marriage Donna Violant of Arragon, daughter to the King D. James the second, but could not obtaine her, for some reasons. In the beginning of King Charles his raigne, Ponce Morant being Gouvernor and Viceroy of the country, the castle of Gorriti was surprized by them of Guipuscoa from the Navarrais: for this and other considerations, the Gouvernor having raised an army of Navarrais and French, entred into Guipuscoa, being resolved to put the country to fire and sword: and beginning by Toloufa in Guipuscoa, he burned Beraategui, and did incredible harm, sparing neither holy nor prophane. Marching towards Beotiba, the Navarrais army was stayed at the foot of the mountaines by the Guipuscoans, who were gathered together to the number of eight hundred (some say eight thousand) in armes, vnder the conduct of Gil Lopes of Ognés, Lord of Larrea, and were seized vpon the Straights and places of advantage, where the army should passe, having planted some pealants vpon the tops of the rockes and precipices, who when the body of the army being advanced in these difficult passages, should march, they should roule downe pipes full of stones, which they had prepared, the which ouerthrew many, and besides put such a disorder in the army, as that eight hundred armed men which were vpon the passages, presented themselves, and put all their enemies to rout, with a wonderfull slaughter, and tooke all their baggage: the which was esteemed worth a hundred thousand liuers, a matter almost incredible, considering the inequality of their forces, but it is witnessed, not onely by the records of Guipuscoa, but also of Navarre, so dangerous is the hazard of warre, and so great an advantage doth the scituation of a country giue, when it is well chosen by a wife and expert captaine.

**E** Amongst the men of marke that were slaine in the Navarrais army, were found the Viceroy's brother, and D. Michel Sanchez Alauas, D. Martin of Roncal, Martin Pritz, the Lord of Rosobel, John Carboran of Leer, John Martines of Medrano, John Henriques, D. Martin de la Pegna, Pero Sotes, John Lopes of Vitos Merin Major of the Mountaine, Peter of Ayuar, Martin of Vrla sonne to Martin of Ayuar, who carried the Standard royal, and others to the number of fife and fifty knights. Amongst the prisoners was Martin of Ayuar and an other sonne of his. The number of souldiars that were slaine, was very great: and of this incounter they doe at this day sing songs, both in Castille and Guipuscoa, in their country language. Here of grew other warres betwixt Castille and Navarre.

**F** In the yeere of our Lord 1324. Queene Mary being dead, King Charles married the third time with Jeanne daughter to Lewis of France, Earle of Eureux, and sister to Philip of Eureux, who was King of Navarre soone after, by reason of his wife Jeanne, daughter to King Lewis Hutin, heire of Navarre. The same yeere Navarette of Pampelonne, by the permission of Charles, was begunne to be re-edified, having beene ruined eight and forty

Marriage of King Charles the first.

Defeat of Navarrais in Guipuscoa.

Men of account slaine.

Third marriage of King Charles.

princes do  
seize cause of  
liberty and  
disorder.

forty yeeres before by *Robert Earle of Arthois*. This King *Charles* the Faire, nor his A brother *Philip* the Long, neuer came into Nauarre, by reason whereof many grew insolent, especially vpon the frontiers, against the will of their Prince, the Gouernors, and Viceroyes winking at them, who regarded more their owne priuat profit and passions then the honour and seruice of their Maister; wherefore betwixt the Nauarrois and Arragonois, of the frontiers of *Sanguessa Real*, and other bordering places, notwithstanding any accord the Kings had made, there was still roades and spoyleing one of another, so as the Arragonois were forced to keepe great garrisons in those parts, where of the King of Arragon complained to King *Charles*, who commanded still that they should liue like neighbours and friends, but he was not obeyed.

In the yeere of our Lord 1328. King *Charles* died at Bois de Vincennes, hauing reigned seuen yeeres and some daies, leauing Queene *Ieanne* his wife with child, who was deliuered of a daughter, called *Blanche*, married afterwards to *Philip* Duke of Orleans, hee was buried at Saint Denis in France. After the death of this King, there were great quarrels and diuisions both in France and Nauarre. In France, for that during the Queenes being with child *Edward* King of England, sonne to *Isabel* of France, sister to the deceased King, maintained that the Government did belong to him: On the other side *Philip* sonne to *Charles* Earle of Valois, cousin germaine to the three last Kings, said that the regency did belong to him, as next heire to the crowne of France, which did not belong but to males descended of males, and was regent. The Queene being deliuered at Bois de Vincennes of a daughter, *Philip*, of Regent was proclaimed King, against the pretensions of *Edward* King of England, who was put by, vnder colour of the Salique law. Hereupon followed great and continuall warres, which had in a manner ruined France, if God had not releued it. These contented a doubtfull tide, which belonged to neither of them, if the crowne had fallne to the femal: for *Ieanne* daughter to King *Lewis* Hutin, did preceede them al.

the seizure  
of the  
law.

The death of King *Charles* being knowne in Nauarre, this nation, which was accustomed to liue licentiously, for that they had not a long time seene the face of their Kings, thought now they had gotten liberty to doe what they pleased; so as they beganne to mutine and to raise seditions in all the townes of the realme. In the end they discharged their choller vpon the Iewes who were dispersed throughout the townes in great numbers, and very odious to the Christians, as well by reason of the diuersity of religion, as for their excessiue vsury, whereby they did exhaust al their substance: wherefore they beganne to spoile them in all places as enemies, at Estella, Viana, Funes, Matzilla and many other places, with so great cruelty, and greedinesse to get, as it is sayd they slue aboute tenne thousand persons of that sect, men, women and little children. To redresse which excessse, and to take away the cause, the Estates of Nauarre assembled at Puente la Reyna, to resolute without any respect, to whom the realme of Nauarre belonged, whether to *Edward* King of England or to *D. Ieanne* Countesse of Eux. The Estates were referred to Pampelone, the chiefe towne of the Realme, whereas their opinions were diuers, many holding that King *Edward* should haue the Realme of Nauarre, as grandchild (borne of the daughter) to Queene *Ieanne*, daughter to King *Henry*, rather then the Countesse of Eux, in regard of the sex: others, and with more reason, held for the Countesse, who was in the same degree, but daughter to a sonne, and heire to Queene *Ieanne*; and prevailed, drawing the rest to their opinion.

3 Thus was *Ieanne* Countesse of Eux declared the true and lawfull Queene of Nauarre, in the yeere of our Lord 1328. the realme hauing beene vacant aboute four months. And vntill that she and Count *Philip* her husband, should come and take possession of the Realm, they declared Regent and Viceroy *D. Iohn Corboran* of Lect, Standard-bearer of the realme, and *Iohn Martines* of Medrano.

Philip

## Philip the third of that name, the nine and twentieth King of Nauarre.

*Philip* Earle of Eux, sonne to *Lewis* of France, who was sonne to *Philip* the third, sonne to the King *Saint Lewis*, is counted by vs for the nine and twentieth King of Nauarre, the third of that name, and was furnished the noble. As soone as the Election was made by the Estates of Nauar, they sent Ambassadors to *Ph. of Valois* the French King, to let him vnderstand the reasons that the King elected had vnto the realme, which had moued the Estates to make this election; and by the same Ambassadors they aduertised *Philip* of Eux and *Ieanne* his wife thereof, summoning them to come and take possession of the realme, and to gouerne it. The French King did no way hinder it, wherefore the Kings of Nauarre elect prepared for their voyage, and arriued there about the beginning of the yeere of our Lord 1329. hauing not seene a King in their country of a long time. The Prelats, Knights and wife men of the realme before their coming, had set downe in writing the conditions whereto they would receiue them in the luccession of the realme, the which before the solemnities of the coronation and soth, they presented vnto *Philip* and to *Ieanne* his wife, the which they yeelded willingly vnto. The Estates being assembled at Pampelone, these conditions were sworne by C them, whereof the principal Articles were.

Articles sworn  
by the Kings  
of Nauarre.

- 1 First to the Estates to maintaine and keepe the rights, lawes, customes, liberties and preiudges of the Realme, both written and not written, and whereof they were in possession, to them and their successors for euer, and not to diminish, but rather augment them.
- 2 That they should disanull all that had beene done to the preiudice thereof by the Kings their Predecessours, and by their Ministers, without delay, notwithstanding any let.
- 3 That for the terme of twelue yeeres to come, they should not coine any money, but such as was then currant within the Realme, and that during their liues they should not coine aboute one sort of new money, and that they should distribute part of the reuenues, profits and commodities of the realme vnto the subiects.
- 4 That they should not receiue into their seruice aboute foure strangers, but should employ them of the country.
- 5 That the forts and garrisons of the realme, should bee giuen to gentlemen borne and dwelling in the Country, and not to any stranger: who should doe homage to the Queene, and promise for to hold them for her, and for the lawfull heire of the countie.
- 6 That they should not exchange nor ingage the realme for any other Estat whatsoever.
- 7 That they should not sell nor ingage any of the reuenues of the crowne, neither should make any law nor statute against the realme, nor against them that should lawfully succeed therein.
- 8 That to the first sonne which God should giue them, comming to the age of twenty yeeres, they should leaue the Kingdome free and without factions, vpon condition that the Estates should pay vnto them for their experiences a hundred thousand Saneches (which was a peece of gold then currant) or in other French money equivalent.
- 9 That if God gaue them no children, in that case they should leaue the realme after them free, with the forts, in the hands of the Estates, to inueit them to whom by right it should belong.
- 10 That if they infringe any of these Articles, or any part of them, the subiects should bequit of their oath of subiection which they ought them.

These Articles being promised and sworne by the King and Queene, they were solemnly crowned, and the Deputies of the Estates, Noblemen and Officers of the crowne tooke

Coronation of  
Philip of Au-  
vergne.

4

Genealogy of  
Nauarre.

5

Beginning of  
the house of  
Beaumont in  
Nauarre.

Donation  
made by the  
Infant D. Al-  
phonso de la  
Cerda to the  
Kings of Na-  
uarre.

Ambassadors  
sent from Na-  
uarre to Ca-  
stille.

tooke their oath of obedience, in the Cathedral church of Pampelone. And afterwards A there were orders set downe by the King and Queene for the Government of the Realme: the which being written were sent into France, and confirmed by King Philip of Valois at Paris the same yeere of our Lord 1329. After that time the French Kings had no command in Nauarre, hauing held that realme eight and fifty yeeres vnto the crowne of France: yet King Philip of Valois retained of the inheritance of his cousin, the Countesse of Bry, and a while after hee gaue them other lands in exchange, yet not of that value.

Philip and Jeanne King of Nauarre had these children following, Charles who succeeded in the realme, Philip Earle of Longueuille, Lewis Earle of Beaumont le Royer, and afterwards Duke of Duras, Jeanne married to the vicon of Rohan, Mary Queene of Arragon, wife to D. Pedro the ceremonious, Blanche Queene of France, last wife to Philip of Valois, and Agnes Countesse of Foix married to Gaston Phibus: some of which were borne before their Election, and some after. Lewis the third sonne of this marriage was Earle of Beaumont in Normandie, for that he married the heire of that house, by whom he had one sonne called Charles of Beaumont, who married the daughter of the Vicon of Maulcon in Nauar, and was the first Standard-bearer of the realm, through the fauour of King Charles his vncl. Of this Charles of Beaumont is descended the house of Beaumont in Nauarre. After the death of the Countesse of Beaumont, Lewis married Jeanne daughter and heire to the Duke of Duras, vpon the coast of Macedonia, towards the Adriatique sea, and was intitled Duke.

These things being done in Nauarre, King Philip being aduertised that the French King marched with a mighty army against the Flemings rebelled, who had chased away Lewis their Earle, and committed many insolencies against the Kings Officers, both in words and deeds: he parted out of Nauarre, being loath to faile him at need who had so kindly suffred him to take possession of the Realme, leauing the Queene D. Jeanne to gouerne Nauarre. He was present at the batraile which King Philip of Valois gaue the Flemings at Cassel, whereas twenty thousand were slaine vpon the place: by means whereof Count Lewis was restored to his Estate, and the Flemings subdued. This warre being ended, the King of Nauarre returned into his realme: It was then that the Infant D. Alphonso de la Cerda, sonne to D. Fernand, eldest sonne to King D. Alphonso the Astrologuer, being ill intreated in Castille, where he pretended the crowne, made a donation vnto the crowne of Nauarre, of the rights which he pretended in Guipulcoa, Alaua, Rioja and other lands, the which had in former times belonged to Nauarre, and were usurped and retained by the Kings of Castille. Some asseme that this donation was made in the yeere of our Lord 1330. But howsoeuer, King Philip desirous to do Iustice, & to gouerne his Realme wel, which had great need, and therefore was necessary to entertaine peace with his neighbours, made no great account thereof at that time, but sent Ambassadors to D. Alphonso then reigning in Castille, to seeke his friendship. The Ambassadors found the King at Talauera la Reyna, who entertained them well. Their Ambassage was, that the Realme hauing many yeeres wanted the Soueraigne Magistrate, and in a manner abandoned by their Kings, it was no wonder if many things had happened contrarie to the ancient alliances betwixt the houses of Castille and Nauarre, for what did the Viceroyes and Gouernours care, being strangers (hauing no resemblance of manners, nor other bond of friendship with the Spaniards) how all things went so as they were obeyed in the country, and that they might vaunt they had rather done wrong, then receiued any keeping continuall garisons of strangers, ready to commit any insolencies: whereof God had some times shewed his Iudgement, euen in the last encounter neere vnto Beotibar: where by an extraordinary and miraculous punishment, God had chastised the negligence of the foure last Kings, which had held the realme of Nauarre, who had respected it so little as they had scarce looked towards it, yea the two last neuer came neere it, which had made the bad to grow more insolent, and so to continue, vntill that the lawfull heires of the crowne of Nauarre were come to their possession, by the decease of King Charles the Faire, Philip Earle of Euerux, husband

A husband to their true Queene D. Jeanne, being called to raigne, who had sent this Ambassage vnto him, to let him vnderstand these things, as a neighbour Prince and friend, with whom they desired to entertaine peace and friendship, by all good offices which Princes and neighbour Estates may receiue one from another.

The King D. Alphonso hauing heard this Ambassage, fitted vnto the desires of the new Kings of Nauarre, moderating the things which had past betwixt these two realms, before their Election, answered, that hee was glad the Nauarrois had had meanes to recover them for their Kings, to whom the crowne did by right belong, and that for his part he desired to entertaine a perpetuall friendship with King Philip and Queene Jeanne, and to shew it by the effects in any occasion that should be offered, wherewith he would acquaint his subiects, to the end their Kings vassals, both Nauarrois and French, should be well intreated in Castille, and if any wrong were done them, it should be repaired: and that they should aduertise their Kings on his behalfe, to doe the like in their countries. The Ambassadors returning with this answer, gaue great contentment to King Philip, who to administer Iustice, erected a new Court of Parliament in Nauarre, the which was called New to distinguish it from the Old, hee and the three Estates of the realme naming men, worthy of that charge. The like Ambassage was sent by him into Arragon and Portugal, who were returned with pleasing answers. Matters being thus settled in a better Estate then before, the King and Queene returned into France, leauing for Gouernor a French gentleman, called Henry of Guliac, or of Solibert; but C with a more limyted power then former Viceroyes and Gouernours. Such was the Estate of Nauarre vnto the yeere 1331.

Letvs now returne to the History of Arragon, the which we haue left at the new conquest of Sardinia, in the which soone after the departure of the Infant D. Alphonso they set to rebellion, beginning in the towne of Sassari, the which is one of the greatest of the Island, by the faction of them of the house and family of Oria, great and mighty Lords, especially in that towne, whereof the chiefe were Francequin, Mastin, Branca, and Vinciguerra, all of the family of Oria. These with their partisans hauing sought many meanes to expell the garrison of Arragonois which was at Sassari, in the end they rebelled openly, and by their example, and vpon the first opportunity, the Pisans holding the city and castile of Cagliari, seemed to haue a desire to doe the like: whereof the King of Arragon being aduertised, he neglected all other desires, and thought of the preservation of this Island, which hee had subdued with great charge and losse: and for the which and for that of Corsica, hee was bound to pay vnto the Pope and to the Sea of Rome, an excessive tribute of two thousand markes of siluer, and to entertaine a certaine number of souldiers for the defence of the church.

The decease of D. Sancho King of Majorca without children, had made him desirous to ioyne the Islands and the Siegneuries which he had enjoyed vpon the firme land to his crowne of Arragon, wherefore he had sent the Infant D. Alphonso into the counties of Rossillon and Cerdagne, with forces to seize thereon, but he was so careful of the affaires of Sardinia, as he did easily incline to the request which D. Philip, brother to the deceased King of Majorca, made in fauour of his Nephew D. James, sonne to the Infant D. Fernand, brother, who as wee haue sayd died Prince of Morea: wherefore the realme of Majorca, and the succession of the King D. Sancho was left vnto this D. James being yet very young, except the right of Soueraignty. Being now forced to send an army into Sardinia, to his great charge, the Pope was intreated by the Infant D. Pedro (who was sent Ambassador expressly to that end by the king his father) being at Auiignon, to abate this tribute to five hundred markes, and to exempt him from the moiety of the souldiers pay, wherevnto he was liable by reason of the same contract, and for the sayd Islands, for the defence of the territories of the church. The Infant D. Pedro was courteously receiued by the Pope, and fauourably heard in the consistory, where he obtained abatement of halfe the tribute and of the souldiers pay for tenne yeeres, and moreouer to receiue the tithes for two yeeres.

In the meane time the King D. James armed twelue gallies in Cattelogne, and sent the before to Sardinia, vnder the charge of Bernard Celsuade, to assist the Arragonois, and

Ambassadors  
from Nauarre  
to Arragon  
and Portugal.

Arragon.

Sardinians  
bels against  
the Arrago-  
nois.

D. James King  
of Sicily, and  
sonne of this  
name.

and others that held for him in the Island: *Barnabo* who had beene faithfull to the King. A of Arragon, was now dead, whose children *Cassan*, *Galtor*, *Geoffroy* and *Brancalen*, threw themselves enemies vnto him, and so in like manner did *Federic*, *Azon* and *Iohn Malefina*, Marquises, who were rich and of great power in Sardinia: Norwithstanding that their vnclcs *Christian Spinola*, entertained the friendship of the King D. *James*, and was acceptable vnto him. These men by a general conspiracy, had taken armes, in fauour of an army which the Pisane and the Gibiline faction of Genoa did raise to send into Sardinia, the which was newly increased by two and twenty Genoua gallies, which had beene first entertained by *Frederic* King of Sicile, making warre against *Robert* King of Naples, of the which *Gasper d' Oria* was General, who afterwards leauing the party of the Arragonois and Sicilians, and carrying away the King D. *Fredericks* money, hee ioyned with the Pisans, who made him Admiral of all the fleet. Then beganne there cruel warres betwixt the Cattelans and Geneuiois, whom *Francisco Carrofo*, General of the Gallies of Arragon, and a sworne enemy to that nation, did punish severely when as he tooke any one of their Pirates. Having imbarcked certaine troupes of old fouldiers, Arragonois and Cattelans, he came and presented himselfe before the port of Cailieri, about the end of August, in the yeere 1325. and held the city and fort as it were besieged.

Estates of Arragon.

This yeere the Estates were called at Sarragossa in Arragon, where were present D. *Pedro de Luna*, Archbishop of Sarragossa, D. *Sancho* de Arragon the Kings brother, Don *Cornel*, D. *Pero Martinez de Luna*, D. *Blasco* de Verga, D. *Iohn Ximenes* of Vitrea, Don *Symon* de Foffes, Don *Raymond* de Pezau, Don *Martin Gil* of Atrofil, Don *Gombald Tramsasset*, Don *William Entenza*, Don *Michel Peres Gortorio*, Don *Gil Garces* of Atrofil, Don *Michel Gurrea*, Don *Blasco Mazza* de Celles, Don *Symon Peres* de Punia, Don *Artorella* of Ortis, Don *Garcia Peres penna acuta*, D. *Pedro Ruis* de Sagra, D. *Ponce Ignes Entenza*, D. *Lope Ximenes* de Luna, D. *Pedro de Laino*, D. *Michel Peres Zapata*, with other Noblemen and Knights that were present, and the Deputies of D. *Blasco* de Alagon, of D. *Lopes* de Luna, of D. *Alphonso* *Fernand* of Ixar, and others absent, and the Deputies of the townes and commonalties hauing any place in the sayd Estates. There D. *Pedro*, sonne to the Infant D. *Alphonso*, was sworne presumptiue heire, and successor to the crowne, after the decease of the Grandfather and father: the which was then decreed and practised, for that Don *Pedro* Earle of Ribagorça and Ampurias did maintaine that if his brother D. *Alphonso* should die before their father, the realme did belong to him by right of Proximity, wherefore he refused then to sweare vnto his Nephew, but hee did afterwards. There the Articles of the generall priuiledges were confirmed, the which had beene accorded and sworne by the deceased King Don *Pedro*, and it was ordained for a law, that no free man should be put to the racke, and that confiscations should not be allowed, but in cases of coynying, and high treason.

The young King of Majorca being vnder the Gouernment of his vncl D. *Philip*, E was there made sure to Don *Constance* of Arragon, daughter to the Infant Don *Alphonso*, hee beinge eleuen yeeres old, and she but fiue: these were the chiefe actes of this assembly.

The Pisans army, led by *Gasper d' Oria*, approaching neere vnto the Gulph of Cailieri, whereas *Francisco Carrofo* laye with the army of Arragon, there was a cruel and dangerous battaile for the looser, for their rests were vp: but the Arragonois were victors, who by this memorable victory, tooke a part of the towne of Caillieri, called Stampace; being assailed at sea by *Francisco Carrofo*, and at Land by *Raymond* de Sealarra. Soone after there fell so dangerous a sedition betwixt the Land and seaforces of the Arragonois, as both captaines and fouldiers ranne like madde men one vpon another with greater obstinacy then against their enemies, and many were cruelly slaine: so as this rage had in a manner ruined the Arragonois Estate in that Island, but God had otherwise decreed: for the Pisans being very weake, and brought low with the long precedent warres, which they had sustained both against the Geneuiois and Arragonois, did quit the Island of Sardinia, by an agreement made betwixt the King

Pisanes quite the Island of Sardinia.

A King of Arragon, and their Senat, in the yeere of our Lord 1326: so as the towne of Saffari was yielded to the Arragonois, the Marquis of Malapina succeding, and promising to be obedient to the King and his Liegeaus. Thus the Kings of Arragon became Lords of Sardinia without contradiction, for a time: but in their owne country of Cattelogne, and Valencia, there wanted no troubles and quarrels, which grew amongst the Nobles of the country, beinge an extraordinary thing, that whereas there is great store of idle Nobilitie; there is alwaies warre and contention; to the oppression of the people. In the yeere of our Lord 1327, *Arnold Roger* Earle of Palliers, and *Raymond Folch* Vicount of Cardona, went then in armes one against another, by reason of a murder committed on the person of D. *William Queral*, whereof the Earle of Palliers was accused, and either of them hauing a great troupe of friends and Partisans, held all Cattelogne in confusion; with their horrible insolencies. In the country of Valencia, D. *James*, Lord of Xerica, was in quarrell with his owne mother, D. *Beatrice* of Loriz, and would haue put her out of her lands and possessions, so as this quarrel did in a manner diuide the King and his sonne D. *Alphonso*, the one supporting the mother, and the other the sonne. These quarrels were reconciled with much paine: for when as the Soueraigne Magistrate doth meddle in his subjects quarrels, and of a Iudge becomes a Partisan, his authority leanes to the one side, and the remedies are more difficult, and lesse effectuell. D. *James* of Xerica, during these troubles, married the widowe Queene of D. *Sancho* of Majorca, whose name was *Mary*, sister to *Robert* King of Naples, a woman of an vnchast life. In the yeere of our Lord 1327. Don *James* the Young of Majorca did homage for the Islands, and Land which hee held, as well in Cattelogne, as on this side the mountaines to the King of Arragon, as to his foweraigne, in the presence of Don *Philip* his vncl and Tutor, Don *Pedro* and Don *Raymond Berenger*, the Kings children, Casten of Moncade, Bishoppe of Huelca, and many others: and within few daies after Don *James* King of Arragon died in the towne of Barcelona, hauing reigned fixe and thirty yeeres, foure monthes and a halfe. A Prince rather inclined to good then bad, to whom learning and learned men owe the foundation of the Vniuersitie of Lerida; in Cattelogne, seuen and twenty yeeres before his death, which hee endowed with many preuiledges, and would haue that alone throughout all his dominions, forbidding all other schooles but for Grammer and Logicke. His bodie lies buried in the Monastery of Santa Cruz.

Pisanes quite the Island of Sardinia.

Troubles and quarrels where there is much idle Nobilitie.

The two sides should be reconciled, as a Judge and not a Partisan in his subjects quarrels.

## D. Alphonso the fourth of that name, the twelfth King of Arragon.

E On *Alphonso* his sonne, succeeded him, to whom was giuen the surname of pittifull. Hee was not the eldest, but that Don *James* his eldest brother, quitting in his fathers life time, the succession of the crowne of Arragon, as wee haue said, entered and inserted himselfe into that Order of Knights of Saint Iohn of Ierusalem: Hee was King.

This was his issue. During his fathers life, hee married first Donna *Theresa* of Entenza, Countesse heire of Virgell, by whom hee had the Infant Don *Pedro*, borne at seuen monthes end, who was King, and the Infant Don *James* Earle of Virgell and Vicount of Ajar, and moreouer foure other sonnes and one daughter, who died verie yong, and are interred at Sarragossa in Saint Francis Church with their mother Donna *Constance*, who was wife vnto Don *James* the last King of Majorca. Donna *Theresa* had not the title of a Queene, for that shee died foure daies before the King Don *James* her father in lawe. Being King, hee tooke to his second wife, Donna *Leonora* of Castille, daughter to the King Don *Fernand* the fourth, who was mother to Don *Fernand* Marquise of Tortosa, who married at Eborra, Donna *Maria* of Portugal, daughter

Genealogy of Arragon.



Don *John Manuel* revolted against his King and country, by reason of the disloyalty A  
voted to *D. John* the blinde, and allied himselfe with the Kings of Arragon and Granada,  
being the more incensed with the newes hee had, that the King treated a marriage with  
the Infanta of Portugal, leauing his daughter *D. Constance Manuel*, to whom hee was  
made sure, as we haue sayd. The Infanta was called *Mary*, and was daughter to King *D.*  
*Alphonso*, who had in the yeere of our Lord 1325, succeeded King *Denis* his father in the  
realme of Portugal, and of *D. Beatrice* of Castile, sister to the King *D. Fernand* the  
fourth, so as she was cousin Germaine to his future Spouse.

### D. Alphonso the fourth of that name, the seuenth King of Portugal.

Portugal.

Genealogy of  
Portugal.

8 **T**HIS *D. Alphonso* of Portugal was surnamed the braue, for that he was valiant and  
generous. He was about five and thirty yeeres old, when hee beganne to reigne,  
and had bene made sure to *D. Beatrice*, being but eight yeeres old, and was married at  
the age of sixteen. They had many children, whereof *Alphonso*, *Dennis* and *Iohn* the  
young; then they had *D. Pedro*, who was King after his father, *Donna Maria*, of whose C  
marriage with King *D. Alphonso* of Castile, we haue begunne to speake, and *D. Leonna*  
or *Eluira*, who was wife to *D. Pedro* the Ceremonious, King of Arragon. This King  
*D. Alphonso* had bene very turbulent in his fathers life time, maintayning certain reb-  
bels against him: yet being come vnto the crowne, hee became vertuous, and a great  
fauourer of Iustice, making many good lawes, and governing his realme wisely: yet  
hee had great quarrels with *D. Alphonso Sanchez* his bastard brother, to the great op-  
pression of his subiects: for Don *Alphonso Sanchez* was a braue knight, and could well  
defend himselfe, hauing the fauour of the Castilians, and of the King of Arragon,  
who sought many meanes to reconcile them, but in vaine. The subiects of their quar-  
rels was onely ielousie, conceiued in the heart of King *D. Alphonso*, for that King *Denis* D  
their father had loued this bastard exceedingly. But in the end the King was Maister,  
neuer ceasing vntill he had chased him into Castile, after which he confiscated his goods,  
and proceeded against him by course of Iustice.

Castille.

Dukes, Mar-  
quises and  
Earles are  
hereditary in  
Spaine.

9 During the treaty of marriage betwixt *D. Maria* of Portugal and *D. Alphonso*  
King of Castile, *D. John Manuel*, with the helpe of the Arragonois and Granadins, be-  
ganne to ouerrunne the territories of Castile, from Almanza vnto Pegasus, ruining,  
burning and spoyling all they encountered: Then did the King make his well-beloued  
fauorite and counsellor, *D. Aluar Nunez Osorio*, Earle of Translamar, Lemos and E  
*Sarrica*, and Lord of Riuiera and Cabrera, for in those daies there was no Earldome  
hereditary in Castile nor Leon, and hereof Spaine doth yet retainne those maiesties of  
antiquity, that the children of Noblemen carrying the titles of Dukes, Marquises or  
Earles (which were all personall and temporall dignities) dare not take them after  
the decease of their fathers, without a new permission from the King, except some which  
haue that right by priuilege.

Murder of  
Garciado de  
La Vega.

Hee did this to oppose him to *D. John Manuel*, against whom hee sent *D. Garci-  
do de la Vega*, whilst that hee remained at Cordoua, and prepared for his future mar-  
riage with the Infanta of Portugal: Don *Garciado* comming to Soria, was ill recei-  
ued, for the Nobility hauing had a false aduertisement that hee was comethether to  
be carried many Knights prisoners, they murdered him in Saint Francis Church, be-  
ing at Masse with his people. These were the fruites of the Infidelity which F  
King had vsed against Don *John* the Blinde, a Prince of his owne blood, by reason  
whereof euerie one grewe very ielous both of him, and of his priuate seruants. This  
murder did much displease the King, and incensed him against Don *John Manuel* more  
then before.

Hee

A Hee came to Toledo, where hauing assembled great forces, hee went and besieged  
Eicalona. *D. John Manuel* on the other side laid siege to Huete, but neither of them  
preuailed. The marriage with the Infanta of Portugal was in the end concluded,  
and moreouer *D. Blanche*, daughter to the deceased *D. Pedro* of Castile, the Kings vic-  
cle, was accorded to the Infant *D. Pedro* of Portugal. Pope *Iohn* being aduertised  
of the result of Castile, gaue charge to Don *Pedro* of Toledo, Bishop of Carthagen,  
newly made Cardinal, to mediate a peace in the realme, interposing his Apostolike  
authority: but hee labored in vaine; for hee found the King so incensed, as hee would  
not heare of any composition with his subiects, giuing the Cardinal probable rea-  
sons: wherefore hee made his report vnto the Pope, and discharged himselfe of his  
B commission.

During these troubles, *D. Fernand Rodriguez* of Bilbao; Prior of Saint Iohn, a great  
friend to Don *John Manuel*, caused the cities of Toro and Zamora to rebell against the  
King, saying that it was by reason hee had aduanced *D. Aluar Nunez Osorio* to the  
dignity of an Earle: the towne of Vaileddolit did the like, whereas *Ioseph* of Ecceia  
a few intending generall of the imposts, had like to haue bene slaine. Hereupon the King  
left the siege of Eicalona; and came to Vaileddolit where the inhabitants, being  
animated by the Prior of Saint Iohn, shut the gates against him: yet being come to  
a parle with Don *Iohn Martines de Leyua*, *Iohn Velez* of Gueuara, *Fernand Ladrón* of  
Rioja, and *Rais Diaz* his brother, *Pero Rodriguez* of Villega, and *Garciado de la Vega*,  
sonne to him that had bene slaine at Soria: these knights and others wrought so, as  
C the King dismissed the Earle Don *Aluar Nunez*, and so was receiued into the towne;  
and by the same meanes hee made a composition with Toro and Zamora, from  
thence hee went to Ciudad Rodrigo, to celebrate his marriage.

Seeking for to retire out of Don *Aluar*'s hands, the forces which hee had giuen vn-  
to him in charge, hee could not recover them all, and moreouer Don *Aluar*, be-  
ing discontented with this disgrace, hee presently went and ioyned with Don *John Ma-  
nuell*: whereupon the King was aduised to kill him: And seeking a murderer, and  
a fit occasion, hee found a man furnished with the qualities of a disloyall Courtier:  
this was *Rasmyr Flores de Guzman*, who notwithstanding that hee had bene a verie  
D great friend to the Earle, offered to dispatch him, vpon the great promises which  
the King made him: wherefore sayning to bee in disgrace with him hee went vnto the  
Earle, by whom being well entertained, luying and lying together, hee had meanes  
and opportunity to kill him: whilst that the King did celebrate his marriage in Al-  
fayates, and did capitulate with *D. Alphonso* King of Portugal, who came in person to  
Font Grimald.

The Court being come neere to Medina del Campo, the King was aduertised of  
the death of Count *Aluar*, to iustifie the which hee caused his processe to bee made, and  
condemned him himselfe sitting in the seat of Iustice at Tordehumos: hee caused his  
body to be burned, and his goods to bee confiscated as a traitor, whereof *Ramis Flores*  
E of *Guzman* had for his reward, and the price of his friends blood, which he had shed, the  
castle of Beluer, and the towne of Caberos. These are commonly the fauours of the  
best beloued Courtiers, which abuse the familiarity of their Kings, or relie to much  
thereon. King Don *Alphonso* perceiving the misery whereinto hee did runne, desired  
to make a peace with Don *John Manuel*, but hee laboured in vaine, for the Prior of Saint  
Iohn vndid all that hee could doe.

The same yeere, being the yeere of our Lord 1329, the marriage which had bene  
treated some monethes before, betwixt Don *Alphonso* King of Arragon and *D. Leonora*  
of Castile, sister to this King Don *Alphonso* of Castile, was celebrated at Tarassone, Arragon.  
F whereas both Kings met, being accompanied by many Princes, Princesses, Pre-  
lates and Knights, and the Ambassadors of Don *Alphonso* King of Portugal. There  
was the league renewed betwixt the three Estates of Castile, Arragon and Portugal, and  
decreed not to receiue one an others Rebels, promising withall to assist the King of  
Castile in his warres against the Moores, with the forces of Arragon and Portugall  
Tt 3 what



what issue came of this marriage wee haue before related, when as *D. Leonora* saw her A  
selfe mother to Don *Fernand* her first sonne, which was at the end of the yeere, bee-  
fing desirous hee should succeed the King his father, theee fought by all meanes to  
shewe her selfe a stepmother to Don *Pedro*, her husbands sonne by his first wife, but  
hee finding it, hee kept himselfe farre off during his fathers life. Don *Pedro* for his part  
was of a rough and fowert disposition.

As soone as the Infant *D. Fernand* was borne, the King his father gaue him the  
Marquisate of Tortose and Albarazin, contrary to the Edit and law of Daroca, where-  
of wee haue made mention, whereas the Estates were much discontented, and with  
them the Infant *D. Pedro*, Don *Pedro* de Luna, Archbishop of Saragossa, Don *Michel*  
*Gurrea*, who was at it were Governour of the Realme, a dignity which they were wont B  
to giue to the eldest Princes of Arragon, Don *Pedro* and *Symon Gurrea* brethren:  
this last was Abbot of Montarragon, *Vidal* of Villanoua, *Garcia de Leris*, *Michel Zapate*,  
and other Noblemen: yet they were forced to haue patience, for *D. Alphonso* King of  
Arragon suffered himselfe to bee wholly governed by *D. Leonora*: this was the first sub-  
iect of hatred betwixt *D. Pedro* and her.

Castile.

The King of Castile being much discontented for the death of *D. Garcilaso de*  
*la Vega*, came presently after his marriage to his aunt being at Soria, where causing  
informations to bee made against the murderers hee condemned the guiltie to death,  
and did confiscate their goods. Hee assembled the Estates of all his realmes at Ma-  
drid, of whom hee obtained a guilt of great summes of Maraudis of gold, to make C  
warre against the Moores, who that yeere had sodainly taken the towne of Priego.  
*D. John Manuel*, as well for the marriage betwixt the King of Arragon, and the Infan-  
ta of Castile, as for that his wife, sister to the King of Arragon, was newly dead, lost  
his support on that side: yet hee married againe with *D. Blanche*, daughter to the Infant  
*D. Fernand de la Cerde*, younger brother to *D. Alphonso de la Cerde*, cousin to *D. John*  
*Nugnes de Lara*, which *de Lara* married at the same time the daughter of *D. John*  
blinde, the heire of Biscay, who was yet at Bayone, whether shee had bene conuied,  
when her father was slaine, her name was *Mary*.

The King being prest to resist the Inuasions of the Moores, hee found meane to  
make a peace with Don *John Manuel*, to whom hee restored Donna *Constance* his daugh- D  
ter, whom hee had kept in the castle of Toro, and graunted vnto him certaine other  
conditions, whereby hee pacified the intestine troubles of the realme. Being at Val-  
ledolir, hee caused *Joseph* of Eccia, the Jew, to yeeld an account of the reuenues of his  
customes, and for that there had bene great complaints made of him, hee tooke that  
charge from him, ordaining that from thenceforth it should bee discharged by Christi-  
ans, with the title of Treasurers, and not of Customers.

In the yeere of our Lord 1330. the Kings of Castile and Portugal, meeting at Font  
Grimald, renewed their alliances and leagues, and did capitulate a new, that the King  
of Portugal should assist him of Castile, with six hundred horse for the Moores  
of warre: and then was a marriage celebrated betwixt Don *Pedro* the Infant of Por- E  
tugal, and Donna *Blanche* daughter to Don *Pedro* of Castile. The Rendezvous for the  
Christians army was appointed at Cordoua, whether the King came with his hund-  
red horse Portugois: led by the maister of the troupes of the Order of Christus: so as all  
things being ready they laied siege to Thiebe Hardales.

Moores.

*Mahumet* King of Granado, who kept himselfe in a manner alwaies in the castle  
of Alhambra, gaue the whole conduct of the warre to *Ozmin*, who hauing taken Pruna  
by treason came and lodged with six thousand horse, and good troupes of foote at Tu-  
chiron, three leagues from Thiebe, seeking by his continuall alarmes to diuert the Chri-  
stians seage, making daylie skirmishes about the riuer of Guadathiebe, which was the  
common watering of both armies: notwithstanding all this, the Christians continued  
their battery, and the towne was valiantly defended by the Inhabitants, who burned F  
the Engines of battery with wilde fire, and did frustrate many of the assaillants attempts.  
In the end *Ozmin* desirous to raise the seage, hee resolved to charge the campe with this  
pollicie. He diuided his army into two, and sent three thousand horses farre about, and  
by

Str. 1227m  
of Ozmin.

A by covered places, to charge the Christian army behind, or in flanke, vpon signe giuen,  
whilst that he with the other three thousand, and his footmen did set vpon them in front,  
thinking that the whole armie would make head against him, and that whilst they were  
in fight, the rest falling vpon them with great cries, should amaze them, and easily  
disorder them: but hee layed in this disservice: for the king of Castile being aduertised by  
his spies, that part of the Moores army was disbanded, and that the rest came against him,  
hee appointed a good squadron of horse to defend the reere, and he with the rest went to  
incounter *Ozmin*, whom hee fought withall and repulsed, and had defeated him, if the  
three thousand horse, which hee had sent to charge the armie behind, had not turned head,  
(finding all things in good order) and come in time to succour *Ozmin*, which was the  
B cause hee was not wholly defeated. Whilst they were in fight, the king sent two thousand  
horse to assaile the Moores campe, and to spoyle their baggage, the which they effected,  
bringing away many prisoners.

This ill-succeeding enterprize was poorly repayed the next day by the Moores, who  
sue about fifty fouldiers whom they found disbanded about the riuer, and this was all:  
wherefore they retired, and the seage was continued: and then the Moores being out  
of hope of succours, yeelded to haue their liues saued. Afterwards Priego and Lagnera  
were yeelded, and the forts of Cuenas and Ortexica recouered, which had bene aban-  
doned by the Moores.

With these victories king *D. Alphonso* returned to Seuille, being much incensed against  
Don *John Manuel*, who had still secret intelligence with the king of Granado, and being  
ill affected to *D. Alphonso*, had not stirred during the seage, notwithstanding that hee had  
promised to assaile the Moores towards Murcia, neither was hee much contented with  
the Portugois, who left him almost at the beginning of the seage of Thiebe, and returned  
to their houses. By reason of these infidelities, hee resolved to haue peace with the king of  
Granado, who sought it and accepted what hee offered to haue peace with the king of  
Castile, who should pay him twelve thousand doubions of yearly tribute, and do him homage for  
his Realme of Granado, so as he might be allowed to draw victuals out of the Christians  
country, paying the twentieth penny.

The king *D. Alphonso* being at Seuille without any cares of warre, he gaue him-  
D selfe to the long sought loue of Donna *Leonora* of Guzman, daughter to Don *Pero* *Nug-*  
*nes de Guzman*, who had bene wife to Don *John de Vela*, whom hee enioyed. This La-  
dy (who had not her like for beautie in all Spaine) did so gouerne him, as hee did not any  
thing but by her will, excusing himselfe that the Queene Donna *Maria*, whom hee had  
married but two yeeres before, had no children. Being come from Seuille to Xeres of Ba-  
dajoz, to visit Queene *Elizabeth* his Grand-mother, Dowager of Portugall, being yet a-  
liue, hee found there by chance the Infant *D. Alphonso de la Cerde*, that came out of France,  
who kist his hand and yeelded vnto him the right which he pretended to the Realmes of  
Castile and Leon, the which hee had long disputed but in vaine. He had the same yeere (as  
some hold) yeelded to *Philip* king of Nauarre, the interest which hee had or might pretend  
E asking of Castile, to Alaua, Rioja, Guipulcoa, and other lands adjacent, of the ancient  
patrimony of Nauarre. The king of Nauarre in recompence gaue him certaine places and  
pensions, to entertayne his estate, and so they continued good friends. This *D. Alphonso*  
*de la Cerde* had married a Lady in France of the blood Royall, named *Maisade*, by whom  
hee had two sonnes, Don *Lewis* and Don *John*: this last was Earle of Angoulesme, and  
Constable of France, during the raigne of King *John*, whom the Historiies of France, cal  
Don *John* of Spaine. Thus Don *Alphonso* was provided for, being issued from the eldest  
sonne of *D. Alphonso* the Learned. Don *John Manuel* the king, seeing that it was now  
time to liue in peace, employed Donna *Leonora* of Guzman, to bring him into fauour,  
the which hee obtained, yet was it not wholly to his content. This Lady was deliuered in  
F the yeere 1331. of a sonne by the king, who was named Don *Pedro*, and to whom the  
king assigned for a perpetuall inheritance, Aguilar del campo, and many other reue-  
nues.

11 In those times they of the Prouince of Alaua, had a custome to chosse a Lord,  
vnder the souerainety of Castile, who did gouerne, and enioyed the reuenues which  
were

custome of  
Alaua.

An. 1331.

were appointed for the Lords of the Countrey: sometimes they were Princes of the A house of Castile, the kings children, and sometimes the Lords of Biscay, or of the house of Lara, or others, as they thought good: for the doing whereof, they were accustomed to assemble in the field of Arriaga, neere to Victoria, and there made their election: and those of this election were called brethren, and the assemblie a Brotherhood. Thither came the chiefe families of Alaua, with the Bishop of Calaozza, and the deputies for the Labourers: the towne of Victoria, and that of Treuigno were not of this assembly, but had bin alwaies vnited to the Crowne. This yeare the Brotherhood sent deputies vnto the king, being at Burgos, desiring him to incorporate them vnto the crowne, and that they might no more choise any Lord, or subalternall gouernour; for that in the factions and seditions past, they had bene distracted from the kings obedience, by the Gouer- B nours, whereby the countrey had suffered much. The King desirous to giue them contentment, assuring his estate the more thereby, and increasing his demeynes, came to Victoria, and from thence to the assembly of the Brotherhood, being in the field of Arriaga, whereas publicly, and in all their names, there was a petition presented vnto him by these Knights hereafter named: D. *Lopes of Mendoza*, D. *Bertrand Iuanes* of Gueuara, Lord of Oña, and *Ladron* of Gueuara his son, *Juan Hurtado* of Mendoza, *Fernand Ruiz* of Mendoza, Arch-deacon of Calaozza, *Ruis Lopes* of Mendoza, sons to D. *Lopes Diego Hurtado* of Mendoza, *Fernand Peres* of Ayala, *Fernand Sanchez* of Velasco, *Gonzalo Iu- Alaua vnited to the Crowne of Castile.* nez of Mendoza, and *Hurtado Diaz* his brother, *Lopes Garcia* of Salazar, and *Ruis Diaz* of Torres. These being followed by many other gentlemen, and the deputies of the Clergie, and third Estate, presented many Articles vnto the King, beseeching him to C grant them, promising for their part, that this should bee their last assembly, and that the name and effect of their Brotherhood should remaine for euer extinct. The King hauing heard them, and giuen the Articles to his Councell to peruse, receiued them, and vnited the Province of Alaua for euer vnto the crowne of Castile; whereof letters were after- ward dispatcht at Victoria in the yeare 1332. And these were the Articles.

- 1 That the King nor his successors should not alienate any place of his demeynes.
- 2 That the gentlemen and their goods should bee free and exempt from all sub- dices, as they had bin heretofore.
- 3 That the Monasteriall Churches and Collations which belonged to Noblemen, should be preferred for them as before, and whereas the Incumbents were not resident, the gentlemen should receiue the reuenues.
- 4 That all Labourers dwelling vpon gentlemen's land, should be subiect vnto them, the Seignourie, and Iustice foweraigne referred to the King, and the Oxe of March, but all amercements should be the Lords.
- 5 That the Gentlemen and others of the countrey should gouerne themselves according to the customes and rights of Soportilla, and in all offences their causes should bee iudged according to the lawes of the Siete partidas.
- 6 That the Iudges royall, and Captaines of castels should be borne and resident in the country, who could not proceed against any one but vpon complaint, vnlesse they were condemned or banished, and that all prisoners should be deliuered vpon caution, vnlesse they were subiect to a corporall punishment.
- 7 That all Labourers dwelling vnder Monasteriall Churches, and Collations of Gentlemen, should bee free and exempted from all tribute and subiection, except the Oxe of March.
- 8 That Labourers dwelling in Pallaces and Castels of Gentlemen, should haue the same exemptions, so as there were but one at once, and those which nurse Gentlemen's lawfull children, should enioy the like priuiledges, during the time of their nouitice- ment.
- 9 The Gentlemen which dwell in villages vnder the Iurisdiction of Victoria, should enioy the same rights with them of the Province of Alaua: wherein should bee obserued the sentence giuen betwixt the towne of Victoria, and the villages thereunto belonging.
- 10 Whofoeuer should kill a Gentleman, should pay 500. solz for a fyne, and whofoe- uer should hurt or dishonor a gentleman, should pay the like summe vnto the party.
- 11 That

11 That

- A 11 That there should be no forges of Iron set vp in the territorie of Alaua, to the end the mountaines should not be consumed.
- 12 That no man might build a house without the barre.
- 13 That all sales, donations, answers, assignations and pleas, should be iudged where they had bene begun.
- 14 That a Subsidie being demanded of him, who should tearme himselfe a Gentle- man, enioyng the rights of Castile, he should be exempt.
- 15 That the king should make no new building, or towne in Alaua.
- 16 That the villages of Mendoza and Mendocul should be free from all tributes and Impositions, and enioy the ancient rights, yet their Seignourie should belong vnto the Crowne.
- B 17 That the Bourg of Guetara should be free from all tribute, as it had bene before ordayned by the assembly of Alaua, and likewise of the Oxe of March, the Soueraignie notwithstanding belonging to the king.
- These were the exemptions and chiefe priuiledges granted to the Gentlemen of Alaua, in the yeare 1331. In former times all sutes were decided and iudged without any Lawes or Statutes, but onely by naturall reason, and by Arbitrators, but then they were reduced into a frame according vnto certaine Lawes, and they had a certaine seate of Iustice appointed. During the kings aboad at Victoria, he did institute (as some affirme) the Order of the Knights of the Band, to maintaine souldiers in Spaine, the which went to decay: yet some hold it was some yeares before. But this yeare returning to Burgos, hee set downe the Orders, whereof the chiefe Articles are these:
- They carried a red band foure fingers broade, in manner of a scarf, which came from the left shoulder vnder the right arme, the which the king gaue onely to Gentlemen which had followed the Court tenne yeares, or bene in the warre against the Moors: and by their Orders it was not to be giuen but to younger brothers, who had no great shares in their fathers inheritances. These Knights being receiued, tooke an oath to obserue the rules of the Order which follow:
- 1 That the knight of the band should be bound to speake vnto the king for the com- mon good and defence of them of his countrey, being required by them.
- D 2 That he should speake the truth vnto the King, and should be bound to reueale vnto the King what he should knowe or heare spoken against him.
- 3 The Knight convicted of a lie, should not carrie a sword for one whole moneth.
- 4 He should conuerse with souldiers and other men of qualitie, and not with men of base conditions.
- 5 They should keepe their promise to all men, of what estate and condition soeuer.
- 6 They should be provided of armes and horses, vpon paine to loofe the title of Knight-hood.
- E 7 The Knight should not be seene mounted vpon a Moile, nor without band, nor sword.
- 8 He should be no Iester, but his discourse should be graue and honest.
- 9 He should not complaine of his wounds, nor vaunt of his valour.
- 10 He should not play at cardes nor dice, nor ingage his armes, nor apparell.
- 11 He should honour and serue Ladies and Gentlewomen.
- 12 If two Knights of the band had a quarrell, the rest should bee bound to seeke all meanes to reconcile them.
- 13 The Knight which did vsurpe the band, and had not receiued it from the kings hands, should be bound to defend it against two knights of the Order of the band, and if he did vanquish them, he might then carry it without contradiction, but if he were van- quished, he should be banished from the Court.
- 14 Any knight winning the prize at the Iusts of armes of the knights of the band, should be receiued into their Order.
- 15 That the knight of the band which should draw his sword against another knight of the same Order, should forbear the Court for two moneths: and for two moneths after

As. 1331.

Order of the Knights of the band.

Articles of the Order.

after should wear but halfe a band, and if he should wound his companion, hee should A  
be fixe moneths in prison, and banished the Court for fixe moneths more.

16 The king should bee sole Iudge of all matters concerning the knights of the  
Band.

17 All the knights of the Band should bee bound to accompany the king vnto the  
warre.

18 They might not go to the war with the Band, but against Infidels, and in all other  
they should lay aside the Band.

19 The knights of the Band should assemble thrice a yeare, to treat of the affaires  
of their Order, where the king should appoint it, being mounted and armed, and the  
sayd assemblies should be in April, September, and at Christmas.

20 They should exercise themselves in Iousts, loco de-canna, tossing the pike, and  
managing of horses, at a certaine time appointed.

21 No knight should liue in Court, without serving a Ladie or Gentlewoman to  
haue her in marriage, or otherwise with honour.

22 The knights of the Band should be bound to be at all tournies within ten leagues  
of the Court.

23 If any of them did marrie within twenty leagues of the Court, the other knights  
should be bound to beare him companie, and to honour him and his spouse, making some  
exercises of armes, and giuing him presents.

24 The first Sunday of every moneth they should come into the great hall of the  
Pallace, and there exercise all sort of armes before the king, without offending one ano-  
ther either maliciously, or in choller.

25 A knight being ready to dye, he should be visited, comforted, and exhorted by  
his companions, and after his death they should be bound to assist at his funerals, and  
should mourne a moneth, all Iousts and exercises of armes ceasing.

26 His Band that was dead should be restored to the king by the other knights, who  
should be sutors to haue some one of his children receiued into the Order, or to obtaine  
some present for the widow to honour her, and entertaine her estate of Nobility, or to  
marry some of her daughters.

The first knights of this Order, yet not all at once were chosen, without respect to the  
elder, to honour him, and not to draw it into consequence.

The king *Alphonso*.

The Infant *D. Pedro*.

*D. Henry*.

*D. Fernand*.

*D. Tello*.

*D. John Nugnes*.

*D. Henriques*.

*D. Alphonso Fernand Cornel*.

*D. Lope Diaz d'Almaçan*.

*D. Fernand Perez Portocarrero*.

*D. Charles of Gueuara*.

*D. Fernand Henriques*.

*D. Aluar Garcia of Albornoz*.

*D. Pero Fernandez*.

*D. Gavey Ieffrey Tenorio*.

*D. Iuan Estuanes*.

*D. Diego Garcia of Toledo*.

*D. Martin Alphonso of Cardona*.

*D. Gonçal Ruiz de la Vega*.

*D. Iohn Alphonso of Benauides*.

*D. Garcilaço de la Vega*.

*D. Fernand Garcia Duque*.

*D. Garcia Fernandes Tello*.

*D. Pero Gonçal of Agüero*.

*D. Iohn Alphonso Caricello*.

*D. Inigo Lapes Horozco*.

*D. Garcia Guttiere of Caruajal*.

*D. Guttiere Fernandes of Toledo*.

*D. Diego Fernandes of Castiello*.

*D. Pero Ruiz of Villegas*.

*D. Alphonso Fernandes Iuge*.

*D. Roy Gonçales of Castagneda*.

*D. Roy Ramires de Guzman*.

*D. Sancho Martinez de Leyna*.

*D. Iohn Gonçales of Baçan*.

*D. Pero Triller*.

*D. Suero Perez of Quinones*.

*D. Gonçal Mexia*.

*D. Fernand Caricello*.

*D. Iohn de Rojas*.

*D. Pero Alvarez Ozerio*.

*D. Pero Priçes of Padilla*.

*D. Gil Quintagna*.

*D. Iohn Rodrigues of Villegas*.

*D. Diego*

*A. D. Diego Perez Sarmiento*.

*D. Menas Rodrigues of Vizeima*.

*D. Iohn Fernandes Cornel*.

*D. Iohn of Ceruejule*.

*D. Iohn Rodrigues of Cizuceros*.

*D. Orion of Liebana*.

*D. Iohn Fernandes Delgadillo*.

*D. Gamey Capilelo*.

These were at this time the most renowned families of Spaine, wherof some are wholly  
extinct. Other houses are since growne great, as the Velasques, Manriques, Pimentel,  
B. Mendoça, Cordoua, Pacheco, Estunica, Fajardos, Atellanos, Tendillas, Cucuas, Andra-  
das, Fonçecas, Luna, Villandrado, Sotomaiores.

This Order of Knight-hood did flourish for a time, but for that it was not religious as  
therest, it was neglected and came to nothing.

At the same time *Henry of Solibert* Gouvernor of Nauarre, by the perswasion, as it is  
likely, of *D. Iohn Manuel*, and of *Don Iohn Nunges de Lara*, entred into quarrell with the  
king of Castile: and for that he knew the forces of Nauarre were not sufficient to annoy

the king of Castile, and that those of France, were both farre off, and in warre with the  
English, he insinuated himselfe with the king of Arragon, vnder hope of a marriage be-  
twixt *D. Ieanne* eldest daughter to *Philip* king of Nauarre, and *Don Pedro* Infant of Ar-  
ragon, and heire to the Crowne: for this effect *D. Pero Gonçales* of Morentin, was sent to

*Tonotia* in Carrelogne, where he was well receiued by the king, who hauing appointed  
*D. Pedro de Luna*, Arch-bishop of Saragossa, to treat with him of this marriage, they  
concluded it, as we shall shew, and agreed, that it should be accomplished within a cer-  
taine time, and that in the meane time *D. Pedro* should ayde the Gouvernors of Nauarre,

both present and to come, in all the wars they should haue for the realme of Nauarre. The  
chiefe motiue of this marriage, was *D. Iohn Alonzo de Haro*, Seigneur de las Cameres, who  
was very inward with *D. Iohn Manuel*, and fought al occasions to annoy king *D. Alphonso*.

*D. Ieanne* Queene of Nauarre being in France, was that yeare deliuered of the Infant *D.*  
*Charles*, heire of the Realme of Nauarre, and the County of Eureux.

Another marriage was treated of in Portugal, to the preiudice of king *D. Alphonso* of  
Castile: for *D. Fernand Rodrigues* of Bilbao, Prior of *S. Iohn*, Chancelor to Queene *Mary*,  
wifo to king *D. Alphonso*, a great friend to *D. Iohn Manuel*, and to whom the reuenges  
which the king did vsually take of his Nobility were not pleasing: being also incited at  
the familiarity which the king had with *D. Leonora* of Guzman, and at the authority shee  
had within the Realme, being also much deuoted to the king of Portugall, he pretailed for  
with him by his practises, as he caused a diuorce betwixt the Infant *D. Pedro* of Portugall,  
and his wife *D. Blanche* of Castile, who was very sickly, and made him to marrie *D. Con-  
stance* daughter to *D. Iohn Manuel*, who thought to haue bin Queene of Castile. The king  
of Castile, who dreamed not of these things, thought himselfe assured of the Christians,  
and was wholly attentiu to the actions of the Moores of Granado, with whom he sought  
meanes to breake the truce, by stopping of their victuals: but being better aduised, hee  
sent to demand the tribute for that yere of king *Mahomet*, the which was paid, so as he suf-  
fered the Moores to haue passage for their victuals out of Andalusia, and other places ther-  
abouts: yet king *Mahomet* vnderstanding what small assurance there was in this truce,  
and watching all occasions, either how to free himselfe from the subiection of the Chris-  
tians, or to annoy them: he past soone after into Affricke, to sollicite king *Alboahsen* Mir-  
alumin of Maroc, to make some great enterprise with him in Spaine.

13 And for that the Moores of Spaine haue alwaies had great affinity and intelligence  
with these Miralumin of Affricke, it shall be fit to relate the continuance, since *Iasph*  
*Aien Iacob*, the second king of the race of Mertins, whom we left vpon the banks of Affric  
trying to passe into Spaine in the yeare 1291, when as the king of Castile tooke Tariffe  
from him: but being stoppt by *Benedict Zachary* Admirall of Castile, he conuerted his de-  
signs against *Alboacid* king of Tremessen, and his successor *Boham*.

This Miralumin being at the scege of Tremessen, a familiar friend of his called  
*Alfiterian*,

League and mar-  
riage betwixt  
Nauarre and  
Arragon.

Castile.

Moores.

Bucalc 3. King  
of the race of  
the Merins in  
Africke.

Botebid 4. King  
of Maroc.

Abortake 5.  
King.

Aben Joseph 6.  
King of Maroc

Alboali 7. King  
of the race of  
Merins.

Alboacen 8.  
King of the  
Merins.

Alfetterian, slue him in his bed: whereupon his son *Bucalc* tooke vpon him the scepter of A the Arabian Mores, and was the 3. king of the race of Merins. Being yet in the campe before Tremessen, *Albohays* his vnkle being inuested by the Maroquins to take the Realme from *Bucalc*, he refused it for himselfe, but he advanced another King of the same family of Merins, called *Botebid*, son to a brother of this *Bucalc*, who succeeded him to by finding himselfe too weak to make head against him. *Bucalc* thinking to saue himselfe in Africke was slaine by them that pursued him, neere vnto Mont Atlas. Thus *Botebid* reigned the 4. of the familie of Merins, who at the end of the yeare, ended both raigne and life in whole place. *Abortake* his Brother was the first king of Maroc, by the helpe of certaine Christian souldiers, who were then in Africke, led by a knight called *Gonsalo Saueher* of Troncones, who notwithstanding had like to haue beene slaine by this misdeedfull barbarian, being forced to saue his life by flight, and so retired into Spaine. *Abortake* reigned onely 2. yeares, and died in the city of Ribate, leauing the Realme of Maroc to his great Vnkle *Aben Joseph*, sonne to king *Jacob Aben Joseph*, the first of the familie of the Merins which had reigned in Maroc, and brother to *Aben Jacob*. This *Aben Joseph* had one son called *Alboali*, whome he sought to make king of Fez in his life time, but as he had indirectly, and too ambitiously cherished this son, he was forced to repent him, for such was the sons hatred, as he deprived his father of the Realme of Maroc, and appointed him (by the intercession of the Almodes then reigning at Tunis, who had there erected a kingdome of the reliques of their families and forces chased from Maroc) *Bolahu* for his abode and entertainment: and *Alboali* reigned in the 7. places but he enioyed it not long for it was the will of God, that this wicked sonne fell grievously sicke in the towne of Fez, neere vnto Tremessen (not that Fez which is the chiefe of a kingdome) his father *Aben Joseph* came thither to beseege him, and prest him in such sort, as he was forced to leaue the realm of Maroc and Fez, and to content himselfe with that of Sojumenca. By this meanes *Aben Joseph* recovered his Crowne and royall authority in Maroc, who holding *Alboali* vncouthly to succeed him: he appointed *Alboacen* his younger sonne to be heire of the Crowne. *Alboali* the elder aduertised of this institution, watched a time when both the father and the sonne were absent out of Maroc, and comming thither on the sudden well accompanied, he seized thereon, thinking by that meanes to haue recovered his realme: but he was beseeged by king *Aben Joseph* and *Alboacen*, vpon whom making a fallie, he was defeated, and sore wounded, so as he was forced to yeeld to his fathers will, and to retire himselfe to Sojumenca, the which was granted him againe for his portion: after which *Aben Joseph* lived 18. yeares quietly king of Maroc, by whose decesse succeeded his son *Alboacen*, the eighth king of the familie of Merins, yet with great contention against his elder brother *Alboali*, who sought by all practises to cast him from his throne, and being not of strength sufficient himselfe, he begged ayde of other Barbarian Kings, so as with the forces he obtained from king *Botechsin* sonne to *Boham* then reigning at Tremessen, he came againe to beseege the capital town of Maroc, where *Abderrahamena* a braue knight commanded, who defended it so valiantly, as he forced *Alboali* to retire with shame, who in his retreat was incountred and defeated by the kings army, and soone after beseeged in his towne of Sojumenca, who seeing himselfe reduced to extremitie, hee took a new composition, promising neuer to pretend any interest to the realm of Maroc, but to content himselfe with that of Sojumenca: for assurance whereof he gaue his sonne called *Bazien* for hostage. Wee must needs confesse that the humanity both of the father and the sonne to *Alboali* was exceeding great, hauing so often rebelled, and aspired to the crowne, a crime which doth often cause all respect of bloud and allyance to bee forgotten, euen in Christian Princes. *Alboacen* rising from Sojumenca, ouer-ran the Pilla, and burnt all the countrie of Tremessen, in reuenge that King *Botechsin* had giuen ayde to his brother at the sege of Maroc: It is this *Alboacen* which had beene solicited by *Mahomet* king of Granada, to passe into Spaine against *Don Alphonso* the eleuenth king of Castile: and who afterwards hauing subdued the Realmes of Sojumenca and Tremessen, was the greatest Prince in all Africke.

Returning then into Spaine, wee say, that *Ozmim* Generall of the forces of Granada, dyed about the yeare 1332. Ioonce after the truce made betwixt Castile and Granada

A leauing two sonnes *Abraham* and *Abuecher*, after whose death King *Mahomet* put himselfe into fauour with King *Alboacen*, (for *Ozmim* notwithstanding that he was of the same familie of Merins, had alwaies beene an enemy vnto him) wherefore *Mahomet* going to Fez, he was courteously entertained by the Mitalmumin, to whome hauing made his complaints of the King of Castile, who did alwaies treacherously breake the truce: he perswaded, and intreated him, to ioyne with him against Spaine. For (sayd hee) God hauing made you the mightiest Prince of the Religion, published by the Prophet *Mahomet*, and whome so many Kings and Princes of Africke obey, thou canst not more religiously, and with greater honour, employ thy forces, then against the Christians of Spaine, our persecutors, and the implacable enemies of our law, not more profitably address thy noble enterprises, nor with hope of better successe, then against them, hauing the ports and townes of Spaine at thy command, from the Streight along the coast of the Mediterranean Sea: whereunto the troubled Estate of Castile doth alwaies inuite thee, whereas *Don Alphonso*, who rearmes himselfe King, through an insatiable desire of rule, hauing spoiled his subiects of their lawfull inheritances, and pursued them in their honours and liues by tyrannous cruelty, extending his outrageous disdain euen to women of his owne bloud, and others of noble Families, hee hath so estranged most of the Princes and Noblemen of Spaine, as they now seeke our friendship, and offer to ioyne with vs, and to make warre against him. It will be therefore an act worthy of thy wisdom, not to let slippe so great occasions, and bestitting the generosity of thy Noble and renowned Family, by this opportunitie to repayre the ruined honour of the Arabians, troden vnder foot in Spaine, for the sinnes of our Nation, by the will and pleasure of the great God, who shewes plainly, that hee hath now turned his wrath against the Spaniards, both Princes and people being plunged in all impietie, disloyalty, dissimulation, and couetousnesse.

To this effect spake *Mahomet* to the King of Maroc, who heard him with great attention, and answered by the aduice of his Councell: that hee desired nothing more, then to do what he had propounded, but at that time hee could not wholly attend it as it was fit, being let by the warre which he had against the king of Tremessen, the which being ended, hee would employ himselfe in person with all his forces. In the mean time he offered him good troupes of horse, and gaue him great summes of mony. Thus the king of Granada returned well satisfied into his country, where being arrived, hee sent presently to *Don John Manuel*, to conclude a firme League with him, and the other Noblemen his Confederates, and to resolue of the meanes how to beginne the warre against the King of Castile.

In this league ioynd *Don John Nugnes de Lara*, *Don John Martinis de Leyna*, and many others: and there was sent from them vnto Granada with the messengers *Moore*, *Don Pedro Martinis Clunjo*, to haue the king confirme their accord. Wherefore the same yeare 1332. *Rodeuan* Captaine of the Lymits of Granada towards Murcia, *Abuecher* sonne to *Ozmim* deceased, and *Machilif* Gouvernour of Antequera; entred the Realme of Murcia in armes, vnto the territorie of Valencia, spoyleing, killing, and burning all about Oriuela and Guardamar: from whence they returned laden with spoyle to Granada, wherely king *Don Alphonso* knew that hee mist of force go to armes: for before hee had a conceit that *Mahomet* practises would prooue vaine, and hoped to reclaime his Rebels, by promisses and other practises, but he was deceived. Wherefore to beginne a warre of so great waight and difficultie, hee went in pilgrimage to Saint James, and there was made Knight, being in compleat armour, ordaining that from thence forth whoe soeuer should desire to be made a knight, should present himselfe armed at all peeces. Returning to Burgos, he caused himselfe to be crowned king, to giue more authority to his royall Maiestie: he also caused Queene *Mary* his wife to be crowned with great pompe and charge to the Inhabitants. The next day the king did arme and make about an hundred Noblemen and Gentlemen Knights, in the Monastery of Huelgas, being all covered with white. The ceremonie being ended, hee gaue to the Citie of Burgos, the place of *Nague*, with the iurisdiction for euer, to recompence the expences they had beene at in his Coronation.

V v

During



Society of the  
king of Castile,  
in which many  
knights of the  
court.

Moors.

Truce very  
refused in the  
Moors.

1334

Castile.

at the same time having discovered, that certaine Knights had had a secret Conspiracy A with king *Mahmet* deceased, to the prejudice of his Crown, he caused one of them called *Diego Sanchez de Iaca* to be executed at Cordoua, the rest fled into the Moores coun-  
trie, of which number were *Don Gonçalo* Lord of Aguilar and Montilla, and his brother  
Don *Fernand Gonçales* of Aguilar, who made themselves vassalls to the king of Granada,  
and by them and others of the same sort, (who were well entertained by king *Ioseph*) the  
warre was begun, making roades from their Castels of Aguilar, Montilla, Monturque,  
and other forts which were in their hands, agreeing with *D. John Manuel*, *D. Nago de La*  
*ra*, and other rebels, who for their parts committed no lesse excess in Castile, the which  
did much trouble the king *Don. Alphonso*, fearing about all, that the brethren of *Aguila* B  
did much deliuer the places which they held, vnto the Moores.

*Alboacen* king of Maroc was glad of these troubles, and desired to entertaine the revolts  
of Castile, for that he had an intent to go in person into Spaine, with a great power, as  
soone as the warre of Tremessen should giue him any leysure, the which notwithstanding  
did so trouble him, as he changed his resolution for a time, and was so prest, as hee called  
home some of his troups, which he had sent into Spaine with his son *Abomelic*: where-  
upon he sent him word, that he should seeke by all secret practises to make a truce for him-  
self alone, aduersing him, that if the king of Castile ambassadors should demand if the  
meant to comprehend King *Alboacen* his father, hee should answer, that it might beee  
would accept thereof, if any messengers were sent vnto him. According to these insti-  
tutions *Abomelic* sent Ambassadors to king *D. Alphonso* being at Seule, to treat of a truce, C  
to whom the question was made according to king *Alboacen* desire, and vpon their an-  
swer *D. Gonçalo Garcia* of Gallegos, Alcaide maior of Seule, was sent to Maroc to vnder-  
stand king *Alboacen* will concerning this truce, who answered, that hee would willingly  
proter, so as *Ioseph* the new king of Granada were comprehended: for being vnder his pro-  
tection, he could not abandon him, desiring that he might be assured from all troubles,  
and moreover freed from the tribute which hee payed to the king of Castile during this  
truce. The Alcaide who had no such commission, aduersified the king his master, who be-  
ing himselfe annoyed by his owne subjects, was content the king of Granada should be-  
comprehended, and that he should not pay any tribute during the truce, the which was  
concluded in the beginning of the year 1334: to continue foure yeares, causing king *Al-* D  
*boacen* to make his Letters patentes sealed with a seale of gold, and so in like manner did  
*D. Alphonso* king of Castile, *Abomelic* of Algezire and *Ioseph* of Granada. This *Ioseph* cal-  
led *Aben Amer* was the first King of the Moores of Granada, that was exempt from pay-  
ing tribute to the kings of Castile in time of peace, through the fauour of the king of Ma-  
roc, and the factions and seditions of Castile.

14 King *Don Alphonso* being thus afflicted betwixt warre and truce, in the Citie  
of Seule Donna *Leonora* of Guzman brought him two sonnes at one birth, *Don Henry*,  
who obtayned the Realme of Castile, as you shall heare, and *Don Fredericke* who was  
Master of the Order of Saint *James*.

About March this year 1334. the king went from Seule, having provided for the E  
places on the frontiers, as it was necessarie, and came to Vailledolit where hauing sudden-  
ly raised an armie, he marched against the Rebels, and hauing taken some places from  
them, he came to Lerma, whereas *Don John Nuges de Lara* was, for whom he layed ma-  
nical ambushes, but without effect: wherefore he entred into Biscay; and being at Guer-  
nica, a place deputed for the assembly of the Estates of the countie, vnder a tree, affective  
manner of their ancestors, he receiued from them the oath of fealty, and they yielded  
vnto him most of the townes and places of the country: for some held yet for Donna *Ma-*  
*ria* of Haro their Lady. This being done, hee came to Bermeo, and assailed a castle, vi-  
sion was obstatin in the defence thereof, called *Saint John de la Pegna*, two small Leagues from Bermeo: the Gar-  
tion was obstatin in the defence thereof, called *Saint John de la Pegna*, two small Leagues from Bermeo: the Gar-  
called away for matters of greater consequence, built certaine small forts about it, and  
manned them with souldiers to hinder their going in and coming out, and came  
to Logroño, and from thence to Algoncillo, where hee surprized *Don John Alphonso*  
de Haro, Lord of that place, one of the rebels, whome he caused presently to be slayne, and

A and did confiscate his goods, except los Cameros, which he gaue vnto his brother: then  
returning to Burgos, he besieged Herrera, a place belonging to *Don John Nuges*, who  
either wearie of the warre, or distrusting the euent thereof, hee made his peace with the  
king, and returned to his seruice.

During this seige Queene *Mary* was brought in bed of a sonne at Burgos, who was na-  
med *Don Pedro* heire of the kingdom. The Writers of Arragon say, that this Infant was  
supported by Queene *Mary*, being ialous that the king her husband did so loue *D. Leonora*  
of Guzman, and that she brought him so many children. The king hauing pacified the  
troubles towards Biscay, he marched with his army towards *D. John Manuels* country, and  
besieged Rojas, the which was defended by a Gentleman called *Diego Gil*, in the name of  
B *D. Lope Diaz de Rojas*, vassall to *Don John Manuel*. This *Diego Gil*, hauing made some re-  
sistance, in the end yielded, vpon condition to haue their liues saued: notwithstanding  
the king condemned him to death, with some others, for that he had resisted against the  
Standard royall. And then there was an Edit made: That all Gentlemen holding townes,  
castles, or houses of strength, belonging to any Nobleman, knight, or other of the kings  
vassalls, the king comming thither in person, they should be bound to receiue him, with-  
out any imputation: if not, they should loose their liues: which Decree was afterwards  
put in practise vpon the Gouverneur of Sicar, who lost his head, for that hee had pre-  
sumed to resist the king.

About the end of the yeare, king *Don Alphonso* came to Atera, a place neere to Cala-  
rajub, where he found Donna *Leonora* his sister, Queene of Arragon, with whome ha-  
uing treated of certaine affaires, he returned to Vailledolit, where by the negotiation of  
certaine Mediators, an accord was made betwixt him and *Don John Manuel*, and a peace  
throughout all the Realme, which the Spanishe Authors attribute to his seueritie against  
the Rebels, when hee rooke them, condemning most of them after their deaths: about  
the same time Donna *Leonora* of Guzman was deliuered of a Sonne, whome the  
King named *Don Fernand*: for which cause there were generally great feasts and Ioy, and  
at Court there was a stately courtney: where on the one side the knights of the Band did  
runne, among the which was the king in a disguised habit.

15 The yeare following 1335. there were some alterations towards Nauarre, Nauarre  
D which Realme was gouerned by *Henry* of Solibert, aboue-named, being resident in the  
Castell of Olite, with three thousand Livres of entertainment, the places of strength  
being put by the Estates into the hands of faithfull Knights. The Castels of the riuier,  
whereof *Arnaud* of Lect was Merin or Gouverneur, were held by these Captaines fol-  
lowing:

At the castell of Cortes, commanded *John de Soici*.  
At Herrera, *Pero Sanchez* of Varelo.  
At Penna Ronde, *Pero Ximenes* of Funez.  
At Corell, *Pero Sanchez* of Montagu, sonne to *For-*  
E *tan*.  
At Araciell, *Inigo Arnan* of Corello.  
At Sancho Abarca, *Mathew Saillant*.  
At Estaca, *Garcia Perez* of Dax.  
At Valtierra, *Geoffrey* of Villaribo.  
At Cadrieta, *Gonçalo Perez* of Gorrociain.  
At Coparroffo, *D. Alphonso* of Spaine.  
At Ablicas, *John Martines* of Necueffa.  
At Arguedas, *Pero Sanchez* of Montagu, sonne to *Pero*.  
Ataxone was held by the Inhabitants.  
F The Castell of Rade, by *Symon Martines* of Barafayn, for  
the Heires of *Oger* of Mauleon, for want of ho-  
mage.  
In the Merindad or Iurisdiction of Sanguessa, whereas  
*Oger* of Gramont was Merin, there commanded.

At Saint Care, *John Renaud le Chat*.  
 At the castell of Murillo, *Diego Peres of Esperun*.  
 At S. Martin of Vnx, *Garcia Ximenes of S. Martin*.  
 At Vxue, *D. Alphonso of Spaine*.  
 At Gallipienço, *Pedro Arnaud of Vtruua*.  
 At Calleda, *Stephen of Cormelles*.  
 At Pegna, *Peter of Cuyero*.  
 At the old castell of Sanguessa, *Garcia Arnaldes of Espleta*.  
 At Petiella in Arragon, *D. Martin Fernandes de Satoça*.  
 At Pintano, *D. Simon de Sotes*.  
 At Ongacaria, *Helias Martines of Inurozgui*.  
 At Leguin, *John Martines of Eula*.  
 At Yrurtegui, *Martin Garcia of Ollaogui*.  
 At Valcarlos, *Martin Trignes of Vrga*.  
 At Rochfort, *Lobet of Narbays*.  
 At Monteyran, *Pedro Sanches of Olicaratea*.  
 At Rochbrun, *William Arnaud Durdes*.  
 At Guerga, *John de Saunin*.  
 At Thiebes, *Garcia Michel of Eiscayren*.  
 At Castell-nouo, *Roderigo of Ayuar*.  
 At Burgui, *Pedro Aznar of Ezcura*.  
 At Ylaba, *Martin Garcia of Leyun*.  
 In the Merindad or Iurisdiction of Pampelone, *Fernand Diaz de villa alta*, held the castell of Toloyna.  
 John of Rouceray, that of Aza.  
 John of Bulli, Labraca.  
 John Fernandes of Baguedan, the castell of Oro.  
 Bernard of S. Pelage, that of Falces.  
 Pedro Garcia of Ciraguegui, Carfar.  
 John Botayroa, and Martin Sanches of Villamera, the castle of Lana.  
 Roger of Alamaina, Andofilla.  
 Corbaran of Leer, Reça.  
 Romieu Martines of Arornis, Afagra.  
 Alphonso Diaz of Morentiu, Peralta.  
 Diego Sanches of Eulate, Artazona.  
 John Pelez of Medrano, the tower of Viana.  
 Diego Lopes of Alfaua, the castell of Toro.  
 Martin Sanches of Azedo, Maragon.  
 John Moreuant, the castell of la Garde.  
 Renauld of Bourray, the castell of Milagro.  
 Alphonso Perez of Morantiu, the castell of Montjordan;  
 Garcia Sanches of Espeleta, Lerin.  
 Ordoniz of Blandiaco, Funes.  
 D. Pedro Ximenes of Mirafuentes, Arcos.  
 Lope Perez of Agnoa, the castell of Miranda.  
 Philip of Coynon, the castell of Belmarques.  
 Sancho Perez of Lodoza, the tower of Mendauia.  
 Michel Ramires of Cusia, the castell of Celatambor.  
 Sancho of Licaraga, the castell of Larraga.

Which Captaines of Forts were all entertained by the King, and enjoyed many privileges, according to the lawes and customes of Nauarre. The treatie of marriage continued still, bewixt the Infant of Nauarre, and D. Pedro heire of Arragon, by D. Pedro de Luna, Arch-bishop of Saragossa, D. Pedro Gonçales of Morentiu, and other Deputies, who hauing bene long together in the towne of Cortez, concluded it in the year 1334.

- A The conditions were; that King *Philip* of Nauarre, should giue in dowry with his daughter *D. Jeanne*, a 100000. Sanchots, which were worth to many Liners turnois, and for assurance of a future marriage, there were giuen in pawne for Nauarre, Lescar, Arguedas, Saint Care, Murillo, Gallipenço and Murgui; and for the King of Arragon, Fayos, Boria, Malona, Campdalijub, Sos and Sauueterre, & the Articles were signed by the parties with many knights at Daroca. The King of Castille hearing of this alliance, being iealous and foreseeing that they sought but an occasion of warre, he wrote vnto the Gouvernor, that hee could neuer vnderstand that his subjects had wronged the Nauarrois, and that if any thing had bene committed which required reparation, hee was readie to see it done: but the Gouvernor giuing a deafe eare to that which hee had written, persisted in his resolution and seized vpon the Monastery of Hitero by force, being then in the possession of Castille, and had before bene of Nauarre. The King of Castille seeing the warre to be ineuitable, sent to the King of Arragon, to intreat him to be a meane, that his sonne *D. Pedro*, might not ioyne with the Nauarrois, nor aide them to annoy Castille. The King of Arragon, being verie sicke answered that his indisposition would not suffer him to thinke of such affaires, and that if his sonne had a will to fauor the Nauarrois, he could not hinder him, being in that Estate. This answer being made knowne to the Arragonois, they grew more desirous to ioyne with the Nauarrois, wherevpon *D. Lope de Luna*, one of the greatest Noblemen of the Realme, *D. Michel Perez Zapata* and *Lopes Garcia*, accompanied with many other knights, whom the Infant *D. Pedro* gaue them, to the number of five hundred horse, came to the Gouvernor to Tudela, from whence enting into Castille with the forces of Nauarre, they made a great spoile, and brought away a great booty, finding not any one to make head against them: whereof the King of Castille being aduertised, hee was much greeued, giuing the speediest order hee could to man the frontiers: hee sent *D. Alphonso Ortiz* Prior of Saint John, to *D. John Nugnes de Lara*, to the end hee should take vpon him the charge to defend the country, with such troupes as hee should giue him: but *D. John* notwithstanding his reconciliation with the King, would not trust him, keeping himselfe still in Biscay, and yet the King promised to giue him Maralles and Villalon, with many other things: wherefore King *D. Alphonso* made *Martin Fernandes Puerto Carrero* General of this warre, and sent with him vnto the frontier *D. Diego Lopes de Haro*, sonne to *D. Lopes* the little, *D. Fernand Rodriguez* of Villalobos, *D. John Garcia Manriques*, *D. Rodrigo* of Cisneros, *D. Pero Nugnes de Guzman*, and his brother, *Ramir Flores*, *D. Lopes Diaz* of Almaran, *D. Gonçalo Luis Giron*, *D. Gonçalo Luis Dias*, *D. Aluar Rodriguez Daza*, *Alphonso Fernandes Cornet*, *Garsilaso de la Vega*, and his brother *Gonçalo Luis de la Vega*, *Pero Luis Cavilli*, *John Alphonso* of Benauides, *D. Rodriguez* of Sandoual, *Sancho Sanches de Roais*, and many other knights of marke, which did not refuse to march vnder *Martin Fernandes*, although there were many amongst them of greater houses, in regard that hee did represent the person of the Infant *D. Pedro* of Castille, and had displayed the standard royall, and was appointed by the King to be his Lieutenant generally; and as the King sought to make his excuse, saying, that hee would gladly his sonne had bene of age to goe to horse, and that hee would willingly haue made him their leader and general, they answered, that they would not onely obey *Martin Fernandes Puerto Carrero*, whom they knew to bee a worthy knight, seeing hee gaue him them for their Leader, but any one of lesse qualitie, yea a groom of his stable, if he commaunded it.
- The Gouvernor of Nauarre being aduertised of this army of Castillans, fortified the Monastery of Hitero, and sent thither *D. Michel Perez Zapata*, thinking they would come and assaile it. The Castillans being all assembled at Alfaro, leauing the Monastery, marched directly towards Tudela; being discouered, the Arragonois and Nauarrois filled forth to encounter them, not caring to attend the returne of *Michel Perez*, who had led part of their forces to Hitero.
- The Castillans were stronger in horse, and the place fit to vse them: wherefore being ioyned, although the Nauarrois made great resistance, yet they were put to rout, and repulst towards the towne, with great slaughter, and the losse of many that were taken prisoners. And you must vnderstand that neither the Gouvernor, nor *D. Lope*

Ten thousand pound.

VNarre bene twice Nauar and Castille.

Obedience of the Noblemen of Castille to their King, Lord, and Lord.

Defeat of the Arragonois and Nauarrois by the Castillans.

de



*de Luna*, were at this charge, but kept themselves in Tudela, so as the army of Arragonis and Nauarrois were without a head, and were chased euen to the towne gates. The victorious Castilians returning towards Alfaro, encountered *Michel Perez Lapata*, with his troups, coming from Hitero, who put his men in battaile, by the fauor of a Dich, the which he defended against his enemies, who were full of fury, after their late victory, and fought to force it, but many miscarried; yet the multitude of the Castilians prevailed, and *Michel Perez* was ouerthrowne, and taken prisoner with many others: if night had not approch without doubt (as the Histories say) the Nauarrois and Arragonis, in this last incounter, had bene all put to the sword.

Thus the Castilians after two victories, returned with many prisoners, and great spoiles to Alfaro, forbearing for a time to returne into Nauarre, hauing not gotten these victories without losse. Those that were in the Monastery of Saint Mary of Hitero, notwithstanding that they were well fortified, and furnished with victuals, durst not abide there, so as the Castilians seized thereon, from whence they went to beleage the Castille of Tudeguen, in the which there was a garrison of Gascons and Nauarrois, who yielded the place; being perswaded by the faire speeches of a Castilian monk, who was in the castle with them. The Castilians taking heart by this happy successe returned afterwards thrice into Nauarre, and spoiled the country, carrying away many prisoners, and great store of cattails.

Guipuscaens  
enemies to the  
Nauarrois.

On the other side the people of Guipuscoa, hearing of the warre, vpon the frontiers of Castille, Nauarre and Arragon, hauing no commaundement, entred in armes into Nauarre, vnder the conduct of *Lopes Garcia* of Lazcano, whom they made their capitaine, spoyling a great part of the country of the iurisdiction of *Pampelone*; and in the end they laid seige to the castle of *Vnza*, which they tooke. The King of Castille aduertised of these happy exploits, was desirous to stay the course of their victories, fearing lea they should kindle a warre betwixt France and Spaine, which should not bee easily quenched: wherefore he commaunded them to containe themselves, and onely to defend the frontiers of this Kingdome, yea hee called home most of the capitaines and knights, which were vnder the Infant *D. Pedro's* Banner, being led by *Martin Fernandes Puerto Carrero*. Hee and some others did instantly obey, but *Garcilaso de la Vega*, and *Gonsale Ruiz* his brother, made an other roade, with certaine troups, into Nauarre, about Soliere, where they left lamentable markes, burning and spoyling all they found. The newes of these outrages came into France, which did moue many kinsmen, friends and subiects of King *Philip* to apprehend the spoiles which the Castilians had made in Nauarre, among the which *Gaston* Lord of Bearne, and Earle of Foix made hast to passe the mountaines, with many souldiers, *Bearnois* and *Gascons*, and hauing taken view of his troups at Viane, which is a league from Logroño, he entred into Castille, where hee made the like spoile as the Castilians had done in Nauarre, and then came and camped before Logroño, the Inhabitants whereof sallied forth vpon them, being led by a gentleman of the country called *Ruis Diaz* of Gaona, but they were repulst into the towne, and pursued so neere, as without the valour of *Ruis Diaz* of Gaona (who with three companions made head against the enemies, at the entry of the bridge, whilst the rest had recovered the towne, and assured the Ports) they had entred *Pel-mel* with them, and taken Logroño. This Esquier employed his life for the preservation of his country, imitating (but with lesse happinesse) the example of the Romaine *Horatius Cocles*, for hee was slaine vpon the bridge. The Earle of Foix sayling of his hope to take Logroño by this meanes, returned with his men to Viane.

Gaston Earle  
of Foix the  
first of that  
name.

Defeat of the  
garrison of  
Logroño by  
the Earle of  
Foix.

The King of Castille being in the meane time aduertised of his coming, had commaunded many companies of foote and horse to march towards the frontiers, meaning that when they had raised a great army, they should enter into Nauarre, if it were convenient, so as it was likely there would bee a dangerous warre betwixt these two mighty Kingdomes: for it is to bee presumed the French King would haue bene engaged in fauour of his cousin *Philip* King of Nauarre, and not to giue occasion to the Spaniards to presume to passe so easily ouer the limits wherewith nature had diuided those two nations. But it was the will of God, that in this heat of their courages of either side, *John*

Arch-

A Archbishop of Rheims came into Nauarre, going in pilgrimage to Saint *James* of Galicia, who seeing this warre begonne betwixt the Nauarrois and the Castilians, for light occasions; wrote a letter to the King of Castille, admonishing him to harken vnto a peace. The King who was no lesse desirous then the Archbishop, embraced this occasion; and shewing that the reuerence of so great a prelat, made him willing to obey his holy aduertisements, he sent vnto him *Martin Fernandes Puerto Carrero*, *D. Gil Carrillo* of Albornoz, Archdeacon of Calatrava in the church of Toledo, who was afterwards Cardinal. By the aduice and resolution of which three, with whom was ioyned *Fernand Sanchez* of Vailledol, notarie Maior, or Secretary of Castille, who concluded a peace vpon these conditions.

Peace betwixt  
Nauarre and  
castile.

B That there should be peace betwixt *Philip* King of Nauarre and *D. Alphonso* King of Castile, their vassals and subiects, and a cessation of armes for a certaine time. That foure commissioners should bee named, two for Nauarre, and two for Castile, for the re-establishment and restitution of what had bene taken of either part, and for the reparation of any thing that should bee committed to the preiudice of this accord. That the Monastery of Santa Maria of Hitero, should be restored to the Monks, who should remaine Neuters, vntill it were decided to what iurisdiction it did belong: to the end the diuine seruice should not be interrupted, nor they any waies molested by the Nauarrois or Castilians. That the castles of Tudeguen and Vria should remaine in the possession of the King of Castile, vntill their differences were decided, and a definitive sentence giuen. That in regard of the propriety of the Monastery of Hitero, there should bee arbitrators chosen, a Nauarrois, a Castilian and a Cardinal of Rome, who should bee agreeable to both parties, to iudge thereof, and in the meane time all quarrels should cease betwixt the two realmes, Kings and subiects. These Articles being concluded, they were afterwards confirmed by the two Kings.

16 During these warres of the King of Castille against the Moores and his Rebels, and against Nauarre, the realme of Arragon was troubled with the quarrels and hatred of the Queene *D. Leonor* against the Infant *D. Pedro* her sonne in law, shewing herselfe in all these could, a right mother in law. Wherein shee was the more to bee feared, for that shee did gouerne the King *D. Alphonso* her husband at her pleasure, and did worke in him what impressions she would, so as many times the Infant was in great danger, which hee did afterwards reuenge. Besides these intestine iarrs, the King of Arragon was much troubled which the continual rebellions of the Sardinians, and their Lords, who were for the most part Geneuois, but hee wrought so by his wisdom, and diligence, as without using any force, but in extremity, he reduced most of them to his deuotion. *Francis a Oris* sonne to *Leonard*, as well in his owne name, as of *Alison*, *Marian Fabian Dignamin*, and *Nicholas* of Oris, came and did homage to the King, and obtained pardon, and confirmation of all the Lands which they did hold in Sardinia; vpon condition that they should not giue any aide nor fauour to the rebels and banished men of the towne of Sassari, where notwithstanding the King granted a repaale for such as had bene condemned for light crimes, but those of the families of the *Cathons*, *Pali* and *d'Oris*, who had bene condemned of high treason, by *D. Berenger* of Carosio, were banished the Island for euer. This nation of the Sardes was so prompt to reuolt, as notwithstanding any prouision the King of Arragon could make, and all accords and treaties, hee was constrained to be watchful, with care, and exceeding great charge. *Ayton* of Oris hauing rigged out nine gallies, and some other Genouay (ships of the Ghibeline faction, remaining at Saouenne, hovering about the Island of Sardinia, surprized neere vnto Cap de Terre, nine ships of Cattelogna, and sunke them, and so passing on he terrified all the Arragonis in the Island, and held the fort of Caillieri as it were beleegged for a time, which made all the Sardinians in a manner to rebel: wherevpon *D. Alphonso* King of Arragon sent *D. Raymond* of Cardona thither, a capitaine of great experience, and made him Lieutenant general of that Island.

Geneuois of  
the Ghibeline  
faction against  
the Arrago-  
nois in Sardi-  
nia.

These things past in the yeere of our Lord 1330. about the time that the Moores did invade the realme of Murcia, of the which wee haue treated, at which time the Infant *D. Pedro* Earle of Ribagorça and Ampurias, the Kings brother married *Jaenne* sister to *Gaston* Earle

Earle of Foix, the first of that name, and daughter to Roger Bernard.

The Cattelans enemies irreconcilable to the Geneuois, and newly incensed by the losses which they had received by the army of *Ayten d'Oris*, who after that he had spoiled all that he found of the Arragonois faction vpon the bankes of Sardinia, retired into Corfica, to the Port of *Boniface*; they drew out of their Ports and Hauens of Catalogne about forty Gallies, and thirty Foists and Brigantins, and directing their course towards the riuer of Genoa, they burnt all the Geneuois houles of pleasure, without respect of friend or foe: for the common weale of Genoa being then diuided, by reason of the faction of Guelphes and Ghibelins; the Ghibelins open enemies to the King of Arragon did for the most reside at Sauonne, and from thence made their sallies and enterprises; sometimes drawing some priuate men of the Guelphes faction, to runne vpon the Cattelans, by reason whereof this Cattelans army intreated them all after one manner.

During these wrackes, *Luke* of Fiesco one of the chiefe of the Guelphes faction, had begonne to treat with King *D. Alphonso*, by the meanes of *Francis* of Saint Eulalia, that if he would harken to a good accord with the Geneuois, holding the city of Genoa for friend, and forget all wrongs done, they would furnish him with fiftene gallies, and follow his standard against the Geneuois Ghibelins remayning at Sauonne, who had caused all the reuolts and troubles in Sardinia, wherewith the King was very well pleased; but the spoiles which the Cattelans army had made during the treaty in the riuer of Genoa intercepted all; so as these two factions of Genoa, being equally afflicted by a forraigne enemy, were the more willing to giue credit to the persuasions of *Robert* King of Naples, who reconciled them, and then they ioynd against the King of Arragon, to dispossesse him of the Island of Sardinia. The heads of the two factions, were the families of *Oria* for the Guelphes, and *Spinola* for the Ghibelins. Being thus incensed they runne along the coast of Catalogne, with three score saile, where they tooke many ships and other spoiles, leauing lamentable spectacles in all places where they had landed. Thirteen of their gallies passing from thence into Sardinia, attempted the fort and Port of *Caillerij* in vaine, from whence they were repulst with losse. These warres at sea, betwixt the Cattelans and Geneuois might bee held equall, for they were the mightiest nations at sea in that age. All was full of difficultie, and ialousie in the Island, notwithstanding that King *Don Alphonso*, by his bountie, aduancements, alliances and marriages contracted in his fauour, and at his instance betwixt the Noblemen Cattelans, and Sardinians, or Geneuois (hauing charges or lands in the Island) had sought to draw them vnto him, and to make them friends, and affected to his party: yet he was in continuall warre, and was forced to keepe great garrisons in the Island, and many gallies at sea with so great charge, as all the reuenues of the Island of Sardinia did auaile him little: being often constrained to importune the Pope, to discharge him of the tribute, which hee ought vnto the church of Rome, by reason of this chargeable conquest.

Mary of Naples, Queen of Sicily.

Thus King *Don Alphonso* past his raigne in these home-bred and forraigne troubles, being but short. A little before he died *Don James* of Arragon, Lord of Xerica, who had married Queene *Mary*, which had bene left by *D. Sancho* King of Majorca, who liuing dissolutely & vnchastly, was by this king sent home to the king of Naples her father, being disloyalty & vnchastly, was by this king sent home to the king of Naples her father. The peace betwixt Arragon and Granada was sworn by him and confirmed at the castle of Valence, with *Abenbacen*, *Abencomex* and *Pascal Carera*, Ambassadors for King *Joseph Abenmarret*, vpon the like conditions, as with Castille. A little before his death, *D. Alphonso* seeing herselfe mother of two sonnes, *D. Fernand* and *D. John*, who was yet in his swathing clothes, to be much hated (and not without cause) of the Infant *D. Pedro*, who should succeed to the crowne, shee sought to put into the hands of the King of Castille, her brother (whose fauour shee affected) the castles of *Verdegio* and *Someto* frontier places; but *Don Pedro* hauing alwaies an eye to his mother in lawes actions, especially at that time, the King being very ill disposed, prevented her, and put garrisons therein. The Queene without attending the King her husbands death, did lodged from Barcelona, and seized vpon *Fraga*, from whence shee sent garrisons

to places belonging to her children: In the meane time the King died in the city of Barcelona in the yeare of our Lord 1336, hauing reigned eight yeeres, and about three months: Being ready to die, he made the marriage of *D. James* his second sonne with *Cecile* daughter to the Earle of Comingines: his body lies in the town of Lerida.

Death of D. Alphonso the fourth King of Arragon.

*D. Pedro*, the fourth of that name, and the thirteenth of Arragon.

*D. Pedro* his sonne, whom he had by *D. Theresa* of Entenza Countesse of Vrgel, before that he assembled the Estates, or performed any ceremony, tooke vpon him the royal title, against all custome, affecting nothing more then to bee first reuenged of the Queene *Donna Leonor* his mother in law, whose places he seized on; and sent *Ferry* of Apilla, Governour to the Infant *D. James* after her, to bring her to Sarragossa: but hearing of the Kings death, he tooke the way to Castile, by great iourneys, and past *Ebro* at Tortose, then going by Turol and Albarrafin, he came into her brothers country, being accompanied by the Bishop of Burgos, & *D. Pedro* of Xerica, carrying great store of treasure and jewels with her, which bread a warre betwixt these two Realmes of Castille and Arragon. *D. Alphonso* King of Castille, in fauour of his sister, deliuered *Michel Perex Zapata*, and other Arragonois out of prison, whom the employed against the King *D. Pedro*, with other noblemen, whom he had wonne.

*D. Pedro* the fourth of that name; was furnished the ceremonious, for that in all his actions he was very slow, and spent the time in superfluous ceremonies. He was crowned at Sarragossa, not without emulation of the Cattelans; but custome hath giuen this right to the city of Sarragossa, that the Kings are crowned there, and no where else. Thence came not any Noblemen of Catalogne, except *D. Ordon* of Moncade, and *D. Raymond* of Peralte. The King hauing taken and received the oath after the accustomed manner, retired to Lerida, to the Estates of Catalogne: where hee disannulled all the donations made by the King his father, and the alienation of the reuenues, and depouled *D. Pedro* of Xerica (who had accompanied the Queene *Donna Leonor* into Castille) of all his goods.

Death of the King D. Frederic King of Sicily.

In the beginning of his raigne, died *D. Frederic* King of Sicile, being very old and consumed with the goutte, who had held the realme with great troubles and warre the space of one and forty yeeres, and six monethes, leauing his sonne *D. Pedro* to succeed him, who was the fourth King of the race of Arragon, which heid Sicile. The King his father leauing many children, sonnes and daughters, by Queene *Leonor* his wife, by his will excluded the daughters from the succession of Sicile, ordaining that if in his posterity the males should faile, the Realme should bee vnto that of Arragon. Wee haue sayd before that *D. Pedro* King of Arragon, had promised to marry *D. Jeanne* the eldest daughter of Nauarre, but this marriage tooke no effect: for hee did more affect *Mary* the second daughter of King *Philip*, procuring him and Queene *Jeanne* to yeeld thereto: wherefore he sent for his Ambassadors into France, *John Sanchez* of Maroial, Chamberlaine of the great church of Sarragossa, and *Garcia Loris*, a knight, who in his name concluded a marriage at Anet, with the Infant *Mary*, who was not yet twelue yeeres old: and it was accorded by the matrimonial contract, that for want of heires male of King *Philip* and Queene *Jeanne* his wife, *Mary* the second daughter should inherit the realme of Nauarre, and not the elder. The King and Queene of Nauarre, did binde themselves to giue her in dowry three score thousand Sanchots; and for assurance of this marriage, there were giuen in deposito by King *Philip* the castles of Arguedas, Saint Carz, Estacha, Murillo, Gallipenco, and Burgui; and for the King of Arragon, *Sos*, *Jos*, *Fayos*, *Borja*, *Saluatierra*, *Malon* and *Campdalijub*, which places were put into the hands of certaine gentlemen, to be deliuered to any of these Princes, whose preiudice the accord had bene broken. The King of Arragon assigned *Tarracone*, *Lacea* and *Tenel*, for his wiues ioynter: and it was agreed that the Princeesse should bee deliuered vnto

Treaty of marriage betwixt D. Pedro King of Arragon and D. Maria of Nauarre.



vnto the Inhabitants of Tudela, within a certaine time, and there kept by them, to bee A deliuered vnto her spouse, being full twelue yeeres old: and moreover, as at the accepti- on of King Philip, it had bene capitulated that the first sonne borne of Queene Isabe- his wife, being come to the age of twenty yeeres, they should deliuer him the realme to gouerne, and that the Estates should bee bound to pay him a hundred thousand San- chotts; in like manner, if Donna Maria, the future Queene of Arragon, should come to the succession of the Realme of Nauarre, the Estates should bee bound to pay him the like sum of money: These were the principal Articles of this marriage, which was sone after accomplished.

An. 1337. In the yeere of our Lord 1337, the King D. Pedro being come to Valence, he sent Ber- nard of Villaragut, Arnaud Morrea, and Asbert Caliana Ambassadors to the Pope, to doe him homage for the Islands of Corsica, and Sardinia: In this last the Estate was then somewhat quiet: for Alcan and John, Marquisses of Malespine, sonnes to Opim, Damian Barnabas, and Brancalon d'Oris, Earles of Donoratico, the townes left vnto the Pisans, demanteled, and without any munition, Peter Iuge of Arborea, with Maria and John his brethren, all holding lands, and being subiects in the Island, contained them- selues in the friendship of the new King of Arragon, and did willingly acknowledge him for their superior. The rest of the family of Oris, for a wrong newly receiued from Ray- mond of Cardona, had bene forcibly drawne vnto it: who notwithstanding by the re- cofferation of the Pope, and the Kings of France, and Sicile, had bene receiued into fa- uour, and restored to their goods. Such was the Estate of Arragon, at D. Pedros com- ing to the crowne.

Castille.

Cruelly makes Kings to bee feared, but without they lose their sub- iects.

A Tyrant of no- uer truly re- conciled.

18 D. Alphonso King of Castille hauing made a peace with the Nauarrois, found himselfe freed of a great care, being ready to fall into new broiles by the practices of his owne subiects. This Prince thinking to raigne more securely, had taken a course of ex- treame severity, shewing himselfe cruel and treacherous to his Nobility, whereby he was feared, but withall he lost the loue and respect of his subiects: so as he was no longer freed from one danger, but he fell into another, worse then the first: wherefore this distrust lying smothered in the heart of D. John Manuel, D. John Nuges de Lara, D. Pero Fernandes de Castro, D. John Alphonso of Albuquerque, and others, reconciled hereto- fore vnto the King by necessity, rather then of their owne free will, they held a Maxime, That a tyrant being offended, will at some time reuenge himselfe; and therefore they must not trust him, vpon any reconciliation, who to pacifie the troubles which had growne by his owne error, had made no difficulty to sacrifice (vpon the peoples spleene) his owne Mignons: degrading, and in the end murthering, and condemning them as traitors, after their death, yea the Princes of his owne blood, rapturing their goods and Estates, and depriving the lawfull heires: seeking to raigne over free men, and of gene- rous spirits, as over beasts, intreating them as base and effeminate slaues, who might not speake their opinions freely, in matters of state and gouernment; of the which they were held dead members, and without feeling: wherefore if they were men, hauing vnderstanding and reason, they should neuer forget the nature of D. Alphonso, who was proud, a contemner of all law, and treacherous: yea they proceeded so farre, as Don John Manuel withdrew himselfe from the subiection of King D. Alphonso, by protesta- tion and publicke act.

VVarre in Ca- stile made by the rebels.

The Noblemen being thus ill affected to their King, they made a league (during the warre of Nauarre) with D. Alphonso King of Portugall, and did incense him to take armes for their defence, but their attempts had no better successe then the precedent, for D. Alphonso King of Castille, meaning to preuent these disorders, gaue command- ment throughout all the Prouinces of his Realme, to suppress all those that should take armes without his priuaty and warrant, seeking by all meanes to keepe the Rebelles diuided one from another. Moreover hauing some feeling, that cruelty was to violent a remedie for men that were nobly borne, hee fought by all milde and courtous meanes to diuide them, and to draw some of them vnto his seruice; the which he effected with D. Pero Fernandes de Castro, and D. John Alphonso of Albuquer- que, who abandoned their companions.

And

A And not able to doe the like with the rest, he went in person to beseege D. John Nuges de Lara, being in Lerma, and gaue order that in other parts of the Realme they should leize vpon the houses and persons of other rebels, beseegeing and forcing them if they made resistance: and about al he sent against D. John Manuel, the orders of holy knights. The seege being before Lerma, there were many skirmishes and furious encounters: wherevpon the King of Portugall tooke occasion to declare himselfe, sending word vnto the King of Castile, that he should leaue D. John Nuges de Lara in peace, who (he sayd) was his vassall, whereof the King of Castile made no great esteeme, but continued his seege more violent then before: some authors say that the King of Castile, had a desire to repudiat his lawfull wife Donna Maria, who was daughter to D. Alphonso King of Portugall, and to marry D. Leonora de Guzman, his concubine, and that it was the true cause of their hatred. D. John Manuel going secretly out of the castle of Garsi Nuges, he came to Pegnasil to fauor them that were beseeged within Lerma. In the meane time the tower of Lobaton and Soro were taken by the Kings men, where some Knights being taken, they were condemned and put to death.

The King of Portugall thinking hee had iust cause to enter in hostil manner into Castile, hee beseeged Badajos: which seege continued, vntill that D. Pero Alphonso de Sosa a Portugall, was defeated, with his troups, by the garrisons and people of Andalusie and Extremadura, neere vnto Villanoua of Barca Rotta, where many Portugals of account being slaine, the King was forced to raise his seege. They of Lerma seeing themselves battred with great obstinaty, beganne to distrust their owne strength, and were out of hope of any succours, wherefore they sought meanes how to let D. John Nuges de Lara escape by night: least hee should fall into the King of Castiles hands, who was much incensed, but all passages were so stoppt as hee could not possi- bly get out, so as in the end hee was forced to compound, yielding himselfe, with the sorts of Biscay, vpon condition that hee should haue his life saued, the which was promised him and kept. The townes of Lerma, Busto and Villafraanca in the moun- taines of Oca, were demanteled, and the sorts of Biscay deliuered into the Kings hands, for an assurance of Don John Nuges faith, hauing promised and sworne neuer to leaue his seruice, who followed the court at Vailledolit, and was afterwards much honored by the King, who besides other dignities made him chiefe standard-bearer of the Realme, and in the end he recovered al that had bene taken from him.

D. John Manuel seeing this, retired himselfe into Arragon, where there were great broiles betwixt the King D. Pedro, and D. Leonora his mother in law, and her partisans: for D. Pedro of Xerica, whose lands the King had taken away, was in armes, with Diego Lopes of Haro, John Martin of Leua, Lope Diaz Rogio and other Commanders, being sent by the King of Castile, who assisted them with men, money and counsell: and to conserue of these quarrels, hee and his sister Donna Leonora met at Ayllon, whereas shee made great complaints of the King D. Pedro, who had chased her out of Arragon, and spoiled both her and her children.

E The King of Castile desiring to bee reuenged of the King of Portugall, hee march- ed towards Badajos, where vpon the way hee was aduertised that Donna Leonora de Guzman was deliuered of a sonne, the which hee caused to be named Don Tello, this was in the yeere of our Lord 1337. An. 1337. Donna Beatrice his aunty, Queene of Portu- gall, came vnto him at Badajos, intreating him for to pardon the Portugals, and not to enter in hostile manner into the countrey, promising to finde meanes to re- concile all quarrels betwixt her sonne and him, and that all reasonable satisfaction should bee made.

Her prayers were reiected, and hee marched with his army towards the towne of Yel- bes, where hee cut vp the Vignes and Oliue trees, and spoiled all thereabouts, then hee past by Ronches and Beros, and returned to Chelles and Oliuencia, desiring much to encounter the Portugall army, the which hee knew to bee in field, but it marched an o- ther way. Don Alphonso Ieoffres Tenorio, Admirall of Castille, defeated the Portugall army at sea, being commanded by Manuel Pescagno a Genetois, and carried away the Admirall prisoner, yet not without losse of some of his ships and men.

xx

This

VVarre made by Portugall against Castile.

King of Castile sends Portu- gals with an army.

This was the first attempt of Castile against Portugal, the which was staied by the A Kings sicknesse, whereupon he caused himself to be carried to Seuille, and put his army into garrisons: but being soone recovered, he gathered his forces againe together, and entred into the country of Algarbe (notwithstanding that the great master of Rhodes, by commission from Pope *Benedict* the eleuenth, had exhorted him to desist from this war: and in like manner the Archbishop of Rheims, who was then Ambassador in Castile for the French King) he past the river of Guadiana, and came to Ayamont, which finding abandoned, he repast at Castromarin, the which was well fortified, so as he would not stay, but marcht towards Tabira, where he burnt the trees, and razed the farme houses there abouts, and then he returned into Castile by Alcautín. Whilest he wasted the country of Algarbe in Portugal, the King of Portugal did the like in Galicia, and besieged Saluatierra. B ra, who although he tooke it not, yet hee spoiled a great country, and left it desolate, by reason of the cowardize of Don *Pero Fernandes*, who was Gouvernor in these parts, who would neuer shew himselfe to make head against the King of Portugall, for that hee had bene bread vp a Page in his court: wherefore the Portugall army having spoiled the countrie of Galicia at their pleasures, they returned without any counter.

The Moores were ioyfull spectators of these warres betwixt the father in law and son, so as they did strictly entertaine the truce which they had made with the King of Castile: as they for the better confirmation thereof, there came a great Ambassage into Castile, from *Abobahsen* the Miralumin of Maroc, the chiefe whereof were two *Alfaquins* or Doctors of *Mahumets* sect, of great reputation, who presented vnto King D. *Alphonso* C Barbary horses, rich swords, cloath of gold and of precious silke, Ostriges, Falcons and other beasts, who hauing receiued an honourable reward, and obtained confirmation of the truce, with reparation of some exccesse which had bene committed amongst the frontiers, they returned well satisfied, but soone after the Moore changed aduice and counsell, hearing (to their great griefe) that there had bene a truce concluded betwixt the two Kings of Castile and Portugal. This truce was treated and made by the diligence of the great Maister of Rhodes, and the Archbishop of Rheims Ambassador for France, it was concluded with the King of Castile in the towne of Merida, about the end of the yeere 1337. or in the beginning of the next.

Death of Ximenes de Luna  
Archbishop of Toledo.

College of Clement at Salamanca.

During this war betwixt Castile and Portugal, D. *Ximenes de Luna* Archbishop of Toledo died, in whose place the Chapter did choosethrough the Kings fauour, who had written D. *Gil Aluarez* of Cuenca, otherwise called D. *Gil Carrillo* of Albornoz a counsellor of Estate to King D. *Alphonso*, and Archdeacon of Calatraua, in the same church, a man of great vertue amongst the Spaniards, who for his wisdom and judgement, did in time merit to be a Cardinal of Rome, with the title of Saint *Clement*, Bishop of Sabina, and Apostolike Legat in Italy, the Romaine Sea being then resident in Avignon. During which dignity he did many things for the good of the church: and amongst other monuments and testimonies which remaine of him at this day, there is the College of Saint *Clement* in the city of Bologna, the which they commonly call the College of Spaine, the which was built by the executors of this Prelat, who did so appoint it. It hath about three thousand ducats of rent, with the which there are thirty students entertained, whereof twenty be Lawiers, six Diuins and foure Philosophers, besides foure Chaplains, al Spaniards, except one who may be a Portugal. The Rector of this College hath ciuil and criminal iurisdiction, and is not subiect to the Legat, nor to any other Magistrat of the city, the College enioying as ample preuileiges as any knight or gentleman there. About the end of the yeere 1337. was founded the towne of *Alagria* of Dulanci, two Leagues from *Victoria*, in the Prouince of *Alaua*, of many villages there about, the which obtained from the King the preuileiges, and lawes of the Realme, whereby the Inhabitants should gouerne themselves, and market euery Monday, with liberty to chooseth their owne Iudges.

In the yeere of our Lord 1338. D. *Pedro* King of Arragon, married D. *Maria*, second daughter to King *Philip*, and to Queene *Isabel* of Nauar, in the towne of *Alagon*, the Bishop of Chalons doing the ceremony, hauing accompanied the Queen-mother to the

Arragon.  
An. 1338.

Bride,

A Bride, who came alone to this marriage, without her husband *Philip*, being ingaged in those cruel and bloody warres betwixt the French and English, contending for the crowne of France. Pope *Benedict* the eleuenth, then reigning, dispensed with the married couple, for the bond of consanguinity, which was betwixt them, at the request of *Philip* of Valois, the French King: from *Alagon* the new Queene was conducted to *Sarragossa*, whereas the feast and pompe was ended, for the which they had prepared long before in that citie, being chosen for the celebration of this marriage: but the indisposition of D. *Isabelle* Queene of Nauarre, was the cause that they were married at *Alagon*.

Marriage betwixt D. Pedro King of Arragon and D. Maria the younger of Nauar.

19. The newes of a truce betwixt the Kings of Castile and Portugal, being vnder-

Moore.

B stood at *Granado*, and from thence sent to Maroc; at such time as King *Abobahsen* had surmounted all warres and difficulties in Affrike, these Moorish Kings had a desire to fill Spaine with fire and murder, being thrust on by two contrary passions, the one of feare, to be first set vpon by the King of Castile, who was now freed from his intestine wars: the other of hope, that their armes should be as successful against the Christians of Europe, as they had bene against the barbarous Affricans: for King *Abobahsen* hauing not long before called troups out of Spaine, which had followed *Abomelic* his sonne, lying then idle on this side the seas, whereas all was quiet: and being assisted by the forces of *Granado*, sent into Affrike by King *Ioseph*, hee had lately deputed *Boteselín*, who reigned in Tremessen, both of Kingdome and life, and had vnto his crowne

C the Realme of *Sojumenca*: so as being growne as haughty in courage, as powerful in Signeuries and subiects, he had no lesse conceptions, then to restore the ancient glorie of the Miraluminis his Predecessors in Spaine, and wholly to expell the Christians. Besides the respect of religion did much encourage him, holding it not only honourable, but also conscientious, to aduance *Mahumets* sect by armes, according to his Doctrine: wherefore hauing by the aduice of his *Alfaquins* and *Aluises* concluded this warre, hee began to giue order that his troups should march towards the Straights, and passe by little and little to *Algezire*, and other places of *Granado*, making a Magazin for victuals, armes, engines and other munition for the warre, at *Tanger*; whereof the Christians Princes were presently aduertised by their Gouvernors of forts vpon that frontier, and of King *Abomelic* passage and returne into Spaine, and of the preparations

Expedition of Abobahsen into Spaine.

D which both he and *Ioseph* King of *Granado* made: insalible arguments that they would soone make open warres, as it happened in the beginning of the yeere 1338. D. *Alphonso* King of Castile seeing this burthen ready to fall vpon him, fore-cast all means how to beare it: hee made Orders and taxes vpon victuals, and cut off the Spaniards superfluities in apparels and other pomes: hee sent his sea-army into the Straights, to stop the Moores passage: hee obtained from Pope *Benedict* pardons and Indulgences for all those that should contribute to this warre: hee assigned places for the souldiers *Rendez vous*: hee leauied footmen, artificers and pioneers: and in general hee provided for all things which hee thought necessarie for the warres: but above all hee pacified the troubles growne betwixt D. *Pedro* King of Arragon, and Donna *Leonora* his Mother in law. In all which businesses, the Archbishop of Rheims, Ambassador for France in Castile, laboured with great affection, and to the end there should be no thing defectiue for the wel gouerning of the common weale, the Prelats and Masters of the Orders made diligent search among them that were their suffragans and dependants: so as D. *Rais* *Pero* Maister of the Order of *Alcantara* was depouled by D. *John Nugnes* master of *Calatraua*, who had iurisdiction ouer him, and power to doe it. Yet amidst all these Cares, the King did not forget the loue of D. *Leonora* of Guzman, whose brother called Don *Alphonso Melendez* of Guzman, was by him made maister of the Order of the holy knights of Saint *Lames*. The yeere 1339. being come, hee went towards Seulle, where

An. 1339.

F was the *Rendez vous*, for all his troups, both horse and foote, so as hauing in few daies gathered together a great and well ordered army, hee entred the territories of *Antequera* & *Archidona*, the which he spoiled, running vp to *Ronda*, so whence he was forced to retire to Seulle for want of victuals, where he spent the rest of the spring to distribute the forts & places vpon the frontiers vnto capitaines, making D. *Gonzales Nugnes*, or as others

say.

say, *Martinez* Maister of Alcantara (newly elect) Gouernor and his Lieutenant general there, and hee himselfe came to Madrid. The Moores incensed at this entry which the Christian army had made into their country, went to field by two seuerall waies; the Infant *Abomelic* (who had great numbers of light horse) by Medina Sidonia, whose territory he spoiled, and *Isoph* King of Granado entred by Silos, which place belonging vnto the knights of Saint Iames and well manned, hee besieged, and barred furiously, but it was not onely brauely defended by the garrison but their campe was assaulted by the Castilian army, and they forced to dislodge by *D. Alphonso Melendez de Guzman* who was the Leader, not without great dishonor and losse to the King of the Moores: who at the same time was stript of the victuals of his army, which he caused to bee conducted to Priegos, by the Gouernor *D. Gonzalo Martinez*, who carried the prey to Alcaudete. The Gallies of Castille being ioyned to them of Arragon, held King *Abomelic* as it were besieged in Algezire, lying in the straight; taking from him all hope of succours, either of men or victuals from Affrike: whereupon the Moores being aduertised that in *Lebrixa* was one of the store-houses for the Christian army, thought they might well surprise it: whereupon they sent about one thousand five hundred horse among the Olive trees of Xeres (where they tooke a great booty) but they found that *D. Fernand Perez Carrero*, gouernor of Tariffe, was entred a little before with a good number of souldiars; wherefore their designe being disappointed, they turned towards Arcos, where they spoiled, and carried away great store of cattraile, whereof the Inhabitants within Seule being aduertised, they went with their city standard to field, and being ioyned to the King of Alcantara, to *D. Aluar Perez* of Guzman, to *D. Pera Ponce* of Leon (who Maister of Alcantara, and others, they came and incourted these foragers vnlooked for, whom they charged so furiously, as they put them to rout, and recouered all the prey, King *Abomelic* continuing the spoile about Xeres, marcht with three thousand and five hundred horse which he had recouered, and a great number of foot towards Alcala de los Gazules, and besieged it, being ignorant of the defeat of his men. The victorious Christians, hauing ioyned with *Fernand Gonzales & Aguilar*, who had some horse, and being also fortressed by them of Eccia, marcht that way, and charged this army of Moores with such fury, as they put them to flight, and chasing and killing them they pursued them far, his campe remayning in great confusion and disorder. King *Abomelic* being hastily pursued, had no meanes to get to horse, but fell amongst the footmen, who fled and were hardly followed: so as in the end, not to be knowne, hee cast himselfe amongst those which lay vpon the ground slaine or wounded, where a Christian souldiary passing by and not knowing him thrust him through with his sword, whereof hee died soone after. The Christians (as some write were not above 2000. horse, and two thousand five hundred foote; who without any great losse, slue ten thousand Moores in this surprize and pursute: they spoiled their campe, and tooke their baggage which was great, and so returned ioyfully to Xeres. The Kings body was afterwards found, neere vnto a brooke whether he had crept (as it was likely) to quench the burning thirst, which doth commonly afflicke such as are wounded, hauing lost much blood. King *Albohacen* his father being aduertised of this pittifull accident, was inflamed with wrath, and desire of reueng, making all possible speed to passe into Spaine.

Whilest that hee prepares himselfe, there fell out a great disorder in Andalusia, by the meanes of *D. Leonora* of Guzman. This woman who gouerned the King, made the ports & accused *D. Gonzal Nunez* Maister of Alcantara, of certaine matters, the which did much incense the King: wherefore being come to Madrid, hee sent to the Maister to come presently vnto him. *D. Gonzal* who was fully aduertised why hee was sent for, and knowing how dangerous the King was to them hee did not like, obeyed not: but thrust himselfe with the Moores, and beganne to make practises in Granado. The King being aduertised of his reuolt, returned sodainely, and had meanes (before hee could dislodge) to besiege him in a towne called Valence, belonging to the Order of Alcantara, whereas *D. Gonzale* defended himselfe vnto the end, and would neuer harken to any words or promises whatsoever.

In

In the end, not able to hold it any longer, hee offered to yeeld vnto the Kings mercy, but it was too late: for the place was forced, and he taken and put to death and his body condemned and burnt as a Traitor by the Kings sentence. Such as had followed his party, and held other places yielded. A man in truth worthy of a more honorable death, who besides many generous acts, and worthy seruices done vnto the crowne of Castille, had bene in the two aboue mentioned victories and adorned the Temples of the towne where he was forced, with the standards and ensignes hee had taken from the Moores. *D. Nuno Chamico* was chosen in his place.

*Jeffrey Girallbert* Admiral of Arragon, who kept the Straight with the gallies of Arragon, being landed vpon the shoare nere to Algezire, had an encounter with the Moores, by whom he was vanquished, and slaine with an arrow, whereupon the army returned into Arragon, that of Castille remayning at the passage, the which consisted onely of three and thirtie gallies, and some few ships, to weake a force to stoppe the Moores passage out of Affrike: so as about three thousand Genets past presently into Algezire, without any let, and beganne to ouerrunne the country about Arcos, Xeres and Medina Sidonia, gathering together a great prey: but thinking to put it into Algezire, they were forced to leaue it by the way, being charged by the horsemen which went out of Xeres, who slue many vpon the place, amongst which was *Bowlai*, a famous captaine of the Moores.

King *Albohacen* had caused a great number of vessels of all sorts to be made ready, both in the ports of Spaine and Affrike, meaning to carry into Spaine one of the greatest armies that euer went out of Affrike, to stop whole passage. King *Alphonso* was ill provided: and as he was distrustfull, and of a strange humour, and many times vniust vnto his best seruants, hee complained of *Don Alphonso Jeffrey Tenorio* his Admirall, saying that hee slept, and suffered the Moores to passe and repasse at their pleasure, the which was not true: for the Admirall did his duty with those few Gallies hee had, and did often take spoils and other vessels which did houer about the shore coastes, and ships laden with victuals which came out of Affrike into Spaine: namely from Centa to Algezire, the which notwithstanding did not satisfie the King, who would exact some great effect of necessity: wherefore hee thrust the Admirall into despair, the which was verie preiudiciall to that warre.

King *Albohacen* being come to Ceuta in the beginning of the yeere of our Lord 1340. and hauing there gathered together to the number of three score and ten Gallies, and other vessels to passe his horsemen, victuals, armes, engines and other equipage of warre, neere to a hundred and foure score sailles, as wel of his owne, as of the Kings of Granado, hee went with this mighty army towards Spaine, where it was easie to land, finding no resistance, whereat King *D. Alphonso*, who was at Seuille was much incensed, blaming his Admirall incessantly of cowardise and treachery, the which hee tooke for greuously, as hee resolved rashly to goe and charge the Moores at what price soeuer, and hauing drawne those few Gallies and Ships hee had out of Saint Luez, into the open sea, hee presented himselfe before Algezire, prouoking the enemy to battaile, who going out of Algezire and Gibraltar, farre more in number then the Christian Gallies, there was a fierce and cruel battaile, the end whereof was the whole losse of the Castilian army, whereof there were but five gallies saved, the which recouered the neere port of Tariffe, and some few ships, which escaped by fauour of the winde and current, flying towards Carthagea. The Admirall was slaine in this conflict, flying; that the King should know he was neither Coward nor Traitor: but it was a rash attempt in him, to hazard so small a flecte against so great an armie, who should haue considered, that by the losse of a battaile hee gaue the whole commande of the sea vnto the enemy.

Thus this Admirall thinking to preferre his honor, which hee might well haue warranted by the reasons of warre, which disallow all great hazards, but in extremity, hee did more blenshit. This losse which happened to *Don Alphonso* King of Castille, partly by his owne bitternesse, and vniust rigour to his faithfull seruant, did much afflicke him; so as hee was forced to seeke speedie meanes to repaire so great a ruine: for the Moores army insolent of this victory, and knowing that there were no forces at sea able to

X x 3

Moores:

Loyalty ill rewarded makes a good servant disloyal.

Defeat of the Castilian army and death of the admirall.

make head against them, vaunted that they would beseege Seuille: wherefore the King of Castille was forced to conuert the truce which hee had made with the King of Portugal to a peace, and to consent that *D. Constance Manuel* should marry with Don *Pedro* Infant of Portugal, whose wife *D. Blanche* beeing fallne into a Palley, was put away by him. By meanes of this peace, and at the instance of the Queene *Donna Maria*, daughter to the King of Portugal, hee promised to lend all his shippes of warre to the King of Castille, the which stayed not long before they arrived at Seuille, when as the King gaue order to rigge out fifteene gallees of his owne, and twelue ships, of the which hee gaue the charge vnto *Don Alphonso Ortiz Calderon*, Prior of Saint John.

Great preparation of war made by King Alboacen against Spaine.

In the meane time King *Alboacen*s army past, the Moores Gallies and Ships neuer ceasing for a long time, to transport horse and foote, victualles and munition for the warre, which they had prepared, the which was as great and fearefull as any had beene seene, for they write in their Histories that this Arabian King had gathered together all the forces hee could from the shoare of the Westerne Atlanticke sea, vnto Egypt, hauing by the conquest of the Realmes of Tremessen and Sojumenca, so extended the bounds of his Empire as there was not any King or Potentat in all the length of Affrike, which was not his subiect, or strictly allied vnto him: so as the Spanish authors say, that hee brought into Spaine aboue seuentie thousand horse; and Spanish authors say, the Arabians and Affricans comming from all parts vnder hundred thousand foote, by the preachings and perswasions of the Almuquins, Doctors and Priests of their law, who were sent through out all the regions of Affrike, by King *Alboacen*, to the end that such, as spoile and gaine (the common end of warre) could not mooue, might bee perswaded to take armes for religious cause. This great multitude of Infidels, were neere fise monethes in passing, hauing at this passage, besides the Gallies of Maroc and Granado, shofe of the Kings of Tunes and Bugie, whereof hee of Tunes was father in law to *Alboacen*, and their common landings were Algezire and Gibraltar.

It behoued King *D. Alphonso* studie how hee should resist so great a power, the which did wonderfully trouble him: yet beeing a Prince of a great courage, hee provided for many things speedely; which were of great importance for the warre. And doubting that the Moores first attempt would bee against Tariffe, hee manned it with a good garrison of old souldiars, and gaue the charge thereof to *John Alphonso* of Benauides, furnishing the place with all things necessarie to maintaine a seerge: where in hee was not deceived, for it was presently inuested by the enemy, King *Alboacen* beeing in person in the armie. Experience hath often taught, that multitudes giue no victory; for besides that God will therein shew a testimony, that it is hee alone, without the force of mans arme, which rayseth and pulles downe Kingdomes and states; there are so many naturall and humane reasons, which doe concur with this point of religion, as there is no cause to call it in question. The confusion, disorder, disobedience, mutinies, hunger, diseases, the infinit carriages and lets of baggage, jealousies betwixt commanders, and diuersity of nations, the negligence and rash confidence which Kings ground vpon their great numbers of men, are inseparable mischeetes to great armies, the which haue most commonly ruined them, but haue alwaies made them vnprofitable and which haue most commonly ruined them. So it happened to King *Alboacen* in this voiage: for as soone as hee had landed this infinite multitude of Arabians and other Nations, presuming that there was not any Christian in Spaine, that would dare to present himselfe before so great a power, and that hee should presently see himselfe Master of all the townes of Andalusia: besides hee thought hee had no cause to feare any impeachment at sea, the two armies of Castille and Arragon hauing beene defeated: so as all small vessels of burthen might passe safely from Spaine to Affrike, and furnish his campe with victuals, if hee should haue any neede, wherevpon hee presently disarmed all his Gallies, and drew them into the Ports, hauing no other thought but to make warre by land, but it fell out otherwise: for there was not any petty place vpon the frontiers of Andalusia but held good: so as being forced to attend his provisions for so great an army from Affrike, for that the countie of Granado

Armies vnprofitable by their too great multitudes.

could

A could not supply it, he found himselfe (being at the seerge of Tariffe) in great want of victuals, being easie for the gallies of Castille and Portugal, to spoile all passengers which brought munition from the ports of Affrike into Spaine: wherefore he repented himself much of this enterprife, and would gladly haue found some meanes to haue retired honorably.

At that time *Don John Martines de Leyua* arrived at Seuille, returning from Pope *Benedict* who kept at Auignon: from whom he brought pardons and full indulgences, so such as should crosse themselves for this warre against the Infidels, or otherwise employ them selves or their goods for the advancement thereof, with an especial charge and commission to *Don Gil Carillo* of Albornoz, Arch-bishop of Toledo, to publish this Croisado, making him to that end Legate of the Apostolike sea. The army before Tariffe being oppressed with famine, King *Alboacen* gaue *Don John Alphonso* of Benauides, the Gouvernor, to vnderstand, that he had some matters to treat of with him for the good of the king his master, and therefore he should send some vnto him, to conferre with him. The Gouverneur hauing receiued hostages, sent two Gentlemen vnto him: but beeing aduertised at the same instant that the gallies of Castille and Portugal had beene all callt away by tempest vpon the coast, so as the sea beeing free, victuals began to come abundantly from Affrike vnto the campe: when as these Knights came vnto king *Alboacen*, hee sayd nothing of consequence vnto them, but was desirous againe to continue the warre, sending backe these messengers, and retiring his hostages. Then did they make a furious batterie, with all kinds of engines vsuall in those times, against the which the beseeged rampared themselves, and made a gallant defence. King *D. Alphonso* hauing called to Seuille, the Noblemen of his Councell, and the chiefe men among his subiects, sitting in his royall throne with great maiestie, holding in his right hand the sword, wherewith hee had beene girt in Saint James Church of Galicia, when he was made Knight, and in his left hand the Crowne, wherewith he had beene crowned in the citie of Bourgois: he spake grauely vnto them of the present estate of his affaires, and the danger wherein the Christian realms of Spaine then were, by the importune malice, and impiety of the Arabians, their ancient enemies, coniuired together at that time from the East vnto the West, to glut their implacable thirst with the blood of Spaniards: against whose forces, without all doubt, in time, Spaine should not be able to resist, many of their best men hauing beene consumed by the factions and diuisions which had raigned among them, whereby Spaine had wasted her selfe by her owne armes, and withall the ill successe of his armies at sea, brought twise to nothing: so as for so dangerous a mischiefe, there was need of an extraordinarie remedie, the honour of the name of Christians, the Crowne of Castille, and their liberties, liues, and goods, beeing then in question: wherein he had need of good and faithfull Councell, and for that cause had called them together, praying God to put into their hearts and vnderstandings, what was fit for the honor and increase of his Crowne, and the Common-weale. Wherevpon many different opinions hauing beene propounded, all in the end concluded, that they must rayse the seerge from before Tariffe: for the effecting whereof they must find meanes to ioine the forces of Portugal, Arragon and Castille together, for the which they began presently to giue order. The Queene of Castille got a promise from *Don Alphonso* King of Portugal her father, to ayde the king her husband with all his forces, wherevpon there was an enterview of the two kings, at Trumegna, a towne in Portugal.

D. Alphonso presented to his Councell.

The king of Castille sent to encourage them of Tariffe, giuing them hope of speedie succours: forbidding them exprelly not to fall forth vpon the enemy, for that the losse of one man did more import them, then an hundred to King *Alboacen*: he obtained a new army at sea from the king of Arragon, (the which was commanded by the Prior of Saint John, who had escaped in the tempest) to ioine with those few gallies which he had yet left: and presently after the king of Portugal came in person to Seuille, beeing accompanied with all the flower of his Nobility, and the best souldiars of his country. They leaued men in all parts of Spaine both foot and horse, which enrolled themselves for this religious warre, but especially out of Biscay, Alaua, and Guipuscoa, which bee the best foot-men of Spaine, the which were commanded by *Don Pero Nunez de Guzman*, their Lord

Don



Don *John Nagues de Lara*, being employed in the conduct of the horse. To conclude, A their indeavors were such, as within few dayes there were mustred about Seuille 25000. foote, and 14000. horse, with which forces the two kings of Castile and Portugal, resolved to offer battell vnto the enemy which was before Tariffe, being farre more mighty then they, having besides the great number of horse and foote which he brought out of Affricke, ioyned vnto him the forces of Granado, the which consisted of 7000. horse, and a great multitude of foot. Aftoon as the Christian army began to march, *Alboacen* king of Maroc, and *Ioseph* king of Granado, sent *Albohmar* Infant of Maroc with 2000. horse to keepe the passage of the riuier of Salado, which runnes betwixt Pegna du Cerf, and Tariffe, the which were defeated by a thousand horse and 4000. foot, which the King of Castile had sent to put themselves into Tariffe, the which they effected happily, after this exploit, through fauour of the night, the Moorish kings hauing already raised their siege, burnt their engines of batterie, and retired their army into a place of aduantage, called Al-faneque. These troupes were the bands of *D. Henry* and *D. Tello*, children aduowed of Castile, the which were led by wife and expert Captaines.

The day after this defeat the two armies presented themselves vpon the banks of the riuier of Salado, which the Christians meant to passe, and so they did, but with great resistance and difficultie: yet *Gonsalo Ruiz de la Vega*, and his brother *Garcilaso*, who marched in the head of the army, assured the passage for the rest, repulsing the Moors, who defended it valiantly, when as the Christians were all past without breaking, they found the great squadrons of the Moors in Order, ready to fight, so as in an instant they ioyned, and were so mingled, as the kings themselves on either side, sparing not their owne persons, and performing the duties as well of souldiers, as of Generals of armies, were many times found in danger: and their obltinacie was so great in the fight, as the Arch-bishop of Toledo wasaine (partly by intreaties, and partly by force) to draw the king of Castile out of the presse, where he had the fore-part of his saddle shot through with an arrow: a dangerous blow, if it had lighted a little higher, the which might haue made the kingdoms of Spaine a prey vnto the Moors, by the losse of a battell, which doth commonly follow the death of the Generall. But God disposed otherwise, according to his mercy to the Christians: for the Moors being rather hindered then helped by their multitudes, gaue way and fled, where as the slaughter was so great, as the number of the dead (as Authors write) is not erredible, but howsoener, the Christians had an absolute victorie, who might haue laine more, and it may be haue extinguished the name of Moors in Spaine, if they had pursued the disordered enemies, who fled one ouer another, and not busied themselves at the spoyle, especially the footmen. The camp remayning free to the Christians, as they gathered the spoyles together, there were found among the dead, one of the king of Marocs wiues, called *Fatima*, daughter to the king of Tunes, of the race of the Almohades, and three other Ladies. Among the prisoners *Albohmar* sonne to king *Alboacen*, and his nephewes *Alboham* and *Albohali*, it may be children to *Albohali*, who had beene king of Sojumenca, two of the kings daughters, and other Moors of noate. The Kings of Maroc and Granado escaped by flight, and retired to diuers places. *Alboacen* apprehending, that by this defeat his reputation and honour would bee much blemished, and thereby the fidelitie of his subiects shaken, fearing least a sonne of his called *Alderramen*, whom he had left at Maroc, should seaze vpon the kingdom, he past the same night to Ceuta.

This battell wonne by the Christians the eight and twentieth of October, in the year 1340. is rightly paralleled to that of Muradal or Tholoufa, by the which the Moors lost the command of Spaine, some 128. years before: for thereby the great designs of the king of Maroc were disappointed, hauing promised vnto himselfe the conquest of all Spaine, so as after that time the warre grew more easie and light. This victorie was honoured and renowned by many religious and ciuill acts among the Spaniards: for besides that during the conflict, the name of *Saint James*, (who was held Patron and Protector of Spaine) did sound (as they say) in the ayre, and that Don *Alphonso* *Guzier* *Pereyra*, Prior of *S. John*, of *Grato* in Portugal, had carried with him a peece or fragment of the true Crosse, and many other such persuasions and inducements put

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river of Salado

Defeat memo-  
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ments of so  
great a victory

A put in practise (according to the doctrine of those times) in the campe, and in all other places whether that newes came, thanks were giuen vnto God for so great a grace, and great demonstrations of ioy made throughout all the townes. *D. Alphonso* King of Castile, the day after the battell entred into Tariffe, and caused the breaches to bee repayed, commending and rewarding the Captaines and souldiers which had carried themselves valiantly in the siege. Hauing afterwards viewed the enemies spoiles, the king of Castile did distribute it, according to euery mans merits.

The king of Portugall would not haue any thing, but certaine summitures and caparasons for horses, and fwords richly wrought after the Moreco fashion: but the King of Castile his sonne-in-law gaue him a prisoner, a Moore of the bloud royall, one of the sonnes of *Albohali*, who had beene king of Sojumenca. Thus the two kings, father-in-law, and sonne-in-law, parted, very well satisfied one of another. To acknowledge the grace which God had done vnto the Christians, by so great a victorie, the king of Castile took this course, he sent *John Martines de Leyua*, to Pope *Benedict*, then residing at Auignon, with his royall Standard, which had beene carried in the battell, accompanied with foure and twenty of the chiefe Ensignes which he had taken from the Moors, the which were borne by so many Moors. Moreouer, he sent him an hundred horse richly appointed, euery one hauing a sword and a target hanging at his saddle pommel, and were led by so many Moors. With these horses he sent his owne, on the which hee was mounted the day of the battell, couered with the royall armes of Castile and Leon: and moreouer, many rich Jewels, and other singularities, which things were presented vnto the Pope with great ceremony and pompe, and receiued with no lesse honour and solemnity by the Pope and Cardinals. And the more to honour this act, the Pope the same day did sing a pontifical Masse, and did preach, much commending the king of Castile, and to reward him, he powred forth his spirituall treasures, granting him store of Indulgences, with the which *John Martines de Leyua* returned, being well recompensed.

Some Authors write, that the victuallers, carters, pioners, merchants, Lackies, and others of base quality in the Christians campe, falling vpon the baggage, whilst the souldiers were in fight, had taken great spoiles of gold, siluer, and other riches, and that the king being aduertised thereof, was perswaded not to suffer men, which had not beene in the battell, nor aduentured their liues, to enioy the booties which were due vnto souldiers: wherefore meaning to follow this aduice, he forced many to bring backe that which they had taken: but the greater number escaped, who fearing to be dispossest of that which they had gotten, being all their fortunes, left Castile, and went into Nauarre, Arragon, France and other countries, with such store of double duckets, as the price of gold was fallen a fixt part, and all merchandize much risen.

20 In this warre were furnished twenty gallies of Cattelogne, by Don *Pedro* king of Arragon, and eight by him of Majorca. The King Don *Pedro* was not there in person, neither did he send any forces by land, by reason of his owne affaires and domestick designs, which he did plot to the preiudice of his subiect. A violent Prince, proud, didainfull, and full of reuenge. Don *James* King of Majorca his cousin and brother-in-law, was forced in the city of Barcelona, the yeare before the defeat of the Moors at Salado, to do him homage for the Ilands and other Segneuries which he held vpon the Mayne, as to his Soueraigne, causing him to kneele before him, whereuppon this Prince retired him selfe in a great rage to Perpignan: from whence soone after he was forced to returne to Court, and to accompany the king Don *Pedro* vnto Auignon, whither he went to visit the Pope, where it happened that these Kings walking through the towne together, a seruant of the King of Majorcas, doing some seruice vnto his master indirectly, hee did so moue the King Don *Pedro*, as he was ready to draw his sword, and to strike the king of Majorca himselfe, which was the beginning of their quarrels, the which continued long and violent.

The arruall and entrie of the king Don *Pedro* into Auignon, was very honorable, for at the passage of the riuier of Durance, he was met and receiued by two and twenty Cardinals, and entred with the king of Majorca into the towne, betwixt Cardinall *Neapolon* of Vrsins, and he of Cominges: but the next day (after he had shewed his spleene against his

Arragon.

Qualities of  
the King *Pedro*.

his brother in law, it may be moued with some sower answer which the Pope had given him; he retired to Villa-noua discontented. The chiefe man which then serued him in his most important affaires, was *Nicholas* of Ionuille; a French man, who was Earle of Terra-noua in the Kingdome of Naples, and had married *Marguerite* daughter to the Admirall *Roger* of Loria. This man was advanced in the place of *D. Pedro* Earle of Ribagorça, the Kings vnkle, who was giuen more to a contemplatiue life, then to worldly affaires: for the which, notwithstanding he had had long and bitter iarrs with *D. Pedro de Luna*, Archbishop of Saragozza, who was desirous to gouerne, and to mannage the affaires of the Realme: but their contention had bene ended by the aduancement of this third, and they were reconciled at the marriage of *D. Lope de Luna*, the sonne of *Artail*, and nephew to the Archbishop, and *D. Violant* the Kings aunt, and sister to the Earle of Ribagorça, who was widow to *Philip* Despoie of Romania, and sonne to *Philip* Prince of Tarrenrum, the which were celebrated at Lerida, and from whence they went to Auiignon. The King *D. Pedro* being returned from this voyage, hee commenced a criminall Proceffe against the King of Maiorca, for that he caused money to be coyned in the Towne of Perpignan, and he caused him to bee cited to appeare before the Estates then assembled at Barcelona, not much troubling himselfe that the French king (carrying himselfe as Soueraigne of Montpellier, and other lands belonging to the King of Maiorca, on this side the Pyrenees, had seized vpon the forts and castles of all these places. The King of Maiorca not appearing, his totall ruine was resolued by the King, the which followed as we shall hereafter shew.

State of Sardinia.

At that time such was the Estate of Sardinia: Caillery, Aquafredda, Ioiosaguarda, Quirio, Castelorguilleux, Gallicelli, Castel Pedresio, Faba Oslia, Salleri, and la Balide of Sorria, were held by Arragon garissons: *Marian* Iudge of Arborea, had bene newly made Earle of Gothian by the king, *John* Marquis of Malepine, and the Earles of Donaratico were friends to the kings of Arragon: but in Italy the Pisans, the Genouois, and with them *Luquin* Vicount, (who then ruled at Milan) had made a league, and conspired to chase the Arragonois out of Sardinia, where they also had their partisans and intelligences: for besides other factions, the family of Doria was then diuided into foure factions. These things did trouble the king *D. Pedro* amidst his enterprises, at such time as hee sought the ruine of *D. Iames* King of Maiorca, and when hee was follied by *Hugh* Corring, *Petra* Allersia, and *Loupe* Cincora, chiefe men of the Iland of Corsica, to undertake the conquest thereof, whereof the Bishop of Aleria was the minister and ambassadour: and euen then when it was most needfull to haue sent his gallies to the Streight, in fauor of the k. of Castile, and for the common interest of all the Christian Princes of Spaine.

Portugal.

Before the yeare 1340. past, the Infant *D. Pedro* of Portugall had a sonne by his new spouse *D. Constance* Manuel, whome he had married at Ebroa, with a dowrie of 300000. d. iublons, and many rich iewels, and this Infant was named *D. Fernando* or *Ferdinand*, who was king of Portugall after the Grandfather and father.

Castile.

21 In the yeare 1341. *D. Alphonso* king of Castile hauing called a Parliament of all his Realmes at Herrena in Extremadura, there were great summes of money giuen him, his subiects seeing that he employed it profitably, for the defence and increafe of the crowne: from thence he came to Madrid, where he gaue Order for all that was necessarie for the warre, and appointed the Rendez-vous for his troups at Cordoua, from whence he sent them of Seuille and Cordoua to make incursions, attending the rest of his forces: he made a shew to go to Malaga, the which put the Moores into great feare: but hee marched to Alcala de Bencayde, vpon the arrivall of those troups which he expected, the which he found vnfortuned, for the king of Granada did confidently beleuee, that he would haue led his armie to Malaga: This place after some weake resistance yeelded, vpon condition that the Inhabitants should haue their liues saued: *Moclin* was taken by the diligence of *D. Alphonso Fernandez* and *Cornel*. There was some ouerture of a truce made in the behalle of the king of Granada, but without any conclusion, for that the king of Castile would not haue king *Abacer* comprehended: Priegos was also taken by composition: the like happened to Sarabney, being prest by *Martin* Fernandes Puerto Carroero. *D. Alphonso Melendez de Guzman*, master of *S. Iames*, did also win the castel of Benamexin: other places, as Rute, and

A and the tower of Matrera were also forced: then winter approaching, the king left good garissons in his townes, and the gard of the sea to *Giles Bocanegra*, a Genouois with fortie gallies, and other ships, and then he came to Vaileddolir, where he assigned the Estates at Burgos, at the which the sege of Algezire being propounded, there was granted vnto him an Imposition, called Alcauala, which was the twentieth part of all merchandize, that should be sold within the Realme. Thus as the king designed the sege of Algezire, his Admiral *Giles Bocanegra* hauing surprized twelue gallies of Granada in the port of Buillon, he burnt foure, sunke two, and carried away the other fixe. The king of Portugall sent ten of his gallies to ioyne with them of Castile, which were in the port of Xatares, being commanded by *Charles* Pagan or *Pecagno*. In the meane time many of the Moores

Victories at sea of the Christians against the Moores.

B gallies assembled at Ceuta, the which they layd, exceeded the number of 80. which threatened to passe into Spaine with great forces to reuenge their former losses. The king of Castile aduertised herof, came to Seuille, where by the way he vnderstood that the Moores army was come out of Affricke into Spaine, and that they were entered into the mouth of the riuer of Guadamecil with great numbers of fouldiers, viduals, and other provisions, the which they had landed, but it was suddenly beleegged by the gallies of Castile and Portugall, to whose succor came 13. gallies of Algezire, the which were fought with all by part of the Christian army, who sunke foure of them, two were taken, and the rest ran on ground. Being returned to their companions, who had shut vp the Moores army in the mouth of the riuer, there was a furious battell giuen, where as the Christians had the better, and the Moores lost 25. of their gallies. This done, the Portugall Admirall returned

C being sent for by the king his master: he came to kisse the king of Castiles hands at Xeres, who did him great honour, and gaue him letters in testimony of his vertue to the King of Portugall his master, intreating him to send him backe againe with his gallies. But the army at sea was nothing weakened hereby, for at the same time that the gallies of Portugall departed there arriued 20. from Arragon, of the which *D. Pedro* of Moncada was General, who in their way had encountered and vanquished 13. gallies of the Moores, whereof they carried away foure, two were broken against the shore, and the rest saued themselves at Velez in Affricke. The king came to Xatares, and being himselfe desirous to discouer the country of Algezire, and the situation of the towne, he went aboard a gally, and howered

D along the coast, and by the gulph, finding the country very pleasant: wherefore hee grew more desirous to beleegge that fort: and being returned to Seuille, and giuen order for all things necessarie for such an enterprise, he came and inuested it both by sea and land, in the month of August 1342. hauing not yett all his forces together, but onely 4000. foot: and 1600. horse, with his sea army of Castile and Arragon. In Algezire they made account, that there were at the least 800. horse, and 12000. foote Moores, all archers, and Croffe-bow men, who did much annoy the Christians, by their continuall sallies and skirmishes, but alsoone as the king of Castile had taken a fort, called Carthagens, lying betwixt Algezire and Gibraltar, they presented themselves more warily. A Moore taken in this castell, being brought vnto the king to discouer the state of the towne, was so transported with a desperate furie, as had not his Guard bene, and others that were nere vnto the Kings person, he had slaine him. Matters standing on these tearmes, the king of Arragon renoued his army, for that he had need thereof againe: the king of Maiorca, the which did somewhat incommode the sege: and at the same time the king had another cause of griefe, for the death of *D. Alphonso Melendez de Guzman*, master of *S. Iames*: in whose place *D. Frederic* the kings base sonne was chosen in the campe. There arriued daily at the campe great numbers of men from diuers forraign countries, to serue against the Infidels: by reason whereof, and fore-seeing that this sege would bee difficult and long, King *D. Alphonso* intreated the Christian Princes of France and Portugall, and the Pope

An. 1342.

E himselfe to lend him money. The French king assisted him with 50000. Crownes, which were made ouer to Genoa. Whilst they lye before Algezire, *Ioseph* King of Granada hauing gathered together 6000. horse, which he had in his country, with 2000. Afficans, being in garisson at Ronda, hee ouer-ran the country as far as Ecchia, where hauing spoiled all, he came to Palma, which he entred without any great difficulty, putting all the Christians hee found in it to the sword, then packing vpp his baggage, hee returned with speed

speed to Granado, fearing to be charged by the Garrisons and Commons there about, A who began to make a head. There was a More with one eye taken in the camp, who came from Castellar, and was sent to kill the king of Castile, as hee himselfe confessed, for the which he was executed. This year about Nouember, there arrived ten galleys, sent by the king of Arragon, and commanded by *Mathew Mercier* of Valence: the like number came from Portugal, and ioyned with the army, but within three weekes they returned, and no man knew the reason, yet the sege was not stayed, nor the batterie discontinued before Algezire: *Luigo Lopes* of Ozorco, who had charge of the Engines, vsing great diligence.

An. 1343. This was one of the longest sieges we read of in Spaine, without any intermission of Winter or other season. The year 1343. beeing come, the king of Granado entered a. B the gaine into Andalusia, hee recovered and razed the Castle of Benamexir, and spoiled the Towne of Estepa, but hee could not stay there: for that the Castle held good, and yet during all these incursions, this Moorish king did sollicite King *Don Alphonso* to come to some truce, offering the like conditions, whereunto he and his Predecessors had bene formerly bound, but for that he would not leaue the league and friendship of the King of Maroc, the King of Castile would not hearken to any treatie: although hee vnderstood, that king *Alboacen* was at Ceuta, and that he made great preparation to come and raise the sege of Algezire, wherein he was stayed by the searousie hee had of his sonne *Aderramen*, least hee should make himselfe King of Maroc in his absence, whose head hee was in the end forced to cut off, hauing to that end sent *Hascar* his Alguazil, or Provoost to Maroc, who by promises and good words, lulled this sonne asleepe, beeing impatient C in his ambition, and so executed his charge. The Moores of Ronda and Malaga, beeing two thousand horse, and as many foot, came running towards Ecija, not knowing that the king had sent a great troupe of horse into those marches, to hinder their courses: yet they forraged the countie, and tooke their way home-wards, but *Fernand Gonsales* of Aguilar cut off their passage in the night, at a riuer called *delas Yeguas*, and charged them so furiously at the breake of day, as notwithstanding any resistance, they abandoned their prey, and were put to route, leauing about sixe hundred of their men slaine and taken, and three hundred horse, which the Christians caried away. There were a good number of horse past already out of Affricke, so as the king of Granado ioyning them to the forces of his countie, hee might put an army to field, able to present battell to them that were at the sege before Algezire, their forces being then some what diuided, for that king *Don Alphonso* had (as we haue sayd) sent a good part of his horse-men towards Ecija, Carmona, Marchena, Vtrera, Aguilar, and other places: but beeing either fearful, by reason of former losses, or he expected greater succours from Affricke, hee deferred it very happily for the king of Castile, and beganne to practise a truce, whereunto King *Don Alphonso* made shew to incline, protracting the time, vntill the coming of his horse, whome hee had sent for with all speed vnto the campe, the which beeing come, there were so many difficulties propounded by him, as nothing was concluded.

The King of Maroc beeing vpon the Affricke shoare with a great army, hee solicited E him of Granado to giue battaile, offering to lend him part of his troupes, if he were not of sufficient strength. The King of Granado excused himselfe, for that both their forces vnited together, were not able to resist the fury of the Christians before Tariffe: wherefore he aduised & intreated him to passe in person, and to bring with him all the forces he had, but there was no meanes to perswade the king of Maroc to passe the streight: so as the sege continued, where there daily arrived Princes and Knights from France, England & other places: there is speciall mention made of a Duke of Lancaster, and an Earle of Salisbury English men, of *Gaston* Earle of Foix, and his brother *Roger Regnaud*, whom some call *Bernard* Vicount of Castellbon, and especially of *Philip* King of Nauarre, whose history we haue need to returne vnto.

Nauarre 22 This Prince hauing his residence for the most part in France, employing himself F vertuously for the defence of that realm against the English, who contended for it against *Philip* of Valois then reigning: his country of Nauar being gouerned in the meane time by Lieutenants, or Viceroys French-men, whereof wee haue named some. And in these times

A times mention is made of one *Regnaud Pons*, and of one *William Brabe*, Gouernors, in whose times the lawes of Duel were much practised in Nauarre, as well among the Nobility, as others, who decided their controversies and quarrels by combat. The wars betwixt the French and English beeing somewhat appeased about the year 1343, more for want of meanes to make warre, and for need of rest then otherwise: *Philip* king of Nauarre obtaigned leave to come and visit his countie, and if it were conuenient to see the sege of Algezire, whereof there was so great bruite throughout all Christendome. This desire increased in him, beeing in Nauarre, and the rather for that hee vnderstood there should be a battaile, as it was likely, and that the king of Castile did resolutely attend it. Wherefore king *Philip* inuited many of his friends, and leauied men as well in Nauarre, as in France, giuing order for the shipping of munition and victuals in the ports of Guipulcoz, and so marched on, hauing giuen aduice of all vnto king *D. Alphonso*, leading with him only an hundred horse, and three hundred foot, which were ready about him, giuing order for the rest to follow. There was great honor done him in all the townes of Castile, where hee past, the king hauing so commanded, and hee arrived at Seuille about the Spring, whither the king of Castile sent Ambassadors to welcome him, and conduct him to Xeres vpon the frontier, whether many Noblemen, and souldiers should come to accompanie him, as well to do him honour, as for the facerie of his person, for that the Moores Armie lay incamped vpon the Riuer of Guadiana.

C Thus the king of Nauarre was conducted vnto Xeres, and from thence to the campe, with all the shewes of friendship and amity that could bee desired: The king went forth to meete him, beeing attended on by many great and worthy personages Castilians and strangers, French, English, Germanes, and other Nations. The King of Castile did such honour to the King of Nauarre, as hee would not determine of any matter of consequence, without calling him to counsell, neither heare nor answer any Ambassadors but in his presence. The King of Nauarre likewise for his part shewed himselfe very desirous to please him.

There were many skirmishes at that time, in the which the Nauarrois and Gascons carried themselves very valiantly: notwithstanding mention is made by the Historiours of Spayne, of a great opportunitie lost of giuing the Moores a notable route, by the default D of *Gaston* Earle of Foix, who that day had the leading of the Nauarrois and Gascons, but they speake of it doubtfully, as a thing vncertaine, and it may be without any iust ground, adding withall, that the Earle for shame demanded his conge, pretending certaine reasons that hee could not stay, as well for that his souldiers were vnpayed, as for the neede they might haue of him in France, neither could the king of Nauarre, or hee of Castile (who offered him all contentment) stay him by any intreaties or perswasions. Finally, (according to the Spanish Authors) hee departed with a good troupe of Knights and souldiers, leading his brother with him: but being at Seuille, hee died, which shewes that sicknesse was the cause of his retreat, or rather the wounds which hee had received in a furious skirmish, which he maintained against the Moores which sallied out of Algezire, E in the which our French Historiours affirme that he was slaine. He was father to *Philip Phelips*, of whom mention shall be made hereafter. *Philip* king of Nauarre fell also sicke, with other Noblemen, which grew by the intemperature of the ayre of Andalusia, beeing too violent for the French, who changed nothing of their accustomed manner of luying, being in a different climate. The king of Nauarres sicknesse was such, as hee was aduised to cause himselfe to be transported into France, so as he was forced to take leaue of the king of Castile, who neglected no good office to comfort him: but beeing come to Xeres, his sicknesse so increased, as he was forced to stay, and dyed there in September 1343. He had reigned about 15. years and five months in Nauarre. His body was carried to Pamplona, and there interred in the Cathedrall church: wherefore his body past through the F Realme of Castile, there were great ceremonies done, and shewes of mourning, by commandement from king *D. Alphonso*. The Spanish Authors (who flatter not the French) write, that this infirmity increased by griefe, for some errors which the French (which followed him) had committed in an ambush which had bin layd for the Moore, where by their too great hast they lost a goodly opportunity to defeat a great number.

Y y

The

Death of Don  
Philip king of  
Nauarre.

The English Noble-men being also called home by their king left the campe: and so as Authors report, king D. *Alphonso* remained alone with his owne subiects, and such of Portugal and Arragon, as hee had entreated: the which may well seeme to bee written by Spaniards, that they alone might haue the honour of the taking and winning of Algezire.

Castile.

23 After the retreat of these strangers, the king was much troubled for many respects: for besides that he was left weake, his treasures were spent, by reason of his exceeding charge, and the rewards hee was forced to giue to such as came to serue him from forraigne countries: for besides his land army which he must furnish with all things necessarie, he was forced to entertaine the galleies of Genoa, Portugal and Arragon, that he might be master of the sea: the which they could hardly do, for that the enemy was strong who loone after past out of Affricke, with sixty galleies Moores, and many other vessels, landing many horse and foot, with great store of victuals at Estepona, whom they might easily haue put into Algezire, where they began to want, if they had bene men of resolution: for besides that the king of Castile's army was not equall in strength, it was then dispersed in diuers parts. With this new supply the Moores might muster 12000. horse, an infinit number of foote. King D. *Alphonso* got succours and money from the French king, the Pope, and other Princes his friends, and from the Prelates, townes, and priuate men of his realme, who lent him willingly what they could spare: so he stayd the Genoiois, who would haue bene gone, and contented both them and others, with great wisdom and good husbandry.

Portugal.

The king of Castile, notwithstanding his affaires of war, did not forget any thing that might serue to better the Estate of his Prouinces, building and peopling new townes, as Monreal vpon Deua a riuer in Cuipuscoa, and Playfance, vpon the same riuer, the which he peopled with men out of the valley of Marquina, granting them the rights and priuiledges of Logroño, and assigning their bounds and limits.

Castile.

These things past in the yeare 1343. in the which there hapned at Lisbon, the chiefe city of Portugall, great earth-quakes which ruined many goodly buildings, to the great terror of the inhabitants: and in this accident dyed the Admirall of Portugall.

The aduersie armies in Andalusia, were continually in skirmish and light encounters, but *Ioseph* King of Granada would by no means yeeld to a battell, notwithstanding the great supplies he had from Ceuta, and that he had with him a son of king *Alboacen*, called *Isidoro*, with many other great personages Moores, but desired rather to trie if he could get king *Alphonso* to yeeld vnto a truce: wherefore he sent two Ambassadors vnto him, who had bene formerly employed, to whom the king of Castile seemed to giue a willing care by whome there was added vnto the conditions of the former accords, that king *Alboacen* should pay him for the charge of this feece, 300000. doubloons of gold. These conditions being imparted vnto king *Ioseph*, with a suspension of armes, he presently past ouer to Ceuta, to conferre with *Alboacen*. But in his return, he was ser vpon (notwithstanding the assurance giuen him by king *Alphonso*) by a gally of Genoa, thinking to take the 300000. doubloons with the king, but the kings gally being well armed, defended it selfe, and so escaped, whereof king *Ioseph* made great complaints vnto the king of Castile, who without doubt would haue sunk the Genoiois gallye with the Captaine, if he could haue taken it, but he had gotten to sea, fearing to be punished, and so retired to Genoa. The treaties of truce being troubled by reason of this infidelity of the Genoiois, the Moores army which was at Gibraltar, aduanced vnto the riuer of Palmos, halfe a league from the Christians campe: where their fore-runners encountering the two armies which followed, had like to haue come to a generall battell, but the Moores retired first, hauing lost some men. Their whole desire was to victuall Algezire, where they vnderstood, that all things wanted, and that many small vessels, laden with victuals, had bene taken at sea, seeking by day or night to enter into it, through fauour of the wind or current: for the Christians galleies were exceeding watchfull. But they presented themselves so often by land, making shew that they would fight, and watched their opportunitie so by sea, as fue vessels of Ceuta had meanes to enter, and to refresh the beleegged with some victuals, and other necessarie prouisions, whereof the Captaine was a Moore, called *Musa*, who being discharged, returned

A returned to Ceuta without losse, reporting vnto King *Alboacen* the great necessitie of the beleegged. King *Alphonso*, was much troubled hereat, but the estate of the beleegged being hereby a little eased, was not much bettered: for these victuals lasted not long, considering their multitude of people, and their great extremity, and the Princes of the Moores seeing, that in the end they must either hazard a battaille, which they did much feare, hauing so often (to their cost) tryed the Christians valour; or loose the place, which had bene long and obstinately beleegged.

The king of Granada, with the aduice of *Alboacen*, did reuiue the treatie of truce, and the conditions of former accords, which were, that he should be vassal to the king of Castile, and should pay him tribute: and moreover, that obtaining a truce for fifteene years, (wherein king *Alboacen* should be comprehended) the towne of Algezire should be yeilded vnto him, and that the Moores which were within it, should haue liberty to depart with their goods whither they pleased: the which after long deliberation, was concluded. But they cut off five yeares of the time of the truce, the which was made but for ten yeares. King *Alphonso* had a desire to see a young Prince a Moore, that was within it, he was sonne to *Abomelic*, but his Gouverneur would not suffer him, saying, as hee caried him away, that the King of Castile had no reason to see an Infant, whome he deputed of his Inheritance.

Thus ended this feece, hauing continued nineteene moneths, during the which there were many sharpe and furious encounters, whereof some might be accompted battailles: they within the towne made fifteene great sallies the twelve first moneths, where as many valiant men of either side were slaine. About the end of this feece, there had bene sent out of Arragon *James Estrinain*, and *Mathew Mercer* Captaines, with twenty galleies, who wonne great honour there. The king entred into Algezire in great pompe, where hauing planted many of his Ensignes vpon the towers, the great Melgide was purified and halowed with great ceremonies, the which was named *Saint Marci* of the Palme. The wals and rampiers being repayred, and the houses and land distributed to new dwellers, the king came to Seville, from whence hee sent two daughters of King *Alboacen*, which had bene taken at the battaille of Tariffe, causing them to be honourably conducted into Affricke, and richly attired: wherewith the Moorish king was so pleased, as he could not sufficiently commend his bounty and courtesie, who hauing royally rewarded the Ambassadors, which did accompany these Princesses, hee sent vnto the King of Castile a rich present of precious stones, silkes, armes, horses, lyons, and other beasts, infinite pertumes, and whatsoever hee thought rare, the which did much confirme the league of friendship betwixt them: but it happened that *Alboacen* within few dayes after, being ser vpon and incountred by one of his sonnes called *Alboacen*, who had rebelled against him, and abandoning the duty of a sonne, deputed him of the kingdom of Fez, whereby the king of Castile entred into a new ialousie of warre, this vsurping sonne not respecting the truce made with his father.

*Alboacen* king of Morocco deposed by his sonne.

This *Alboacen* did not onely take from his father the Realme of Fez, but also all that hee held in Spaine, as Ronde, Zachara, Gibraltar, Ximena, Marbella, Estepona, Castilliar and others. But whilst the Moores molested one another, the King of Castile and his subiects had some rest, whereof they had great need, by reason of their continuall toyle, and great expences at the feece of Algezire.

In the meane time the king of Castile seeing that the quarrels betwixt Don *Pedro* king of Arragon, and his brethren D. *Fernand* and D. *Iohn*, borne of D. *Leonora* of Castile his sister, continued still, he sought to reconcile them, sending *Diego Garcia* of Toledo to that end, who laboured much, but in vaine. Being there, there was a marriage treated of, betwixt D. *Fernand Manuel*, sonne to D. *Iohn Manuel*, and D. *Ieanne* of Arragon, daughter to Don *Raymond Berenger*, Earle of Prages, vnto the King Don *Pedro*. The allyance and amitie of Arragon had bene very auyable to Don *Iohn Manuel*, the which hee could not forget, although the King of Castile were not much pleased therewith.

24 During the feece of Algezire, the king Don *Pedro* sought to ruine D. *James* king of Majorca, his cousin and brother-in-lawe, by force and all other vnworthie meanes, Y y 2 seeking

seeking to make him odious by false accusations, where as force could not preuaile. Having drawne him to Barcelona, vpon hope of a reconciliation, hee charged him in open assembly, that he had fraudulently sought to carrie him, with his brother Don James Earle of Vrgel, and their Vncle Don Pedro Earle of Ribagorça, into Majorca, and there to detayne them prisoners, untill that he were releafed from the oath of fidelitie, and acknowledgement of Soueraignty, which hee and his Predecessors had made vnto the Kings of Arragon: and in this discontent and feare, he sent him away, retayning notwithstanding his wife Donna Constance, who was his sister: and without any long delay, the King Don Pedro sent Arnauld Erillo, and William Bellera to ouer-runne the Countie of Rossillon, and other lands belonging to the King of Majorca, lying neere vnto Catalogne, and to seaze vpon the places of strength, the Princes and Princesses of his blood, and his allies employing themselves in vaine to pacifie them. But such was his hatred and insatiable desire of greatnesse, as hee proclaimed open warre against this poore king of Majorca, weake in meanes, and it may be, in courage, to make head against so mighty aking, and so obstinate an enemy.

Minorca conquered by the king of Aragon.

And at that time Don Pedro of Moncado was recalled with his Gallies from the Streights, as wee haue sayd, who hauing increased his army with many other vessels rigged out vpon the coasts of Catalogne and Valence, hee came to Palomera, a haven in the Iland of Majorca, with an hundred and sixe sayles, where hee landed many horse and foote, the king being there in person, who before his departure, had coloured this enterprise with a pretext of Fellonie and Rebellion, pronouncing a sentence against the King Don James, in an assembly of Noblemen and Princes at Barcelona, and confiscating his goods. In this army was Don Pedro of Arragon, Earle of Ampurias and Ribagorça, the kings Vncle, holding the place of Seneschall and chiefe of Armes: Don Pedro of Arragon Lord of Xerica newly reconciled, Don Blasco of Alagon, who carried the Standard royall: Don John Ximenez of Virec, Don Philip of Castro, Don Alphonso Roger of Loria, brother to Don Pedro of Xerica, Galuan and Raymond Anglesale, Acari Muri, Arnauld Erillo, Gonzal Diaz of Arenos, John Fernandes of Luna, Artal of Fofles, Michel Perez Zapate, Iourdain Vries, Sancho Peres Pomar, with other Noblemen and Captaines. Against these forces the king of Majorca had leauied three hundred horse and fiftene thousand foote, but he was betrayed and abandoned, and forced to flee, and quit the Iland: so as the king Don Pedro seazed thereon without fighting, and was received into the city of Majorca, whereof Don Arnold Erillo was made Gouvernour, and Gillebert Centilla Captaine of the fouldiers that were there left in garrison. The Iland of Minorca made no greater resistance, and that of Yuica less. Minorca was giuen in government to Gillebert Cernera, and Yuica to Martin Arbes. These Ilands subdued, the king returned to Barcelona, from whence he presently marched into the Countie of Rossillon, with his whole army, whither the Cardinall of Rhodex, the Popes Legat, came vnto him, to aduise him to desist from armes: who could get no other answer, but that the king of Majorca should come and yeld himselfe to his will. During this warre, there was borne at Ceruera, in the territorie of Lerida in Catalogne, a monstrous child, hauing two heads and foure legges, whose father and mother seeking to conceale it, buried it aliue, but being discovered in this attempt, they were punished, as murderers of their child.

Monster borne in Catalogne, whose father and mother they punished.

There were great tumults and seditions at that time in Arragon, betwixt many Noblemen, contending by armes for their possessions, so as the king commanded that D. Athon of Fofles should be apprehended and punished, to terrifie others, he also caused his reuenues and lands to be seazed on, from the which hee did appeale vnto the Magistrate of the Iustice of Arragon, which was then in the hands of Garci Fernandes of Castro, whereupon there grew great contention: for the kings learned Council pretended that the authority of the Iustice of Arragon did not extend out of the assembly of the Estates, and that this Magistrate was there only a Iudge of countroueries, which did rile against the king, being not lawfull for him out of the Estates, to make himselfe Iudge of any controuersie against his royall Maiesty, but in sutes of state, and condition of persons, or in causes whereas the king is called for a warrant, or in complaints which the people may make against the kings Officers.

The

A The king therefore commanded, (for that Garci Fernandes of Castro, Iustice of Arragon, was allyed to Athon of Fofles) that Michel Perez Zapate, Lieutenant general of Arragon in the kings absence, should put Athon in prison, but finding himselfe too weake, for that Athon was supported by many seditious persons, and had the countenance of diuers great men his kinsmen and friends, he had recourse vnto the Iurates of Saragoissa, according to the custome of his ancestors, enioyning them to fore-see, that the Estate receiued no preiudice, and that Iustice should not be forced.

Submission of the king of Aragon himselfe.

The warre of Rossillon continued, neither would the king D. Pedro yeld for any intercession the Pope could make, persisting still, that the king Don James (who was dispossessed of Majorca) should come and submit himselfe vnto him, without any condition. The town of Elne yielded vnto him. In the end Arnold Bishop of Aux, the Popes Nuncio, did mediate, that the King of Majorca should come and yeld himselfe into the hands of the king D. Pedro, and deliuer him his forts, vpon assurance that they should not attempt any thing against his person, nor put him in prison: the which being granted, D. James king of Majorca, vpon the assurance of D. Pedro of Xerica, came to Elne, and casting himselfe at the kings feet, he submitted himselfe to his clemencie, beseeching him to haue regard vnto his ranke and dignity, to suffer him to iustifie himselfe, and that he would be pleased to sue ciuilly against him: and howeouer, at the least, prelerue vnto his Nephewes, children to his brother D. Fernand, their right vnto the realme of Majorca, and other lands, and cause the towne of Perpignan to be deliuered vnto him. The king D. Pedro blinded with hatred and choller, reiected all these requests after a strange and insolent manner, and being entred into Perpignan, he caused a Decree to be published, by the which hee did confiscate the Iland of Majorca, and all the lands of the king Don James, vnting them inseparably to the Crowne of Arragon: which decree hee caused to be set vp at every corner. This poore Prince being thus intreated, he left the countie of Rossillon, and retired himselfe to Berge, a place assigned him for his aboad, vntill that his adversary should giue order for his entertainment. The king D. Pedro (after these seuer and vniust proceedings) returned to Barcelona, where hee entred armed, as triumphing for a victory gotten of some great enemy. Being there in counsell, he assigned 10000. liuers of pension for the king D. James dispossessed, vntill hee had giuen him lands and reuenues out of Spaine: remitting vnto him his rights of Montpellier, and other places on this side the Pyrenees, already in his possession.

Intercession of the king D. James.

A thousand pound sterling.

These things being signified vnto him by Don Pedro of Moncado, Philip Baillo, and Garcia of Loris, hee reiected them all, saying: *That hee had rather liue banished in a strange Country, and suffer all the miseries in the world, then to yeld to so great an iniustice, or allow of so unworthie conditions, imposed vpon him by a King which was his kinsman.* Whereupon the King Don Pedro renewed the warre, that hee might either take him, or chase him out of the Kingdome.

This miserable Prince destitute and quite stript of all meanes, and abandoned of his friends, had the courage to desie Don Pedro of Xerica, accusing him of disloyaltie, for that hee had promised him many things (perswading him to come to Elne) which had not bene kept: but Don Pedro was abolished by the king, who declared that hee had not sayled in any thing hee had promised: so as Don James sometimes King of Majorca, frustrated of all hope, was forced to retire into the Countie of Cerdagne, hoping to hold those Lands by the fauour and support of Geoffrey Eslandart a French-man, Gouvernour of Puicerdan, and other Segneuries on this side the mountains: but being deceived and forsaken of all, hee was forced to flee, and to passe the mountains in November, the Winter being exceeding sharpe: so as vpon mount Pimoret, which diuides the Countie of Cerdagne from Galconie, hee was like to haue dyed with the extremitie of cold, where hee fell into such a passion of griefe, as he was ready to haue flaine himselfe. This was the king of Majorca receiue of his brother-in-law, Don Pedro king of Arragon, who was at that time againe sollicit to attempt the conquest of Corsica, whereunto hee yielded, and sent some gallies to the port of Boniface, this yeare 1344. hauing intelligence, and a secret league with William Roscaual, Rowland Ornan, Henry Cortingo, and others of the chiefe of the Iland.

Y y 3

In

Cathle.

1345.

An. 1346.

1347.

Arragon.

In the yeare 1345. *D. Alphons* King of Castile, gaue order for the building of the new towne of S. Ander, called Heybar, and a league from thence of the towne of Marquie, called also Helgoybar, which he peopled with the inhabitants of the villages of that countrie, giuing them lawes and priuiledges according to the iurisdiction of Logrogne.

25 The yeare following 1346. a donation was made by Pope *Clement* the 6. resident in Auignon, to *D. Lewis* de la Cerda, sonne to the Infant *D. Alphons*, of the fortunate I-lands or Canaries, vpon condition that he should conquer them, and cause the Gospell to be preached there: to this end he came into Arragon, and there began to prepare an army at sea, wherein he was much assisted and fauoured by the king *D. Pedro*: but we find not that he past into the Ilands, and to speake truly, it would haue beene distastfull vnto the king of Castile, in whose Streight these Ilands are situated: yet this *D. Lewis* held the title of Prince of the fortunate Ilands. *D. John Manuel* (who had neuer loued the king of Castile from his heart) was glad of these petty discontentments, by fauour whereof hee spread abroad false reports and aduersities, to draw the two kings of Castile and Arragon into warre, but what he could not do by his practises, occasion wrought, at the treaty of marriage which the king of Castile would make betwixt *D. Fernand* of Arragon with his nephew, sonne to his sister *D. Leonora*, and *D. Eluira* Infanta of Portugal, who is by some called also *Leonora*, by reason whereof king *D. Alphons*, and *D. Leonora* his sister had an interview at Tordelaguna: which put the king *D. Pedro* into such a ialousie, being then a widower, (which was in the yeare 1347.) as hauing done what hee could to diuert this marriage, he refused to demand the Infanta of Portugal for himselfe, for the which he sent his ambassadors. The king of Castile being much moued, that hee of Arragon did thus seeke to crosse him, sent Don *John Alphons* of Albuquerque into Portugal, to hinder the conclusion of this marriage, but hee arrived too late, for the ambassadour of Arragon had so negotiated, as all was concluded: whereat the king *Don Alphons* was much offended.

26 This *D. Pedro* king of Arragon had in his time many wiues, the first was *D. Maria* Infanta of Nauarre, daughter to king *Philip* of Eureux, by whom he had *D. Constance* Queene of Sicily, wife to *D. Frederic* the second. *D. Jeanne* married afterwards to *D. John* Earle of Ampurias, and one sonne, who died as soone as he was borne, and the mother *D. John* five dayes after, in the yere 1347. To his 2. wife he had this Infant of Portugal: his third hee tooke *D. Leonora*, some call her *D. Constance*, daughter to *Frederick* the 2. King of Sicily, by whom he had *D. John* his successor in the Realme: *D. Martin* Earle of Xerica and Luna, and Duke of Mombanc, and first Constable of Arragon, (who by the death of his elder brother, was also King of Arragon) and *D. Leonora*, which was wife to *D. John* Infante of Castile, afterwards king, the first of that name of Castile and Leon. Besides these great Princesses, the King *Don Pedro*, being old and a widower, fell in loue with a subiect of his owne of a meane family called *Sobite*, a widow, borne at Forcia in the territorie of Ampurias, and married her, of whom hee had *D. Isabella*, who was Countesse of Vrgel, and wife to Don *James*. These were the marriages of the king *Don Pedro*, who raigning cruelly and couetously, incensed the Estates and Nobilitie of his Realmes of Arragon and Valence against him, whereas the subiects made Leagues against their Prince, which did in a manner ruine and confound that Estate: King *Don Alphons* not forgetting to make vse of that occasion, to be reuenged of the wrong and iniurie which hee pretended had beene done him, in disappointing the marriage of his Nephew *Don Fernand* with the Infanta of Portugal.

The King *Don Pedro* hauing no sonnes at the consummation of this second marriage, fought to haue an oath taken to *D. Constance*, his eldest daughter, heire to the Realme of Arragon, and other lands depending and annexed after his decease, the which was cause of great seditions: for Don *John*, Earle of Vrgel, the kings brother, gouerning the Realme then as Gouernour, or Lieutenant generally, opposed himselfe violently: by reason whereof the King (who was violent and rough in all his actions) chased him away, and tooke from him his publike charge: then hauing emancipated Donna *Constance* to his daughter, hee made and instituted her Gouvernesse, or Regent of the Realme, to make her way to the succession, there being present at this act, and his principall Count.

A counsellors, *D. Hugues* Bishop of Vic, *D. Pedro Thous* maister of Montefa, *D. Pedro* of Xerica viceroy of Valence, *Pedro Feneuillet*, *Audemar Mouflet*, *Gonsaluo Diaz* of Arenos, & *Gascen* and *Belpuccio*. *D. Pedro* the Kings vncler, Earle of Ampurias, tooke that oth to his Princelike in the name of the Estates, vpon condition, that if it were found the hereditarie right did belong vnto *D. James*, the oth should be voided. *D. James* seeing himselfe disappointed, stirred vp troubles in the country of Valence: hee had recourse to the vnion of Arragon, to retaine his dignity of Gouernor of the Realme: hee made a league with his brethren *D. Fernand* and *D. John* sonnes to *D. Leonora* of Castile, and with the King of Castile himselfe, and disquieted al Arragon.

The dispositt King of Majorca hearing of these tumults, would bee an actor, and came neere vnto Majorca, with certaine gallies of France and Genoa, whereof *Charles* Grimaldi was General, but as misfortune did still accompany him hee effected nothing of worth in those Ilands nor vpon the coast of Cattelogne, whether hee afterwards came, and was repulst by the King himselfe. By the aduice of *Bernard* of Cabrera, who was then held a man of great widome and iudgement, he made his vncler *D. Pedro*, Earle of Ampurias, chiefe of his counsel, and seeking by all meanes to catch his rebels, or to diuide their league, hee wrought so as the Earle of Vrgel his brother came vnto him, whom hee restored to his dignity of Gouernor of the realme, but it continued not many daies, for he died presently, not without suspition to haue beene poysoned. Being at an assemblie of the Estates at Saragossa, he granted them all they demanded, and reneged the contract made by King *Alphons* the third, with the vnion of Arragon, by the which sixtene castles were put into the power of the vnion, with liberty to deliuer them to whom they would, if the King should infringe the accord.

This yeere of our Lord 1347. during these troubles the Kings marriage was consummated with the Infanta of Portugal, the which were very mournfull, for that in a short space the Kings men recieued two notable routs by the rebels, the one neere vnto Xatua, where there died on the Kings part *Andrew William* the Secretarie, Lieutenant to the Viceroy of Valence, and his sonne: the other neere vnto Valence, in the which *Gonsal Diaz* of Arenos, and *Pedro Mugnon* captaines of the Kings men lost their liues. So as the King, who in the meane time kept at Moruedro, in a manner beleegged, was much perplexed, and not knowing what to resolute, he suffred himselfe to bee perswaded to enter into the city of Valence, where hee found himselfe entangled in the mutinies of the citizens, who respected and honoured him so little, as notwithstanding his presence, they spoiled and murdered one an other, after a pittifull manner. The Noble men and captaines holding his party, were then fortified in Daroca, whereof the chiefe were *D. Pedro* of Xerica, *D. Lope* of Luna, *D. Blasco* of Alagon, *D. Pedro Fernandes* of Ixar, *D. Thomas Cornet*, *D. John Ximenes* of Vrrca, and *D. John Martines* of Luna.

The Rebels were fauored and assisted vnder-hand, by *D. Alphons* King of Castile, who sufficed them to make great leauies of fouldiers in his countries, for the loue hee bare vnto the sonnes of his sister *D. Leonora*, *Donages* of Arragon: and *D. Fernand* the eldest had already lead many bands of Castilians to Valence, and *D. John* his brother prepared to passe into Arragon with other troupes, to be the generall of that warre, the which the Arragonois demanded: yet by reason of the complaints made by the King *D. Pedro*, who said that the league betwixt Castile and Arragon, was broken by King *D. Alphons*, soliciting all his friends and priuat counsellors, especially Queene *Mary* his wife, and *D. Leonora* of Guzman, his best beloued, to dissuade the King from this enterprife, laying before him the consequence of this rebellion, there were sent by the King of Castile, and by his sister the Queene *D. Leonora*, into Arragon *D. Fernando Perez*, *Puerto Carrero*, and to Valence *Lope Perez* of Fonséca, to treat of the meanes to pacifie these troubles.

F The King *D. Pedro* promised great matters to his brethren, and desired nothing more then to haue the Castilian troupes called home by their King: but notwithstanding any likelihood of an accord, they drew what succors they would from Castile: wherefore King *D. Alphons* being importuned by the King *D. Pedro*, and discontented with these seditions, being also moued with a desire he had to see the Queene *D. Leonora* his

An. 1347.  
Marriage of  
the King D.  
Pedro with  
the Infanta of  
Portugal.

Defeat of the  
Kings men

Valencians  
seditions.

King of Cas-  
tile fauours the  
rebels against  
the King of  
Arragon.





## The generall History of Spaine.

Lib. 14.

*Schisme be-  
twixt the  
Knights of Ca-  
latrias.*

27 Comming to the affaires which past at that time in Castile, after the pacification of the troubles of Arragon, we finde that King D. *Alphonso* spent his time in peopling of his townes and country: amongst others he peopled the towne of Sumaya in Guipuscoa otherwise called Villa Grana of Sumaya, and gave it the preiudges of Saint Sebastian, whether there appellations goe, and from thence to the court. And his realm of Castile being in reasonable good quiet, seeing such as professed armes (whereof Castile and his other countries did abound) seekte all occasions to imploy their armes, medling more then hee desired, with the factions and mutinies of his Neighbors: being also duly aduertised of that which had past in Affrike, and of the little loue which the new King of Fez bare him, who held many places of importance in Spaine, he held it necessary to make an expedition against the Infidels: for it is a difficult thing to keepe B great Kingdomes full of people in peace, especially after long pacifice of warre, but they will disquiet both spirituall and temporall at home, if they bee not imployed abroad: so as armes hath this unhappinesse, that after they are once taken, they cannot be laid downe without great and difficult labour, and that many times succceed ill.

About this time, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1348. Don *Garcia Lopez* Master of the Calatrava, being accused of many disorders, retired into Arragon. Being cited to appeere personally before the King of Castile, and absent, hee was condemned and degraded for his contumacy, and so died; in whose place the Knights of Calatrava in Arragon, proceeded in Arragon, contrary to the lawes and rules of their Order. The Castilians of Calatrava, did also choofe one; so as this Schisme was like to have bread some great disorder, if by the mediation of the Pope, and the Kings of Castile and Arragon, the parties had not referred it to Don *Pedro* King of Arragon who decreed; That the Master chosen at Calatrava should stand, and that any one which held that dignity dying, the election of his successor should not bee made any where else, but in the couent of Calatrava.

This Master confirmed, was called Don *John Nugnes* of Prado, who they sayd was Bastard vnto D. *Blanche*, the King of Portugals aunte, and Abbess of Huegasnere Burgos. To Don *John Fernandes* his competitor, was left the Commanderie of Alcaniz, with the title of great Commander, yet subiect to the Master of Calatrava. The approbation of these Masters, being chosen, belongs to the Abbots of the Order of Cisteraux. Amidst these tumults King Don *Alphonso* resolved for to raise an armie D to beseege Gibraltar, thinking that during the seditions betwixt the Arabian Kings, father and sonne in Affrike, it could not bee releued: and therefore hauing so fit an occasion offered him, hee made no difficulty to bee the first in armes, pretending that hee did not breake the truce, seeing that this place and others in Spaine, were held by *Alboacen*, with whom hee had not any treaty: For the manning and conduct of this warre, which was of no small consequence, hee assembled the generall Estates of all his realmes in the towne of Alcalá de Henares, where (besides the Noblemen and Deputies accustomed to come in former assemblies) many Townes and Commonalties were newly called, and receiued to giue their voices, and to haue a place in such assemblies. For vntil that time, the people and townes, which are called by the Toledans, beyond the mountaines, as Castile the old, Galicia, Asturia and the neighbour countries, were those which did commonly assist, and did contribute and beare the charges, as being most retired from the commodities of the warre: but now at this time, they of Toledo, Andalusia and such like, were also called by the King, for his intent was, to demand the subsidie called *Alcauala* throughout his whole Realme. This assembly and many others which were made in after times, did for the most part consist of good townes, who sent their Deputies: but since they found that multitude bred confusion, and therefore there were eightene principall places chosen, (which should haue voices, and places in assemblies, that is, sixteen cities and two townes. Spaine, as we haue said in the discription thereof, is in a manner diuided in the midst by the mountaine called in old time Idubeda the which at this present hath diuerse names. By reason whereof they distinguish the people at this day to those of this side and the other side the mountaine: On this side, wee will call the Toledans, and the neighbour Prouinces: on the other

*Places in the  
realme of Ca-  
stile having  
voice in the  
Estates.*

## The generall History of Spaine.

Lib. 14.

A other side, shall bee those of Burgos. Therefore on this side the mountaines, they call at this day, to the Estates of Spaine, for the Prouince of Toledo, the city of Toledo, Cuenca, Guadalupe, and Madrid: and for the other Prouinces, Seuille, Granada, Murcia, Cordoua, and Laen. Beyond the mountaines for the Straight of Castile, Burgos, Soria, Segobia, Auila and Valledolit: and for that of Leon, the city of Leon, Salamanca, Zamora, and Toro. These are the eightene places which send their Deputies to the Estates, among the which Burgos, Leon, Granada, Seuille, Cordoua, Murcia, Laen and Toledo (townes which haue beene seates of Kingdomes) haue their places assigned, and hold ranker the rest take their places, as it happens, and their Deputies speake as they fit: as for the city of Toledo in this assembly at Alcalá de Henares, it contended for precedence with that of Burgos, alleading many reasons, not altogether frivolous. First the greatnesse of the city, and great numbers of people and Nobility inhabiting there, next the seat of the Archbishop and Primate, the stateliness of the Church, the Prelate whereof was high Chancellor of all the Realmes subiect to Castile: and moreover offering to their consideration, the antiquity of the foundation of that city, which had beene the head during the Gothes raigne, not onely of all that is contained within the two seas, and the Pyrenes, but also of Gotike Gaule, which at this day wee call Languedoc, so many counsels celebrated there, and that since the Arabians had become Masters of Spaine, it had beene a royal seat, hauing had many Kings, which did exceed all the Potentates Moores of Spaine, in power and riches except him of Cordoua. God hauing since of this grace suffred Christian Princes to conquer it, by alone amongst all the cities of Spaine, had beene honoured with an Imperial title, by reason whereof, and many other preiudges there produced, they maintained the precedence to belong vnto her. Burgos on the other side maintained that she was the capitall city, & the ancient seat of the Princes of Castile, which was the title their Kings carried: that from Castile & Leon did grow the conquests of the rest of the Realmes of Spaine, and that shee was called the royal city, but their chiefe ground was, that time out of minde, shee had had the first place and voice in such assemblies. Vpon these differences, the Noblemen fell into factions, as their passions did transport them, or as they had their Siegneuries and houses lying in the territory and iurisdiction of the one or the other citie. King D. *Alphonso* D viding therein wife aduise, hauing taken the knowledge of this cause vnto himselfe, he pronounced thus: *I speake (sayd he) for them of Toledo, and say, the city of Toledo will doe as it shall please the King. Let Burgos speake now.* This manner of decreeing contented both parties, for it seemed to them of Toledo, that the King hauing made himselfe, as it were, their Attorney, had spoken first in the behalfe of their city. And they of Burgos holding that the Kings words did nothing preiudice their pretensions, seeing they spake before the other Deputies, they surceased for the voice. Concerning their rank and precedence, the King desiring to preserve the seate to Burgos, and Toledo refusing to sit vnder her, the King ordained, that from thenceforth the Deputie of Toledo should not sit vpon the same banke with the other Deputies, but opposite vnto them, yet not in the same ranke: which order is obserued at this day in the generall assemblies of the Estates of Castile. The first voice kept for the city of Burgos, was the cause the King obtained the subsidie of Alcauala, which hee required of all his subiects: for Burgos paid it already, and therefore did not contradict it: whereas if Toledo (which had not borne this imposition) had spoken first, shee had opposed herselfe, as shee did, and encouraged other townes to doe the like by her example. All in the end yielded vnto it, hauing heard the reasons which moued the King to demand it, and the neede hee had for the good of the Realme, and the maintenance of the warre against the Moores.

The assembly at Alcalá de Henares being dissolved, and the King hauing gathered together great store of treasure, by the speedie obedience of his subiects, hee beganne to discharge some of his debts, and to retire many precious iewels which had beene pawned, hee ordered iustice, and in the end applied his minde wholly to this sege, which he ment to lay to Gibraltar, and to provide for all things necessary both by sea and land, seeing that the time and the opportunity of the Moores seditions in Affrike, did inuite him.

*Debate betwixt Toledo and Burgos for precedence.*

*Order betwixt Toledo and Burgos for precedence.*

*Alcauala an imposition.*

him. The towne of Gibraltar had bene greatly fortified by the Moores, since the time A they had taken it from the Christians: so as the enterprise was no lesse difficulte then that of Algezire. But there was this advantage, they did not so much feare any succors from Affrike, as if the affaires of the Arabian Moores had bene quiet: notwithstanding to provide for all euents, he sent *Pelajo Martinez Alaide* or Prouost of the court, to the King of Arragon in Ambassage, and with him *Alphonso Gonzales* of Gallego: to confirme the alliance and friendship betwixt them, and to reuise the treaty of marriage betwixt his sonne D. *Henry*, and one of the Infants of Arragon: but his chiefe deaigne was, to demaund ten gallies to keepe the straight. The King D. *Pedro* answered the Ambassadors, that he would send an Ambassador expressly vnto the King of Castile their maister, the which he did.

Arragon.

King D. *Alphonso* was already before Gibraltar, when as the Ambassador cameto him from Arragon. There was an end made of the differences of the Queene D. *Leonor*, and the Infants D. *Fernand* and D. *John* whom the King Don *Pedro* should suffer peaceably to enioy that which had bene assigned him by the deceased King, as well in dowry, as in portion: and if it should happen that after that time they should moue any troubles in Arragon, that King D. *Alphonso* should not giue them, nor suffer to bee giuen them any aide or succors. Nothing was concluded in regard of the marriage, for that the King Don *Pedro* required, that Don *Henry* should bee inuested in many Townes and Prouinces, which was not conuenient for the King of Castile to giue. For C the succors, the King D. *Pedro* sent foure of his gallies, to ioyne with them that were in the Straight, whereof *Raymond* of Villanoua was capitaine, being manned with foure hundred crosbow men.

Castile.

The towne of Gibraltar was furiously battred, with all sorts of Engins, and defended very valiantly, the garrison being very strong, and consisting of the best souldiers that were amongst the Moores, who made many sallies vpon the Christians, in the which were slaine their best men of either side; and moreover King D. *Alphonso's* campe was much annoyed by the courses of the Neighbour garrisons, and by the King of *Granados* horse men, who had the gard of those places which the Moores held in Spaine. This seage hauing continued some monthes, the plague fell into the Christians campe, yet D the King being obstinate in his resolution, would not dislodge: for hee knew that the Moores, being destitute of succors could not long resist, but must bee either forced, or yeeld. Being in this resolution, it pleased God that hee himselfe was stricken with the plague whereof hee died in the campe, in the yeere of our Lord 1350. the nine and thirtieth yeere of his age, and the eight and thirtieth of his raigne. Some haue written that hee died not of the plague, but of poyson, the which was giuen him by the Moores practises. This accident was the cause of remoouing the seage of Gibraltar.

Death of King  
D. *Alphonso*.

Nauarre.

Death of Iuan  
Queene of  
Nauarre.

A little before D. *Jeane* Queene of Nauarre, widow to King *Philip* of *Eureux*, died at *Conflans* in France, who had gouerned her Realme, whereof shee was proprietary, after the decease of her husband, with good discretion, and yet shee had some subiects E not very tractable, who sought nothing but quarrels. There were still riots committed by them vpon the frontiers of Nauarre, namely by the Inhabitants of *Sanguette* and the *Arragonois*, notwithstanding all which, yet could shee wisely entertaine the alliance and peace with D. *Pedro* King of Arragon her sonne in law, yea after the death of Queene Donna *Maria*, her daughter: so as during her life, the King D. *Pedro* endured all the Insolencies of the Nauarrois, who some times made roades farre into his countrey, not seeming to take knowledge thereof, for the honour and respect hee bare vnto his mother in law, neither did hee make any complaints, nor was moued, as hee ought to haue bene, for that the Estates of Arragon, and others being rebelled against him for the causes aboue mentioned, many made their retreat into Nauarre, from whence they drew assistance of armes, victuals and other things, to make warre against him.

It is credible that the King of Arragon shewed himselfe patient in these things, that he might not disappoint other deaignes of greater importance: for knowing that *Jeane* Queene of Nauarre was much honoured in France, hee entertained her friendship, 10

A to the end that by her meanes he might haue King *Philip* of *Valois* more fauorable vnto him, who was incensed against him for D. *Juanes* of *Majorca*. This Lady laboured so, as shee entertained peace betwixt them, and confirmed againe the alliance, past, by a treatie of marriage, which shee propounded, betwixt *Charles*, Grand-child to King *Philip*, and one of the daughters of the King Don *Pedro*; and of her daughter Donna *Maria*.

This Princess being come into France with *Charles* and *Philip* her sonnes, to dispose of her lands and estates which shee had there, hauing left *Iohn* of *Conflans*, Lord of *Dampierre*, Marshal of *Champagne*, for Governour in Nauarre, shee died at the end of the yeere 1349. five yeeres after the decease of her husband, hauing held the Realme of Nauarre about two and twenty yeeres, counting since the death of King *Charles* the Fairer: to whom succeeded her sonne *Philip*, who was surnamed the Bad.

The end of the foureteenth Booke.

Zz

THE



## THE FIFTEENTH BOOKE of the Historie of Spaine.

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### Kings of Spaine mentioned in this fifteenth Booke.

CASTILE and LEON.

NAVARRE

PORTUGAL.

14. D. Pedro. 1. ——— 35.

30. D. Charles. 2.

8. D. Pedro. 1.

9. D. Fernand. 1.



- D** D. Pedro the first and sole of that name, surnamed the cruel, the fourteenth King of Castile, and five and thirtieth of Leon.

**T**He beginning of the raigne of D. Pedro, sonne to D. Alphonso of Castile, was in the yeere 1350. in the which Pope Clement the sixth ordained that the lublie which they had bene accustomed to celebrate (yet without any ground) every hundred yeere amongst Christians, should from that time be kept from fifty, to fifty yeeres, after the manner of the Jewes. D. Pedro was at Seville with the Queene his mother, when the King his father died, where his obsequies being made, they consulted for the ordering the Estate of the new Kings house, and the affaires of the Kingdome. D. Leonora of Guzman, her children, kinsfolkes and friends being in great perplexity, at the death of King D. Alphonso, retired themselves into diverse parts of the realme.

This young King being but fiftene yeeres old began his raigne with cruelty in which vice he continued his whole life, but to his cost. D. Leonora being solicited by some Knights to come to Seville, she came, upon their faith, but she was presently apprehended and put in prison, to satisfy the rage of ielousie of Queene Mary the Kings mother, whereupon D. Henry Earle of Trastamare, and some of his brethren, children to this Lady, thought to fortifie themselves in Algezire, but they were set upon, and forced to flee, some into Portugal, some else where: against whom the King was more incensed then before, for the marriage which followed betwixt D. Henry Earle of Trastamare, and D. Jeanne Manuel, daughter to D. John Manuel one of the mightiest Princes in Spaine, next unto the King, to which marriage the King D. Pedro himselfe aspired.

Z z 2

This





Impiounment  
and execution  
of Don John Nu-  
gues of Prado,  
maister of Cala-  
traua.

all rebellion, and that he had no cause to feare to put himselfe into the kings mercy: but it suc-  
ceeded ill for him. The king being come the maister came vnto him, and cast himselfe at  
his feet, entreating him to receiue him in his iustificacions: but this cruell Prince refusing  
to heare him him, deprived him instantly of the Maister-ship of Calatraua, the which he  
gave to *Diego Garcia* of Padilla, and commanded that he should bee carried prisoner to  
the castell of Maqueda, whereas *Stephen Domingo* of Auila commanded: and there with-  
in few dayes after he was murdered by *Diego Lopes* of Portas, seruant to *Diego Garcia* of  
Padilla, whereof the king would haue excused himselfe, saying, That it was done without  
his commandement: but it appeared sufficiently that he was not discontented there-with.  
Going from Almagro the king came before the towne of Medellin, belonging to  
Lord of Albuquerque, whereas *Diego Gomes* of Silua, a Knight of Galicia, commanded,  
the towne yeelded, fearing the kings furie, and soone after the castle, the which the king  
in disdain of the Lord of Albuquerque, caused to be instantly razed: after which he led  
his army before Albuquerque, the which was held in the name of their Lord, by *Martin*  
*Carpiñero*, a Gentleman of Portugall, and vnder him commanded *Peter Esquivel*.  
*Alfonso Botello*, a Gentleman of Portugall, The King hauing summoned them to yeeld  
the place, vpon refusall, he proclaimed them Rebels, whereof the Portugall, (who was  
not his subiect) made no accompt. The Commander excused himselfe, saying, That the  
place was not in his power. Wherefore he past on towards Cobdefera, another place be-  
longing to Don *John Alfonso*, the which he could not take, so as after some skirmishes  
he left Don *Henry Earle* of Transimare, and Don *Frederic* Maister of S. *Lames*, his bre-  
thren, who followed him against their wils, and he came to Caceres. Afterwards he  
refused to send ambassadors into Portugall, whither the Lord of Albuquerque was re-  
turned, to demand him of the king of Portugall as his subiect and a rebell: but the king of  
Portugall excused himselfe, and sought to bring D. *John Alfonso* of Albuquerque again  
into fauour: but it tooke no effect: for D. *John Alfonso* entred into league with the Earle  
of Transimare, who was one of these Ambassadors, and with Don *Frederic* Maister of  
Saint *Lames*, and they proceeded to farre, as being thrust on with hatred and disdain of  
their king, they sought to perswade D. *Pedro*, Infant of Portugall, to ioyne with them,  
promising to make him king of Castile, shewing him that hee had a title, being Nephew  
or Grand-child to King *Sancho* the Braue, sonne to his daughter Donna *Beatrice*. But the  
king Don *Alfonso* his father crost this proiect, and would not suffer his sonne to ingage  
himselfe in this enterprise.

1354.

Second marri-  
age of King D.  
*Pedro* his first  
wife yet living

The more to haue modestie in contempt, and to ouerthrow all diuine and humane  
lawes, the king Don *Pedro*, in the year 1354. without any dispensation from the Pope,  
but onely assisted by two bishops his owne creatures, *Sancho* of Auila, and *John* of Sala-  
manca, caused himselfe by their sentence to bee separated from the Queen Donna *Blan-  
che*, and in the towne of Cuellar, hee married a Ladie, widow to Don *Diego* of Haro, cal-  
led Donna *Isabelle* of Castro, daughter to Don *Pedro* of Castro, of whose exquisite beau-  
ty hee was much enamoured: hauing married her, hee had newes of this league made  
by his breethren with Don *John Alfonso* of Albuquerque, wherefore hee went from  
Cuellar, and gaue this Lady her last adieu, who retired to Duegnas, where shee past her  
dayes, hauing brought the King a sonne, who was named *John*, and causing herselfe  
to be styled Queene of Castile and Leon. To oppose himselfe against this new conspiracie,  
the king being come to Castro Xeris, he made the marriage of the Infant Don *John* of  
Arragon his cousin, with Donna *Isabelle*, the second daughter of the deceased Don *John*  
*Nugues* of Lara. And for that hee vnderstood that Don *Tello* his brother followed the  
partie of Don *Henry* and Don *Frederic* his other breethren, he would haue Don *John* of  
Arragon take vpon him the title of Lord of Biscay. From thence he past to Toro, lea-  
uing Donna *Maria* of Padilla at Castro Xeris, being readie to be deliuered of a daugh-  
ter which was named Donna *Constance*, future wife to the Duke of Lancaster an English-  
man. The Confederates were fortified by Don *Fernand* of Castro, brother to Donna  
*Isabelle*, married, and suddenly abandoned by the King, in hatred of the contempt of his  
sister.

This king seeing that so many great personages rebelled against him, imputing all the  
cause

A cause of this mischief vnto his wife the Queene Donna *Blanche*, hee caused her to bee taken  
out of the castell of Arcualo, and conducted to Toledo, Don *John Fernandes* of Hine-  
lroca, Vncle to Donna *Maria* of Padilla, hauing taken the charge thereof. This pore  
Princessesse seeing her selfe in her enemies hands, and attending nothing but death from her  
cruell husband, as soone as she was entred into the citie of Toledo, shee intreated them  
to lead her directly vnto the great Church, vnder color of deuotion, the which was gran-  
ted her: but being once entred, she would not go forth, but challenged the priuiledge  
of the place, so as presently all the citie of Toledo shewed themselves for her, euery one  
pitying her vnworthie vltage: wherefore Don *John Fernandes* of Hinefroca, durst not  
attempt to force her, but returned vnto the king, being at Segure de la Sierre, whither  
he was come to make warre against Don *Frederic* Maister of Saint *Lames*. At this newes  
the king came in a furie to Ocagne, and there in the place of Don *Frederic*, Maister of S.  
*Lames*, hee created D. *John Garcia* of Padilla, Lord of Villagera, brother to his mistis D.  
*Maria* of Padilla, the first of all the Masters of S. *Lames* that was married. In the mean time  
the Inhabitants of Toledo in general, resolved to keepe the Queene within their towne,  
from all violence, and not to receiue the king, vntill he were reconciled, and did promise  
to lead an honest life with her. As the incensed King thought to be reuenged of all these  
things, he found himselfe abandoned by many Noblemen of his trayne, among the which  
were the Infants of Arragon his cousins, and Don *Lopes Sanches* of Abendaño; great  
commander of Castile, who being discontented with his excesse, as well in the course of  
his life, as in the gouernement of his Realme, and at his ill vtage of the Nobility, they ioy-  
ned with his breethren, and with the city of Toledo, and all those of Andalusia, and other  
Noblemen and Communalities, who altogether made petition vnto the King, beseeching  
him, that for his owne honour, and the publike good, he would leaue the company of  
Donna *Maria* of Padilla, and liue with the Queene Donna *Blanche* his wife, as God had  
commanded him, and common honestie required: and that he should gouerne his realm  
by the good and faithfull counsell of good men.

Maister of S.  
*Lames* married

Donna *Leonora* his aunt, Queene Dowager of Arragon, presented this petition vn-  
to him, the reuerence of this Lady gaue the confederates hope to obtayne something,  
but he laboured in vaine: for the king was so much incensed against the confederates,  
and on the other side did so doate on D. *Maria* of Padilla, as he made no accompt of this  
admonition: so as the whole Realme was in combustion, and the Princes, with others of  
their faction, came to Medina del campo, whereon they seized. There Don *John Alfonso*  
of Albuquerque was poisoned by an Italian Phisition called *Paul Romain*, being hired  
thereunto by the king. He was Grand-child to Don *Denis* King of Portugal: within few  
dayes after there were aboute seuen thousand horse at Medina del campo, holding the Q.  
D. *Blanches* party: and the confederates presented a new petition vnto the king, who had  
taken his way to Toro, and the chiefe of them spake vnto him about *Tejadillo*, nere vnto  
Toro, being fifty Knights in field of either side, but they preuayled nothing: for the king  
leaving all, went to Vruena, where Donna *Maria* of Padilla was, to bee merry with her.  
E Queene *Mary* the kings mother receiued the Confederates into Toro, and wrought so,  
as she drew the king thither, where they began to make a kind of accord, and to dispose  
of the Offices of the kings house, and of Governments and places, displacing some, and  
advancing others, as they thought good: and namely, they disappointed all them of Pa-  
dilla, and their adherents: the which the king ratified, but against his will, as it appeared  
soone after: for he made a dispatch from Tordeillas, to Don *Pedro* Infant of Arragon,  
Earle of Ampurias, who gouerned the country of Arragon, the King his Nephew being  
then in Cattellogne, by the which he complained of that his subiects had forced him vn-  
to: intreating him by the bond of their allyance to be his friend: and thereupon he came  
to Segobia, in the beginning of the year 1355. and from thence to Burgos, where hee  
F called a generall assembly of the Estates, in the which hee complained greatly of the  
Queene his mother, and of the Princes and Noblemen confederates, saying, that they  
had detayned him prisoner in the city of Toro, and had forced him to do many things a-  
gainst his will and dignitie: demanding mony from his subiects, that hee might make war  
against them, and punish them according to their merits, the which he obtained. After  
the

D. John Al-  
phonso of Al-  
buquerque po-  
isoned.

1355.

Marchers com-  
mited by Don  
Pedro king of  
Castile.

Cruell execution  
in the city  
of Toledo.

Play of a fun  
ill rewarded  
by D. Pedro.

Queen mother  
vncleffe.

the end of the Estates he came to Medina del campo, where he caused to bee slaine in his owne lodging one day in the holy weeke, *Peter Ruiz* of Villega, Gouverneur general of the frontier of Castile, and *Sansolo Ruiz* of Rojas: and caused many to be put in prison. Returning to Toro, he had an encounter with *Don Henries* men, who went to ioyne with *Don Frederic* his brother at Talauera, from whence they after marched to Toledo, and had meanes to enter, although their coming was not pleasing to all the Citizens, being the meanes to draw a warre upon them, as it happened, for that the king followed them soone after, and entred as it were by force, contraying them to depart. This was a meanes for him to haue the Queene his wife in his power, who was poorly defended by the diuided Toledains, so as shee was sent to the castle of Sigüenza. The king caused about foure and twenty Burgessees to be executed in the citie by Iustice, who had taken the Queenes part too openly: among the which a Goldsmith, about 80. yeares old, being condemned, and ready to be executed, his sonne, a young man of eighteen yeares of age, presented himselfe, who (moued with pietie and a filiall loue) besought the king to do him the grace, not to suffer his father to end the dayes of his old age after that manner, offering to suffer death for him. The king (who had no royall part in him) accepted the condition, and caused this young innocent man to be executed, who in regard of his pietie did merit to saue his fathers life, and to liue himselfe with honour: and reward due to his great vertue: the name of this young man through the negligence of Writers, is suppressed. After these dishonorable exploits, the king went to Cuenca, which held for Queene *Blanche*, but he could not take it: whereupon he marched against Toro, and brought all the warre into the territories of Leon and Biscay, where his men were twice defeated, by *D. Tello*, and *John* of Abendagno, with the death and imprisonment of many. The King being before Toro, he had newes of the death of *Don John Garcia* of Padilla, brother to *Donna Maria*, his mistris, being chosen master of S. Iames, against his brother *Don Frederic*, whereat he was much grieved.

During this heauines, there came vnto the campe, *William* Bishop of Bolonia, Cardinall of Saint Marie in Cosmedin, Legate to Pope *Innocent* the sixth, being sent to pacifie the troubles of Castile, and to reconcile the King and Queene: but he lost his labor, and obtayned nothing of him, but that hee procured the deliuerance of *Peter Barrojo*, a Doctor of the Lawes, and bishop of Sigüenza, who was prisoner, for that he had held the Queenes party. The king wrought so, partly by force, and partly by pargies and promises, as hee was suffered to enter into Toro, vpon condition that hee should not kill any man: the which he promised, and kept according to his faith: for he was no sooner entred but he caused to be slaine within the castell, in the presence of the Queene his mother, *Peter Stephen* Carpenter, Master of Calatraua, *Ruis Gonzales* of Castagneda, *Martin Alphonso Tello*, and *Alphonso Teller*, the which Queene *Mary* did so abhorre, as shee swounded, and was in danger of death: and soone after, not able to endure the sight of her sons cruelties, shee demanded leaue to retire into Portugall to her father king *D. Alphonso*, who caused her to be slayne soone after, for that shee liued vncleffe with *Don Martin Teller*. The King *Don Pedro* did also cause to be slaine in Toro, *Gomes Manriques* of Oriuela, *Diego Perez* of Godoy, *Alphonso Games*, great Commander of Calatraua, and many others.

The knights which defended the towne of Cuenca hearing of these bloudie executions left Castile, and retired into Arragon: others which held other places, distrustful their strength, abandoned them, and past into France: wherefore the king thinking himselfe now in a manner a conqueror, transported with a tyrannous hatred against the Nobility of his Realme, yea against his owne blood, he resolved to roote them out one after another, not trusting in any one of them. Having besieged Palenquela, he watched an opportunity to kill the two Infants of Arragon his cousins, *Don Frederic* his brother, who was partly reconciled, and *Don John de la Cerde*: but by reason of the absence of *Don Tello*, his brother (whom he would catch in the same net) he deferred it: and the better to surprize him, he made shew to pardon him, and *Don John* of Abendagno also, and to remit all that was past. This *Don John* of Abendagno was one of the chiefe Knights of Biscay, and without whose aduise *Don Tello*, Lord of Biscay, did not any thing. Notwithstanding

as the fauours of great men are vncertaine and wauering, *Don Tello* enuying him, for that he was rich, and welbeloued in the countrie, caused him to be slaine awhile after in the towne of Bilboa. Palenquela being taken by composition, the king *Don Pedro* made a tourney at Tordeillas, where he had resolved to murder *Don Frederic* his brother, and others: notwithstanding hauing by the same treason, caused two other Knights to be slaine, the one of Toledo, the other of Valledolit, he thought it sufficient for this time, and deferred this execution vntill another opportunity.

*Don Henry* who was in the Asturia's, seeing that all were brought vnder, and reconciled vnto the king, he demanded leaue as farre off, and obtained it (for hee would not trust the king but vpon good termes) and went to serue the French king. Passing by the mountaines of Asturia, he escaped many ambushes which the king had layd for him, notwithstanding his assurance giuen, but he was ordained to better fortune: wherefore being come into Biscay, and hauing there conferred with *Don Tello* his brother, hee embarked and landed at Rochel, from whence he went to Paris to King *John* then reigning, who receiued him, and honoured him much. The king of Arragon was aduertised of all these troubles and alterations, being then resident at Perpignan, for the which he was not forie. At that time there reigned three bad kings in Spaine, this *Don Pedro* king of Castile, *Don Pedro* of Arragon, and *Don Charles* of Nauarre, violent Princes, who whilst they liued, did continually afflict both themselves and their subiects, by tyrannies: so as they purchased the surnames of Bad and Cruell.

### Charles the second of that name, and the thirtieth king of Nauarre.

Leaving the Estate of Castile at this time somewhat quiet, we will returne to the affaires of Nauarre, the which we left at the death of *Donna Jeanne*, wife to King *Philip* of Euxoux: to whome of three sonnes, *Charles*, *Philip*, and *Lewis*: *Charles* the eldest succeeded to the Crowne of Nauarre, who was surnamed the bad, by reason of the troubles he caused, as well on this side, as beyond the Pyreneé mountaines, and of his strange disposition. Being called by the three Estates of the Realme, hee came in the yeare 1350. and was crowned in the citie of Pampelona, in an assembly made to that end after the manner of his Predecessors, swearing to obserue the lawes and liberties of the country. His coronation was accompanied with some bountie to the Cathedrall church of Pampelona, to the which among other things, he gaue a great crosse of siluer, enameled with Flower de Luces azure.

During his coronation, some of his people mutined, pretending a breach of their priuileges, whome the king did punish so severely, causing many to be hanged, and to be executed by other cruell punishments, as the cure farre exceeded the disease. With the like violence he afflicted the Nobility of Nauarre, so as they decayed greatly: and he shewed himselfe in all his actions inconstant, wauering, and light of beleefe: If hee had any good in him, it was a certaine respect he bare to Clergie men, and to schoolers. At his coming the king of Arragon sent a Secretarie of his vnto him, called *Peter* of Tarrega, to confirme the League which was betwixt these two Realmes: and soone after hee sent him another ambassage, by *Don Lope* Earle of Luna, and *Don John* *Fernandes* of Heredia, *Castellan* of Amposta, for a more ample confirmation of the league and alliance betwixt them two: propounding vnto the king of Nauarre an alliance by marriage, to the end he might hold the kingdomes of Nauarre and Arragon well vnited, for the king of Arragon feared much, least *Don Pedro* king of Castile, (who was a violent, dangerous, and faithlesse Prince) should breake the peace that was betwixt the two Realmes, embracing the quarrels of the Queene dowager of Arragon and of her children, and should ioyne with Nauarre, by some alliance which might be preiudiciall vnto him. Hereupon the Ambassadors propounded a marriage betwixt *Don Charles* king of Nauarre, and one of the daughters of the king of Sicily, who was of the house of Arragon. And for that it was

*D. Tello Lord  
of Biscay caus-  
eth D. John  
of Abendagno  
to be murder-  
ed.*

4.

*Manners of K.  
Charles the 2.*

bruted,



bruted, that the king of Castile (who had not then concluded a marriage with *Blanche* of A Bourbon) pretended to marrie *Blanche* of Navarre, sister to this King *Charles*, and widow to *Philip* of Valois the French king, he was intreated to hinder it. King *Charles* who had a desire, and was counselled to take a wife in France, excused himselfe from marrying with Sicile, assuring the king of Arragon, that the Queen Dowager of France would not marrie any more: for it had bene a custome long observed in France, that the Queenes remayning widows, how young soever, did not marrie againe: finally, hee concluded with the Ambassadors of an interview betwixt the king of Arragon and him: but before it could be effected, Don *Pedro* king of Castile (who had bene advertised of all which had past betwixt the King Don *Charles*, and the ambassadors of Arragon) wrought so as he drew the King of Navarre to Bourgos, where there was great embracings, and rich presents given of either side, in the year 1351. as we have layd. At this interview was *Philip* brother to king *Charles*. Being returned into Navarre, and having many great desires in his head, hee made preparation to passe into France: Whereof the King of Arragon being advertised, he sent to summon him of his promise, that they should meete together, wherunto he yielded, assigning the place at Momblanc, where by the same meanes he should visit, passing by Huefca, his Nieces *D. Constance* and *D. Jeanne*, Infants of Arragon. Then the King Don *Charles* tooke his way towards France, leading with him his two brethren, Don *Philip* and Don *Lewis*. The interview of these Princes at Momblanc, made them no better friends, neither did they conclude that which *D. Pedro* King of Arragon did expect.

Interview of  
the Kings of  
Navarre and  
Castile.

Interview be-  
twixt the kings  
of Arragon  
and Castile.

The king of Navarre being come into France, he beganne to make claime to many things, for besides the Earledomes of Champagne and Brie, which he pretended to be long vnto him, hee made a title to the Duchie of Bourgoigne, by reason of his mother Queene *Jeanne*, issued from that house of Bourgoigne by her mother, with many other claimes, wherin king *John* had no intent to do him right, finding it so by his Council.

He had for his chief aduersarie another *Charles* or *John*, according to the French Histori- cians, who was Constable of France, of the house of Castile, Earle of Angoulesme, sonne to Don *Alphonso de la Cerde*, of whom wee have often made mention, whereby there were great insolencies, murders, and rebellions committed throughout the Realme of France, as we will touch briefly in passing, for that these quarrels belong rather to the Historie of France then Spaine.

The king of Navarre being in these poursuites, by the course of Iustice, before the Estates of France, and the Courts of Parliament, King *John* thinking to pacifie him, and to make him more tractable, gaue him one of his daughters in marriage, and in recompence of his demands, gaue him Mante and Meulan: but this did not abate his pride, but wrought a contrarie effect. This Princesse called *Jeanne*, was the onely wife of King *Charles* of Navarre, who had a great and a noble issue by her. *Charles* was the first borne of this marriage, who was king after his father *Philip*, who dyed young, *Peter* who was Earle of Mortaign in Normandie. Moreover, they had these daughters following, *Mary* who was Countesse of Denia, married to Don *Alphonso* of Arragon, *Blanche* who died at the age of thirteene yeares, and *Jeanne* future Duchesse of Brittain, and after that Queene of England.

Genealogie of  
Navarre.

Of the Earle of Mortaign, some Histori- cians say, is issued one sonne named *Peter* of Peraltre, who was Constable of Navarre, the stemme of the Marquis of Fales, yet by the feminine line, who are also Earles of Saint Esteuan. Before the marriage of King *Charles* hee had a bastard sonne, called Don *Leon* of Navarre, or *Lyonel*, from whom are descended the Marquises of Cortes, Marshals of Navarre, begotten of a Gentlewoman of the house of Euge. Of him was borne Don *Philip*, the first of that line, Marshall of Navarre, of Don *Philip* was borne Don *Pedro* of him Don *Philip* and Don *Pedro* brethren: of Don *Pedro* another Don *Pedro*, all successively Marshals of Navarre. In this last Don *Pedro* sayled the Masculine line of *D. Lyonel*: for hee left onely one daughter, called Donna *Hieronyma* of Navarre, who was first wife to Don *John* of Benauides, a Castilian Knight, who was also Marshall of Navarre in regard of her: and to her second

A cond husband (hee had Don *Martin* of Corduba and Velasco, Earle of Alcaudete, who was in our time Marshall of Navarre. This is the posterity of the blood royall of Navarre, descended of this king *Charles*, who pursuing with all violence his rights against the French King, who held the Duchie of Bourgoigne and other lands, which had bene the patrimony of his Predecessors, he had for aduersary (as we have sayd) *Charles* of Spaine: and such was the hatred betwixt them, by reason of these pretensions, as in the end all France was set on fire with ciuill wars, and the English were drawne in by the king of Navarre, who was supported by them: who to be reuenged of his enemy *D. Charles* of Spaine, Constable and Earle of Angoulesme, both being then in Normandy, he caused him to be surprized in the night in the towne of Aigle, and murdered in his bed, by the hands of *D. Rodrigo* of Vreiz, *D. John Ramir* of Arrellan, *D. Corbaran* of Leer, the Barons of Garro and Antiede, and other Knights and souldiers of Navarre. Hee was so farre from dissembling this fact, as he confessed it, and did iustifie it to be done by his commandement, and that hee had iustly slaine him: wherat the king, and the whole court were much troubled, seeing the great impudencie of the king of Navarre, the which was entayned by many within the Realme which did adhere vnto him, besides the league hee had with the English, to the which hee sought to draw *D. Pedro* king of Arragon, who notwithstanding would not heare of it, for that he was allyed to the French king, whose friendship hee refused to entertaine. To prevent the mischiefes which might grow by such furies, King *John* was forced to dissemble, and by promise of impunity, gifts, and yielding of townes and places, according to the demands and pretensions of the King of Navarre, seekte to break the league which hee had treated with the English, yea giuing him the Duke of Aniou his son in hostage, to draw him to Court, where being come, the king made a shew that hee would arraign him, but it proued a least: for hauing caused him to come before him on his knees, and to craue pardon, hee pardoned him the Constables murder, and all that hee had committed against the Crowne of France and his authoritie, Queene *Blanche*, widow to *K. Philip* his sister, and Queene *Jeanne* his wife being intercessors for him: but this reconciliation was soone troubled: for the king of Navarre thinking that the French king had rather dissembled his displeasure, then forgotten it, did not quit the allyances which hee had made to the preiudice of France, but did still intertaine secret practises both within and without the Realme: and as he was turbulent, and euer full of ialousie and distrust, King *John* ha- uing called the Estates of his Realme, and shewed the necessities of war, demanding money for the leuie of 30000. men, the King of Navarre sought to hinder this subuention, and did contradict it with all his power: notwithstanding it was granted. King *John* being wonder- fully incensed at the King of Navarres impudency and pride, who in stead of assilting him, like a good son-in-law, who had bene newly absolved by him from so great a crime, shew- ed himselfe a violent aduersarie to his desires, he sought a fit occasion to punish him, the which fell out opportunely in the city of Rouan, at the reception of the Daulphin *Charles* in Normandy, who had bene newly aduanced to that Duchie: whither came the Noblemen of the countrie, namely, the king of Navarre, as Earle of Eureux, a member of the Dutchie, where as hee with many others were surprized: the king was sent prisoner to the castle of Alleux in Palluel, and some Noblemen were executed, as you may read at large in the French Historie.

Murder of  
the Constable  
of France by  
the king of Na-  
uarre.

King *John* had advertised Don *Pedro* King of Arragon, of all those proceedings, that he might see hee had done nothing lightly, being a reasonable thing, that Kings, how so- ueraigne soever, should iustifie their actions, and to make them apparent, else they were to be reputed Tyrants, and to be hated of all the world, as violent and vniust. *Gaston* Dhe- burthen Earle of Foix, who had married *Agnes*, sister to the king of Navarre, was more discontented then any other at his imprisonment, who passing into Spaine, sought to incense Don *Pedro* King of Arragon his brother-in-law, and to procure him to declare himselfe enemy to King *John*, if hee did not release the King of Navarre, but the king *D. Pedro* would not yeeld vnto it: for hee held the friendship of France to be a firm support for his Es- tates: besides hee still feared a war betwixt him and *D. Pedro*, yet he promised to be an inter- cessor for him to *K. John*, and to intreat him to shew his clemency, & to intreat his prisoner without passion, but by the course of Iustice, & moreover not to exact all his right of him,









flores in dowry vpon condition that she should renounce all her fathers rights, and so she did. The King of Arragon being then at Saragoſſa, he renewed and confirmed to the Nobility of that city, whom they call Ermunios , the preuiledge they haue now to goe to the warres, but when the King is in person ready to giue battaille, or to assaile some place, and declared that if any one of these preuiledged persons had followed him be- yond these limitations, that it should be no prejudice to their rights . There he gaue charge of the warre, for the preservation of the country, to the Archbishop of Saragoſſa, whilest that the confederate Noblemen of Castile, together with the Aragonais, did ruine and burne the country of Alauas : the King of Castile led a great power by land against Arragon, by the way of Almanza, where he tooke Negafsa and Torrijo. During this warre D. Henry Earle of Transmarra had a sonne by his wife in the towne of Epila (the which at this daie belongs to the Earle of Arande) who was called Iohn, and raigned in Castile . Cardinal William bey of Bologna , Bishop of Portuenſe , this yeare our Lord 1359. who preuailed as little as the other, but by his diligence and importune Princes, the Pope sent Cardinal Guy of Bolonia , Bishop of Portuenſe , this yeare our Lord 1359. who preuailed as little as the other, but by his diligence and importune Princes, the Pope sent Cardinal Guy of Bolonia , Bishop of Portuenſe , this yeare our Lord 1359. who preuailed as little as the other, but by his diligence and importune Princes, the Pope sent Cardinal Guy of Bolonia , Bishop of Portuenſe , this yeare our Lord 1359.

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The feason being fit for navigation, the King of Castile went out of Seulle, or Saint Lucar, with foure score ships, and one and forty gallyes, and failed towards the coost of Valence and Cartelogue; he ruined the towne of Guardamar, and the castles againe, and presented himselfe in view of Barcelona: but the army of Arragon, which was but of forty foits and gallies hindered him from staying at any place vpon the coast, and skyrttyngh oftten with him, they forced him to bend towards luiza, and to way anchorin half from thence, and to faile towards Alicant and Carthagea, and in the end to retire himselfe, hauing with this great preparation done nothing of import. The King of Arragon was in the meane time in the Island of Majorca, being aduised not to be in his army at sea. The gallies of Castille retired to Seulle, and the ships of Guipulco, Bilscay and Galicia, returned into their countries: as for the King of Castile, he went to Tordillas to visit Donna Maria of Padilla.

The coaſt of Cattelogue and Valence was this yere ſhipwred of ſhips of warre: ſo that the King of Arragon was forced to entertaine many gallies continually in the Iſland of Sardynia, being ſtill ſubiect to reuolts, and moreover he had ſent a good number into Sicile, to aide the King D. *Frederic* his ſon in law, againſt whom *Leanne Queene* of Naples made warre.

D. Pedro alone of that name, the eighth King  
of Portugal.

Portugal. **D** On Pedro surnamed the Lusticer raigned in Portugal, who had succeeded his father *D. Alphons* the fourth, deceased in the yeere of our Lord 1357. Hee was about seven and thir- yeeres old when hee beganne to raigne, and therefore being ripe in yeeres, and of a good Iudgement hee gouerned his realme with great equity, so as he purchased the name of Lusticer, and was much unlike in manners to the other two Kings of his

A his time, and of the fame name. This King (his father being yet liuing) was married to *Ruiz*, daughter to *D. Pedro* King of Castile, sonne to *D. Sancho*, who falling into a palsey, was left by him, and then he married *D. Constance Manuel*, daughter to *D. John Maunby*, by whom he had these children following. *D. Lewis*, who liued little, *D. Fernand*, who reigned, *Donna Maria*, married in the life of *D. Alphonso* her Grandfather, to *D. Fernand* Infanz of Arragon, sonne to the King *D. Alphonso*, by his second wife *D. Leonora* of Castile. *D. Constance* dying in the yeere of our Lord 1345. he married *Donna Agnes* of Castile, a gentlewoman which had followed her, and with whom they sayd he had familiar acquaintance during her life, for he was exceeding faire & amiable. The Infanz *D. Pedro* (although the were somewhat allied vnto him), and had christened his son *D. Lewis*, married her secretly, for feare of his father, in 1354. hauing enioyed her many yeeres, and the witnesses of this matrimoniall promise, were *D. Gil* Bishop of Guardia, and *Stephen* Lord Maister of his Wardrop, whom he commanded to keepe it secret. By her *D. Pedro* had three sonnes: *D. Alphonso*, who died in France, *D. John* and *D. Denis*, who were afterwards expelled by their brother *D. Fernand* then reigning, and died in Castile. Of this Lady *Donna Agnes*, was also borne one daughter, called *Donna Beatrice*, who was married to *D. Sancho* Earle of Albuquerque, bafe sonne to *D. Alphonso* the thirteenth King of Castile. This clandestine marriage being vnknowne to the King *D. Alphonso*, father to *D. Pedro*, and yet his loues knowne and blamed by all men, it was treated of to marry him with some Princesse, but hee would not heare of it: wherefore the King tooke a cruell resolution to kill *D. Agnes de Castro*, thinking he should not otherwise withdraw his sonnes loue. Being come to this effect to Coimbra where this faire Lady remained, whilest that the Infanz *D. Pedro* was a hunting, he caused her to be slaine by three of his gard, which were *Diego Lopes Pacheco*, *Peter Cuello*, and *Almar Gonçales*, who did this execution in the old pallace of Saint Clare. This death being in the yeere of our Lord 1355. made the Infanz rebel against his father, who with the aide of many of his friends, entered the country betwixt Duero and Minio, where he committed great spoile, and had done more, if many great personages had not labored happily to reconcile them. After that he loued an other Lady, called *D. Theresa Gallega*, by whom hee had one sonne, called *John*, in the yeere 1357. He was first Maister of the Knights of *Auiz*, and afterwards King after *D. Fernand* his brother, and the same yeere 1357. died King *D. Alphonso* the braue.

D. Pedro being come to the crowne, he shewed himselfe a iust Prince, obseruing about all things the lawes and ordinances made by his father, for the ordering of his house and training the Officers whereof were expressly forbidden not to molest his subiects, especially puruoiors, nor to take any prouision for his house, before they had paid the price which the seller demanded, vpon great penalties, yea death in some cases. Hearing that aduocates did multiply futes, and that of one they often made many, he discharged them all throughout his realme, and imposed great punishments vpon Iudges that should suffer themselves to be corrupted with money or otherwise, yea losse of life, and confiscation of their goods: he made in any lawes for the shortning of futes, appointing fit men for Iudges: causing his ordinances to be executed with all rigor. He appointed great punishments for light offences, and if any one told him that he was to severe, he answered, that it was the meanes to reforme vice, and that it was pleasing vnto Gods for if the wicked were not kept in awe with the feare of death, they would neuer bee restrained with lesse punishments; Finally to haue the good liue in peace, it was necessary to punish the bad severely. As soone as the pleaders had made their demands, and pertinent answers giuen, they were presently dispatched if it might be: If by any trickes and deuises matters were delayed, the offenders were punished, that is, the poore by the whip, and therich by great fines: by reason whereof his realme florished in peace and abundance of all things; and he was honoured and beloued of his subiects as much as any Prince liuing. Hee had often in his mouth the saying of the Emperour *Titus*. That he held that day lost, wherein hee had not done good to some one. Hee did not greeue to be himselfe in person at the deciding of causes, and did often assist at the examination and torturing of criminal persons; he did so hate malefactors, as hee did often times





Castilians de-  
feated.

D. Pedro de Luna, D. John Martinez of Luna, and D. John Fernandes of Heredia, who be-  
ing accompanied with eight hundred horse Aragonois, defeated one thousand and a  
hundred Castilians.

In this encounter died D. John Fernandes of Hinesfrosa, gouernor of that frontier for  
the King of Castile, vnle to Donna Maria of Padilla, D. Fernand Garces Duxie, D. Pedro  
Ruiz Oforio, Gomes Suarez of Figueroa, great Commander of Saint Iames: and there  
were taken prisoners, D. Inigo Lopez Oryco, D. Fernand Ruiz of Villaloba, D. John Gomes  
of Bahabou, D. Hurtado Diaz of Mendoza, and D. Diego Sancho Ferras, all renowned  
Knights of Castile, whereat the King was much moued, but his griefe was moderated  
by a new sonne, which Donna Maria of Padilla brought him, in the yeere of our Lord  
1360. who was named D. Alphonso, by reason whereof he came presently to Tordesillas.  
Being afterwards returned to Seulle, he caused D. Garci Aluarez of Toledo to be created  
maister of Saint Iames, a Knight which had done him great seruices, both in the warre  
against Arragon, and in the seditions of Castile, to whom, besides this dignity, hee gaue  
the office of Majordomo, or high Steward to his sonne D. Alphonso. This yeere continu-  
ing his cruelties, he caused two other of his brethren in the towne of Cal-  
guzman, D. John, and D. Pedro, hauing kept them long prisoners in the towne of Cal-  
mona; and they say, that hee dispatched them, for that hee doubted they would beco-  
me more faithful nor obedient vnto him, then their other three brethren. D. John was scarce  
thirteen yeeres old, and D. Pedro but fouretee. The victorie which the Aragonois  
stille more tractable in the negotiation of a peace, wherein Cardinal Guy of Bologne  
the Popes Legat laboured, who in the end drew the Deputies of these two Kings to meet  
in the city of Tudelo, in the realme of Nauarre, wherewith King Charles was very well  
satisfied.

Thether came for the King of Castile, Gutierrez Fernandes of Toledo, and for the King  
of Arragon, D. Bernard of Cabrera, chiefe counsellor of State, and Admiral of Ara-  
gon; who together with the Legat, did conferre, and dispute long of the means to  
make a peace, but they could not conclude any thing. And there being also assembled  
by the Legats care, in the towne of Sanguesa, D. John Alphonso of Majorca, Chancellor  
of the priuy seale for the King of Castile, and the same Admiral of Arragon for the King  
of Castile, they effected as little as at Tudelo. Whereupon the King of Castile being  
aduertised that his brother D. Henry would enter into Castile, seeing they could not  
conclude a peace, he came to Leon, where hee would haue slaine D. Pedro Nugnes of  
Guzman, and some other Knights, which had lef him, but they escaped: yet hee tooke  
Pero Aluarez Oforio in Villanibla, as hee was at the table with Diego Garcia of Padilla,  
maister of Calatraua. Comming afterwards to Burgos, he caused Diego Arias Mald-  
nado the Archdeacon to be slaine, for that hee had receiued letters from his brother D.  
Henry of Translamara.

D. Henry with the army of Arragon, entred by Rioja, and tooke great spoiles from the  
Iewes inhabiting there, but especially at Nagera: he also tooke the towne of Haro, and  
came as farre as Pancoruo, where he vnderstood that the King of Castile came to en-  
counter him, and was at Birbiefca, so as D. Henry retired to Nagera. The King of Castile  
passing by Grisalena, Pancoruo, Ameiugo, and Maranda of Ebro, he came to Saint Do-  
minike de la Calzada, and then to Agofra. Here a religious man of the towne of Saint  
Dominike presented himselfe vnto him, and told him, that Saint Dominike had re-  
uealed vnto him, and enioyned him by his hand. The King caused this religious man  
to be apprehended, and carefully examined, to finde out whether that which hee had  
said had beene suggested vnto him by some one, or that it were a reuelation. The Monk  
maintained that Saint Dominike had reuealed it vnto him, and persisted in this answer,  
being often examined: But the King did not regard it, and for a reward of his predi-  
ction hee found in the end to be true) he caused him to be burned. There were ma-  
ny skirmishes about Nagera, betwixt the Aragonois and Castilians, whereas the Casti-  
lans had the better, being still the more in number: but the King of Castile being not  
come

Murthers  
committed by  
the King of  
Castile without  
respect of or-  
der quality.

predition of  
a Monk  
of the King of  
Castile, who  
caused him to  
be burned for  
his reward.

A came with sufficient prouision to beseege townes, leauing Nagera, and Cont Henry, hee  
returned to Saint Dominike, and from thence past by Logroño. But the Legat, who al-  
waies treated a peace, procured a cessation of armes in those quarters, so as D. Henry re-  
turned into Arragon by Nauarre: The King also tooke the way to Seulle, where being  
arrived he found that they had taken at sea the General of the galleies which the King of  
Arragon had sent into Barbary, to aide the King of Tremessen: his name was Mathew  
Mercur, whose head hee caused to be cut off: there were foure galleies also taken with  
him. He also put to death there Men Rodriguez Tenorio, Fortun Sanchez Calderon, Fer-  
nand Gudiel of Toledo: they were those Knights, which being retired into Portugal had  
beene delivered to the King of Castile, in exchange, by the king of Portugal, as hath bin  
mentioned. He also put to death D. Pero Nugnes of Guzman, who could not auoide his  
owne misfortune, and soone after in the towne of Alfaro, he cut off the head of D. Gut-  
ierrez Fernandes of Toledo, for that hee spake his minde too freely in matters which did  
concerne the good of State, and for the zeale he had to his honour and seruice: hee caused  
as much to be done to Gomes Carrillo of Alborno, being in a galley. Thus this ill ad-  
uised King tooke a delight to shed the blood of his Nobility, neither did hee fore-bear  
prelats, for if hee slue them not, he chased them out of his Realme with ignominy, and  
losse of their goods: but in the end his excessiue procured the iust indignation of his sub-  
iects against him, which made him loose both Realme and life. Hauiug as wee haue  
said, put to death D. Gutierrez Fernandes of Toledo, hee bent his fury against his brother  
D. Blasco Archbishop of Toledo, but hee durst not dip his hands in his blood, for  
that hee was of the Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction: wherefore hee sent Mathew Fernandes  
Chancellor of his priuy seale to Toledo, to command him in his name to depart his  
country, and to retire into Portugal: the which this prelat was forced to doe in such  
hast, as hee had no leisure to take any of his stuffe, but went as hee was appareled, with-  
out companie, or any commoditie for his voiage. And the same daie that hee depart-  
ed, the King came to Toledo, the which did much affright all those that had the govern-  
ment of the towne.

The Archbishop came to Coimbra in Portugal, where soone after hee ended his  
daies in the Monastery of Saint Dominike, with an example of notable patience,  
from whence his body, by the Kings permission, was carried to Toledo, and there  
interred. Don Gomes Manrique was chosen Archbishop of Toledo in his place, and Pri-  
mate of Spaine, being numbered for the three score and one Prelat, or according vnto  
some three score and two of that Church.

Samuel Lewis a Lew, high Treasorer, was committed to prison in Toledo, by the Kings  
commandement, with all his kindred, who were carried to Seulle, where hee caused them  
to be put to death, after they had beene cruelly tortured, to make them confesse  
where their goods were; of whose confiscation the King got about foure hundred  
and three score thousand doubloons of gold, and foure thousand markes of siluer,  
besides many rich iewels and filkes. Being in that city in the yeere of our Lord 1361.  
the King had an intent for to make warre against the Moores, but hee deferred it for  
a time, being prest by that of Arragon: for about that time the treatie was effected,  
which had beene long before practised with Goncal Gonzales Lasso, Gouernor of Ta-  
rassone, which place hee deliuered to the King of Arragon, and had the florins about  
mentioned in recompence: And moreover hee married with Violant daughter to  
Don Ximenes of Vreza, and to Donna Eluira Corneli, with the Lands of Biote, Pace  
and Afinos in dowrie. Don Pedro Ximenes of Sampero was put in garrison into Ta-  
rassone. The warre betwixt these Potentates after some small exploit, was in the  
end concluded by a peace, which the Cardinal above named did mediate at Deca.  
By the which the Castilians which were retired into Arragon, had their Conge, and re-  
stitution of places was promised of either part, for the performance whereof hosta-  
ges were deliuered to the King of Nauarre, or to his brother Lewis then viceroy in  
Nauarre.

This peace lasted not long; for the King of Castile being incensed that the Car-  
dinal, by the Apostolike authoritie, had disannulled the sentences which hee had giuen  
against

Knights of Ca-  
stile executed.

A large spoile  
of a Lew con-  
demned.

An. 1361.

Tarassone  
yielded by  
practise.



An. 1362.

Christians de-  
fected by the  
Moors.Raigne of the  
King D. Pedro.

them to rout, killing and taking many of them, the rest saved themselves in the rocks. A  
The yeere following 1362. the Christians, encouraged which this victory, entred the  
Moors country, and presented themselves before Guadix, where there were six hundred  
horse Moors, and about foure thousand foot, which King Vermeil had lodged there, be-  
ing aduertised of the Christians desaigne. These Moors kept themselves close, making  
no shew, nor offering to fall forth, so as the Christians, thinking the garrison to be weake,  
diuided their forces, leading a part of them towards the valley of Alhama: which the  
Moors discovering, they sallied forth vpon the remainder, and defeated them easily,  
where (among others) D. *Diego Garcia* of Padilla maister of Calatraua, was taken prisoner,  
who being led to Granado, was not onely wel entertained by King *Mahumet Aben Alha-* B  
*mar*, but also set at liberty without ransom, and presented with many rich gifts: the King  
desiring to make him his friend, and by his meanes to purchase some fauor with the King  
of Castile, and the Noblemen of his court; among the which D. *Diego Garcia* (as brother  
to Donna *Maria* of Padilla, and vncke to the children which the King D. *Pedro* had had)  
was in great credit and authority. Being returned into Castile, the King was glad of his li-  
berty, but he did not much esteeme the bounty of the Moorish King: for D. *Pedro* was he-  
cruell and implacable by nature, and reproched the maister, that by his indis-  
cretion he had bene the cause of the route of his men, and of his owne imprisonment.  
The King entred afterwards in person into the country of Granado, and tooke *Inziar*, C  
*Cisnair*, *Ambr*, *Benamexir* and *Zagra*, and then returned vnto Seuille: but King *Maha-*  
*met* the Vermeil brought his army presently to *Zagra*, and assaulted it in such sort, as  
*Fernand* of Gadillo, capitaine of the garrison, was forced to leaue it: whereat the King  
D. *Pedro* was so moued, as (notwithstanding that he had defended it as much as he could  
and ought, according to the reasons of warre) he caused his head to be cut off: and to  
restrain the Moors, he returned instantly into their country, where he tooke *Hardles*,  
*Turon*, *Cueuas* and other castles: King *Mahumet* the old being also in field. As this warre  
was long, and hard for the Granadins to maintaine, against so great a power as that of  
Castile: so it began to be troublesome to most of the knights Moors: so as in Granado,  
and in the court, there was nothing to be heard but murmuring, & words of discontent,  
wherevpon King Vermeil grew very doubtful of his subiects, who objected continually, D  
to the Christians. King Vermeil being in this perplexity, and fearing least they should re-  
ceale his competitor *Mahumet* the old, and that he should be ignominiously chased away,  
or slaine, was aduised by his chiefe and most confident friends (especially by *Ezdriz Aben*  
*Balus* who had greatly fauored him in getting the crowne) to quit Granado, and to retire  
himselfe to his enemy the king of Castile, thinking, that hauing shewed himselfe liberal &  
courtous vnto *Diego Garcia* of Padilla, he should also finde some fauor in the court, and  
(at all euents) that the King of Castile would be glad to be Iudge and arbitrator betwixt  
him and *Mahumet* the old; and that this assurance and confidence which he shewed, com- E  
ming to yeeld himselfe vnto him, would auail him something. This was a foolish and  
rash resolution of his, knowing what a monster in nature the King D. *Pedro* was, how  
greedy he was of reuenge, and how glad to shed blood. This ill-advised king came to pre-  
sent himselfe with foure hundred horse, and about twenty hundred foot, before Baena,  
where as D. *Gutierre Gomes* of Toledo Prior of Saint Iohn commanded, who wondering  
much at this vnexpected chance did accompany him vnto the court at Seuille, where as  
the king D. *Pedro* receiued him very graciously at his arrival, and heard the oration that  
was made vnto him in this kings behalfe quietly, tending that hee would be pleased to  
take knowledge of the affection which had moued him to come and yeeld himselfe vn-  
to him, grounded vpon the remembrance that his ancestors had bene vassals to the  
king of Castile, the which he would neuer haue contradicted, had not the fauour which F  
he had scene done vnto his aduersary *Mahumet Lagus*, or the old, driuen him into dis-  
trust: notwithstanding hauing in the end considered that hee should finde equity and  
iustice in the king D. *Pedro*, not willing to persist (for his part) in any rebellion, he had re-  
solved to come and yeeld himselfe vnto him, and to referre vnto his good iudgement,  
the controuersies which were betwixt him and his aduersary, to the end that hee might  
determine

A determine them according vnto reason: That as for himselfe, beeing of the blood  
of the first Kings of Granado, whose royall seat the race of *Farrathen* had vsurped,  
he thought he had done nothing against the duty of a man of honour, to haue fought  
to recouer his Grand-fathers Kingdome, beleeching him to haue regard therof: and if  
he should finde it good to depriue him of his crown (the which he could not beleue) hee  
belonght him to giue him, and his, meanes to passe into Affrike, into the Moors coun-  
try. The King D. *Pedro* made shew to heare these reasons without any passion, and as-  
sured him that he would reconcile him with his competitor, causing his lodging to be  
made in the Iewes place of the city of Seuille; but being displeased with the praides  
B which he had made to his preiudice, with the Kings of Arragon and Maroc, hee burnt  
with a desire to be reuenged. Being afterwards aduertised that this King Vermeil had  
brought many iewels, and great store of gold from Granado, he was so farre transported  
with a desire to spoile him of this treasure, as without any further deliberation, he com-  
manded *Martin Lopes* of Cordoua, his chamberlaine, to goe and take him prisoner,  
with all those that were with him, and to put them into the *Atarazana*, or *Arsenal*: then  
seeking an occasion to dispatch him, he caused his processe to be made, for that hee had  
bene an actor in the death of King *Ismael*, brother to King *Mahumet* the old, and con-  
demned him to die, with seuen and thirty other Knights, which were taken with him; ac-  
cording to which sentence he caused him to be drawne out of the *Atarazana*, and the  
seuen and thirty knights with him, who were led to the field of *Tablada*, and there execu-  
ted, in a great assembly and concourse of people from all parts. This miserable King  
*Mahumet Aben Alhamar*, being brought vpon an asse, clad in a robe of scarlett, was the  
last which suffred: but hee had this consolation, that D. *Pedro* himselfe, was his execu-  
tioner, who reproching him with the alliance he had had with the King of Arragon, thrust  
him through with a launce, at which blow *Mahumet* cried out in his owne language, *Ha*  
*Pedro, thou hast done a peere exploit, and purchased a shamefull triumph this day*: afterwards  
he made an end of him, and cut off his head: This was the second yeere of the raigne of  
this Moore, and the 745. of the Arabians. King *Mahumet Lagus*, or the old, being afflic-  
ted by this death, returned to Granado, ioyfull to be thus freed of his enemy, whose head  
D the King D. *Pedro* sent vnto him: The Granadins receiued him without contradiction, in  
the yeere 1362. And he to recompence the King of Castile for the goodly present hee  
had made him of his Competitors head, deliuered all the Knights and Castilians which  
had bene taken at the encounter of Guadix, without any ranfome. *Ezdriz Aben Balus*  
chiefe counsellor to King *Mahumet Vermeil*, remained prisoner with the King of Cas-  
tile, with many others, whereof some were redeemed for money; others were exchange-  
d for other prisoners in after times, and some died miserably in prison. The truce be-  
twixt Castile and Granado was renewed, and new homage sworne by *Mahumet* the Old to  
the King D. *Pedro*, paying the tribute which had bin paid to the kings his predecessors.  
These things thus ended, the king of Castile staid not long to begin war against Arrago.  
E 14 For the effecting whereof, with greater aduantage, he sought to ingage the king of  
Nauar in this war, being neuer come out of France, into his owne realme, in 1361. much  
desired, and well receiued, as one that had bene long absent. He rewarded the Noble-  
men and knights, which had serued and succored him in his affaires of France, bountiful-  
ly, among the which the most remarkable were, D. *Roderigo* of *Vrri* who had for his good  
seruices, the government of the iurisdiccions of *Sanguette*, *Olite* and *Tudelo*: The Baron  
of *Garro* was recompenced in another sort, being a wandering knight, and sought im-  
ployment in the warres, so as being loath to stay in Nauarre, hee returned into France.  
As all things had bene reasonable quiet in Nauarre vntill that time, there was an occa-  
sion offered to trouble all, by the coming of *Inigo Lopes* of *Orozco*, and *Arras Gon-*  
zales of *Valez*, Ambassadors for D. *Pedro* king of Castile, who came in their maiesties  
name, to congratulate king *Charles* his coming, to seeke his friendship, and a new  
league, and to procure an interview of these two kings. King *Charles* was glad  
of this Ambassage, and as hee had alwaies an intent to haue warre with the French  
King, vntill that hee had restored him the lands which hee pretended to bee his, hee did  
much esteeme the friendship of Castile, to make vie thereof at such a neede. Hee

Bbb 3 therefore

Crueltye con-  
tinueth: a  
trifling of  
Pedro King of  
Castile.

Nauarre.

Charles King  
of Nauarre  
practised by  
him of Castile.

therefore promised the Ambassadors to come to Soria in Castile, and having first concluded with the Ambassadors a kind of peace, he went thither in the yeere 1362. having in his company his brother *Lewis*, Capta of Buche (a great Nobleman of Guienne) the Abbot of Fescain, and others, as well Nauarrois as French. The King of Castile came to the place assigned, and receiued him with great demonstrations of loue, where for the first act they confirmed the Articles of peace, conteyning an offensive and defensive league against al men. After some daies spent in feasts, sports and exercises of armes, the King of Castile hauing inuited the King of Nauarre to a great banquet, he told him, that he had some thing to say vnto him: wherevpon being retired into a gallery, the King of Castile vsed these words, in the presence of *D. Garcia Aluarez* of Toledo, maister of Saint James, *Inigo Lopes* of Orofco, *Martinianes* of Seuille, high treasurer, *Martin Lopes* of Cordoua, great Chamberlaine, *Mathew Fernandes* Chancellor of the priuy seale, all of his priuy counsell, and of the chiefe Noblemen and Knights which had accompanied King *Charles*; Brother (sayd he) seeing we haue made an oath to aide one another against our enemies, I will let you vnderstand, that the peace I haue with the King of Arragon, was made against my will, and to the preiudice of mine honour: for *Ahen Alhamar* King of Granado, being confederate with him, spoiled my country of Andalusie, which made me yield vnto a peace that I might punish this Moore: and now that I haue had my revenge, I am not bound to obserue this peace, vnlesse the places which I yielded vp be restored me againe, and the charges of the warre, caused by the King of Arragon, paid: wherefore according to the promise which you haue made me, and sworne, I summon you to aide me with your forces, and person, in this warre. The King of Nauarre was much amazed at this speech, being thus surprized, and knew not what to answer: for he presumed the King of Castile had not had any enemies, when he sware this peace and league. In the end he seemed desirous to doe what the King of Castile would haue him, but he demanded time to conferre priuately with his counsellors which attended him, Al were of opinion he should obey the King *D. Pedro*, else it would be dangerous, that being in his power he would doe him some affront, being rash, cruel, and without respect: besides, the country of Nauarre being then vnurnished, and the forces of Castile round about them, it was to be feared, that if he seemed vnwilling to doe that which he required, with his detention, he would cause his men to ouerrunne his country, to the great preiudice both of himselfe, and the Nauarrois his subiects. He beleeued them, and made answer to the King of Castile, that both himselfe and his meanes were at his commandment; provided, that he yielded the like vnto him, if he receiued any discommodity by making himselfe an enemy to the King of Arragon, his brother in law. The allyance of Castile which he so much sought, to make vsd thereof against the French, brought him into this error, that he made no difficulty to put himselfe into the hands of the most disloyall Prince liuing.

Castile.

In the peace made betwixt Castile and Arragon, there had beene propounded, that *D. Pedro* King of Castile, should marry *D. Ieanne* second daughter to the King of Arragon: for *D. Constance* the eldest had beene married to *D. Frederic* of Sicilie; but the Ambassador of Castile by his maisters commandment, made a motion for the marriage betwixt *D. Alphonso* son to *D. Maria* of Padilla, and *D. Leonora* the youngest daughter of Arragon, the which was concluded vpon condition, that the king of Castile should cause his son *D. Alphonso* to be declared lawfull heire of the Realmes of Castile, Leon &c. and that he should giue him presently the Siegneury of Molina, with the townes of Almazan and Medina Celi, whereof *D. Garcia Aluarez* of Toledo, maister of St. James, and his high Steward, should be put in possession, and that the pretended marriage betwixt the king, and *D. Maria* of Padilla, should be proued by him to haue bin done after the decease of Queen *Blanche*; the King of Arragon promising for himselfe and his successors, that if after the decease of Don *Pedro* King of Castile, there should be any question made vnto *D. Alphonso* his sonne in law touching the succession, he should aide and assist him with all the forces of Arragon. Don *Pedro* King of Castile, to haue this declaration made, and his sonne *Alphonso* acknowledged for lawfull heire, had called the Estates to Seuille, and there the fact being propounded by him, it was receiued, & allowed, & future obedience sworn vnto

A vnto the Infant, by the Estates, as heire after his father: confenting that Donna *Maria* of Padilla deceased, should be called Queene, and her daughters *D. Beatrix*, *D. Constance*, and Donna *Isabella*, Infants of Castile: but neither of the marriage, nor of any thing thereon depending, was there any accompt made, after the interview of the kings of Nauarre and Castile at Soria: but without all respect of accords, promises or oathes, as soon as these two kings were parted, he of Castile came with a great power into Arragon, and rooke Arica, Ateca, Terer, Moros, Cerina and Alhama, and layed sege to Calatajub, the which he tooke, and put to rout many knights which came to succour it: by reason whereof, Aranda with other townes and castles yeelded. Then hauing left Don *Garcia Aluarez* of Toledo, Maister of the knights of Saint James, vpon the frontier, he returned to Seuille.

Peace broken by the Castilian with Arragon

On the other part, the King of Nauarre, because hee would not faile of his promise made at Soria, sent to denounce warre against the king of Arragon, his brother-in-law, for that during his affaires and imprisonment in France, he would not succor him: whereunto the king of Arragon offering to satisfie him with good reasons, he would not heare any. Hauing therefore assembled his forces, he came to beseege the towne of Sos, and tooke it; then Saluaterra, running by the vallies of the Pyrenes, vnto the towne of Iacca, where as the king of Arragon had placed *Peter* of Pomar for Gouverneur. The king Don *Charles* being returned into his countrie, he had soone after a supply of two thousand men at armes sent him out of Castile, which he disposed with his Nauarrois vpon the frontiers of Arragon, whereas they did spoyle, burne, and murder. In the meane time the Infant *D. Alphonso* of Castile, who should haue beene sonne-in-law to the king of Arragon, dyed. In the yeare 1363, the king of Castile doubting that the French would be reuenged for the death of Queene *Blanche* of Bourbon, whom he had caused to be paysoned, after that he had intreated her vnworthily many yeares, seeing also a peace made betwixt them and the English, he sent Ambassadors to *Edward* king of England, and to the Prince of Wales his sonne, to demand their allyance and friendship, the which they willingly granted.

Peter declared by the King of Nauarre against Arragon.

An. 1363.

The king of Arragon vnderstanding well that the warre which the king of Nauarre made against him, was forced, he fought by subtill meanes to diuide him from his allyance with Castile. And knowing that king *Charles* had alwaies beene in quarrell with the French king, for the Dutchie of Bourgoigne and otherlands, he sent Don *John Fernandes* of Heredia, in ambassage to King *John*, who being come into Auignon, and hauing had many conferences with the Lords of the French kings Councell, he preuailed to much as they were content to referre all controuerfies to the arbitrement of the king of Arragon his Maister, and to fixe Cardinals: for which cause the kings of Nauarre and Arragon, began from that time to haue secret intelligence one with another, to the preiudice of Castile. Notwithstanding the army of Castile returning into Arragon, the king of Nauarre sent his brother *Lewis*, with many Nauarrois and Galcons, among others Don *Martin Henriques* of Lacarra, Standard-bearer of the Realme, and Capta of Buch vnto them. Siege was layed to Tarracone, and the place taken, in the which was *Alberr* a Knight of S. *John*. *Boria* was also taken, and *John Ximenes* of S. *Piren*, with other Knights which were within in the castle of Vaguena was burnt, with the Captaine which defended it, called *Michel Barnabas*, whose sonne, carrying the same name, was for this cause made noble by the king of Arragon, with all his posteritie, by a decree made by the Body of the State. *Carlinena* was also taken, where as Don *Pedro* King of Castile vsed horrible cruelties vpon the inhabitants; for those that he left aliue, were afflicted with torments more grieuous then death: of some he cutt off the hands, of others the feete, and of some the noses and eares. *Magallon* and the Vicount of Isle which defended it; Teruel, castle Habib, *Ademus*, *Villel*, and the towne of Segorue were also made subiect to the king of Castile. When *Pedro* *Mata* was taken in the castle of Segorue, and *Ximen Doriz* at Xerica. After which the K. of Castile tooke Mormedro, Almenara, Bugnol, Macafia, Benaguzil, Alpuche, with many other places and forts, euen to the gates of Valence; where as Don *Alphonso* of Arragon, Earle of Denia commanded. There the king of Castile and Don *Lewis* camped, and had many skirmishes: but hearing that the king of Arragon, and Don *Henry* and Don

Tello

*Tello* brethren to the king of Castile, (being banished) came with three thousand horse, A to fight with them, they dislodged, and retired to *Moruedro*, refusing a battell, for that the army of Castile was much lessened, having left garrisons in as many places, as they had taken. *Don Gil Fernandes* of Caruallo, Master of Saint James of Portugal, was in that army.

Source and  
15.

The perill of  
Don Pedro of  
Arragon as  
gainst the earle  
of Transmara

After this retreat the Abbot of *Fescan*, Legate for the Pope, laboured to make a peace betwixt these Princes, and obtained of the king of Castile, that *D. Lewis* of Nauarre should be employed, who went to conferre with the king of Arragon at *Burriana*, and brought *Don Alphonso* of Arragon, Earle of *Denia*, to the king of Castile, being at *Moruedro*: he was afterwards made Countable of Castile, and Marquis of *Vilena*: with him came *Don Bernard* of *Cabrera* with others, but all their indeavours were vaine. For the king of Castile would not heare speake of a peace, vnlesse the king of Arragon would promise to kill *Don Henry* Earle of *Transmara*, and *Don Tello* his brethren, with *Don Fernand* of Arragon, the which he refused to do in the beginning, seeming to haue horrore of so wicked an act, as to betray them which had fledde to him for protection, and had senced him: yet afterwards hee made no conscience thereof, seeing himselfe pressed, and his countrie so spoiled by the King of Castile, but agreed with the king of Nauarre to kill *Don Henry*, the which God would not permit, for he had appointed him for the Realme of Castile and Leon, and to be an exemplar scourge for the tyrant *Don Pedro*, who promised to giue the towne of *Logroño* to *Charles* king of Nauarre, if he would assist him in this murder.

For the effecting hereof, the two kings of Nauarre and Arragon concluded an interview at *Sos*: King *Charles* pretending that he would quit the allyance of Castile. For assurance and guard of the towne, where these two kings should meete, there was chosen for *Gouernour*, *Don John Ramirez* of *Arellan*, a knight of Nauarre, Chamberlaine to king *Charles*, who tooke for his Lieutenant his brother *Ramir* of *Arellan*, with thirtie men at armes, thirtie Lances, twenty Crosse-bowes, and other souldiers. The kings entered into *Sos*, either of them with two men: whether *Don Henry* and *Don Tello* had bene sent for to come: *Don Henry* came accompanied with eight hundred horse; the which hauing left without the towne, he entred with two more as the kings had done. D Threentred also the Abbot of *Fescan*, but ignorant of what was intended against *Don Henry*. The kings hauing treated long of their affaires in shew, thinking it a fit time to dispatch *Don Henry*, they talked secretly with *Don John Ramirez*, perswading him with great promises to execute this murder: but this knight who was noble and vertuous, would neuer yield vnto it, saying, that he had rather die an hundred times, then to blemish his good name with so execrable a crime.

The kings seeing that their hopes were vaine to make him the minister of their treason, they knew not what to do, but to dissemble their enterprife, and retire into their countries, imposing silence to *D. John Ramirez*; who merited immortall commendation for this generous act: besides, that God did greatly honour him afterwards, hauing directed him into Castile, at such time as *D. Henry* reigned, of whom he was beloued and cheifly E and obtained from him the Segneurie of *los Cameros*. From him are descended the Earles of *Aguilar* of the family of *Arellan*. This businesse ill attempted, and not able to be executed, was for that time dissembled. There had past many former treaties and accords betwixt this *D. Pedro* king of Arragon, and his brother *D. Fernand* Marquis of *Torosa*, to the preiudice of *D. Henry*, for that they found him desirous to raigne in Castile, of which Realme *D. Fernand* was the lawfull heire, if *D. Pedro* the cruell died without children begotten in lawfull matrimony: but the king of Arragon had neuer any intent to o good vnto his brother *D. Fernand*, nor to procure him any honour and aduancement: but as he was a man full of diuidinal enuie, and without loue or respect of any that did him seruice: so he spared no man, and dissembled with all men for his present commoditie.

*Don Henry* who knew him well, could also dissemble for his part, and stand vpon his guard: he could handle him so cunningly, as by the meanes and forces of Arragon, hee made himselfe a way to attaine vnto his desires.

A 16 Soone after there was a new and strict League made with him, whereupon *Don John Fernandes* of *Heredia*, and *Francis* of *Perillos*, Captaines to the king of Arragon, were sent with money into France to leuie men.

During these treaties and practises, there was no cessation of armes, at what time it Castile fell out, that the king tooke foure galleies of Castile, their king being at *Moruedro*, from whence he parted to come into Castile, at which time there was a sonne borne him at *Almagar*, of a Lady called *Donna Izabella*, which sonne he named *Don Sancho*: soone after returning to the warre, more enraged then euer against the king of Arragon, he marched into the countrie of *Valence*, hauing alwaies in his company *Mahomad* the Moore, king of *Granado*; he tooke *Alicant*, *Xixona*, *Gandie*, *Oliue*, and other places, but hee was in danger to haue bene suddenly surprized, and defeated in his retreat by *Don Henry* Earle of *Transmara*, had he not bene aduertised by one of *Castro* of *Ordiales*. Having escaped this danger, this religious king went in pilgrimage in his shirt, with a halter about his necke to a place called our *Ladie of Puch*.

The king of Castile entred many times into Arragon and *Valence*: neither could the king of Arragon hinder him from forcing of many places, the which he left manned with good garrisons of Castilians; and at sea he had not alwaies the worst, although the Arragonois were the more expert mariners: from whome the Castilians tooke in the yeare 1364, fise galleies, which were carried to *Carthagena*, and the captaines, mariners, and souldiers (for the most part) put to death by the kings commandement.

C 17 The king of Arragon being desirous to be freed from this war, sought all meanes by the king of Nauarre, to draw the king of Castile to some good accord, but it was labour lost: wherefore the kings of Nauarre and Arragon resolved to make a league betwixt them; for confirmation whereof, they concluded a marriage betwixt the Infant *Donna Jeanne* sister to king *Charles*, and *Don John Duke* of *Girona*, the heire of Arragon, being then foueteene yeares old. And moreover, the king of Arragon bound himselfe to giue lands and reuenues to *Don Lewis* brother to king *Charles*, and to prouide him a wife, and to giue fifty thousand florens to vngage certaine townes, which king *Charles* had pawned to *Gaston Phebus* Earle of *Foix* his brother-in law, and to intertayne him a certaine number of men against any enemy whatsoever: namely, fixe hundred horse-men of the country of Nauarre, if it were against Castile; but if it were against France, then to entertaine him a thousand, and to ayde him at need with all his forces both by sea and land: and moreover he quit vnto him for euer, and to remaine to the Crowne of Nauarre, *Saluatierra*, and the place called the *Terme of Real*. For assurance of these things which were very honorable for the king of Nauarre, he of Arragon promised to lay in *deposito* the towne of *Iacca*, *Vncastilla*, *Sos*, *Exea*, and *Thermael*, which should be committed to the fidelitie of *Rymond Allemand* of *Ceruillon*, a knight of Arragon, who for this effect should be discharged of his oath of homage and vassallage, which he ought vnto the king of Arragon; and should sweare fealty to him of Nauarre, to deliuer him the places put into his hands, if the above-mentioned accord should be broken by the king of Arragon. The king of Nauarre promised for his part to quit the allyance of the king of Castile, and to make warre against him and his children: and for his part he layed in pawne the towne and castle of *Sanguette*, *Gallipienço*, *Vxué*, *Aybar*, *Cafeda*, *Pitellas* and *Penna*, and moreover the percion of *Arnaud* Lord of *Luse*, his Chamberlaine, who was much fauoured by him: which articles were sworne at *Vncastillo*, in the presence of the Earles of *Transmara*, *Ribagorça*, and others, whome the Kings commanded to keepe this league secret. It was not sufficient for these two Kings to fortifie themselves against the attempts of the king of Castile, for their safeties and defence, but they would also diuide the Beares skin before they had taken him, sharing the Realme of Castile in such sort, as the king of Nauarre should haue the cittie of *Burgos*, with all old Castile, all the country of the mountaines of *Oca* vnto the limits of Nauarre, and the Ocean sea: comprehending therein the Prouinces of *Guipulcoa*, *Alap*, and *Biscay*, and moreover the townes of *Soria* and *Agreda*: And for the king of Arragon were assigned the Realmes of *Toledo* and *Murcia*. They did also conspire the death of *Don Pedro* king of Castile: the king of Arragon offering to him of Nauarre 200000. florens, and the proprietie of the townes and castles of *Sos*, *Vncastel*, *Exea* and

Disfian of the  
Realme of Ca-  
stile before  
they had con-  
quered it.

and Tiermas, if he flue him, or deliuered him prisoner vnto him, and without it hee offered him presently the citie of Iacca, with the territorie and vallies. The better to dissemble these practises, they ordained that Don *Lewis* the king of Nauarres brother, should make a roade into Arragon, but he should suffer himselfe to be taken prisoner by Don *Alphonso* Earle of Ribagorça, the which was done: but *Lewis* of Nauarre was soone deliuered, and the king of Nauarre did so dissemble his intentions, as the king of Castile could not discouer any thing.

This last desseigne was thus plotted betwixt the two kings without the priuie of any man, in regard of Don *Henry* Earle of Transimara, with whom the king of Arragon had other practises. For Don *Henry* affecting openly the Realme of Castile, vpon hope of the fauours which he attended from France, promised vnto the king of Arragon, that if he assisted him, he would giue him to hold in Soueraignie, the sixth part of the lands hee should conquer by his ayde in Castile, wherunto the king of Arragon gaue care, being alwaies vniust vnto his brother Don *Fernand*, Marquis of Tortosa, to whom the Realme of Castile did belong by right, if Don *Pedro* the cruell died without lawfull heires. These bargaines were not so secret, but the Infant Don *Fernand* had some notice thereof, for the which he was so transported, and made such a stirre, as the king of Arragon, and the Earle of Transimara resolu'd to dispatch him, of which counsell was Don *Bernard* of Cabrera, the which was soone after executed: for the Infant Don *Fernand* seeing that himselfe was no more secured in Arragon then in Castile, and therefore desiring to retire himselfe into France, the King of Arragon his brother found meanes to stay him, and to kill him in the castile of Buriane, in the territorie of Valence.

Death of Don  
Fernand of Ar  
ragon.

An. 1363.

In the yere 1363. John the French king died, being returned into England, for to deliuer the hostages which he had giuen, not being able to endure the States of the kingdom to accomplish the capitulations with the English. *Charles* King of Nauarre hearing these newes, hee made preparation to passe into France; to which Realme *Charles* the fifth his brother in-law had succeeded, but this warre of Arragon had so intangled him, as hee could not: so as his affaires prospered not well on this side the Pyrenees mountains.

An. 1364.  
King of Nauar  
open enemy to  
the king of Cas  
tile.

In the yere 1364. the two kings of Nauarre and Arragon, renewed their league, but with some alteration, the King of Nauarre hauing already discouered himselfe an enemy to the king of Castile: To this end they met at Sos, where they agreed to continue this warre against Castile, and that it should not be lawful for the one to make any peace or truce without the consent of the other. That the king of Nauarre should make no accord with the French king, but he of Arragon should be comprehended. They gaue hostages one vnto another for assurance of their conuentions. The king of Arragon gaue his sonne *D. Martin*, and he of Nauarre a son of *D. Lewis* his brother, and the children of Don *John Ramires* of Arellan, of Don *Martin Henriquez*, of the Lord of Grammont, of Don *Bertrand* of Guevara, *Fernand Gil* of Alcan, *Martin Martinez* of Oriz, and of *Michel Sanchez* of Vrlua. These articles were sworn by the chiefe knights and townes of either part: and for that the summes of money promised to the king of Nauarre, at the capitulation of Vncastello, were much augmented, it was sayd, that the K. of Arragon should deliuer him 50000. florens presently in Sos, and for the rest he should haue deliuered him in pawning the city of Iacca, Sos, Vncastello, Tiermas, and Exea. Another priuie accord was made betwixt the king Don *Charles*, and Don *Henry* of Transimara, in whose hands the hostages should remaine. The king of Nauarre promised to enter in person into Castile, and there to make warre, and to be assured of Don *Henry*, hee would haue in hostage for his part, his daughter *Donna Leonora*, who was afterwards Queene of Nauarre, and a base sonne of his called Don *Alphonso Henriquez*. The Earle promised, that if at any time he should get the realme of Castile, he would suffer the King of Nauarre to enioy the lands of the ancient patrimonie of Nauarre, vsurped by the Kings of Castile, with diuers others.

Arragon.

These treaties betwixt the king of Nauarre, and Don *Henry* Earle of Transimara, were secret and vnknowne to the king of Arragon, who gouerned himselfe for the most part, by the aduice of Don *Bernard* of Cabrera, a wise Knight, and of great experience, by whom he was often perswaded from that which the other would haue him yeld vnto: for the

A the which he was hated by the king of Nauarre, and Don *Henry*: besides, being a priuie Counsellor, and of greatest authoritie, he was enuied by the other Noblemen of Arragon, who were lesse fauoured: wherefore these Princes being againe assembled at Almu-  
dear, the king of Nauarre, and the Earles of Transimara and Ribagorça, conspired to deprive the King of Arragon of this Counsellor, and wrought so, as they brought him into disgrace with the king. Don *Bernard*, being aduertised that they meant to apprehend him, sought to retire himselfe, and flying came into Nauarre to Carcastillo, the inhabitants whereof, seeing that he was pursued by *Garcil Lopes* of Sese, shut their rowne gates: but being summoned by *Garcil Lopes* in the name of the two kings, to deliuer Don *Bernard*, they stayed him, attending the kings commandement, who willed them to deliuer him vnto *Garcil Lopes*, who conuayed him to Murillo, where he remayned some time in hope to be deliuered: by which he was so hated by the king of Nauarre, and Earle of Transimara, as they neuer ceased by importune accusations, vntill they had put him to death.

D. Bernard of  
Cabrera in dis  
grace with his  
King.

This *Bernard* of Cabrera had before the yere 1346. being forced to come to Court, and to employ himselfe in great affaires of State, & herein he was very iudicious, when as (wearie of the world) he had resolu'd to become a Monke. The king had cherished and advanced him, and receiued many good counsels, and profitable seruices from him, as well in the ciuill wars within his owne Realme, as in that of Sardinia and Castile. But as  
C Courtiers, the more they seeke the greatnesse and honour of their Prince, and are by them the more honoured and beloued, are the more subiect to enuie, so fared it with him; for hauing bene faithfull to the king his master, he purchased the hatred of all the Princes and Noble-men of the Realme: so as when he was taken by the practises of the king of Nauarre and Earle of Transimara, there was not any one that did fauour him: but as it were by a common conspiracie, his processe was made, and the Infant Don *John* Prince of Gironne, whom he had bred vp, made his Iudge, where sitting in Iustice, and hauing for assistant *Dominicke* of Cerdagne, chiefe Iustice of Arragon, (who by his charge and office should defend the oppressed) pronounced sentence of death against this poore decrepite old man.

D They write, that his sentence being read by Don *Berenger Apilia*, and *James Monelia* Vice-chancellor, he complained greatly, that he should be condemned without hearing, or in a manner any forme of processe: but *Apilia* answered him, that he ought not to hold it strange, seeing that by his owne Counsell, that custome had bene brought into Arragon: and that he should remember the processe which was too summarily made against *John Ximenes* of Vtreca, and *Raymond Marquet*, accused to haue slaine *Raymond* of S. Vincent, who, by the kings commandement, and in a manner without any forme of processe, had bene put to death. He was led vnto the market place of Saragozza, and there beheaded, and his head was carried vnto the king, being at Barcelona. Such rewards many times haue the most faithfull Counsellors, of their ill aduised Princes. Thus miserably dyed one of the greatest personages in nobility, iudgement, and vertue, which had bene of long time in Arragon, who without the king his master had executed great matters, and the king without him did neuer any thing of worth. All his goods were confiscate to the king, whereby he purchased great dishonor, and rightly, both for his death, and for that of his brother Don *Fernand*. *Bernardin* of Cabrera, son to *Bernard*, had married *Marguerite* of Foix, daughter to the Vicount of Castellon, by *Constance* of Luna, sister to *D. Lopez*, a Lady of the blood royall of Arragon: for she was daughter to *Artal* of Luna, and to *D. Constance Perez*, who was daughter to Don *James Perez*, base sonne to the king Don *Pedro* the third. At that time the Prince Don *John* did not much exceed fourteen years, yet he was employed in great affaires within the Realme, as well for warre as iustice, with a dispensation for his age, being assisted by Don *Pedro* Earle of Ribagorça, (who hauing renounced the world in his old age, had taken vpon him the habit of Saint Francis) and moreover, by Don *Pedro* of Virgel, sonne to the Infant *D. James* the Kings brother, and by the Vicount of Cardona for the warre: and for iustice and other affaires of the Realme, he had for his Counsellors *Berenger Apilia*, *Bernard Sous*, *William Guymbrand*, and *Thomas Marzan* of Cattelogne.

During

Revenues of  
Churches &c.  
without the  
Popes leave.

During this last warre betwixt Castile and Arragon, D. Pedro king of Arragon, prest by A necessity, took the revenues of many benefices, without demanding leave from the Pope, and the more inconsiderately, say they, for that Urban then reigning, had never refused him any thing: wherefore he was in great danger to be excommunicated, and dejected from the rights of his Realme, especially from that of Sardinia, which hee held in fee of the Church: the fouraignty whereof many of the Cardinals were of advice to give to the Iudge of Arborea. The king for this cause sent his vncl D. Pedro, sometimes Earle of Ribagorça, and then a Friar, and Gaspar Trevure, Doctor of the lawes, vnto the Pope, who declared in open Consistorie, That in like necessities and miseries, as the Realm of Arragon was then in, it had bin lawfull for kings, not only to use the temporall revenues, but also to lay hands upon the relicts, and holy vessels of the Churches: adding, that the Ecclesiasticall Estate was no lesse bound to the preservation of the common-weale, then other Estates: and that kings might freely use their meanes in such extremities, so as he promised to make them restitution in a convenient time. Whereupon the Pope considering of the cause, did not pronounce any sentence. The Iudge of Arborea, having either practised the fauour of the Consistorie, or else moued with a desire to raigne, attempted thereupon to make sharpe warre against the Arragonois in Sardinia, a turbulent Iland, which continually bred new matter of charge and losse to the kings of Arragon, who had a little before ended all quarrels with the Genonois, and by the meanes of John Marquis of Montferrat his allye: but to leave a marke of punishment for the Rebels of Sardinia, he had suppressed the name of Caluri, the which was wont to be one of the members thereof, with the title of a Iudge, ordaining that from thence forth that country should bee consuled, betwixt the Cap of Caillieri and of Lugudori.

Nauarre.

Princes in con-  
tinuall distrust

To returne vnto the promises and capitulations made betwixt the two kings of Naur and Arragon, there was no due execution thereof, neither were the hostages, which had beene promised, deliuered: for it is no ordinarie thing in such treaties, to haue deedes follow words, these Princes being in continuall ieaousie and distrust one of another: wherefore the King of Naur, receiuing no money from the king of Arragon, he did not furnish him with men to oppose against the army of Castile, which was entered into the territories of Valence, beginning withall to thinke of many desseins, nothing fauourable for the king of Arragon. If the king of Naur, hauing deceived the king of Castile, fought to do the like vnto him of Arragon, the king of Arragon for his part did no lesse vnto the king of Naur: for he had sent his ambassadours into France, who treated a league at Tholoufa, with the Deputies of Charles the fifth the French king, and with Lewis D. of Anjou his brother, by the which the French promised to ayde the king of Arragon to conquer the realme of Naur, and to spoile K. Charles, and hauing conquered it, they bound themselves to furnish him alwaies with 500. lances, against any one that should seek to dispossesse him. The K. of Arragon promised also for his part to ayde the French to conquer Guenna, and to expell the English. These accords were made in the yeare 1364. Charles the fifth the French king, and Charles 2. king of Naur being enemies. But as they were Frenchmen, and brothers-in-law, they were reconciled afterwards, & concluded a peace: so as the king of Arragon lost his paines, and the allyance which he had sought in France, serued him to no vse, yet the war continued that yeare betwixt the French, and the partisans of the K. of Naur in France: but in the yeare 1365. Queen Jeanne wife to the king of Naur, made haile to come to the French Court, to treat a peace betwixt the two kings: whereof the one was her husband, and the other her brother: for the K. of Arragon did importune the French king to effect the league concluded the yeare before at Tholoufa, especially for the conquest of Naur; for which reason he had sent new ambassadours vnto him that yeare. The K. of Naur being aduertised of all these things, prest the Queene his wife to go this iourney, notwithstanding that she was with child. Her voyage for that time did produce nothing but a good truce, but afterward there was a peace made by the great care of the two Queens, Jeanne wife to the K. of Naur, and Blanche his sister, & by the dexterity, judgement, and wisdom of Capital of Buch, then prisoner to the French, for the factions of Naur. The Q. of Naur being at Eureux in the yeare 1366. she was deliuered of a son called Peter, he had the title of Earle of Mortaing: after her vp-rising (he returned into

An. 1365.

An. 1366.

A into Nauarre, carrying her eldest son Charles who was but foure yeares old with her, and that which was newly borne.

The kings of Naur and Arragon, being thus busied, and irresolute in their desseins, Arragon, durst not invade one another, and in the meane time he of Castile pursued the war, with all violence in the country of Valence, and took Orihuela, where there was slaine D. Alphonso Perez of Guzman Lord of S. Lucar, son to D. John Alphonso of Guzman, and grand-child to D. Alphonso Perez of Guzman the good. To him succeeded his brother D. John Alphonso of Guzman. The Arragonois also for their part tooke Moruiedro, for want of vicuals. D. Gomes of Porras Prior of S. John the Gouernor, yielded it, vpon condition, that he and his should be safely sent into Castile: yet the Earle D. Henry who was at this seige, prevailed so by his honest perswasions and promises, as the Prior was content to stay with him, who by that means retained about 600. men, laying before them the fury of D. Pedro K. of Castile, who excused nothing, and punished as well those which had behaved themselves valiantly in the yielding of such places, as those which had shewed themselves base and cowards. These were the last exploits of war betwixt Arragon and Castile.

At that time there was brought into Spain the body of the Cardinal of S. Clement formerly Archb. of Toledo, & Legat à latere in Italy, who died at Viterbo, hauing gouerned the affairs of the Romane sea, to the great content of Pope Urban the 5. who did wonderfully grieve for him, and made all the shewes of mourning which Popes are accustomed to do at the death of their faithfull friends. This Prelate during his legation, prepared the C Popes access into the city of Rome, and was the means to bring the papall seate thither againe: for hee suppressed many tyrants in Italy, and brought them to the obedience of the Roman sea, so as Gregory the 11. successor to Urban, came to Rome in the yeare 1366. This Cardinal had ordained by his testament, that his body should be buried in the city of Toledo, if it might be suffered by the K. D. Pedro then reigning, or his successor, the which was executed, and his bones which lay in the towne of Alfisi, in the monastery of S. Francis, were carried by land to Toledo, many offering to carry the Beere whereon this dead carcas lay, in hope to get pardon of their sins, for that the Pope had granted vnto them, that they should employ themselves in this seruice, the like indulgences as are given vnto them that do visit the churches of S. Peter and S. Paul, at Rome in the yeare of Iubilie.

The time approached when as the King Don Pedro should be punished for his excessive and serue as a witness to the world, that the feare of subiects, gotten by the cruelty of Princes, is a bad gear for their maiesty, and a weak assurance of their Crowns. The death of Q. Blanche of Bourbon, whom the king D. Pedro had poisoned, after that he had intreated her a long time most barbarously, ministered the occasion of his ruine: for being for this cause odious to all the French, D. Henry, Earle of Transamara, (who was vigilant to embrace all things that might serue him to reuenge the death of his mother and brethren, & of so many injuries which hee had receiued of this wretched king) found fauour and helpe in France. And it fell out very fitly, that the wars being ended in France, as well against the English, and King of Nauarre, as betwixt the Earles of Montfort and Blois, contending E for the succession of Britannie: this Realme was then wonderfully ouer-charged with idle souldiers, which kept the fields, and committed many spoyles and inouelencies, being gathered together in such great numbers, French, English, Brittons, Flemmings, and of other nations intermingled, as they were fearefull to Princes, yea and to the Pope himselfe residing in Auignon: so as they demanded but an occasion of some long voyage, to conquer and subdue Countries, or to be there defeated, being impossible without great danger and disorder, to be otherwise ridde of them.

Vpon these continuall complaints of the impieties and cruelties which Don Pedro King of Castile committed daily, being already pronounced by the Popes Legate, and confirmed by him, an vtter enemie to God and men: and at the instance and pursuit of the king of Arragon, and of Henry Earle of Transamara, Bastard of Castile, who (as some write) were come to this effect in person, to Auignon; the French King, Pope Urban, and other Princes, thought good to haue these people dealt withall, (whome they commonly called Malandrins) to go and make warre in Spaine against Don Pedro surnamed the Cruell: and Bertrand of Guefclin, a valiant and hardy Knight of Malandrins. Ccc Britannie,

18.

Returne of the  
Popes Court to  
Rome.

19.

Expulsion of  
D. Henry of  
Castile against  
his brother D.  
Pedro, and his  
victorie.



Brittany, (who was then a prisoner of war, for the factions of *Monsfort* and *Blois*) was chosen to lead them, who for this cause was put to ranfome, and deliuered, *Bertrand* wrought so, as these companions were willing to follow him: whereupon some of their Captaines (so, as these companions were willing to follow him: whereupon some of their Captaines came to Barcelona, did capitulate, receiued money, and promised to serue Don *Henry*, wherof *Bernard Bassard* of Bearne, sonne to *Gaston Phelips* Earle of Foix, was one of the chiefe: which *D. Pedro* King of Castile vnderstanding, he retired his troupes, and came to Burgos, where he called a generall assembly; whither came the Lord of *Albret*, a knight of *Gasconie* well accompanied, who assured him for a certaine number of ducats, to draw away a good part of those soldiers which *D. Henry* and the king of Arragon had entertayned, and wrought so, as they shold abandon them, and come to serue him: but it grieved the king to spend his treasure, which notwithstanding was very great: wherfore reiecting the Lord of *Albrets* good counsell, he sought other prouisions, which serued him to fmal purpose. These men past into Spaine, being esteemed to be 10000. horse, and an infinite number of foot, besides those soldiers which the Earle and the king of Arragon had: to whome were ioyned many great personages, both French and others, among the which the French Historie names *Iohn* Lord of Bourbon Earle of March, cousin to the deceased queen *Margarete* of Castile, *Anthony* Lord of Beauieu, *Arnold* of Andreghe Marshall of France, *Regene* of Villenes, *Eustace* of Aubercourt, *Hugh Carrelee*, *Gualter Huec*, *Mathew* of Gournay, and *Pedrus* of *Albret*, who with many other famous men, made this voyage: *Bertrand* of Guefclin being chiefe leader of them all, by reason of his valour and great experience. The King of Arragon with these succors did presently recover all that the king of Castile had taken from him, the Castilians hauing abandoned their garrisons. The bodie of the army which *D. Henry* should lead, was made at *Sarragossa*, from whence they marched directly to *Calatraz*, and entered without resistance, in the month of March, this yere 1366. *D. Henry* being receiued by *D. Fernando* bishop of that place, and by *D. Fernand Sanchez* of *Tobar*, vpon condition they should be intreated as friends: for the towne was strong, there he was solicited by *D. Alphonso* of Arragon Earle of Denia and Ribagorça, and by the Arragonois, to take vpon him the title of King of Castile and Leon, which at the first he did refuse: but being prest and importuned, in the end he yielded, so as from that time he had more need of a bridle to restrain him, then a spur. Being thus proclaimed king, and hauing advanced his royall Standard, the Knights which were there present, began to demand gifts & recompences in the countrie which they had not yet conquered, but were in good hope, to whome hee gaue contentment with many promises. Passing on, they tried *Logroño*, which place they found strong, and well manned: wherefore not to lose time, they marched on, and hauing seized vpon *Navarret* and *Birbiefca*, they came to Burgos, whereas the king *D. Pedro* was, who made all the hast hee could to dislodge. The inhabitants seeing him parting, befought him not to abandon them, offering him all the money that was in the towne, and their persons with great fidelity; but this king being terrified, there was no meanes to stay him: and in truth we seldome see valour and cruelie lodge together: wherfore the inhabitants of Burgos protested to provide for the safety & preferuation of the city the best they could: so as he was forced to quit them of the oath and homage they ought him, and presently tooke his way to Toledo, where hauing left a good garrison, he went to Seuille. The inhabitants of Burgos seeing themselves abandoned by their Prince, opened the gates to Don *Henry*, whom in the capitulation they made, they called Earle, promising to tite him king, when he should be entred into the city.

Don *Henry* parting from *Birbiefca*, some eight leagues distant from Burgos, hee made his entrie into the city, to the great contentment of many, who hated the violent disposition of the king *D. Pedro*: where he caused himselfe to be crowned king of Castile and Leon, in the royall Monasterie of *Huelgas*, this yere 1366: and within fise and twentie dayes after his coronation, almost all the towne of Castile and Leon put themselves vnder his obedience and protection: saying, that according to the example and ancient custome of the Gods, they might retire themselves from a tyrant king, and chuse another: without hauing any regard vnto the succession, nor his family whom they should leaue. Then began *D. Henry* to distribute townes, castles, offices and dignities, vnto the Noblemen

Ma'and'ius  
passe into  
Spaine.

D. Henry  
the title of K.  
of Castile.

A blemen and Knights which had followed him. He gaue to *D. Alphonso* Earle of Denia and Ribagorça, the Marquisate of Villena, the patrimonie of *D. Ieanne Manuel* his wife: to *Bertrand* of Guefclin the Lordship of Molina; *D. Tello* brother to the new king, was maintained in the Segneurie of *Biscay*, the inheritance of his deceased wife *D. Ieanne* of Lara, and moreover he gaue him *Aquilar del Campo*, and to his other brother *D. Sancho*, all that which had belonged vnto *D. Iohn Alphonso* of Albuquerque, adding thereunto the townes of Haro, Briones, Villorado, Cerezo in Rioja, and the towne of *Ledesma*. To other knights hee gaue gifts, and confirmed and augmented the ancient priuiledges of townes which yielded willingly vnto him. Thinking himself now to be in sure possession, hee caused his wife *D. Ieanne*, his son *D. Iohn*, and *D. Leonora* his daughter, to come out of Arragon into Castile: and hauing disposed of the affaires of Burgos, of Castile the old, and of Leon, he went to Toledo, where he found some opposition, yet in the end he was receiued and saluted as king: and after the example of this statly cite, many other townes of that Realme yielded vnto him. The King *D. Pedro* seeing himselfe abandoned, put a great quantitie of money, and other treasure into a gally, and retired into Portugal: but fearing his cousin *D. Fernand*, Infant of that Realme, who loued him not, hee past in great doubt vnto *S. Iames* in Galicia, where hee caused *D. Suero* of Toledo Archb. of that place, and *D. Pedro Alvarez* of Toledo, Deane of the same church, to be slaine, and adding sacrilege to this murder, he spoiled their houses, and caried away their goods, which was the chiefe cause why hee slue them. Being doubtfull what to do, hee resolved in the end to go by sea to Bayonne in France: wherfore parting from the Groine with 22. ships and one gally, carrying with him his three daughters, *Beatrice*, *Constance*, and *Isabel*, hee came to *S. Sebastian* in Guipulcoa, where hee had some thousands of double ducats, and other riches, the which hee took with him, and set sayle towards Bayonne. A gally which followed him, in which was *Martin Ianes* his Treasurer, with much money, & other precious things was slayed by the Inhabitants of Seuille, which citie being greatly affected vnto *D. Henry*, put themselves vnder his obedience, soone after the kings departures and the citie of Cordous did the like. So hatefull was the king *D. Pedro*, and so pleasing was the mild disposition of Don *Henry*, as in a short time hee found himselfe King of a great and mighty Kingdome, almost without striking stroke, the people stuiuing who should bee first receiued.

Don *Henry* being at Seuille, he confirmed the peace with the Kings of Portugall and Granado: but he was deceived in this prosperitie, being too confident of his new subiects, so as although he knew well that his enemy was retired to the English, with great store of treasure, and that he might well coniecture, that he would draw succors from thence, to trouble him in the possession of this Realme newly conquered, yet hee dismist his strangers well satisfied which were all his force, and retayned onely *Bertrand* of Guefclin, and *Bernard* bastard of Foix with some 1500. horse French and English. The country of Galicia opposed it selfe most against *D. Henry*: that being pacified and subdued, hee assembled the Estates at Burgos, the which (besides that they did sweare fidelitie vnto his son *D. Iohn* as heire vnto the Crowne) did grant vnto him the tenth peny of all the merchandize they should sell within the Realme, and so much the more willingly, when as they vnderstood that the king *D. Pedro* prepared to returne into Spaine with a great power of English. *D. Henry* to gratifie the citie of Burgos, gaue vnto it in that assembly, the towne of *Miranda* of Ebro, the which did belong to the Church of Burgos, it did also serue to recompence the towne of *Birbiefca*, belonging to the citie, which hee had giuen to *D. Pedro Fernandes* of Velasco his great Chamberlaine. To the Church of Burgos in recompence of *Miranda*, he gaue a pension of sixtie thousand marauidis, vpon the tenths due from the sea, to bee employed in the ordinary distributions for the seruice which is done there day and night.

Don *Dominicke* was then Bishop of Burgos, the eight and twentieth Pastor in number, who obtained this Bishoppricke after a manner worthe to be related: for the Chapter being diuided and at controuersie about the election of a new Bishoppe, after the death of Don *Fernand* the third, who had newly left and abandoned that seate, and not able to agree and determine vpon two chiefe persons propounded in that assembly, they

Beauty of D.  
Henry the new  
King.

Flight of the  
king D. Pedro  
out of Spaine.

Bishop of Sar-  
gosa chosen by  
himselfe.

they concluded to reſerre the nomination to *Dominick*, then Chanoine of that Church, A  
being held a man of a good and holy life. This good Chanoine hauing accepted the no-  
mination, bethought himſelfe of a meane to diſpleaſe neither party: ſaying merly vnto  
them, that if it were their pleaſures hee ſhould name a Biſhop, hee was of opinion, that  
himſelfe ſhould be the man, the which hee deliuered with ſo good a grace, as the Chapter  
could not take it ill: wherefore *Dominick* the Chanoine became preſently Biſhop, hauing  
neuer before once dreamed to aſpire to that dignitie: and his election was ſoon after con-  
firmed by the Pope. This Biſhop was a good ſeruant to *D. Henry*. At that time *D. Tello*  
brother to *Don Henry* married a Gentle-woman which was called *Donna Ieanne* of *Lara*,  
as his firſt wife, who was Lady of *Biſcay*: by reaſon whereof many did beleue it was  
the ſame that was daughter to *Don John Nunez* of *Lara*, who (they ſay) had bene ſlain  
by the King *Don Pedro*: and this perſuaſion continued among the people of *Biſcay* ſome  
time, being nourished by *Don Tello*. *Donna Ieanne Manuel*, wife to *Don Henry*, was ſent  
him into Caſtile by *Don Pedro* king of Arragon, who would that *Donna Leonora*, Infan-  
ta of Arragon, future wife to *Don John* the eldeſt ſonne of *D. Henry*, ſhould accompanie  
her. But before hee diſmiſſed them, hee cauſed *Donna Ieanne Manuel* (who intided her ſelfe  
Queene of Caſtile and Leon) to ſweare, to do her beſt to cauſe *Don Henry* her husband,  
to giue him the cities of *Soria* and *Cuenca*, the townes of *Molina*, and *Medina Celi*, and  
the Realme of *Murcia*, as they had agreed, and hee had promiſed before this Conqueſt.  
And moreover, hee demanded reſtoration of certaine ſummes of money which hee had  
lent him: whereunto *Don Henry* (who had newes of the armie which was preparing by  
the Engliſh, in fauour of *Don Pedro* his competitor) made an honeſt anſwer: for it was  
reaſonable, ſayd he, to attend the end of this great preparation, which was made againſt  
him.

Nauarre.

The King of *Nauarre* in this firſt warre had not ſhewed himſelfe a fauourer to either of  
theſe contending Princes: but knowing that the King *Don Pedro* was retired to *Bayone*,  
diſpoſſeſſed of his Realme, he came to ſee him, and was there preſent at the accord and  
promiſes which paſt betwixt *Edward* Prince of Wales and him. The Princes ſupping to-  
gether, held this order: the King *Don Pedro* was on the right hand, and next to him the  
Prince of Wales, and on the other ſide was the king of *Nauar* alone: who being returned  
into *Nauar*, he was much ſollicited by *Don Henry*, to be of his partie, but he was already  
engaged by promiſe to *Don Pedro* king of Caſtile, and to the Prince of Wales, to giue  
them free paſſage through his countie. The k. of Arragon aduerted of all theſe things,  
preſt the French king by his ambaffadors, to make warre againſt the Engliſh, and alſo  
againſt the king of *Nauarre*, promiſing to ioine for his part, to diuert the ſtorme which  
was coming vpon *Don Henry* the new king of Caſtile, whom he ought to haue recei-  
ued into this league: and in the meane time there was continuall war vpon the frontiers  
of Arragon and *Nauarre*. Notwithſtanding theſe things aboue-mentioned, *D. Henry* did  
ſo labour the king of *Nauar*, as he made him forget the promiſes he had made at *Bayone*,  
to *D. Pedro* king of Caſtile, and to the Engliſh, coming to meet with *D. Henry* at *Santa*  
*Cruz* of *Campeço*, where hee promiſed and ſware to be of his ſide, and to do his beſt to  
ſtop the paſſage of the Engliſh army through *Nauarre*, which would haue auayled him  
much to breake the deſſeines of the diſpoſſeſſed king, for in the paſſage of the *Pyrénées*  
hilles, hee had nothing to fauour him, but the Townes of *Saint Sebaſtian* and *Guetaia*  
in *Guipulcoa*.

At theſe promiſes ſolemly made by the king of *Nauarre*, vnto *Don Henry*, there af-  
ſiſted *Don Gomes Manrique* Arch-biſhop of *Toledo*, *D. Lopes Fernandes* of *Luna*, Arch-  
biſhop of *Sarragoſſa*, *Don Alphonſo* of Arragon, Earle of *Denia*, and Marquis of *Villena*,  
*Bertrand* of *Gueſclin*, and many other great perſonages of Caſtile, France, and Arragon.  
And a league was concluded betwixt the kings of Arragon, *Nauarre*, and *Don Henry*,  
for their common defence againſt all men. And the king promiſed to be readie with the  
forces of his countie, and to be in perſon at the Battaille which they thought would be gi-  
uen, for aſſurance whereof there was deliuered into the Arch-biſhops hands of *Sarragoſſa*  
the caſtle of *Garde*, and that of *S. Vincent* to *Bertrand* of *Gueſclin*, and that of *Bur-  
don* was giuen in gard to *D. John Ramirez* of *Arcellan*.

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A In recompence of the good offices which *D. Henry* expected from King *Charles*, he pro-  
miſed to giue him the towne of *Logroño*, to him and his ſor cuer. It was likely that *D.  
Henries* affaires ſhould ſucceed better then thoſe of *Don Pedro*, and therefore *K. Charles*  
made choiſe to hold with the ſtronger, as he thought. The diſpoſſeſſed king of Caſtile,  
and the Prince of Wales vnderſtanding of this league, found it very ſtrange: and the En-  
gliſh being more familiar with the king of *Nauarre*, he complained much vnto him, and  
ſought to reduce him to his firſt promiſes, the which hee did: making him againe, with the  
note of great inſtance, to quit the party of *Don Henry*, and of the king of Arragon,  
in regard that they had promiſed to giue him, beſides *Logroño*, the cite of *Victoria*,  
which did yet hold for the king *Don Pedro*: for the which he bound himſelfe by oath, to  
B giue them paſſage, and to be in perſon with his troups, in the battell, in their fauor: ex-  
cuſing his lightneſſe, for that the Realme of Caſtile did by right belong vnto the King *D.  
Pedro*: and withall he had a deſſeine to make vie of the frienſhip and forces of the En-  
gliſh in the quarrels and pretenſions he had with the French King, who did much trouble  
his affaires.

The conditions which *D. Pedro* king of Caſtile made with the Prince of Wales, were  
theſe: He gaue him from that time the Segneurie of *Biſcay*, & *Caſtro* of *Ordiales*, & pro-  
miſed to pay the ſoldiers which he led into Spaine, leaſing his three daughters in hoſtage  
with the Engliſh: he promiſed the cite of *Soria* to *John Chandos*, Conſtable in *Guienne*  
for the Engliſh, and to many other Noblemen and knights other places and townes in  
Caſtile. Vpon theſe accords, being full of good hope, ſeeing they had the king of *Nauar*  
their friend, they marched with a great and mighty armie in the Spring-time 1367, to re-  
poſſeſſe the king *D. Pedro* in his Realme. King *Charles* whether troubled in confidence for  
the oaths which he had ſo often broken, or for ſome other conſideration, would not bee  
in perſon at this incounter betwixt the king *D. Pedro* and *D. Henry*, as hee had promiſed,  
but vnder colour of going a hunting, he cauſed himſelfe to bee taken priſoner, by a plot  
and accord made with *Oliuer* of *Manny* or *Maulny* a Britton Knight, who held the caſtle  
of *Borja* for *Bertrand* of *Gueſclin*, who had it by gift from the king of Arragon, in the  
which he was ſhut vp: and for that he would not ſhew himſelfe altogether diſloyall, hee  
left *Don Martin Henriques* of *Lacarra*, the maſter of his horſe, and his Standard-bearer,  
D at *Pampelona* with three hundred Lances, commanding him to ioine with the Engliſh  
armie, and to fight in it.

The Engliſh armie arriued at *Cuenca*, or *Combe* of *Pampelona*, about the beginning  
of March this yeare 1367, from whence it paſt into *Alaua*: beſides, the Prince of Wales,  
and *Don Pedro* king of Caſtile, there were in it *John Duke* of *LANCASTER*, brother to the  
Prince *D. James* of *MAIORCA*, ſon to the king *Don James*, who had come for refuge to this  
Engliſh Prince being at *Bordeaux*. *John Chandos* Conſtable of *Guien*, *Robert Felton*  
great Senefhall, *Richard* of *Angle*, and *Stephen* of *Conſentone* Maſtalls of *Guien*:  
moreouer, the Earle of *Armaignac* and *Albret*, who offered and brought to this warre a  
thouſand complet lances of his ſubiects and friends: but they were reduced (to his great  
griefe) to two hundred by the Prince, being ſo aduiled by ſome other, or of his own pro-  
per motion, and for enuy: which vice ſome write did often blemiſh the great vertues that  
were in him. For euen ſome affirme, that this voyage which hee vnderooke into Spaine,  
was not for charity, nor any loue he bare to the diſpoſſeſſed king *D. Pedro*, but for that the  
honor and reputation which *Bertrand* of *Gueſclin* had gotten, to haue made *D. Henry*  
Kof Caſtile, would not let him ſleepe. Beſides, the aboue named, there did accompanie  
the Prince of Wales in this expedition, the Earls of *Perigort* and *Cominges*, the Vicont  
of *Carmain*, *Bernard* and *Perducas* of *Albret*, Capral of *Buch*, the Lord of *Cliffon*, the Se-  
neſhals of *Xaintong*, *Rochel*, *Querci*, *Limoffin*, *Agnois*, and *Bigorre*, with many other  
Noblemen, and renowned knights of *England*, *Poitou*, *Brittaine*, *Gaſconie* and other coun-  
tries, and among them ſome which had a litle before ſerued *D. Henry*, vnder the command  
of *Bertrand* of *Gueſclin*: the which *Gueſclin* did not ſayle at need, but came to *D. Henries* ar-  
my with a good number of Knights and ſouldiers, to ayd him to maintaine his conqueſt.  
Vpon the newes of this mighty army, *D. Henry* had gathered together all his good ſub-  
jects: ſo as according to the French Authors (it may be exceeding in their computations)

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he made accompt to haue 7000. men at arms, 20000. light horse, and 40000. foot, where of many were armed with slings, much feared in those dayes: with these forces hee came to encounter his enemy, and lodged betwixt *S. Dominike* of Calçada and Bagnares, the enemy being camped about Saluatierra, who approaching towards Logroño, he came to Calderan. The Captaines were of opinion, that *D. Henry* should not fight, but only coast the enemy, and keepe him in continuall feare, cutting off their victuals and other commodities, whereby they should be loone forced to breake of themselves: & so had the French king aduised him to do: but hee (who was a Prince of a great spirit, and more resolute in such actions, then was fit for the head of an Estate, and encouraged by some small advantage gotten of the fore-runners of the English, by *D. Tello* and *D. Sancho* his breedren, who had taken *Thomas Felton*, a knight, and some others) gouerned himselfe after his own humor, who rayling his army, came to Nagera, seeing the English approach to Nauaret. From hence the Prince of Wales did write vnto *D. Henry*, terming him Earle of Transimara, which letter was full of courtseie and good words, perswading him to quit the title of King, and to yeeld vnto his brother *D. Pedro*, the lawfull K. of Castile, assuring him he would be a meanes that he should haue a good composition: and about all that he hold aoid to come to a battell, the euent whereof must needs be his ruine, seeing they did much exceede them in number, their souldiers in valour, and their Captaines in leading. To the which *D. Henry* made answer, that he could not hearken to any accord with him, who had against the law of Nature taken delight to murder so many of the bloud royal, and other great personages of Castile: who had no respectiue regard of the lawes of the country, and much lesse of God, falsifying his oath and promises, hauing no other rule in his actions, but his tyrannous passions: and with his excuses, hee gaue many good words in regard of the Prince of Wales, protesting that he came with griefe to fight, and that he would willingly haue auoyded the effusion of Christian blood, which he prepared to see. These Princes being thus disposed, the armies presented themselves one before another betwixt Nagera and Nauaret, where they encountered with such fury about Aleçon, neere to the Bourg of Aofita, as after great effusion of blood, *D. Henries* men were put to flight, the disorder beginning on *D. Tello*'s side, and many were taken prisoners by the English, French, and Nauarros: against some of which the K. *D. Pedro* being incensed, did execute his rage, causing them to be murdered in his presence: among others, the first master of the Knights of *S. Bernard*, & the last also, being taken in this defeat, had his head cut off by the kings commandement. It was a military order sprung vp in Biscay, to which knights should be assigned the lands called Beeries, which lay neere: but it was suddenly extinct by reason of these wars, and by this excesse of the King *D. Pedro*. Many were reconciled by the mediation of the Prince of Wales, of which number was *D. Sancho*, brother to the Erie *D. Henry*: others were straightly imprisoned, among which were *Bertrand* of Gueclin, *Arnold* of Andregren, and *Begue* of Villaines. *D. Henry* escaped from the battell, and posting towards Nagera, his horse being tyred and out of breath, hee met with a Squire of the Prouince of Alaua, called *Ruy Fernandes* of Goana; who knowing him, mounted him vpon a good Genet, with the which he came into the K. of Arragons country, to whom he would not go, remembering the miseries which follow afflicted Princes fallen from their fortunes, and the small faith that is in friends in such extremities, euerie one drawing backe, and seeking to excuse himselfe vnto the Victor, to please whom, many times the vnfortunat is deliuered vp to sacrifice. Wherefore hee past the mountaines, and retired into France, leauing the townes and Noblemen of Castile, which had followed his party in great perplexity, with him there retired that *D. Pedro* of Luna a Cardellan, who of a knight as he was then, carrying armes, became a Clergie man, was a Cardinall, and in the end Pope, during the great Schisme, which did so much trouble the Church of Rome.

After this great victorie which hapned the third day of Aprill 1367. the king *D. Pedro* entred in great pompe into Burgos, from whence *D. Ieanne Manuel*, called Queen of Castile, wife to *D. Henry*, her children, and daughter-in-law, were a litle before retired: and fled in all hast into Arragon, where they were receiued, but not so chearefully as before: for the king of Arragon studied how he might recover the fauour of Don *Pedro* King of Castile,

Prince of  
Wales, writ  
to D. Henry.

D. Henryes  
Iuue.

D. Henry de  
fied in battell.

D. Pedro of  
Luna, a knight  
of arragons,  
future Pope.

A Castile, being therein assisted by the Prince of Wales, and aduised to abandon *D. Henry*, who was vanquished: *D. Romero* Bishop of Lerida, *D. Pedro* Earle of Virgel, the Vicont of Cardona, *D. Iohn Fernandes* of Heredia, and others, were of this opinion, who were sent Ambassadors to *D. Pedro* King of Castile, and *Raymond Peguera*, and *James Elfaro* went to the Prince of Wales.

Some say that the Prince of Wales beginning to descoutt the ingratitude of *D. Pedro* King of Castile, there was in this Negotiation a plot laid betwixt him and the king of Arragon to diuide the king of Castile betwixt them; and to giue some part of the booty to the kings of Nauarre and Portugal, and so wholly to reiect the tyrant *D. Pedro*.

The King of Nauarre hearing of the victory which the King of Castile had obtained, B thought it now time to creepe out of his denne, pressing *Oliver* of Maulny to set him at liberty: but the difficulty was, this knight would be paid for his good seruice, hauing taken the king prisoner. King *Charles* gaue him *D. Pedro* his second sonne in hostage, assuring him that if he would come to Tudelo, he would giue him all that hee had promised, and more. This good knight tooke the Infant *D. Pedro*, and put him into the castle of Borja, deliuered the king, and some after, although his great simplicity followed him to Tudelo: but he was no sooner arrived, but they layed hold of him, and put him in prison, until that he had yeilded the hostage. A brother of his should haue beene taken with him by the kings commandement, but seeking to flee away ouer a house, hee was slaine by them that pursued him. King *Charles* did write presently to the king of Arragon, complaining of the wrong which the Britons (holding the castle of Borja and Magallon) had done him, and that they detained and withheld his sonne, whom hee had beene forced for to giue them in Ostage, heaunting that they went to carry him into France, the which hee intreated him to prevent, setting good guards vpon the passages of his country. He sayd moreover, that he threatened to invade his country of Nauarre, relying vpon the support they had of Arragon: wherefore hee intreated him not to giue them forces, nor any aide in such enterprises, and so took it ill if hee led an army before Borja, to deliuer his sonne from prison. *Garcie Sanchez* Prior of Roncesual, was sent of this Ambassage into Arragon, who not onely executed his charge, but also entred into a treaty of marriage betwixt *Charles* the eldest sonne of Nauarre and *D. Leonora* daughter to the King of Arragon. The King of Arragon who had no need of any enemies, for that he feared the King of Castile, caused the trouble of Borja to cease, and commanded the Britons to deliuer the Infant *D. Pedro*, who being carried to Tudelo, *Oliver* of Maulny was also deliuered. As for the marriage, although the King of Arragon did much desire it, yet the King of Nauarre, hauing retired his sonne, did not much care for it, meaning first to see what should become of the broiles of Castile.

21 The King *D. Pedro* the cruell, victorious, but insolent and treacherous as of custome, could not containe himselfe within the bounds of modesty and reason, neither to his subiects, nor to strangers, English, French and others, who had seated him in his Kingdom: There were great controuersies amongst them for prisoners and ransomes, and the souldiers pay, yet after much disputing there was some kinde of agreement. *D. Pedro* King of Castile sent *D. Pedro Fernandes* Perez of Ayala, with the Deputies of the Prince of Wales, to put them in possession of the Lordship of Biscay, and Castro of Ordiales, according vnto their accords: but the Biscains being aduertised that what the King did, was onely to content the Prince of Wales, and to shew that hee had a will to performe his promise, but not that he had any meaning to maintaine it: besides that of their owne dispositions they did abhor the command of strangers, they would neuer receive these Deputies, nor consent that they should be put in possession of their country, which was the cause of great troubles. The King seeming to be much discontented at these difficulties, made a sollemne oath in the chiefe Church of Burgos, that hee would pursue the Prince of Wales in possession of the Siegneuries of Biscay. *D. Pedro* seeing himselfe restored to his Realme, he desired to know what the destinies had promised him; and therefore he demanded aduice of a Doctor, called *Mena-Hata*, a great and learned Astrologian and Phylosopher, who sent him a letter full of learning, saying, that hee must looke vnto his owne carriage, and how hee gouerned his subiects, for

Oliver of  
Maulny deli-  
uers the King  
of Nauarre,  
and remains  
prisoner him-  
selfe.

Castile.

D. Pedro King  
of castile dis-  
conteneth  
English and o-  
ther strangers.

E Prince of Wales in possession of the Siegneuries of Biscay. *D. Pedro* seeing himselfe restored to his Realme, he desired to know what the destinies had promised him; and therefore he demanded aduice of a Doctor, called *Mena-Hata*, a great and learned Astrologian and Phylosopher, who sent him a letter full of learning, saying, that hee must looke vnto his owne carriage, and how hee gouerned his subiects, for

Italy aduerti  
ments of a  
Physiophy  
Mareto D.  
Fidia.

for thereon depended the continuance of his raigne, either long or short, and the continuance of the scepter in his family: adding many precepts, the which if hee had duly obserued, without doubt he had reigned securely in peace: but hee fell into his frenzies and cruelties, the which did so estrange the hearts of those, which abhorred his forfeasted tyrannies, as his fall must needs bee miserable. Hee parted from Burgos, and went to seeke meanes to content the English, commanding that as soone as he should bee our of the city, they should put to death *Ruy Ponce Palameque* and some others, whom hee had caused to be put into the castle of Burgos. Being come nere vnto Toledo, he would haue hostages of the Inhabitants for his assurance, and there hee put to death fouteene of the chiefe of the city; then hee went to Cordoua, from which place he sent to Seuille, that they should put to death *Gil Bocanegra*, *D. John Ponce* of Leon Lord of Marchene, and *Alphonso Aluarez* of Quadros, with an other called *Alphonso Fernandes*: Hee caused many to be dispatched at Cordoua before hee came to Seuille, where beeing arrived, hee caused Donna *Pryaca Osorio*, mother to *D. John Alphonso* of Guzman, to bee slaine, and *Martin Iamer* his high treasurer, taking great delight in his murders, and reuenues vpon these miserable creatures, for that he had not found them ready to follow his fortune, or for some other discontentment; forgetting that for such inhumanities and tyrannies, he had beene once cast out of Spaine. He caused *D. Martin Lopes* of Cordoua, master of Calatrava, to be apprehended, and would haue put him to death, but the King of Granada demanded him in giust, and did so much, as hee saved his life. He had done more if time and meanes had permitted, but God preuented him, for *D. Henry* stayed not long to deprive him both of realme and life.

A Moore more  
kinds then D.  
Pedro a Chris-  
tian King.

After the losse of the battaile, *D. Henry* came into the county of Foix, where beeing well entertained by the Earle, and furnished with all things besitting such a knight, hee went to Auignon, where as Pope *Vrbain* the fifth did raigne, and did loue, and esteeme him much, and therefore hee receiued him courteously, and deli with *Lewis* Duke of Aniou, brother to the French King, and Gouernor of Languedoc, to giue him meanes to raise a new army, to returne into Spaine, whether many friends recalled him, assuring him that the cruelties which the King *D. Pedro* continued, prepared him the way to recouer his good fortune, and that now there was not any difficulty to settle him firmly; neither need they feare that *D. Pedro* should finde fauour or succors with the English, whom he had defrauded of their pay and recompences promise, and sent home discontented. *D. Iuanne* wife to *D. Henry*, and his children, finding themselves not very safe in Arragon by reason of the friendship that was betwixt the King of Arragon, and the Prince of Wales, they had past into France, whereas they remained in the castle of Perapertuse, vnto the end of the warre, such was the diligence of *D. Henry*, and of his friends, as hee obtained from the King five thousand pounds sterling in ready money, and liberty to leaue souldiars within his Realme. Hee had also succors both of money and men from the Duke of Aniou, from *Guy* Cardinal of Bologne, and other Noblemen of France, being incensed against the King *D. Pedro*, the murtherer of Queene *Blanche* of Bourbon his wife: notwithstanding *D. Henry* found many great difficulties; an ordinary thing for those that are in aduersity: for the French King feared least the English should take it ill that hee gaue succors vnto their enemy: and to make such a preparation for warre, as was necessary, hee had neede of a great masse of money, which was the greates hindrance of his affaires. Some therevpon write that in one day hee caused all the money to be seized on, that was in Auignon, in marchants, and Banquers hands, the Pope giuing his consent, and hee promising vpon the faith of a Prince to restore it. In the end he had meanes to raise a good army, but before he began to march, he had certaine newes that the Prince of Wales was returned into Guienne much discontented with the King *D. Pedro*: and moreover that all the Prouince of Guipulcoo, excepte Saint Sebastian and Guetaria, the townes of Biscay, Segobia, Vailledolit, Palence, Auila, Guadabajara, Salamanca, Medina del Campo, Toro, Almedo, Arenalco, Coeca, Madrigal, Carrion, Sepulveda, Aillon, Atienza, Melicas with many other forts held his party.

D. Henry be-  
fard of Castile  
and against  
by the French.

Whilest that *D. Henry* prepares to passe into Spaine, some of the English and French souldiars,

A souldiars, returning from the seruice of *D. Pedro* King of Castile, by the pace betwixt Nauarre and Arragon, spoiling the vallesies, they attempted to enter into Iacca. Against these men the Inhabitants of the country, both Nobles and Commonns armed, so as after diuerse skirmishes, whereas many were slaine of both sides, these strangers being aboute fifteene thousand men, past the Pyrenes, and returned into their countries. The King of Arragon, before the Prince of VVales his retreat had fought by his meanes to recouer Sauueterre, and Real of Rueste, which the Nauarrois held since the warre of Castile, but he could not.

As for the King of Nauarre, hee recovered the places which hee had left in deposito, when as he made a league with the King of Arragon, and *D. Henry*, wherein hee was assisted by *D. Pedro* King of Castile, and through fauour of the victory, which hee had obtained: but yet hee could neither get Logroño from him, nor the towne of victoria, which he had promised him; neither could hee retire out of the hands of *D. John Ramirez* of Arellan (a Knight of honour) the place of Buradon, whereof he had beene chosen Gardien, saying, *That hee did not follow the fortune, and passions of princes, but the equity of the faith, which was promised and sworn.* This good Knight had retired himselfe into Arragon after the battaile lost, when as *D. Henry* saved himselfe in France, to whose seruice he returned soone after.

Nauarre.

Integrity of  
D. John Ra-  
mirez of arellan.

The Prince of VVales before he went out of Spaine, had practised a firme league betwixt the Kings raigning then in Spaine, and himself, but with diuerse designs, wherein he assured himselfe that the King of Nauarre would bee faithfull, and furnish him with a good number of souldiars. As for him of Arragon, he embraced the league as it seemed with great affection, thinking hee could not then doe better, then to ioyne with the victorious King of Castile, and the English. To conclude this league, a day was appointed for the Deputies of all these Princes at Tarbes: in the meane time the treacheries of *D. Pedro* King of Castile, were so hatefull vnto the Prince of VVales, as he returned to Bourdeaux discontented. The Deputies of the Kings of Nauarre and Arragon, and of the Prince of VVales, came to Tarbes, at the day appointed, where there also arrived some from Castile. The dispositions of these Princes were such, as the King of Arragon would willingly haue ioyned with *D. Henry*, if hee had durst, but hee followed fortune: he of Nauarre was more inclined to the Prince of VVales, but whatsoeuer it were, euery one sought to make his profit of these troubles; and to draw some thing from Castile: the King of Arragon would haue Murcia, and some other townes: hee of Nauarre demanded the prouinces of Guipulcoo, and Alaua, namely Victoria, Sauueterre, Treuigno and many townes in Rioja: the Prince of VVales pretended Biscay, Caltro of Ordiales, and many other places, all promising to bandy themselves against *D. Henry*, and to stop his passage into Spaine, if these things were performed by *D. Pedro*: if not they were as ready to enter into league with *D. Henry*, if hee made them the like promises. Thus the Realme of Castile was set to sale. On the other side King *Edward*, father to the Prince of VVales, and the King of Arragon, had their practises apart to diuide the realme of Castile and Leon betwixt them, and to giue some part vnto the King of Nauarre. Thus these Princes laboured to diuide that betwixt them, which God had appointed for an other, and their propositions and disputes at Tarbes, were such and of so many things, as not able to conclude any thing, they referred their assembly to Oleron, where they did leave.

22 During these Negotiations, *D. Henry* entred with his French army into Arragon, which made euery one to thinke of his affaires, with *D. Henry* was *Bernard* bastard to the Earle of Foix, who had beene taken in the battaile of Nagera, and redeemed from the English: and although that the King of Arragon fought to diuert this passage, yet *D. Henry* wient his course, and by Nauarre also, finding not any opposition. Hauing past the river of Ebro with his whole army, marching in the country of Castile, hee fell on his knees, and making a crosse vpon the sand, hee iware, that no roile nor misfortune should euer make him goe out of Castile. Hee entred into Calaterra without contradiction, the eight and twentieth of September, this yeere of our Lord 1367, whether many Knights, Squiers and other men, came vnto him, flying the furie of the King *D. Pedro*.

Nauarre.

Second Em-  
erries D. Hen-  
ry  
betrothed of Ca-  
stile into  
Spaine.

Being

Being assured of Calaoorra, hee came to Logroño, where hee found great resistance, A wherefore hee past on by Rioja and Bureba, and came to Burgos, where the Inhabitants receiued him with great affection, and although the castle and the Iewes place made some resistance, yet he brought them to obedience and tooke within the castle D. James of Majorca, who defended it. Hee was sonne to the last King of Majorca, and had escaped from a hard prison, where hee had bene long detained in the new castle at Barcelona, since the yeere of our Lord 1362. then beeing come to Naples, hee had the happe to marrie Queene Ieanne of Naples, whom they called Duke of Calabria, and not King of Naples.

Many townes yielded vnto Don Henry in fewes daies, and about the beginning of the yeere of our Lord 1368. he got the city of Leon: wherefore hauing much blemished the name and authority of his aduersary in old Castile, hee marched with his army towards Toledo, which city hee besieged making a bridge of wood ouer the river of Tayo, to passe and repasse his army, as occasion should serue. The Inhabitants were desirous to receiue D. Henry, but for that Don Pedro held many of their men in hostage, fearing least hee should kill them, they durst not declare themselves. At this sege, the French Kings Ambassadors preuailed so with Don Henry, as hee sware to compromise the controuersies which hee had with the King of Arragon, hauing that charge from their maister, who desired to reconcile these two Princes: at this promise there were present Don Pedro of Arragon, the Kings vncl, the Archbishop of Toledo, Don Pedro Fernandes of Velsco, *Fernand Peres of Ayala*, *Diego Gomes of Toledo*, *Gonzal Mesjic of Pont*, and others. Don Pedro King of Castile hauing fortified and wanned the towne of Carmona, parted thence, to come to Eccia, hauing in his company Mahumet King of Granada, called the old, with all the forces of his Realme, consisting of seuen thousand horse, and foure score thousand foot, whereof twelue thousand were Crosse-bowes, or as some write thirtie thousand, to whom the King Don Pedro did ioyned fiftene hundred horse, and sixe thousand foote, of his subiects and partisans Spaniards; and with this army hee came and laied sege to Cordoua which had revolted: but not able to take it, after some sallies and encounters, the Moores returned to Granada, and the King Don Pedro to Seuille. Yet the King of Granada staid not long before hee returned to Ilen, the which hee tooke and burned, and came againe and camped before Cordoua, but hee dislodged soone, and went towards Vbeda, where hee did as hee had done at Ilen, and making his profit of these reuolts, hee tooke many other places, did great spoile in Andalusia, and carried away an infinite number of Christians prisoners. Whilest that Don Henry prest Toledo, the townes of Victoria, Salnatierra, Alaua, and Logroño, which held for the King Don Pedro, beeing tired with the continuall warre which the Guipulcoans, and others of their Neighbours (which held Don Henries partie) made against them, they yielded to Charles King of Nauarre.

In this reddition the King of Nauarre was much assisted by Don Tello, who held Biscay, and was then in bad termes with his brother Don Henry. They say that the Inhabitants of these townes hauing acquainted the King Don Pedro with their necessities, intreating him that hee would not take it ill, if they put themselves into the hands of the King of Nauarre, who was his friend and allie, hee willed them to hold out as long as they could, and when as they should bee no more able to defend themselves they should rather yeeld to Don Henry his brother, without diuiding themselves from the crowne of Castile, then vnto the King of Nauarre, who would dismember them from that body: moreover that hee had no reason to gratifie him, for hee had not receiued any assured succors from him. But it fell out otherwise, and the King of Nauarre was seized thereon, who to make money at that time, sold many preiudges to the townes of Nauarre, and among others to the towne of Viana hee sold the duty called Fousfadera, and sold them moreover the place called Agoncillo, and the Boroughs of Villicilla, and Lacagurria, with their appurtenances, for a certaine sum of money, by letters granted at Olite, the seventh of August, this yeere 1368.

In the meane time D. Henry continued his sege to Toledo, the losse whereof D. Pedro fearing

Army of the  
King D. Pedro.

Townes in  
Castile yeeld  
to the King  
of Nauarre.

A fearing, hee resolved to come and succour it and to raise the sege. Hauing therefore left D. Sancho and D. Diego, his base sonnes in Carmone, with great store of money and precious stones, and a good garrison, hee marched against the besiegers. Being vpon his march, hee receiued letters from *Aben-Hatin* the Moore, who foretold him of his approaching death: yet for all this hee staid not, leading in his army three thousand horse, whereof fiftene hundred were Moores, which the King of Granada had sent him. Being come to Montiel, and there making some stay, hee was abandoned by many of his men; whereof D. Henry being aduertised, hee thought it time to come to his last tryall, which of them two should raigne in Castile: wherefore hee left at the sege of Toledo D. *Gomes Stanriques*, Archbishop of that city, with most of his forces, and hee with three thousand horse went to encounter the King D. Pedro, being resolved to giue him battaile. He was ouertaken vpon the way in the towne of Orgaz, by *Bertrand* of Guefcilin, who being newly redeemed from the English, for tenne thousand pounds sterling, which the French King had paid, came to serue him in this conquest with sixe hundred launces. Being fortified with this troupe, D. Henry marched with all speed, and came to Montiel, whereof the King D. Pedro (who had no good spies) did not dreame, where as his men making a shew of fighting, beeing in tumult and confusion, (as men surprized) they were by the counsell of *Bertrand* of Guefcilin, sodainly charged with such fury, as they were all put to flight, abandoning their King, who seeing himselfe reduced to that extremity, shut himselfe into the castle of Montiel, which stands vpon the side of a hill, C about the towne.

*Martin Lopes* of Cordoua, captaine of the men which were within Carmone, was vpon the way to come and succor the King D. Pedro; but hearing of the defeat of those that were with him, and that he was shut vp into the castle of Montiel, he returned. The Earle D. Henry did presently cast a ditch about the towne and castle of Montiel, that his prey might not escape; but D. Pedro being besieged, and in want of all things fought to corrupt *Bertrand* of Guefcilin, by the meanes of *Men Rodriguez* of Sanabria, promising him the townes of Soria, Almacan, *Atiença*, Montagu, Bega and Seron, and moreover two hundred thousand doubloons of gold, if hee would undertake to set him in a place of safety: wherevnto *Bertrand* seeming to consent, he aduertised D. Henry, then hauing giuen an houre and place to *Men Rodriguez* (who was borne at Translamara) to bring forth the King, he came out of the castle in the night, hauing in his company D. *Fernand* of Castro, and D. *Diego Gonzales* of Ouiedo, and went all armed towards the lodging of *Bertrand* of Guefcilin, who came to meet him, and said vnto him, that it was time to spur; but as he was ready to goe to horse, hee was staid by some that followed *Bertrand*, and forced to come into his tent, where hee found D. Henry his brother, armed, who at the first sight did not know him; and beeing aduertised by them that were about him, that it was the King D. Pedro, his enemy, yet was hee in doubt, for hee had not scene him in many yeeres. The King D. Pedro seeing himselfe betrayed, transported with fury, began to cry out aloud, *I am, I am in deed D. Pedro*. Then D. Henry drawing out his dagger stabbed him in the face, the King grappled with him, and they both fell to the ground, but D. Henry vnderneath, who being help by *Bertrand* of Guefcilin, and others, freed himselfe, and got the King D. Pedro vnder him, whom hee slue with his dagger. Thus D. Pedro King of Castile ended his daies miserably, for his excesses and tyrannies; fulfilling the prediction of the Monke of St. Dominike of Calzada, whom hee caused to be burned, and of the Philosopher *Aben-Hatin*. His death was in the yeere 1368. the two and thirtieth of March, for the which many blame *Bertrand* of Guefcilin, as hauing falsified his faith and promise to set him in a place of safety: others discharge him, saying, that the King D. Pedro despaiying, came and put himselfe rashly into his enemies hands. His body was interred in the Monastery of Saint Dominike the Roial at Madrid. Hee had F reigned nineteene yeers, and died beginning the fise and thirtieth of his age.

The King D.  
Pedro force  
told his death.

Defeat of the  
King D. Pedro  
men.

*Bertrand* of  
Guefcilin be  
trains the  
King D. Pedro.

D. Henry ba-  
rard of Castile  
kils the King  
D. Pedro.

D. Fernand

D. Fernand alone of that name, ninth King  
of Portugal.

Portugal

23 **D**uring the warres of the two Princes of Castile, brethren, we doe not read that D. Pedro king of Portugal tooke part with either of them. He died in the yeere 1367, the seuen and forty of his age, hauing reigned almost eleuen yeere. To which Realme succeeded D. Fernand his sonne, being at his coronation fixe and twentie yeere old, and some monethes, in whom the direct and lawfull line of D. Henry of Beſançon, or of Lorraine, failed, as shal appeere. He was present in the towne of Estremos, when as his father died, and was there acknowledged, and proclaimed King, taking an oth from such of his subiects as were then present.

Arragon.

D. Pedro King of Arragon, hearing the successe of D. Henries victory, began to feare him, sending Francis of Perillos and James Elſaro Ambassadors into France, who procured an offensive and defensive league, the French King promising to aide him of Arragon, in his warres of Sardyina, yea and against D. Henry, if hee did not referre vnto him the question for the realme of Murcia, and other lands promised, as hee had informed him. And for that the warres betwixt the French and English were reuiued, Francis of Perillos being held the best captaine at sea in his time, was granted vnto the French king, who entertained him, notwithstanding that the King of Arragon his maister, had great need of him, for the warres of Sardyina, the which was continually entertained, by Marin Judge of Arborea, who this yeere had taken many places from the Arragonois, and defeated in a fallie which he made, being besieged in the castle of Oristagno, the army of Arragon, commanded by D. Pedro of Luna and his sonne, the which did so disquiet the King, as hee refused to goe thither in person: but new affaires hindered him, for he was intruded from the county of Rossillon by some Frenchmen, who notwithstanding were but vagabond troupes, running vp and downe the country without warrant: and he was also kept backe by the controuersies which he had with the new King of Castile: wherefore he sent D. Berenger of Carrozo, Earle of Quirra, thither with an army, yet giuing it still out that he should goe thither himselfe, keeping the Standard royal displayed on the top of the castle of Barcelona; after the accustomed manner, in signe that the King would goe to the warre: the which kept these seditious people somewhat in awe. Hee caused an Edict to bee published, by the which hee granted respight to all that were indebted, and repeale for banished men that were of Sardyina. Being come to Valence, he made his sonne D. Martin Seneschall of Cattelogne, who commanded ouer all armes, vnting vnto that dignity that of the Constable of the realme, as well on this side, as beyond the seas: and then it was decreed, that from that time the children of the Kings or Princes of Arragon should be called to that degree.

The end of the fifteenth Booke.

THE



THE SIXTEENTH BOOKE  
of the Generall History of Spaine.

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of

of Castile, of the Realme of Portugal, in the hereditary right of D. Beatrix his wife. D. John A Maister of Auiç, called to the Government, and the exploits of warre betwixt the Castilians, and Portugals.

- 22 Bad designes of Charles King of Nauarre, to free his sonne, being prisoner in France: his liberty by the bounty of the princes of France.  
23 Continuance of the war of Portugal. Election of D. Iohn Maister of Auiç to the crowne of Portugal, battaile of Aljubarroze, and defeat of the Castilians.

In this sixteenth Booke mention is made  
of the Kings.

- 15 D. Henry of Castile,  
16 D. Iohn his sonne,  
36 of Leon, second of that name.  
37 of Leon, first of that name.



D. Henry, called de la Merced the fifteenth King  
of Castile, and fixe and thirty of Leon.



I  
Castile.

D. Henry first  
named Iu:  
Gratiouſe.

After the death of the King D. Pedro, the Realmes of Castile and Leon, remained to D. Henry, without any great difficulty. He got by his vertue and mildnesse, what his brother had lost by his pride and cruelty. Hee was a friend to the vertuous, nobly minded, bountifull, valiant, and strong of his person, although he were but of a small stature: He was turnamed the liberall, or gratiouſe, by reason of the bounty he shewed to them that had serued him. The greatnesse and good fortune of this King was suspected vnto the Kings of Nauarre and Arragon, who made a league this yeere,

restoring one vnto an other certaine townes and castles, that is, Arragon deliuered to Nauarre, Herrera of Monçayo: and Nauarre to Arragon Saluatierra and Real, they pacified the controuersies which were betwixt them of Sanguessa and Real, by a definitive sentence of Merins and Gouernors of Tudelo and Saragoffa: Queene Jeanne gouerning the realme of Nauarre, and dealing in all these affaires, in the absence of King Charles her husband, who was gone into France, vpon the reuiuing of the warre betwixt the French and English, that same yeere, Nauarre and Arragon, began then to make many practises with the Kings of Portugal and England to dispossesse the King D. Henry of his new conquest, in the which Carmona in Andalusia, Zamore and Ciudad Roderigo in Castile, with a good part of Galicia, refused to obey him, al the rest acknowledging him for King. For Toledo, as soone as D. Pedros death was knowne yielded: Seuille opened her gates, the castle of Montiel was deliuered him, where and in other places, hee sold great store of treasure, jewels, silks, tapstries & other rich mouables of the deceased King. The townes of Logrogno, Victoria, Saluatierra of Alaua, and St. Cruz of Campeçeo, were yielded to the king of Nauar: & he of Arragon had seized on Molina, Cagnet & Requena, hauing corrupted Garcia of Vera, and Aluar Russ of Espejo, captains of these places. D. Henry sought to make some accord with the of Carmona, demanding fideship and

A and offering a truce to the King of Granada; the which the King of Castile had stier done, but he could not effect it. Mahomet the Old, King of Granada, answered, that hee would be a friend to the King D. Pedro dead, as hee had beene in his life time: wherefore the King leauing good order vpon that frontier, and appointing D. Gonçalo Mexia, maister of the Knights of Saint Iames, Gouernor thereof, with other Noblemen and Captaines, he parted from Seuille, to cometo Toledo. Then he caused a certaine coine to be made, called croyscz, of the value of a marauedis, and an other kinde called rials, of the value of foure maraudis. Every maraudis in those times being worth ten of the lesser at this daie.

Truce offered  
by the King  
D. Henry, and  
refused by  
him.

Henry current  
in Castile.

The first that began to quarrel with him for the succession of the realme, was D. Ferdinand King of Portugal, who pretended to be lawfull heire, as Grandchild to D. Beatrix of Castile, daughter to D. Sancho the Braue: he was animated, in this ambition, by the Inhabitants of Zamore and Ciudad Roderigo, frontier townes of Portugal, who would not acknowledge D. Henry, but called in D. Fernand to raigne ouer them, as it seemed all the country of Galicia had the like intent, the towne of Corunna (commonly called the Groine) hauing voluntarily subiected it selfe to the king of Portugal. To prevent which inconueniences, the king D. Henry marched with a great army towards Zamore, to beseege it, but finding it strong and well manned, he past on into Galicia; D. Fernand finding himselfe inferior, both in number of men, in valour, and in experience of warre, vnto D. Henry, would not attend him, but imbarked, and returned into his country by sea, leauing a good garrison in the Groine. The King D. Henry, accompanied by Bertrand of Guefcin, entred into Portugal, betwixt the riuers of Duero and Minio, where he tooke Braga and Bragança, and ouerrun all that country, in view of the enemies, who durst not present themselves in battaile, and had done worse, if he had not bene called backe, by the newes which he receiued of the Moores attempts, and of the taking of Algezire, by the King of Granada, who hauing intelligence with the King of Portugal, had beseeged, taken and razed this place, euen vnto the ground, in hatred of the great losses, which the Moores his predecessors and their confederats had receiued by reason thereof. At that time there reigned at Fez, in Affrike, and in Algarue, or the plaines of Affrike, a prince of the race of the Merins, called Abasfer Andelaziz, to whom the Kings of Arragon and Granada (hauing conspired against D. Henry) sent their Ambassadors, in the yeere 1370. to treat a peace, and league with him, the which they did for fūe yeeres: and in the mean timethe King of Granada ceased not to annoy the country of Andalusia, and to doe all the spoile he could, giuing it out that it was in fauor and aide of D. Pedros children, who were in Carmona well manned and fortified.

Zamore and  
Ciudad Roderigo  
rise contrary  
to the King D.  
Henry.

Moorish tale  
Algezire.

An. 1370.

The King D. Henry went to field against this Moore, who in passing attempted Ciudad Roderigo, but he could not take it. Being come to Medina del Campo, where the Estates were assembled, he was assisted with great summes of money, wherewith hee contented strangers which had serued him: and withal hee receiued for the ranſome of D. James of Majorca, who had bene taken in the castle of Burgos, 70000. ducats, paid by Queene Jeanne of Naples his wife. They hold, that Bertrand of Guefcin and others receiued there aboute fixe score thousand doubloons, besides the townes and places which hee gaue them; as to Guefcin the townes of Soria, Almazan, Atienza, Montague and Seron, and moreouer the Siegneury of Molina, which the King of Arragon held, that hee might breed a iarre betwixt them. There Bertrand of Guefcin took his leaue, and returned into France, where he was made Constable, and managed the warre against the English. The King D. Henry being come into Andalusia, hee was to arme himselfe against the Moores, against them of Carmona, & against the gallies of Portugal, who did trouble that coast, stoping the mouth of the riuier of Guadalquivir, so as the towne of Seuille was much annoyed. The King was nothing well provided of gallies & ships of warre, yet he gaue such order, as in a short time he had a good army made ready in Biscay and Guipuscoa, whereby the sea was assured; the Generall of this armie, was called Pero Gonçales of Aguero. During these actions, D. Tello the Kings brother, being reconciled, and left by him in Galicia, to make head against the Portugals, died, and was buried at Saint Francis of Palencia, the Siegneuries of Biscay

Castile.





these places by force: so as Saluaterra of Alaua and Saint Croix were reduced vnder A  
his obedience: but Victoria and Logrogno remained in the custody of D. John Ramirez  
of Arcellan. King Charles complained to Pope Gregory the eleventh, at Auignon, of this  
excesse done by the King D. Henry, then he came with all speed into his Realme of Na-  
uarre, to defend it against the army of the King D. Henry, who threatened to enter into  
his country, if hee did not restore him the townes of Logrogno and Victoria. King  
Charles gaue him to vnderstand, that seeing it had bene agreed to put their controuer-  
sies to compromise to the Pope, who had sent a Legat into Spaine, which was Car-  
dinal Guy of Bologno, Bishop of Portuense, that (for his part) hee was well content hee  
should determine thereof, the which the King D. Henry did also yeeld vnto: wherefore B  
the Legat being come to Saint Dominike, and hauing bene made acquainted with the  
the Legat being come to Saint Dominike, and hauing bene made acquainted with the  
contrights and pretensions of both Kings, hee made a peace betwixt them, vpon these con-  
ditions: That the townes of Logrogno and Victoria, should be restored to the King of  
Castile: That the Infant D. Charles, eldest sonne to the King of Nauarre, should take  
to wife Donna Leonora Infanta of Castile, daughter to D. Henry, with a dowry of  
a hundred thousand doubloons at the celebration of the marriage: and moreover be-  
sides the said summe, King Henry should pay at the same time, twenty thousand doub-  
lons to the King of Nauarre, for his charges during the time he had held the said places:  
That for assurance of the accomplishment of this marriage, the Infant D. Pedro, the  
younger sonne of Nauarre, should remaine in hostage in Castile, in the hands of C  
the Queene D. Jeanne, vntill that the two Kings met at Briona, where they did confirme what had  
things thus determined, the two Kings met at Briona, where they did confirme what had  
bene formerly concluded, being come into Nauarre, hee presently sent his sonne D.  
Charles to bee made sure to the Infanta D. Leonora, who came to Briona, well accom-  
panied by the chiefe Noblemen of Nauarre, where this ceremony was done with  
great pompe: the townes of Victoria and Logrogno, were restored, and after the re-  
turne of the Infant D. Charles, D. Pedro his brother was sent vnto the Queene of Castile,  
to remaine there in hostage, according to the accord.

The King of Nauarre hauing giuen order for this businesse, hee examined their as-  
sions, which had gouerned his Realme during his absence; and hauing found that some  
faults had bene committed by the Bishop of Pampelone, and the Deane of Tudelo,  
whom he had left for counsellors to the Queene his wife, they fearing to bee punished,  
absented themselves. The Bishop tooke his way to Rome, where hee arrived safely, and  
there ended the remainder of his daies; but as for the Deane, who sought to saue himself  
in Castile, he was pursued, and taken nere vnto Logrogno, and there slaine by the Kings  
commandment. Soone after Queen Jean returned into France, where she liued not long.

4. About the end of this yeere 1373, the King D. Charles and his eldest sonne, came to  
Madrid to see the King D. Henry, whom the King of Nauarre let vnderstand, that to  
auoide a great trouble in his affaires, which might grow by the meanes of Edward King  
of England, and Edward Prince of Wales his sonne, he should embrace their friendship, E  
the which he had charge to offer him, vpon conditio he should breake the league hee had  
with the French king, their enemy, in regard whereof they promised to giue no aide vnto  
the daughters of the deceased King D. Pedro, who were in England, making great surety  
to King Edward, and to the Prince of Wales, to restore them to their fathers inheri-  
tance: and moreover that John Duke of Lancaster had married D. Constance the one  
of them, by reason whereof he pretended the Realme of Castile to belong vnto him, as  
holding the place of the eldest, being declared lawfull, and receiued in that quality by the  
Estates of the realme, her sister, D. Beatrice being dead. Al which pretensions should bee  
relinquished by the English, if he left the alliance of France, & paid a certaine sum  
of money vnto the Prince of Wales, the which the D. Pedro his brother did owe him. F  
The King of Nauarre propounded these things, as hauing charge from the English Princes,  
who were enemies to France, whose party he had alwaies held, for the wrongs which hee  
pretended had bene done him by the French King his brother in law: giuing many  
reasons, to induce the King D. Henry to incline to this party; but hee (who held not the  
crown of Castile of any other after God, but of the French) would not thinke him-  
selfe thank-  
ed.

A confie-  
ment of the  
and Nauarre.

The King of  
Nauarre let  
to see the  
King of Castile  
from the  
friendship of  
France, to  
knowe what  
the English.

A vntankfull, but answered resolutely, that he would neuer quit the friendship of France:  
but if the question were to disburse money to content the English, that he was well con-  
tent to do it: the which the King of Nauarre sayd was not sufficient, and that hee must  
necessitie breake the League he had with France, but if he held it not fit to do, hee intrea-  
ted him not to take in ill part what he had sayd vnto him, seeing hee had it in charge from  
the King of England, to whom he was bound to do all good offices. The King Don Hen-  
ry thanked him for the paines he had taken, to come so farre into Castile, saying, that he  
could not take that ill which he had spoken, but (for his part) he would persist in his first re-  
solution: so as the King of Nauarre returned into his Realme, and the King Don Henry  
into Andalusia.

B The King of Nauarre aduertised the English Princes of the answer he had receiued, the  
which did much discontent them: for the king of Castile did much ballance their affaires,  
by the succours he gaue by sea vnto the French, hauing sent a good number of ships of  
warre, vnder the command of Ambrose Bocanegra a Genouois, his Admirall, who stopped  
the passage in such sort betwixt France and England, as besides many small prizes which  
he had taken, hee defeated a fleet of English, about that time, and tooke fixe and thirty  
of their vessels neere vnto Rochel; by which victorie Rochel came vnder the obedience of  
the French king, and the greatest part of the prey and prisoners were carried into Spaine,  
among the which was the Earle of Pembroke Generall of the army. Besides which suc-  
cours, the king Don Henry being come from Burgos to Saint Ander, he sent Don Ray  
Diaz of Rojas into the Prouince of Guipulcoa, to make ready a new army of 40. ships,  
the which he sent soone after vnder the command of the same Ray Diaz to the French K.  
who came to Rochel, and hauing ioyned with a French Captaine called John Calais, who  
had about twenty Barkes, all together came and set vpon another fleet of English, whom  
they likewise put to rout, and then Don Ray Diaz returned a victor into Spaine: so as  
the English had reason to feele to diuide the king of Castile, from him of France, and to draw  
him vnto their partie. Pope Gregorie the eleventh presumed to interpose his authoritie in  
these Princes quarrels, the which did not please them. Hauing made an accord betwixt  
the Kings of Castile and Nauarre, he would also reconcile the controuerfies that were  
D betwixt Castile and Arragon, and to this end hee sent the Cardinall of Cominges into  
Spaine, who prest the two Kings to send their Deputies to debate their cause before him.  
Don Henry named for his part the bishop of Burgos, and Don Aluiz Garcia of Albornoz  
Lord Steward of his house: the king of Arragon deputed the bishop of Lerida, and Don  
Raymond Alam in Cernillon, who agreed that the Colledge of Cardinals should determine  
this controuersie. But these Princes being better aduised, that it was not fit their quarrels  
should be decided by the Court of Rome, they tooke a better course to agree betwixt  
themselves. The towne of Tuy which had for many months refused to obey D. Henry,  
now submitted about this peace of Arragon.

But the warre was renewed betwixt Castile and Portugal, by reason of many prizes ta-  
ken in the port of Lisbonne, and at sea, of ships and merchants of Biscay, Guipulcoa and  
Afluria: and also for that the King Don Fernando gaue a retreat vnto the banished men of  
Castile, concerning matters of State; and also that hee had contemned the marriage con-  
cluded betwixt him and Donna Leonora of Castile, to marrie Donna Leonora Telles of  
Meneses, Niece to the Earle of Barcelos, a Lady of great beautie, but much inferior in  
quality to the Infanta Donna Leonora of Castile, and Donna Leonora of Arragon, whom  
he might haue had with great profit to his Realme, and to himselfe honour. Hee contem-  
ned these marriages, which had bene very beneficiall to himselfe, and to his Realme of  
Portugal, to marrie this Ladie, offending God and all good lawes: for he tooke her vio-  
lently from her husband Laurence Vasques of Acugna, forcing him to flee into Castile,  
F where hee past the remainder of his dayes in exile, carrying commonly hornes of siluer on  
his hat, to witnesse the lust and infamy of his Prince; yet I come, to excuse this fact, write,  
that the king caused this marriage to be dissolved by the Popes authoritie, as vnlawfull,  
by reason of the neerenesse of consanguinitie: of the which (notwithstanding) there was  
issued one sonne, called Aluaro of Acugna. The king was made sure vnto her in the pre-  
sence of the Earle of Barcelos, and a sister of hers, called Don Mary, who had mannaged  
this

Don Henry K.  
of Castile  
sits in the am-  
bly of France.

Rochel yielded  
to the French.

Portugal.

5.  
Marriage un-  
lawfull of the  
king of Portu-  
gal, taking a-  
way his wife  
from his wife.

Tumult at Lisbon for the kings marriage.

this marriage, and to whom the king had imparted his lous. When this marriage was published in Lisbon, the inhabitants incensed (that the king had left so profitable and honorable a marriage, as that of Castile) began to mutine, and having taken *Fernand Vasques* of Acugna for their Captaine, they sent 300. armed men about the kings pallace, and gaue the king to vnderstand in the behalfe of the city, that hee should leaue this woman, else they would take her, and do vnto her as their Predecessors had done to the king *D. Sancho Capello* in the like case. The king fearing the furie of this multitude, answered them mildly, that in what they did, they were good subiects, being iealous of his honour, and thanked them for their good will: but he let them vnderstand, that *D. Leonora Telles* was not his married wife, and intreated them to retire vntill the next day, when he would talke to them more amply of that businesse, in the Monasterie of *S. Dominicke*. This blaine being blowne ouer, the king parted by night out of Lisbon, and carried *D. Leonora Telles* with him into the countrie betwixt Duero and Minio: and retiring towards Porto, he lodged neere vnto it in the Monasterie of *Leza*, where he married this Lady publicly, not caring how his subiects tooke it. He commanded that all men should acknowledge her, and call her Queene, and gaue her the townes of *Almadra*, *Sintra*, *Torresvedras*, *Atogna*, *Quiedos*, *Alanguier*, *Abrantes*, *Villa viciosa*, and many other places. All in the end yielded to it without murmuring, seeing it was the kings pleasure, and *D. Leonora* had the title of Queene given her by all men, but by *D. Denis* the kings brother, who would neuer kisse her hand, saying, That it was her duty to kisse his: whereat the King *D. Fernand* was so incensed, as if *Don Denis* had not retired presently by the meanes of those that were then present, he had stab'd him with his dagger: for this cause the Infant retired himselfe for euer after into Castile. When as *D. Leonora Telles* saw her selfe installed Queene, she made a diligent search who had bin the chiefe motiues of the mutiny at Lisbon, and vnderstanding that they were of the family of *Vasques* of Acugna, she ceased not to pursue them with a deadly hatred, vntill she had forced many of them to flee into Castile.

Genealogie of Portugal.

Of this marriage betwixt the king *D. Fernand* and *D. Leonora Telles* issued *D. Beatrice*, who was married to *D. John* the first King of Castile, borne at Coimbra, and afterwards a son and a daughter who died yong: some Authors hold, that they were borne in aduentic, committed by the Queene with *D. John Fernandes* of Andeiro, a knight of Galicia, borne at Corunna. Moreover the king before this marriage, had a daughter called *D. Isabel*. The king *D. Henry* hauing these causes of discontent against the king of Portugal, he gaue him to vnderstand by his ambassadors, that he could not take it in good part, that he had retired his rebellious subiects, of which he demanded some: and moreover, that he should deliuer the ships and merchants of *Asturia*, *Biscay*, & *Guipuscoa* with their goods, which he had taken and stayed: whereof the King *D. Fernand* made no accompt, wherefore the king of Castile prepared to armes. *Diego Lope Pacheco* a knight of Portugal, was then in Castile, who was retired thither, by reason of the death of *D. Agnes* of Castro, by the fury of the king *D. Pedro*: and had bin so fauored by the king *D. Henry*, as he had got great reuenues & honors. This Knight had left many friends in Portugal, by whose means he was aduertised of all that was done in *D. Fernand's* Court: and as he was a most affectionate seruant to the king of Castile, so he sought to draw vnto him all those that were valiant in Portugal: and if any one were persecuted, he perswaded him to come into Castile, declaring vnto them the bountie of the king *D. Henry*. He had had intelligence of all that had past touching the marriage of *D. Leonora Telles*, and of the discontent betwixt the King and his brother *D. Denis*, and them of the house of Acugna, and the city of Lisbon: wherefore embracing these occasions fir for the war, which was like to grow betwixt these two kings, *Diego Lope Pacheco* wrought so, as he drew *D. Denis* to come and put himselfe vnder the protection of the king *D. Henry*, & entertained by all means such Gentlemen as were ill affected to their King, to be reuenged of the wrongs he had done them. Matters being thus prepared, and the ambassador being returned, who had bin sent to summon the king *D. Fernand* to deliuer the banished men which he had in his Realm, & to make restitution of the prizes which had bin taken by him, the king *D. Henry* entred into Portugal with an army, and hauing sent *D. Alphonso* his son to Coimbra (a castle in Galicia where the banished men had fortified themselves) the place was taken.

War betwixt the King and Portugal.

The

A The king on his side seized of *Almorda*, *Panel*, *Cillonico* and *Linares*, and there *Don Denis* ioyined with him, with other Noblemen of Portugal, who were liberally intreated, and much honoured. Pope *Gregorie* the eleuenth residing in *Auignon*, hearing of the troubles betwixt these two kings, was carefull (like a good pastor) to send a Legat, which was Cardinal *Guy* of Bologno, with full authoritie to reconcile them. But before that hee could draw the parties to any friendly composition, the king *Don Henry* made a new entrie, tooke *Viseo*, and ranne vp the countrie as farre as *S. Iren*, finding no resistance: for *Don Fernand* was not so able to maintain a quarrell, as he was ready to breed one: wherefore keeping himselfe within *Saint Iren*, the king *Don Henry* had the passage free and open to go vnto Lisbon, where he spoyle and burnt the lower part of the towne, as the new street, and some other places, for that he neither found walles, nor any resistance the quarter called *Sus*, held good, being walled in, and well manned; for all the inhabitants were retired thither: during the which, the sea-armie of Castile entred into the mouth of the riuer, which is large and spacious, where they did not onely recouer the ships of *Biscay*, and others which had bene taken; but many vessels of all sorts, which were fit for seruice, were carried away by the Castilians, and the rest burnt. In the meane time the Legat laboured what he could to end these miseries, wherein he prevailed so much, as hee reduced the two kings to a peace, the which was concluded to the great aduantage of the king of Castile, after which the kings met neere vnto *Saint Iren*, either of them in a barke vpon the riuer of *Tayo*, where they finished their accord and capitulations: among the which there was a marriage concluded betwixt *Donna Beatrice*, sister to the king *D. Fernand*, and *Don Sancho* Earle of *Albuquerque*, brother to the king of Castile, and of *Donna Izabella* base daughter to the king *Don Fernand*, and *Don Alphonso* Earle of *Gijon*, base sonne to the king *Don Henry*. The marriage betwixt *Don Sancho* and *Donna Beatrice* was celebrated; the places taken were restored, the peace was proclaimed, and the king of Castile returned into his countrie, leading his daughter-in-law *Donna Izabella* with him, being but eight yeares old, who was afterwards married to the Earle of *Gijon*, to his great griefe.

Lisbon spoiled and burnt by the King of Castile.

Peace betwixt Castile and Portugal.

The quarrells betwixt Castile and Arragon, being not well ended, they were forced to come to a new compromise, wherein the Duke of Anjou brother to the French king was a dealer, but with so bad successe, as he became enemy to the King of Arragon. At that time were celebrated the marriages of *D. John D.* of Gironne, the heire of Arragon, and *Martha* daughter to the Earle of *Armaignac*, who had siterne thousand pounds sterling in dowrie: and of *Don Martin* of Arragon, the Kings youngest sonne, with *Donna Mary*, daughter to *Don Lopes* Earle of *Luna*, and Lord of *Segorbe*. The same yeare 1372. *Don Pedro* king of Arragon finding too late, how easie he had bene to beleue false reports, and repenting himselfe of the vnworthie death of *Bernard* of Cabrera, hee restored his Grand-child *Bernardin*, sonne to *Bernardin* of Cabrera, to all his goods, except the Earldome of *Vic*, which he kept to himselfe. The father of this young Nobleman dyed in Castile, in the seruice of the king *Don Henry*, notwithstanding that hee had sought his fathers death. There were this yeare seene in Arragon horrible Earthquakes, with the ruins of mountaines about *Ribagorza*, where as many villages were ouerthrowne, and great multitudes of people perished.

Castile.

In Castile the king *Don Henry* was prest by *Donna Maria* of Lara, Countesse of *Alencon*, to do her right for the Lordships of *Biscay* and *Lara*: she had many sons which were all aduanced in France: the first was Earle of *Alencon*, the second of *Edampes*, the third of *Perch*, and two of the Church. The king *Don Henry* made answer, that he should send him two other sonnes to remaine in Spaine, and that he would giue the Lordship of *Biscay* to the one, and that of *Lara* to the other. He presumed that he could not do it all her children being so well aduanced in France, and for some other reasons.

Biscay belongs to the house of Alencon.

F *Edward* king of England, and his sonne *John* Duke of Lancaster, (who intitled himselfe King of Castile and Leon, in the right of his wife *Donna Constance*, daughter to the king *Don Pedro* the Cruel) sent Ambassadors to the king of Arragon, in the yeare 1373. to treat a League with him: being resolved to send a great army into Castile; to conquer that Realme, whereof the Duke of Lancaster should be General, as belonging to his wife: offering

1373. Pretensions of John Duke of Lancaster to Castile.

offering great conditions to the king of Arragon, if he would adhere to their partie. The A king of Arragon demanded the Realme of Murcia, the townes of Requena, Oriol, Moya, Cagnete, the city of Cuenca, and the Segneurie of Molina, with other places vpon the frontier of Castile, whereof he held some: but hoping he should haue a better composition with the king D. Henry, he kept himselfe betwixt both, being doubtfull what to do, so as nothing was concluded for that time with the ambassadors of England.

During these reuolutions in Spaine in temporall affaires, religion was managed by diuers sects of Monkes, especially by the begging Friars of Saint *Dominick* and Saint *Francis*, who this year incensed the people against a new Order which had risen in Spaine in the time of the king Don *Pedro*, through the deuout ignorance of certaine Italians of *Sienna*, religious Hermits, who had heard one of their companions, called Friar *Thomas*, say dying, by a Prophetical spirit, sayd they, that within few dayes the holy Ghost should come into Spaine, and that he had this by reuelation: wherefore all these religious men thinking that the holy Ghost did not frequent much in Italy in those times, and that it was something which they must seeke farre off in a strange country: they left Italy, and came into the countrie of *Toledo*, hoping to get the grace of the holy Ghost, and thereby saue their soules.

The fame of these men being spread ouer Spaine, a bishop of *Iaen* called D. *Alphonso Pechas*, and Don *Pero Fernand Pechas* his brother, Chamberlaine to the king Don *Pedro*, *Hernando Ianes* Chanoine of *Toledo*, and chiefe Chaplaine of the chappell of the auncient Kings, with many other Christians, commending the resolution of these Friars, and their ignorance, being desirous to liue in that contemplation, ioyned with them, leaving Bishopricks, Chanonries, Benefices and Estates, and chusing their aboads in caues and woods farre from the societie of men, where they began to liue a wonderfull austere life, saying, that it was according to the rule of Saint *Paul*, that they must suffer many discomforts, to liue like Christians, and that it was the meanes to gaine Paradise. This sect being in great esteeme, the begging Friars began to blame the people for following of these men, who had no settled Order nor discipline among them, and (which did more import) had no approbation from the Pope. For these reasons the inconstant multitude began to retire themselves, and to abate much of their deuotion, which these good Hermits finding, to their great grieve, they tooke counsell among themselves to send vnto the Pope, to get authority from him for a name, rule, profession, order, and aboad. The messengers were Friar *Peter Fernandez* of *Guadajara*, and Friar *Peter Romaine* of their company: who being come before the Pope, exposed their deuotion vnto him, their manner of life, exercises in religion, their meanes and merits, beseeching him that he would bee pleased to approoue their Order and profession, giuing them for Patron the great Doctor Saint *Ierome*, to whome all were most addicted.

The Pope made no difficultie to allow of them, having had some former information of that which they had sayd, appointing them to liue vnder the rule of S. *Augustine*, hee prescribed what manner of garment they should weare, and sent backe these Deputies into Spaine, with Bulls, in October, 1373. By this approbation from the Pope, these Monkes crept into credit, and did build their first conuent in a place called *Lupiana*, in the Archbishopricke of *Toledo*, two leagues from *Guadalajara*, dedicating it to Saint *Basilianus*, the which was since the chiefe of the Order: the Prior of which Monasterie is General of the Order for three yeares, and is bound to reside in that Monasterie during his charge. Since by the bounty of the Princes of Spaine, these Hermits haue built many Conuents, and haue greatly enlarged their possessions. Their exercise is more in singing then studying, the which they do neglect expressly, to the end they might not be diuerted from their simple contemplation, notwithstanding there haue bene some great Preachers found among them, and men of vnderstanding in great affaires of State.

Returning to politicke worldly affaires, the king D. *Henry* being aduertised of the praides betwixt the English and the king of Arragon, he sought to entertain the hope of compromise propounded by the Cardinall *Gay* of *Bologne*, who by the Popes commandement, was a mediator to make this peace. In the meane time hee had intelligence with *Lewis* Duke of *Aniou*, Governor of *Languedoc*; and concluded, that hee should

preffe

A preffe the English towards Bayone, and the duke of *Aniou* vpon the limits of his gouernement, and then hauing ioyned their forces together, they should annoy them all they could in *Guienne*: for he had intelligence that *John* Duke of *Lancaster* had imparted his enterprises, and ioyned his forces with those of *John* of *Montfort* Duke of *Brittaine*, making preparation to enter into Castile: the which he thought fit to prevent, and to assaile him in *Guienne*, whilst that *Philip* the Hardy, Duke of *Bourgogne*, and brother to the French king, made warre against the English in *Artois* and *Vermandois*: and to this effect the king D. *Henry* gaue order to rayse an armie in *Rioja*. Whilst that the troupes were leuying, the Court being at *Burgos*, there fell a quarrell betwixt the seruants of D. *Sancho* Earle of *Albuquerque*, the kings brother, and them of D. *Pedro* *Gonzales* of *Mendoza* for their lodgings, whether the Earle running to pacifie this broyle, (whereof neither hee, nor D. *Pedro* were guilty) he was thrust through with a lance and flaine, by one that knew him not. The killing parting from *Burgos*, came to *Rioja*, where hauing mustred his army, he found 6200. horse, whereof 1200. were Genets, with the which hee past to Bayone, being assured by the Duke of *Aniou*, that he would come and ioine with him. And to keepe the king of Arragon in awe, Don *Iames* Infant of *Majorca*, husband to *Jeanne* Queene of *Naples*, was come to *Narbonne* with good troupes, threatening to enter into *Catallogne*.

The K. D. *Henry* passing by *Alaua* and *Guipuscoa*, entred into the territorie of Bayone, where he found no great resistance, for the armie of English, which had bene hotly pursued by the Duke of *Bourgogne*, being come to *Bordeaux*, was much diminished. There he staid some dayes for the Duke of *Aniou*, hauing sent *Pero Fernandez* of *Velasco*, his Lord Chamberlaine, and Don *John Ramires* of *Ateilan*, to hasten him: but they found him busied in taking of townes and castles from the English, some by force, some by composition, so as the king Don *Henry* returned with his army into Spaine, hauing done no great exploit.

Passing through *Guipuscoa*, Don *Bertrand* of *Gueuara*, Lord of *Ognate*, who had done him great seruice, made sute vnto him to giue him the towne of *Mondragon*, whereof the Inhabitants being aduertised, they sent their Deputies to informe the king what wrong he should do himselfe, if hee should alienate such a place from the Crown, the which (besides the great commerce, by reason of the forges of Iron and Steele, which were continually set a worke thereabouts) was a sort of great consequence, vpon the which there might be many destinies made: for the Castell (which was then entire) was impregnable: beseeching him to be an eye witness, and to passe by the place, remembering that the Inhabitants of *Mondragon* had bene alwaies faithfull vnto him, and that during the warres betwixt him, and the King Don *Pedro*, they had alwaies followed his partie. The king promised to passe by their towne, wherefore the Inhabitants thereof, and of the countrie thereabouts beganne to make the lower way, which goes from that towne to *Ognate*, whereas before they were forced to passe the mountaine called *Baque*, to the end the King should not be tyred with passing ouer it. This passage is at this day called *Euripide*, a corrupted word, in sted of *Erreguevide*, the which in that countrie language signifies a way for the king.

The King Don *Henry* hauing viewed the situation of the towne and fort, with the commodities thereof, and considered of the Inhabitants reasons, he would not yeeld vnto the petition of Don *Bertrand* of *Gueuara*, but he gaue him in recompence the valley of *Le-niz*, with all iurisdiction, both ciuill and criminall. This valley was wont to depend vpon *Mondragon*, but then it was taken from it, and the sayd *Bertrand*, and his successors haue enjoyed it for the space of an hundred, fourescore, and two yeares, or thereabouts, vnto the year 1556. when it was vniued vnto the Crowne, by a decree of the Kings Councell of Castile. The king parting from *Mondragon*, returned to *Burgos*, from whence hee past to *Leon*, and then to *Seuille*.

Whilst that the king of Arragon was attentiu to the warre against the English, the Infant Don *Iames* of *Majorca*, husband to the Queene of *Naples*, entred into *Catallogne* with fiftene hundred lances; being assisted by the Kings of France and Castile, and by the Duke of *Aniou*, where hee did much harme. On the other side *Bernard* bastard of

Foix,

Arragon.

8.

Preparation  
John Duke  
of Lancaster  
and John  
of Montfort  
Duke of  
Brittaine.

D. Henry of  
Castile enters  
Guienne with  
an army against  
the English.

7.  
Order of Saint  
Ierome in Spain

Approbation  
of the Order  
of S. Ierome  
by the Pope.













Don *John Alphonso Telles*, to be Admirall of the Realme: an other brother called *D. A. Gonçalo Telles*, was at her request made Earle of Neyua. To the Earle of Barcelos son, he procured the suruivance of his fathers Estate, in the same country or gouernment of *Barcelos*: a brother of hers was made Earle or Gouernor of Viane, and *D. Henry* her brother in law, Earle of Seaa. To *D. Lope Diaz de Sosa* her Nephew, sonne to Donna *Maria Telles* her sister, and to *Aluar Diaz de Sosa*; she caused to bee giuen the dignity of great maister of Christ.

Don *Henry* of Albuquerque, whose sisters were married to the brethren of this Queene *D. Leonora Telles*, was by her fauour maister of Saint Iames. She caused *D. Iuanne Telles* of Meneses her bastard sister, who was commandresse of Sançtos, to be married to *D. John Alphonso Pimentel*, and Bragança to be giuen vnto him: She married *D. Agnes Botello*, one of her gentlewomen, and her kinswoman; being of a Noble family to *Pera Rodriguez* of Fonseca giuing him the castle of Oliuencia: She also concluded the marriages of *D. Mencia Vasques Coutina*, with *Martin Gonçales* of Tuy; and of *D. Therese* of Meyra, with *Fernand Gonçales* of Soça, giuing vnto the last the castle of Chaves, and to the other that of Portel: She made *D. Aluar Peyer* of Castro, Castellan, Earle or Gouernor of Aroyolos, and procured many fauours and graces for *D. Fernand de Castro* his elder brother.

They say, that by her meanes the King on a time sent a present to *John Alphonso* of Muxica, being in the towne of Eboia, of thirty horse, thirty armors complete, thirty mules, thirty pounds of gold, a hundred and thirty markes of silver, and foure mulets laden with tapistry, and other rich furniture, adding thereto, as an hereditarie gift, the towne of Torrefredras. Such also was the fauour she bare vnto Don *Fernand* of Andeiro a Knight of Galicia, who was come to serue the King her husband, in his last warres against Castile, as besides that hee was made an Earle, hee had the neereft place next to her selfe, in the Kings fauour: so as by his meanes many Gentlemen were gratified and aduanced in Portugal: and moreover hee liued in such familiarity, as hee lodged in the same lodging with the King and Queene, and did often remaine alone with her a long time, whereat many murmured, and grew ielous: saying that their conuersation was not honest, and the Portugois did beleue, that the children which shee bare, were not the King *D. Fernand*'s (a Prince which was vncloud, and of a weak' complexion) but begotten by stealth by this Earle of Oren. Finally she wrought, so, as all the dignities, honours and sorts of Portugal, were in the hands of her kinsmen, friends and allies.

But to what fury doth the desire of command thrust a woman vnto? The Portugall authors write, that the Infant Don *John*, the Kings brother, being in loue with Donna *Maria Telles* of Meneses, the Queenes sister, who had managed the loue betwixt the King and her, a widow woman, and mother to Don *Lope Diaz de Sosa*, but faire, and pleasing, hee serued her and sought her loue, the which shee could not refuse, Don *John* being a Knight in the floure of his age, goodly also and full of grace: yet shee was thus farte discreet, that before shee would yeeld to that which hee desired, hee promised to marrie her secretly, the which being afterwards made knowne vnto the Queene, shee was much discontented: it may bee desisting that Don *John* (who was much beloued of the Portugalls) should marrie Donna *Beatrice* her daughter: fearing that if the King her husband should die, hee should bee chosen King, and her daughter reiected, or that shee her selfe did beare him some good will, and seeing her husband ill disposed, had an intent to marry him, if her husband died, that shee might reigne still: wherefore being transported with these passions, shee began to practise the death (by a notable cruelty and detestable stratagemme) of her who had raised her vp, conspiring with Don *John Alphonso Telles* her brother, Admirall of Portugall, to perfwade the Infant Don *John*, that Donna *Maria Telles*, who said shee was his wife, abandoned her selfe to other men, to his great dishonour, in whom they wrought such an impression, as this simple and ill aduised Knight, transported with extreme ielousie, came in a morning to Coimbra, where this Lady did remaine, where entering furiously into the house after that hee had forced her chamber doore, finding

Politic cruelty  
and detestable  
of the Queene  
D. Leonora  
Telles.

A not any signes of that which had beene told him, hee slue his miserable wife most barbarously, who called to God for aide, but in vaine, holding vp her hands to her iraged husband.

This was the reward which Donna *Maria Telles* of Meneses had, hauing beene the broker of that vnfortunate marriage, and as it were the Gardien of the Queene Donna *Leonora*'s loues, who not content therewith came to complaine vnto the King of Don *John* for the death of her sister, and preuailed fo, as he was forced to absent himselfe from court, and to keepe himselfe secret in places of hard acceffe, for his safety, yet finding not himselfe well secured; he retired into Castile: for *Gonçal Telles*, brother to the deceased, and her sonne *D. Lope Diaz de Sosa*, the Earle of Barcellos, and his brother the Earle of Viana, with other of her kinsfolkes, fought to kill him, to reuenge the death of Donna *Maria*. Besides these excesses, the Queene Donna *Leonora* attempted the death of *D. John* maister of *Auiz*, the King her husbands base brother, a Knight of great valour, who had neuer offended her: but only in conceit, that hee onely did crosse her desires. To effect her wicked intent, shee caused letters to bee counterfeited in the name of the maister, and of a gentleman called *Gonçalo Vasques* of Azebedo, his cousin and very familiar, being of the Kings counsell, whom shee would also draw into this danger. These letters were directed to the King of Castile and did treat of matters against the seruice of the King *D. Fernand*, whom shee did aduertise that they had beene surprized vpon the frontiers.

C The King giuing credit to her malice, after that hee had taken counsell of his wife, and of *D. John Fernandes* of Andeyro, hee commanded that the maister of *Auiz*, and *Gonçal Vasques* should be apprehended, and put into the tower of the castle of Eboia, where they were kept rigorously in chaines, the maister being ignorant of the cause of this his milery. As for *D. Gonçal Vasques*, hee remembered that hee had giuen care vnto his wife, telling him that on a time *D. Gonçal Telles* the Queenes brother, and *D. John Fernandes* of Andeyro her mignon, entering into her chamber all sweating, shee gaue them akerchise she had vpon her, to wipe themselves withall; and that *D. John Fernandes* approaching neere vnto her spake certaine lasciuious words, which being heard by the wife of Don *Gonçal Vasques*, and reported by her vnto her husband, hee was so indifferet as to tell the Queene thereof, aduertising the Queene of the Earles small respect vnto her, and of his impudency, whereof she, who wished him well, did not seeme to care: wherefore *D. Gonçal* doubted that this was the cause of his imprisonment, and that the Queene would dispatch him before the King should be aduertised thereof.

E Being thus imprisoned, the Queene did counterfet letters from the King, vnto *Vasco Martin* of Merlo, captaine of the castle of Eboia, by the which hee was commanded to murder these two personages: but being a discreet man, and considering the quality of the prisoners, thinking that hee must not proceed so lightly to the execution thereof, hee forbore, vntill hee had spoken with the King, to whom hee went the day after this charge, to know if it were his pleasure, that the maister of *Auiz* and *Gonçal Vasques* should be put to death. The King answered that hee knew not of it, commanding him not to touch them, and so he sent him backe, enioyning him to keepe it secret, and soone after hee went from Eboia, whereas the Queene remained; who seeing that her desires did not succeed, shee tooke a milder course, and sought to bee reconciled to these two personages, who were freed from their irons, and within few daies after set at liberty. Some time after, the Queene being at masse, shee caused them to come vnto her, shewing them the best countenance they could desire, and invited them to dinner, the which they did vnwillingly accept, fearing shee would cause them to be poisoned: yet they did eate in the Queenes lodging, in the company of the Earle of Oren, to whom after dinner, discourfing of her rings and jewels, shee gaue (in their presence) a Ring, set with a rich ruby, pressing him to take it, although hee excused himselfe, to the end shee might not forget any thing to be held very impudent.

F Amidst these tumults, *D. Isabella* the Kings bastard daughter, who had beene made sure by the last treaty of peace, to *D. Alphonso* of Castile, Earle of Gijon, base sonne to King *Henry*, was married at Burgos, whereat the Earle was much grieved: an vnfortunate marriage,

Treachery of  
the Queene  
D. Leonora  
against the  
maister of  
A-  
uiz

Imprisonment  
of the maister  
of Auiz, and  
D. Gonçal  
Vasques.

Impudency of  
the Queene  
D. Leonora.

marriage, of which there was one sonne borne, who was called *D. Henry*. But the marriage which was made betwixt *D. Beatrix* sister to the King *D. Fernand*, and *D. Sancho* Earle of Albuquerque, was blessed of God: so as a daughter which they had, called *D. Leonora*, the sole heire of her fathers great Estates, was married to *D. Fernand* Infant of Castile Lord of Lara, and Duke of Pennafiel, sonne to the King *D. John* the first, then reigning, which *D. Fernand* came afterwards to be King of Arragon and Sicile. Shee was Queene of these realmes, and mother of fise children, renowned by the Histories of Castile and Arragon, of whom we shall hereafter make mention. This King *Fernand* of Portugal being in good peace with his neighbours, considering what had happened in the city of Lisbon, in the last warre of Castile, for want of good walles, he caused it to be fortified and walled about from Saint Catherins gate vnto Saint Vincents. And as hee was carefull of this publike worke so hee did gratefie the Franciscan Friars of Saint Iren, causing the quier of their church to be built, with other workes of deuotion. This is all we finde in Histories of the affaires of Portugall, vnto the yeere of our Lord 1380. that the aboue mentioned marriage betwixt *Don Henry* sonne to King *John* the first of Castile, and *Donna Beatrix* the daughter of Portugal, was concluded with the aboue named conditions, for the succession of the two Realmes, by the iurruuance of the two Kings.

Buildings  
made by D.  
Fernand King  
of Portugal.

An. 1380.

Castile.

18.

The King of  
Castile ac-  
knowledgeth  
the Pope as  
Auisgon.

About the end of this yeere, *Donna Leonora* Queene of Castile was brought in bed at Medina del Campo, of her sonne *D. Fernand* aboue named, who came to be King of Arragon, as we will shew.

At that time Spaine was a Neuter, in regard of the obedience which the two Popes pretended, and did affect in the Christian common weale, continuing some time in this Neutrality, by reason of the disagreement of the Prelats, who were assembled for that cause onely, at the instance of the Ambassadors of the two Popes, *Clement* and *Fr-bain*: but soone after it was declared by a sentence given by the King of Castile, and his counsell, that his countries should acknowledge *Clement* the seventh, for Pope, and Christs Vicar, he being resident at Auisgon, the King *D. John* inclining therein, as to other things to the French. The deuotion of men in Spaine, and other places, in those daies was contrarie to that of more ancient times: for whereas before they thought they could not giue sufficient to the Clergy, to augment their houses and reuenues, now euery one sought to spoile them, and to vsurpe their lands and reuenues: whereof the Abbots and Conuents of the Order of Saint Benet in Spaine, having complained, they had a notable sentence by Iudges deputed by the King for that businesse, against many Noblemen and Knights which detained their goods: yet they still inctroched vpon them all they could.

An. 1381.

In the yeere of our Lord 1381, died *D. Jeanne* Queene of Castile, mother to the King *D. John*, who through great deuotion had in a manner all her life time carried the habit of Saint Claire, and died in it, and appointed he should be buried in it: A great argument of the religion of that time. She lies at Toledo, in the Chappell of the last Kings.

19  
Portugal.

The peace betwixt the Kings *D. John* of Castile, and *D. Fernand* of Portugal, was broken, by the bad counsell of a Knight, who had bene accustomed to be often shut vp with the Queene of Portugall, and was her favorite, hee was Earle of Oren. To giue some collour and beginning to this warre, the King *D. Fernand* sent to *John* Duke of Lancaster, perswading him, that as husband to *D. Constance*, daughter to the deceased King *D. Pedro* of Castile and Leon, hee should pursue his right which hee pretended to those Realmes. The English Prince relying vpon the fauour of Portugal, with the consent and aide of King *Richard* his Nephew, raised a thousand men at armes, or Launces, and a good number of foote, whereof he gaue the charge to his brother *Edmond* of Langley, Earle of Cambridge, who led them into Spaine, for that the Duke could not goe in person to this warre. The English army arrived vpon the coast of Portugall, whereas the warre was already violent; for the King of Castile being aduertised of this practise, had led his army into the country, and taken the towne of Almoيدا: And at sea, euen vpon the arriual of the English army, *Fernand* *Sanchez* of Tour Admirall of Castile had taken twenty galleies of Portugal, with their Admirall *D. Alphons* Teller, Earle

Signon of  
Queene Leo-  
nora's Les-  
sile and Por-  
tugal in war.

A Earle of Barcellos the Queenes brother, the which fell out vnhappyly for the King *Don Fernand*, who being sodainly transported with hatred against Castile, receiued this Prince *Edmond*, with al shewes of loue and royall pompe: and the more to gratefie him, he made a promise of a future marriage, betwixt *Donna Beatrix* his daughter (who had bene twice before contracted) and *Edward* his son, a young child, which hee had had of *Donna Isabella* his wife, the third daughter of the deceased King *Don Pedro* of Castile, there present; yea he made them to marry and lie together, and to confirme this marriage, they performed al accustomed ceremonies, except the consummation, which could not bee, by reason of the tender age of both parties, the Bridegroom being not full sixe yeeres old. During their stay, the English (before they were led to the warre) spared not the Portugals, but made spoile of their goods, as if they had bene in the country of Castile: So as the Portugals in steed of one warre, found themselves ingaged betwixt two enemies, hauing the Castilians abroad, and the English within their houses.

King of Portu-  
gal makes and  
breakes his  
daughters  
marriage at  
his pleasure.

In the yeere of our Lord 1382, the King *D. Fernand* went to field, with the Earle of Cambridge, and came and lodged his army at Yelbes: On the other side the army of Castile camped at Badajos, whereas hauing continued some daies without any exploit of armes, a peace was concluded, and *Donna Beatrix* Infanta of Portugall was the fourth time promised to *Don Fernand* the younger sonne of *Don John* King of Castile, the King of Portugall being glad this marriage should take place, to the end his Realme should not bee vnited to the crowne of Castile.

An. 1382.

In the meane time *Donna Leonora* Queene of Castile died, in the towne of Cuellar, being brought in bed of a daughter, which died also. The Queenes bodie was carried to Toledo, and interred in the chappell of the last Kings. This Princeesse is honoured for her vpright and good conscience aboute all the Ladies of her time, whereof some authors bring this example: Certaine Iewes deputed from the Sinagogues of them of their sect, dwelling vpon the Queenes Lands, being come for some affaires vnto the court, being moued with good will vnto their Ladie, by reason of her vertues, and good behauiour, came vnto her Confessor being an Arragonian, a verie religious man, of a good life, and told him, that they vnderstood the Queene had occasion for to vie a certaine summe of money, and knowing how much the Iewes, dwelling in her countrie, did honour her, they intreated him to let her vnderstand that shee should demaunde what money shee pleased of their Sinagogues, being assured it should bee verie willingly furnished; and that withall hee should certifie her, that the Iewes desired to doe her this seruice, for that since the time shee had bene their Ladie shee had neuer employed them. The Confessor thinking to bring pleasing newes vnto the Queene, made report of the Iewes speech, and perswaded her by all meanes for to make vie of their kinde offer, assuring her that shee might take with a good conscience that which they did willingly present vnto her. But the Queene answered him, that shee would neuer doe any such thing, and that God forbidde that shee should exact money, or any other thing of any person, for the which the King, she or their children might be cursed. And notwithstanding any reply the religious man could make shee would not yeeld vnto it, but willed him for to thanke the Iewes.

Integrity of  
the Queene  
D. Leonora.

*Don Fernand* King of Portugal, hearing of the death of *Donna Leonora* Queene of Castile, hee beganne to practise a fifth marriage for his daughter *Donna Beatrix*, with the King *Don John* himselfe; sending sodainly vnto him, being then at Pin-to, three Leagues from Madrid, to know his minde therein. The King *Don John* made no deliaie, but (with the aduice of his good seruants) entred presently into capitulation with the Ambassadors of Portugal, who were therein duellie instructed: Amongst other Articles it was agreed that the children issuing of this marriage, should bee Kings of Portugal.

And some daies after hee married *Donna Beatrix* Infanta of Portugall, hauing escaped many other parties of lesse preferment. The marriage was celebrated, at Badajos, or at Yelbes, according vnto some, in the yeere of the Incarnation 1383. the

D. John King  
of Castile mar-  
ries the In-  
fanta of Por-  
tugal.

Eff

Death of  
Ferdinand King  
of Portugall

20.  
Castile.

Rebellion of  
Don Alphonso  
Earle of Gijon,  
Aer of Castile  
whilst was

21  
Portugal.

Disposition of  
the Kingdom  
of Portugall.

King of Castile  
enters Aragon  
and Portugal  
and is not well  
received.

the Queene Donna *Leonora Telles* de Meneses her mother being present, the King Don *A*  
*Fernand* remaying at Lisbon very sicke, where within few daies after hee died, having  
reigned but ill fixteene yeeres and nine monthes, the three and forthi yeere of his age.  
His body was buried at Saint Iren, in the Franciscans church, where as *D. Constance Ma-*  
*nuel* his mother is also interred.

After the marriage betwixt Don *Alphonso* Earle of Gijon, and Donna *Isabella* of  
Portugal, against the liking of Don *Alphonso*, hee did neuer loue the King his brother,  
some times hee rebelled, and caused reuolts, and then was reconciled, but it lasted not  
long. At this second marriage of the King Don *John*, hee was in the Asturias, where  
hee put all into combustion, against whom the King sent some companies of men at  
armes.

This yeere of our Lord 1383, was held a generall assembly of the Estates at Segobia.  
And for that vnto that time they had accounted the yeeres according vnto the *Era* of  
*Cesar*, which differed eight and thirty yeeres from the accounts which was then in use  
in other Christian Kingdomes, it was ordained that the Castilians should take the be-  
ginning of their yeeres from the nativity of Christ: the which was more fit for Chri-  
stians, than to retain the memory of *Cesar Augustus*. This manner of accounting  
the *Era* had bene long before left in Nauarre and Arragon, but was retained by  
for some time in Portugal. The cause of this name of *Era* is diuersly related, but the  
most probable is, that the ancients hauing accustomed to write these wordes *A. N. S. C.*  
*erat Augusti centes.* or some other number, by abreuiation thus, A. E. R. A. C. the which  
the vulgar people ioyning these letters together pronounced *Era*. C. the which  
was afterwards vied vnto that time. They say that the last letters which were dis-  
patched in the court of Castile, where the *Era* of *Cesar* was obserued, were two preiudges  
granted by the King Don *John*, the one to the towne of Santa Cruz of Cestone; the  
other to Villa Real of Virechua, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1421. of the *Era*,  
answering to that of our Lord 1383. from the birth of Christ.

The King Don *John*, before his departure from Segobia, did celebrat the funerals of  
his father in law, in which Realme, by an Article made in the treaty of marriage of the  
Infanta Don *Beatrix*, Queene of Castile, and heire proprietarie thereof, the Queene  
Donna *Leonora Telles* her mother should remaine Regent. The chiefe of the Nobility  
of Portugal were of diuerse humours touching the succession of the Realme: for  
some (amongst which was the maister of the Knights of Auiz, base brother to the de-  
ceased King) would maintaine the right of Donna *Beatrix*, and called Don *John*  
King of Castile her husband, to come and take possession of the Realme, which did be-  
long vnto him: others did abhorre the Castilians commaund, and could not endure  
that Portugal should be vnto Castile. The King Don *John* solicited by many  
letters and messages to come into Portugall tooke aduice of his counsell, whether hee  
should enter in hostile manner, or peaceably. The worst counsell was followed by  
him, which was, for: Wherefore hee speedily gathered together all the forces hee could,  
and first of all hee staied Don *John* of Portugall, one of the brethren of the deceased King  
Don *Fernand*, who hauing retired himselfe out of Portugal, by reason of the murder  
of Donna *Maria Telles* de Meneses, and the mallice of the Queene Donna *Leonora*, had  
serued the crowne of Castile faithfully. But fearing least hee should cause some trou-  
bles in Portugal, hee caused him to be put prisoner in the castile of Toledo, from  
whence hee was afterwards remooued to Almonacid, three leagues from the cite.  
Hee also caused Don *Alphonso* Earle of Gijon to be imprisoned, who stirred vpp se-  
ditions in Castile: and then with those small forces which hee had, hee marched to La  
Garde, where hee was receiued by the Bishop of that place; but the captain of the fort  
would not acknowledge him, knowing the diuerse dispositions of the Nobility,  
and vnderstanding all the troubles which had happened at Lisbon since the Kings  
death.

The Queene widowe did reside in this chiefe Citie of the Realme, being assisted by  
Don *Henry Muniz*, Earle of Sintra, Vncle to the deceased King by the mothers side,  
by Don *John* Maister of Auiz, and others which did fauour the Queene Donna *Beatrix*,  
and

A and had set vp the armes of Castile and Portugal quartered, as the Don *John* had taken  
him: but the ielousie which was bred in the hearts of the Noblemen, and people, by  
the too great familiarity which was betwixt the widow Queene and Don *John Fernan-*  
*des* of Andeyro Earle of Oren, moued the maister of Auiz (who remembered still his  
imprisonment) to enter into quarrell with him, the which proceeded so farre, as the  
Earle was slaine in the Queenes lodging, which was at a place called Limonero: and  
instantly (as if it had bene a thing premeditated) the people of the city fell in such a  
mutiny, as not any one durst burie the Earle. Don *Fernandes* body, in the day time,  
but they were forced to staie till night, to put him secretly in the ground at Saint Mar-  
tins; Queene *Leonora* being so amazed, as shee sought all meanes to flee out of Lis-  
bon: And the rage of this multitude was so violent, as they fell vpon Don *Martin*  
their Bishop, who, blaming them for their infolencies and rebellion against the  
Queene, they chased him into a tower of his church, into the which this poore pre-  
late had fled to saue himselfe from the rage of the people, where they beseeched him,  
and entering into the tower, cast him downe head-long pouring forth a thousand iniu-  
rious words against the Queene Donna *Leonora*, the Earle and the Bishop: whose  
bodie being stript, they drag'd it by the heeles to the place of Ruse, where this  
miserable spectacle laie all that day, and the next night following, and then they bu-  
ried it in the market; the furious multitude not suffering it to haue Christian buriall.

In the meane time the Queene Donna *Leonora* got away, and leauing this mutinous  
city, retired to Alauquer, and from thence to Saint Iren, where as shee vnderstoode  
that many other townes, especially Ebora had done the like, taking armes tumultuou-  
ly against her and her faction. At Ebora the heads of the multitude were *Vincens*  
*Ianes* a Taylor, and one called *Gonsill Ianes*, who committed strange infolencies, as it  
is the custome of a mutinous multitude. Amongst others, knowing that the Ab-  
besse of Saint Benet was allied to the Queene Donna *Leonora*, they entred into her  
Church and pulled her from the Altar, holding that which keeps the Hoste in her  
armes, imploring in vaine the aide thereof, and the mercie of the commons, and so  
drew her into the market-place, where they murdered her most cruelly.

The Portugall authors write, that in that citie, a little small Infant being in the  
cradell, in the house of one *Stephen Ianes*, did rise three times out of her swaddling clothes,  
and stretching out the armes, cried, *Portugal, Portugal, for the King Don John*; the  
which was then ambiguous, but afterwards (by reason of the euent) was applied to  
the maister of Auiz, who was also called Don *John*. The King of Castile being ad-  
uertised of all these disorders, went to Saint Iren, to his mother in law, about the begin-  
ning of the yeere of our Lord 1384. where to free her selfe from trouble and daunger,  
and to gratifie the King her sonne in law, shee yielded vnto him all the right shee had  
to the Government of the Realme. Hether came many Noblemen and Gentlemen  
holding the partic of the King Don *John*, to doe him homage: who by this good be-  
ginning conceiued great hope that all would succeed well and wishfully, and that hee  
should restore his mother in law to her dignity. Don *John* of Portugall maister of  
Auiz, a young Prince, but vertuous, hauing bene prouoked by the dishonest conuer-  
sation of the Queene Donna *Leonora*, with the Earle of Oren, to take armes, knowing the  
nature of this woman, by former experience, with the hazard of his life; hee would  
no more fall into her power, but aspired to the regencie of the Realme, and wholly to  
deprive both her and the King *D. John* her sonne in law of all government.

In this designe hee found such fauour and support of the Nobility and townes,  
who had long detested the manners of the Queene, and the deceased King her hus-  
band, as hee had meanes to resist the attempts of the King of Castile, and to make  
himselfe a way to the crowne. And to make the name of Castile more odious to them  
who desired not the vnion of these two Realmes, hee caused a standard to be made, in the  
which was painted *D. John* of Portugall his brother, a prisoner, standing at a grate in the  
castile of Toledo, causing it to be displaid in the city of Lisbon, in view of all the  
people, who were already mutined, which made them to arme with great resolution  
against the forces of Castile, who soone after came and presented themselves before  
the

Earle of Oren  
the Queene of  
Portugal  
Miguel Ianez

Mutiny at Lis-  
bon.

Bishop of Lis-  
bon  
Don Ianez by  
the mutines

Prodigious  
Ebora

An. 1384.

D. John maister  
of Auiz  
to the govern-  
ment of Portu-  
gal.

All of the  
maisters of A-  
uiz to make  
the standard  
odious.



drew young *Gaston* their sonne to poison his father and gaue him a venomous poulder A to that end, telling him that it was a remedy to make him change the hatred hee bare him and his mother, into loue. This young Nobleman being simple and ill aduised, believing what the King his vnclie had said vnto him, he returned into Foix, to his father, with an intent to season him some meate with this poulder, but hee could not so play his part, but casting the poulder into the meate, it was perceived by the cookes, or otherwife discovered: wherefore the Earle commanded his sonne and onely heire to be taken, causing him to die miserably in prison, so as after him hee left none but bastards, which did not succeed in the Earledome of Foix: one of them was *Bernard*, who serued *Henry* the second King of Castile, in the conquest of the realme against the King *D. Pedro*, and was rewarded by him, and endowed with lands and Estates in Castile, from whom descended the dukes of Medina Celi, or Zelim, who by the mothers side belong to the blood of Castile, according to the order which followeth.

My table  
death of young  
Gaston of  
Foix.

beginning of  
the house of  
Celi or Zelim.

*D. Fernand de la Cerde*, eldest sonne to *D. Alphonso* the Wife, or the Philosopher, left two sons, *D. Alphonso* and *D. Fernand*: of *D. Alphonso*, married into France, came *D. Lewis* Earle of Clermont, and *D. Charles*, or *Iohn*, according vnto some, Countesse of France, and Earle of Angoulême. *D. Lewis* Earle of Clermont married in Andalusia, *Don* and *Leonora* of Guzman, daughter to *D. Alphonso Peres* of Guzman, and was Lord of Hulua, and of Port Santa Maria, and other lands in the right of his wife: of which marriage issued *Don Lewis*, *Don Iohn*, and *Donna Isabella de la Cerde*. This *Donna Isabella* was by C the King *Don Henry* the second, being settled in the realme of Castile, married to *Bernard* bastard of Foix, and had in dowry Medina Celi, with the title of an Earle; of them came *D. Gaston*, surnamed *de la Cerde*, leaving the name of the house of Foix; and *Bernard*. Hee was the second Earle of Medina Celi, and married *Donna Mencía* of Mendoza, daughter to *Don Pedro Gonzalez* of Mendoza, a great Nobleman in Alaua: by her hee had one sonne called *Don Lewis*, who was the third Earle of Medina Celi, and married with *Donna Iean Sarmiento*, daughter to *Diego Peres Sarmiento*, from whom came *Don Gaston de la Cerde* the second, and fourth Earle of Medina Celi, who married *Donna Leonora* of Mendoza, daughter to *Don Luigo Lopez* of Mendoza, Marquis of Semillana, from whom descended *Don Lewis* which succeeded him in the Earldome, in whose time it was made a Dutchy, *D. Lewis* married *Donna Anna* of Nauarre and Arragon, base daughter to *D. Charles*, Infant of Nauarre and Arragon. This is the Genealogy of the house of the dukes of Medina Celi.

King Charles  
a Leaper.

Such, as wee haue sayd, were the actions of *Charles* King of Nauarre, whom in the end God strooke with a Leaprosie, which made him to leaue all care of the affaires of this world, and to giue himselfe to workes of piety, according to the manner of those times, which was to build chapells, to ordaine Masses and Anniversaries for his deceased parents, and to adde rents and giue entertainment to Clergy men and Priestes which did the seruice: but aboue all hee labored to liue in peace with Christian Princes.

The Infant *Charles* being come into Nauarre about the beginning of the warre betwixt Castile and Portugal, the King *Don Iohn* demanded some supplies of souldiars out of Nauarre, to lead with him, wherevnto the King of Nauarre consented willingly, remembering the good Offices hee had done with the French for his sonnes liberty, whom hee sent well accompanied to this warre, being vnable to goe in person, by reason of his indisposition. The Infant made some stay with his wife *Donna Leonora*, who was in Castile, and then passing on, hee came to the King being incamped before Lisbon, where hee staid not long, the King *Don Iohn* being forced to raise the siege by reason of the plague which ruined his armie, and returne into Castile, as wee haue said, dismissing the Infant his brother in law, with all loue and content.

23.  
Portugal.  
Affaires of the  
King of Castile  
succeed well  
in Portugal.

The yeere 1385. being come, the King *D. Iohn* preparing to returne into Portugal, hauing already sent some ships and gallies against Lisbon, hee had news that the souldiars which hee had left in Saint Iren, had defeated some troupes of Portugal, whose leaders were the maister of the Knights of Christ, and the Prior of Saint Iohn, of reason of which victorie, many places within the Realme had planted the Standard of Castile.

A Castile: wherefore he made all the haste he could to enter into Portugall, being loth to let slip this occasion: Before his departure, he propounded in council to put his brother the Earle of Gijon to death: but he was perswaded by many graue reasons and examples to forbear.

Don Iohn Master of Auiz, a bastard, the first of that name, and tenth in number, chosen King of Portugal.

IN Portugal his aduersaries lost no time, but provided for all that was necessarie for a future warre: for the better managing whereof, they were of aduise to chooe one, who should haue soueraigne authoritie among the rest, for the effecting whereof, the Noble men and Knights of the Realme, who reiected the gouernement of Castile (among the which the most eminent were, *Don Iohn* Master of Auiz, and *Don Nuno Aluarez Pereira*) assembled in the citie of Coimbra, and there held a kind of Parliament, whither also came the Deputies of the townes of their partie: there it was debated whether they should chooe a Regent or a King. Many were of opinion they should chooe a king, and gaue their voices, some to *Don Iohn* Master of Auiz, base sonne to the king *Don Pedro*; others sayd, it was more reasonable to make *Don Iohn* lawfull sonne to the king *Don Pedro*, king, who was prisoner in Castile.

Assembly in  
Portugal for  
the election of  
a king.

Many considering the wrong they did therein to the Queene *D. Beatrice*, were of opinion, that it was better to seeke some good accord with *Don Iohn* king of Castile her husband: whereunto some did oppose, saying, that the Queene *D. Leonora Telles de Meneses* could not be lawfull wife to king *Fernand*, hauing taken her by force from her husband *Laurence Pasques* of Acugna: and therefore *D. Beatrice* was no more legitimate then the Master of Auiz, and that being both base, it were better to acknowledge him for king, D then her: that as for the Infant *D. Iohn* a lawfull son, to whom the crowne of Portugal did rightly belong, that his deliuerie was vncertaine, and therefore they must not stand upon it, the Portugals hauing then need of a free king, to oppose himselfe against the attempts of Castile who sought to oppress them. This opinion prevailed, and they all consented to chooe *D. Iohn* Master of Auiz, for king of Portugal, and so he was proclaimed eightene moneths after the interregne, in the Monasterie of Saint Francis of Coimbra, in Aprill, this yeare 1385. the people crying out, that it was that king which was prophesied by the Infant at Eborá, whereof mention was made.

Don Iohn Master  
of Auiz chosen  
king of Portugal.

This king is called by the Portugals (of happie memorie) for that he freed the country from the Castilians, whose gouernement was exceeding hateful vnto them: he was also furnished the Bastard, for that the king *D. Pedro* begat him out of marriage. He shewed a great courage and generositie in the reception of this great charge, to defend a Realme diuided, against the power of the king of Castile, being allyed to France and Nauarre, but a Royaltie, and the liberty of his country, did sufficiently require the perill and danger which hee did vndergo. The king *D. Iohn* being aduertised of that which the Portugals had done at the Estates at Coimbra, he sent *D. Pedro Troncoso* Archbishop of Toledo, a Portugall borne, with some troupes, to retaine in their fidelitie such as followed his party in Portugal. This Prelate entering the countrey by Viseu, made a miserable spoile where hee past, for which hee finatred soone after, being encountered and defeated by the Portugals nere to Troncoço. On the other side, the inhabitants of Algarbe, following the new kings F partie, had seized vpon the towne of Mertola, and as they battered the castile, they were suddenly charged by them of Seuille, and put to flight: the leader was *D. Aluaz Peres* of Guzman, Gouernour of that city, a yong Nobleman of 18. years of age: and in a manner at the same instant the Castilians tooke a great quantitie of victuals and munition, which they of Ylbes and Estremoz kept in Ronchez. The king of Castile resoluving to beseege Lisbon againe, had prepared many vessels both for war, and to carrie victuals, the which came

Castilians de-  
feated at Tron-  
coço.



exploits of the  
new king of  
Portugal.

came neere vnto Lisbon, and kept the mouth of the riuer, so as no man could go in, or A come out from Lisbon. All this did not daunt the new king of Portugal, but hauing speedily assembled his forces, he went to assaile Guimaraes, the which was valiantly defended by *Arias Gomes* of Silua a Portugal, who was affected to the king of Castile, yet it was yeelded vpon a good composition: after which he tooke the citie of Brags, pour de Liuan, with other places and forts.

Whilest these things past in Portugal, the king of Castile, burning with desire to see himselfe king of this other Realme, made great preparations, and notwithstanding that his Councillors vpon his returne into Portugal were of diuers opinions, yet he yeelded to those that perswaded him to enter: wherefore leauing *Donna Beatrice* his wife at Aui- B la, he marched towards Portugall, and layed seerge to Cillorico de la vera, where during his stay, considering the doubtfull euents of warre, especially against Rebels, the vipers of Realmes, who shew themselves alwaies violent, hee made his will, and sent it to the Arch-bishop of Toledo to keepe, by the which hee ordained many things, the which shall be specified in the life of his sonne and successour *Don Henry*, which bred much trouble within the Realme, for that hee gaue out, whilest he liued, and after the making of this will, that he meant to alter many things, and yet he made no other will, whereof the chiefe witnesses were *Don Pedro* of Arragon, sonne to *D. Alphonso* the first Constable of Castile, and Marquis of Villena, *D. John cap de Vasa* Bishop of Coimbra, *Peter Gonzales* of Mendoza, Lord Steward of the kings house, *Diego Gomes Manrique* great Governour of C Castile, *Pedro Lopes* of Ayala, Standard-bearer of the Order of the Band, with *Tello Gonzales Palameque*, and other men of marke. The Castile of Cillorico was taken, from whence the armie marched towards Coimbra, burning all the villages thereabouts, and so passing on by Leyra, they came and camped at Soria, whereas a messenger sent by *Don Nugno Alvarez Pereira* newly created Constable of Portugal, came vnto the king, intreating him in his masters name, to auoyd the battell, which should be soone presented vnto him, and that it might be there would be means to come to some good accord, if it were earnestly fought.

This was but the Constables policie, to stay the king of Castile, for that the king of Portugalls armie was not strong enough to encounter their enemies: whereunto the king D made a gracious answer. The new king of Portugal was in Arbanes very penfue, seeing himselfe much inferior to his enemy, who besides the Castilians, which were in great numbers, had many Noblemen of Portugal in his armie, the which beeing within a league and a halfe of that of Portugal, there were many things propounded, to end their quarrels without a battell, but they were all without effect: for the king of Castile finding himselfe strong, had a desire to fight, promising vnto himselfe all aduantages, and yet his captaines were of another opinion; and among others, *Monfieur de Rie*, Chamberlaine to the French king, and his ambassador with the King of Castile, a Gentleman 70. yeres old, and a capraine of great experience, saying, that his men were wearie, and it was late, and that the Portugall army, in the which were 2200. men at armes, and 10000. foote, were E camped in a place of strength: from whence, if he would haue patience, hee should see them soone dislodge for want of victuals, beeing aduertised that they had not any meate, but for that night: that vpon their dislodging he should haue better oportunitie to fight with them: & if they went to affront them in the place where they were, it was likely they should reape more shame then honor, But notwithstanding all these reasons, hee would needes fight: wherefore the Castilians hauing put their armie in battell, they were receiued courageously by the Portugals, along the mountaines of Maos, in the fields nere vnto the village of Aljubarot, where at the first charge, notwithstanding all the indeauour of the Portugall fore-ward, they gaue ground to the Castilians: but the new king of Portugal flying thither with his squadron, not onely fortified his men, but also charging the enemy with great courage (who thought they had won all, and fought without order, & carelessly) he brake them, and put them to a shamefull flight with great slaughter, the king of Castile himselfe being in danger, who fled 11. leagues that night vnto S. Iren, where he arrived at the breake of day in great perplexity, and then recovering the sea-shore, hee caused himselfe to be carried to Seule.

Battel of Aljubarot and the Castilians de-  
feated.

Polydore

A *Polydore Virgil* in his Historie of England, failes in the discourse of this battell, saying, that *Edmond* Earle of Cambridge was there with good troupes of English for the new king of Portugal against him of Castile, and giues the honour of the battell to the English: but it appears by all the Spanish Writers, (more credible in matters of Spaine then strangers) that the coming of the Earle of Cambridge into Portugall was not at that time, but in the life of king *Fernand*. Neither were there any French troupes for the king of Castile, as some Authors make mention. Vpon the place of battell there was an Hermitage built to S. *George*, who is held to be the patron and protector of Portugal, as also of Arragon, as S. *James* is of Castile: and this victorie is more celebrated by the Portugals, then any they euer had: for that by reason thereof they were freed from the sub- B jection of Castile: it is called the battell of Aljubarote, or of S. *George*. In this battell there dyed many Noblemen of Castile; and among others *Don Pedro* of Arragon, sonne to the Constable of Castile, *D. John* of Castile, Lord of Aguilar del campo, son to *D. Tello*, L. of Biscay, *D. Fernand* of Castile, a yong Prince, son to *D. Sancho*, Earle of Albuquerque, *Peter Dias Dama* Prior of S. *John*, *D. Diego Manrique*, Governour generall of the frontier of Castile, *D. Pedro* of Mendoza, a Lord Steward of the king of Castiles house, *Don John Fernandes* of Touar high Admiral, *D. Diego Gomes Sarmiento* Governour of Galicia, *Pedro Carrillo* Marshall of Castile, *D. Aluar Gonzales* of Sandomal, and his brother *Fernand Gonzales*, *D. John Ramir* of Arellan, *John Ortiz* of Cueua, *Gonzalo* of Cerbantes, *Ruy Braue*, and *Fernand Carrillo*: and of the Portugals following the partie of Castile, *D. John Alphonso Sello*, Admirall of Portugall, brother to the Queene *D. Leonora*, *D. Pedro Aluarez Pereira*, Master of the Order of Calatraua, and his brother *D. Diego Aluarez Pereira*, brothers to D. *Nugno Alvarez* Constable of Portugal, *Gonzal Paques* of Azeuedo, with *Aluar Gonzales* his sonne, and others. There dyed also in this defeat *Monfieur de Rie* Ambassador for the French king, and his Chamberlaine. Great was the spoile of the Castilians campe, & many prisoners caried away by the Portugals, who hung vp their enignes & other spoils for trophies in the Monasterie of Alcouça, and in the chiefe church at Braga, and at the Carmes at Lisbon, the which were afterwards founded by the Constable *D. Nugno Alvarez Pereira*, and among others the royal Standard of Castile was taken. As for those which C escaped the battell, some gathered themselves together in S. Iren, and some of them recovered Castile, as well as they could. They of S. Iren hauing past the riuer of Tayo, with *D. Gonzal Nugnes* of Guzman, Master of Alcantara, (who was since made Master of the Calatraua) they ioyned with the forces of Nauarre and France, which the Infant *Don Charles* of Nauarre brought to the king of Castile his brother-in-law, but too late: wherefore they returned all together into Castile, hauing made all the spoile they could in the Realme of Portugal: the which by this battell of Aljubarote remained assured for the king *Don John* the tenth in number, and the first of that name, hauing attained to that royall dignity, to the which in the beginning he did not aspire, and that with the consent of the Nobilitie and States of the countrie.

Noblemen of  
Castile flaine  
in the battell.

Portugals slaine  
of the Castilians side.

The end of the sixteenth Booke.

THE



## THE SEVENTEENTH BOOK of the Generall History of Spaine.

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- 15** *Farjanes, a race of Christian Affricans, and the death of the king D. Iohn.*
- 16** *Coronation of D. Charles king of Nauarre, and the ceremonies thereunto accustomed.*
- 17** *D. Henry the third of that name, 17. king of Castile, and 38. of Leon. Carriage of D. Pedro Tenorio Arch-bishop of Toledo.*
- 18** *Marriage concluded betwixt D. Fernand brother to the king of Castile, and the heire of Albuquerque.*
- 19** *A testamentarie Decree made by the deceased king D. Iohn, and the resolutions taken by the Noblemen of Castile, for the quiet of the Realme.*
- 20** *Troubles among the Lords of the Councell, procured by the Arch-bishop of Toledo.*
- 21** *Seditious Preachers, incensing the people against the Iewes.*
- 22** *Continuance of troubles in Castile, and manes made by the Pope to pacifie them.*
- 23** *Persecu-*

- A 23** *Persecutions, thefts, and murders committed upon the Iewes, by the instigation of Preachers.*
- 24** *Confusions in Castile, entertained by great men, for private respects.*
- 25** *Troubles in Guipuzcoa against Collectors. Assembly in that prouince, and Articles of their union, and preservation of their priuiledges.*
- 26** *Meanes to reconcile the disordered passions of the Noblemen of Castile, but of small effect.*
- 27** *Treaties betwixt Portugal and Castile, and the practices of Don Frederic Duke of Beneuent.*
- 28** *Mutinie at Zamora.*
- B 29** *Treatie of peace betwixt Portugal and Castile: practices to pacifie D. Frederic. Factions, partialities, &c.*
- 30** *Truce for 15. yeares betwixt Castile and Portugal.*
- 31** *Troubles continued in Castile by the Arch-bishop of Toledo, and a peace mediated by the Princes allies.*
- 32** *D. Henry the third is declared of full age at 14. yeares.*
- 33** *Discouerie of the Islands of the Canaries.*
- 34** *Estates of Castile at Madrid. Marriage of the Infant D. Fernand. Discontents of D. Frederic Duke of Beneuent.*
- C 35** *Meanes to make D. Leonora Queene of Nauarre returne to her husband. Her practices with the Noblemen rebelled, Contemners of the Kings young yeares.*
- 36** *A foolish trial of the truth of Religion by armes, and what succeeded.*
- 37** *Meanes held by the king D. Henry to draw the Princes and Noblemen rebelled, to their duties. The Queene of Nauarre subdued, warre against the Earle of Gijon, and accord betwixt the king and him.*
- 38** *D. Pedro de Luna chosen Pope at Auignon, who by his obstinacie continued the Schisme.*
- 39** *The Queene of Nauarre sent to the king her husband.*
- 40** *Ieanne Countesse of Foix, wife to Matthew of Castelbon, reiected by the Arragonois from the succession of the Realme of Arragon.*

### Kings ruling in Spaine mentioned in this seuenteenth Booke.

Portugal.	Nauarre.	Arragon.	Castile and Leon.
10 D. Iohn Master of Auiz.	D. Charles 3. 14	D. Iohn 1. 17	D. Henry 3. 83.
1. 31			



**S**UCH as are to rule ouer Nations, and especially where there is great store of Nobility, must be carefull how to gouerne their affections, left by their too great libertie they force their subiects, either in regard of their honours, or for their iust defence to haue recourse to armes. For it is often seene when a warre is kindled, and that they which are teamed Rebels, haue gotten any aduantage, they do no longer containe themselves within the bounds which at the first they had propounded, but they proceed, and seeke a totall change of the Estate, thinking they cannot be otherwise assured:

assured: or that the superior whom they would make their equall (which is the true effect of armes) can euer be a true and perfect friend. Such are chiefly possessed with this iea-  
 lousie and distrust, as are to contend with men that are giuen to reuenge, and of base dis-  
 positions, as women and effeminate persons, who seeke to maintain their excellie by the  
 name and credit of a Soueraigne degree wherein they are placed, thinking that this great-  
 nesse doth purchase them a priuiledge in any thing they do, and giue authoritie to their  
 cruelties and impieties, wherein they please themselves, although they be many times de-  
 ceined: It is most certaine, and verified by infinit examples, that neither force, nor great-  
 nesse can auayle a Prince, whose bad life makes him hatefull to his subiects. And on the  
 other side, there is no such guard, as the loue of subiects, the which is concited by the  
 opinion of vertue. Opinion follows the effects: and therefore a Prince should be alwaies  
 carefull what opinion men should haue of him, and remember still the precept of the  
 wife: That a man must be alwaies such as he would be esteemed. If he be giuen to im-  
 pudence and voluptuousnesse, with the oppression and ruine of his subiects, let him assure  
 himselfe, that good men will hate and detest him and his actions, and estrange themselves  
 from him: so as he shall remaine ingaged among flatterers, where many times he is im-  
 peded, but at the least he is for cuer infamous. The name of Rebelle is iustly detested, but  
 the common people iudge by the euents, and the wife and well-advised according to the  
 causes.

And there is nothing more certaine, whatsoeuer the flatterers of Court say, that  
 neuer any Conspiracie against a Soueraigne Magistrate was durable, or could take roote,  
 if the hearts of the subiects were not formerly distracted by the Princes owne guilt and  
 excessie. But if it please God to stirre vp some noble courage, who imbrace the pub-  
 licke cause, then shall a tyrant hardly auoid his due punishment, whereof Spaine affords  
 vs assured proofes in Don Pedro King of Castile, and D. Leonora Telles of Mendez, widow  
 to king Ferdinand, and Regent of Portugall, who by her vnchastnesse and tyrannie, as we  
 haue formerly related, ruined her selfe; and did frustrate Donna Beatrice her daughter of  
 that Crowne, setting it vpon the head of Don Iohn the Bastard, Master of the Order  
 of the Knights of Auiz her enemy, who had no lawfull right, and (it may bee) neither  
 thought nor hoped to arraigne vnto it, but when hee saw himselfe armed and fol-  
 lowed.

I  
 Portugall.

This King notwithstanding his victorie, was alwaies called the Master of Auiz, by the  
 Castilians, who would not aduow him for king, to the preiudice of their Queene Donna  
 Beatrice: and the king D. Iohn his aduersarie intitled himselfe king of Castile, Leon, Por-  
 tugal, Toledo, Gallicia, Seuille, Cordoua, Murcia, Iaca, Algarue, Algezire, and Lord  
 of Lara, Biscay and Molina, some few daies after this great victorie wonne by the Por-  
 tugal. S. Iren yielded, with all that countie, there remaining not any place on this side the  
 mountaines, that held for the king of Castile. At Saint Iren D. Nugno Aluarez of Pereira  
 Constable of Portugall, was made Earle of Oren, in recompence of his valour and faith-  
 full seruice: and the new king D. Iohn vied great bounty vnto all the Castilians that were  
 prisoners, sending them home free without any ranfome. After that time, leaving the  
 conduct of the warre to his Constable, he employed his time in workes of pietie, and gi-  
 uing thanks to God for the victorie which he had giuen him, that is, he went in pilgri-  
 mage on foote to Saint Mary of Oliuera of Guimaraes, which is foure daies journey  
 from S. Iren. In the meane time the Constable passing Guadiana, entred into Castile with  
 two thousand lances, comprehending the light horse and genetis, and good troupes of  
 foote, where he got another victorie against the Castilians: whereof the king his master  
 was aduertised being at Porto; who to reward the Constable, and to encourage him to do  
 better, he gaue him the title of Earle of Barcelos. This Constable, besides that hee had  
 in him the chiefe parts and ornament which make Nobility, hee was issued from one of  
 the noblest families in Portugal: for his father Don Aluar Gonçales had beene Prior of S.  
 Iohn, or of Crato, as the Portugals say, being at the battaile of Salado or Tariffa, wonne  
 against the Moores, in the year 1340. by the kings D. Alphonso the 12. of Castile, and D.  
 Alphonso the fourth of Portugal, he founded our Ladies Church of Fleur de Rose, and  
 the strong castle of Ameyra, with the palace of Bonjardin.

This

Liberalitie of  
 the new king  
 of Portugall.

A This Prior besides many other children (for some say he had 32.) had this Don Nugno  
 Aluarez of Pereira, Constable of Portugal, a great and famous Captaine, the founder  
 of the house and state of Bragance: whose mother was called Heira Gonçales of Caruahal,  
 he being borne in the year 1360. At the age of seuentene years he married the widow  
 of Vasco Gonçales Barosso, a chiefe Nobleman in Portugal: of which marriage besides two  
 sonnes which dyed young, issued one daughter named D. Beatrice, who was heire to her  
 fathers Estate, and was married to D. Alphonso of Portugal, bane sonne to this king Don  
 Iohn, who was borne whilst he was Master of Auiz, of a mistress of his called D. Agnes,  
 she being afterwards made commandresse of Santos. This Constables Grandfather was  
 D. Gonçalo Pereira, Arch-bishop of Braga, a Prelate of a royall magnificence in his man-  
 ner of liuing, and exceeding bountifull. The Constable hauing charge to continue the  
 war, whilst that the King D. Iohn was otherwise employed touching the gouernement  
 of the realme, he past into the Prouinces beyond the mountaines, where hee reduced to  
 the new kings obedience, Chaucis, Bragance, Almeyda, and other places, which held yet  
 for the Queene D. Beatrice, and her husband the king of Castile, so as there remayned few  
 which were not made subiect, and brought vnder the iurisdiction of Don Iohn king of  
 Portugal.

But for that such quarrels are not determined by one or two victories gotten by the  
 weaker, against one more mighty, the new king duly considering all this, and with good  
 counsell, thought it necessarie, that D. Iohn king of Castile should be quite ruined, that he  
 might the better maintaine his new conquest, and to this end he called the English with  
 the pretext of apparent right: for as we haue sayd, the Duke of Lancaster, Vncle to king  
 Richard the second then reigning, hauing married D. Constance daughter to the deceased  
 king D. Pedro of Castile, pretending that the Realmes of Castile and Leon did belong to  
 him, and carried the title and armes. Wherefore Ambassadors were sent vnto him, to  
 summon him to come into Spaine, with assurance and promise, that he should be assisted  
 with all the forces and means of Portugal, protesting that if he let slip this goodly occa-  
 sion, besides the losse, he should reape dishonor, and be scorned of all the world. On the  
 other side, D. Iohn king of Castile, hauing beene visited by the Infant of Nauarre, who  
 came expressly to Seuille, and receiued letters from Pope Clement at Auignon, full of con-  
 solation, he came to Valledolid, and there held a generall assembly of the Estates of his  
 Realmes, from whence he sent Ambassadors to Charles the sixth the French king, intrea-  
 ting him to send him succours to recouer his Realmes of Portugal and Algarbe, his wifes  
 patrimonie, which were detayned from him by a bastard rebell. Thus these two princes  
 called in strangers to the preiudice of Spaine.

John King of  
 Portugal calls  
 the English in  
 to Spaine.

D. Iohn King  
 of Castile calls  
 in the French.

The Duke of Lancaster passed into Portugall with fiftene hundred Lances, and as ma-  
 ny Archers on foot: and Lewis Duke of Bourbon the kings Vncle, was sent out of France  
 with two thousand Lances in fauour of D. Iohn king of Castile. The English armie run-  
 ning along the coast of Galicia, tooke sixe galleies of Castile, and came to the Groine on  
 Saint Lames day, in the year 1386. In the meane time the king of Portugal had led his ar-  
 mie into Castile, and besieged the towne of Coria, but could not take it. It was then  
 that he sayd, He had need of the good Knights of the round table, to which hee was an-  
 swered by Men Rodriguezes of Valconcellos, that they had also need of a king Arthur, who  
 could distinguish and reward good Knights: the which the king D. Iohn turned to a least  
 and would not seeme to be touched.

At this seege hee had newes, that the Duke of Lancasters armie was landed: wherefore  
 hee presently dislodged, and came to receiue and entertaine them at pont du Maure,  
 nere vnto the Towne of Porto: The Duke had brought with him his wife Donna Con-  
 stance of Castile, and two daughters, the one by her, whose name was Katherine, the o-  
 ther by his first wife, called Philippe. At this interview, a marriage was treated betwix  
 the King Don Iohn and that Ladie Philippe, who was then deliuered into the hand of the  
 King, her future husband, and soone after they were married, with such pompe as con-  
 sorted with their persons and dignities.

Hauing consulted concerning the warre, they beganne to spoyle the Countie of Ga-  
 licia, where they took some places: but the heat of the plague, which consumed both the  
 Ggg country

countrie people, and the English armie stayed the course of these conquests. The King of A Castile had fortified and manned the citie of Leon, Benaudent, and other places in Galicia with good Garrisons, vntill he went to field, vpon the coming of those succours which hee expected from France and Nauarre. In the meane time hee caused the Duke of Lancaster to bee dealt withall about an Accord, but hee continued constant in his demands to haue the Realmes of Castile and Leon: Wherevpon the King sent Ambassadors vnto him, to let him vnderstand publicly, that hee should content himselfe with that which hee had done, and not to vex the Countie any more: and that if hee pretended any wrong were done vnto him by him, hee desired him to the combat, man to man; and hee that vanquished should bee King of Castile: but vnder hand the Ambassadors had charge to propound other conditions vnto him, wherevpon they came to treatie of a marriage betwixt the Infant Don Henry of Castile, and Catherine the Dukes daughter, by Donna Constance, with many offers, which were not accepted, at the least it did not then appeare so: for the Portugals hauing ioyned with the English armie, they marched farther into the territories and iurisdictiones of Leon, in the year 1387. and beseged Benaudent in vaine, they passed by Villalobos, Piasas, and Valderas, the which they took: from whence returning with the plague; and moreover they had newes that the French supplies had passed Nauarre, and were entering into Castile: the which aduanced the conclusion of a peace betwixt the King of Castile, and the Duke of Lancaster, the which C was made at Troncofo with these conditions:

Accord betwixt the king of Castile and the Duke of Lancaster.

That the Infant Don Henry the eldest sonne of Castile, should marrie Catherine, the daughter of the Duke of Lancaster, and of his wife Donna Constance of Castile, for whose dowrie the king D. Iohn should assigne certaine places: That the citie of Guadalajara, with the townes of Medina del campo, and Olmeco should be given to the Dutchesse D. Constance, to enioy the reuenues thereof during her life: That the king should pay sixtie thousand pounds sterling to the Duke, and to D. Constance his wife at certaine dayes: and moreover, foure thousand pounds pension during their liues, and the longer liuer of them. In consideration whereof, the Duke of Lancaster and Donna Constance should renounce all rights, actions and pretensions which they challenged to the Realmes of Castile, Leon, and their dependances, and that the places taken in Galicia should be restored. This accord beeing thus concluded, the Duke retired himselfe into the towne of Porto, where he made his accord also with the King of Portugal: to which treatie it seemes the Duke had bene forced by the plague, which had consumed two third parts of his men. The duke of Lancaster then hauing for the fruites of his voyage married his two daughters to two kings, he returned into Guienne in the year 1387. not very well satisfied with the King of Portugal, nor the king with him. Of the marriage of Don Iohn king of Portugal, and of D. Philippe, there came this issue: first, they had a daughter called D. Blanche, which dyed young in Lisbon: then the Infant D. Alphonso borne in the year 1391. at S. Iren, who liued not about two years: their third child was Don Edward borne in the Towne of Visco, and succeeded in his fathers Realme. Moreover, they had the Infant D. Pedro, borne at Lisbon in the year 1392. he was Duke of Coimbra, and Lord of Mont Major the old, and of Amero: then the Infant Don Henry, of whom the Queene was deliuered at Porto, hee was Duke of Visco, and Master of the Knights of Christus, and it was he which first discovered the Ilands of Madera in the Ocean sea. Of this marriage also came Donna Izabella, borne at Eborra in the year 1397. who was Dutchesse of Bourgongne, and Countesse of Flanders, wife to Philip Duke of Bourgondie: by her was built the Monasterie of Prolonga neere vnto Sintra, of the Order of Saint Ierome. They had besides these the Infant Don Iohn, who was Master of Saint Iames, borne at Saint Iren in the year 1400. hee was Countable of the Realme, and beeing married with Donna Izabella daughter to Don Alphonso Duke of Bragance his bastard-brother, he was grandfather by the mothers side to D. Izabella Queene proprietarie of Castile and Leon. And in the end the king Don Iohn and Donna Philippe his wife had the Infant Don Fernand, borne in the year 1402. at Saint Iren, who was Master of Auiz, a zealous prince to the Christian Religion, and full of charity.

Before

A Before that the king Don Iohn came vnto the Crowne, beeing but Master of Auiz, he had two base children by a Gentlewoman called Donna Agnes, that is, Don Alphonso, Barcelles, and Duke of Bragance, called D. Beatrice; and one daughter named also Donna Beatrice, who was married to Thomas Earle of Arondel. This is the issue of the King D. Iohn the first of Portugal, who had yet a quarrell with the King of Castile, the pursuite whereof was deferred for a time: for the king of Castile beeing to performe his promise to the Duke of Lancaster, and to pay him great summes of money, he made choice at that time to send backe the French forces, and not to suffer them to stay B in his countrie, giving them part of their enteraynement, and good assurance for the rest. Then hauing held an assembly of the Estates at Birbieca, by reason the plague was at Burgos, he propounded the neede he had of money to pay the English Duke: and therefore he attempted to impose a generall Tribute vpon the Clergie, Nobility, and third Estate without exception, wherein he was crost, beeing forced to seeke some other expedient. From Birbieca he came to Soria, and then to Caloorra, where he heard the French Ambassadors, and sent others to Bayone, to the Duke of Lancaster, to confirme their accords: and then it was concluded anew, that from thence forth the Infant Don Henry should be called Prince of the Asturia's, and his wife Princeesse, after the manner of England; whereby the kings eldest son is called Prince of Wales: and then began the custom C to call the eldest of Castile Princes, whom before they called Infants, and it is an error to entitle them Princes of Castile or of Spaine: for they are not called Princes for any other occasion, but that they haue the Asturia's for their portion and interaynement, the which was made a principality, first in this D. Henry, and his wife D. Catherine: to the patrimony of which principality, Iden, Vbeda, Baeça, and Andujar haue bene since annexed. It is an error also to thinke that this title of principallitie is giuen to the Asturia's of Ouedo, for that in that region was the beginning of the recouerie of Spaine: for it proceeds not from anything else, but from this marriage betwixt Henry of Castile, and Donna Catherine of Lancaster. Before the king Don Iohn of Castile parted from Caloorra, Charles the third king of Nauarre, brother-in-law to king Iohn, came to visit him, with the Queene Donna D. Leonora of Castile his wife.

French succor  
1 mile for  
castile.

Title of Prince  
first giuen in  
Spaine to the  
Kings eldest  
sonne.

4  
D. Charles the  
3. of that name  
and 31. of Nbr  
mar.

This prince had succeeded king Charles the Bad his father, in the year 1386. beeing dead at Pampelona of a Leprosie, as the Spaniards say, and the French Histories, of a disease he got by his incontinencie, whereof he languished long. It is he of whom they write that the Physicians hauing him in cure, applying Aqua-vita to restore him, they let fire of it, which tooke hold of the bed, so as he was burnt and could not be releued: Others say, that he was fowed vp in a sheet steeped in Aqua-vita, and that the Surgeon seeking to cut the threed, holding a waxe light, the sheet was suddenly set on fire and burnt the king: but howsoever, hee ended his daies in great sicknesse at Pampelona, in the year 1386, the five and fourth year of his raigne, hauing reigned 73. His body was interred in the Cathedral church of that citie, where the heart of the Queene his wife lyes, who dyed in France in the year 1378. his bowels were buried at Saint Maries of Roncevaux, and his heart at S. Maries of Vxue. The same year he dyed, his daughter Jeanne was first married to Iohn of Montfort Duke of Britanny, by whom he had foure sonnes, and three daughters, and afterwards to Henry King of England. Before his death he pacified the seditions which they of Pampelona had raised among themselves, causing the authors to be punished: among which, one of the chiefe was called Andrew of Turilles, who was executed.

Ggg 2

Charles

### Charles the 3. of that name, the 31. King of Nauarre.

**T**his Charles succeeded to the Realme of Nauarre, being called the Noble, for his bountie, affabilitie, and other vertues, which made him to be esteemed by all Christian Princes his neighbours, and generally beloued of all men. Hee was 25. yeares old, when he came to the Crowne. At the deceale of his father, he was at Pehnañel in Castile, with the King D. John his brother-in-law, of whom he tooke his leave with infinit teares, yppon the receit of these newes. And such was the loue and singular affection which the King of Castile bare him, as from the beginning of his raigne he granted him full restitution of the townes and castles of Tudela, S. Vincent, Viana, Guadara, Estella, Miranda, Larraga, and other places, which were in *deposito* since the last pacification made with Don Henry king of Castile, although the ten yeares capitulated were not yet expired: moreover he forgave him 20000. doubions of gold, which had bene lent to the deceased king his father, and did discharge him of the promise of two thousand pounds sterling, which he had made for the libertie of *Perlas* of Tortui an Englishman being prisoner in Castile. Such and greater was the bountie of D. John king of Castile to Charles the third king of Nauarre his brother-in-law, and likewise to the Queene D. Leonora his sister, and to their daughters who were at that time in Castile; and moreover hee caused the king to be accompanied into his Realme by the chiefe of his Nobility, who being come to Pamplona, and there receiued with great pompe and ioy by the Estates of the Realme, the first age he did for the government thereof, was to resolute with his subiects and Counsellors, to adhere to Pope Clement the 7. remaining at Auignon, and to reject *Phibane* the first, as the kings of France and Castile had done, yet with this protestation, that hee would not separate himselfe from the holy Apostolike church, but obey that which should be decreed by a generall Councell concerning the Schisme. Then he sought the allyance of neighbor Princes, sending ambassadours vnto them; especially into Arragon, where hee made a league with the duke of Gironne, the heire of Arragon, and treated the marriage of Donna Jeanne his elder daughter, with D. James eldest sonne to the Duke of Gironne, hauing an intent to vnite the crowne of Nauarre to that of Arragon, for that hee had no sonnes, but this marriage tooke no effect.

King of Nauarre during the schisme adheres to the Pope of Auignon.

Genealogie of Nauarre.

In the beginning of the yeare 1387. Queene Leonora his wife fell into a long and languishing sickness, which bred much trouble betwixt them. He had by her these children following: D. Jeanne the eldest, who was wife to John of Foix, sonne to Archambault; D. Maria who dyed a virgin at Pampelona; D. Blanche, who was Queene of Sicily and Nauarre, D. Beatrix Countesse of Marche, wife to James of Bourbon, and D. Isabella, who dyed also a mayd. After these five daughters they had Don Charles their sonne, who dyed a child, and Don Lewis which liued but fixe moneths. These be the lawfull children of the king Don Charles the third, he had out of marriage one sonne called *Gedfrey* of Naur, who was Marshall of the Realme, and Earle of Cortes, and one daughter named Donna Jeanne of Nauarre, who was married to *Inigo Ortiz* of Estuniga, sonne to *Diego Lopes* of Estuniga.

Of these children mention is made in this kings testament, the which is in the Cathedral church of Pampelona, in the which his brethren are also named: Peter Earle of Mortaing, and Leon a Bastard, and Donna Maria also a Bastard, married to the Earle of Denia.

In the yeare 1387. the warre betwixt Castile and Portugal being hote, the French troups led by Lewis Duke of Bourbon to the succour of King John, past through Nauarre, where they were furnished with all necessities by King Charles, who after their retreat and accord made by the king of Castile with the Duke of Lancaster, hee came to Calor, as we haue sayd, to reioyce with the King Don John, for this pacification.

Retur.

**A** Returning to the treatie of this warre, we lay, that the Princesse Catherine hauing followed her father into Guienne, was after a new confirmation of the accord, sent by him to Castile, and there deliuered to the Prelates and Noblemen deputed by the king of Castile, to receiue her, who conducted her to Palence, where the marriage betwixt her and the Prince D. Henry was solemnized, he being but ten yeares old, and three moneths. The Dutchesse of Lancaster, mother to the Princesse, past afterwards into Spaine, and came to the king D. John her cousin at Medina del campo, to whome among other presents she gaue a rich Crowne of gold, saying, that the duke her husband had caused it to be made, hoping to be crowned king of Castile: but seeing they were agreed otherwise then he expected, it was his due, and therefore she presented it vnto him. The king receiued it with great ioy, and required the Dutchesse with other gifts of price, putting her in possession of the townes promised by the accord, whereunto he added Huete. The Dutchesse past afterwards to Guadalaajara, hauing had a promise of an enterview betwixt the king and the Duke of Lancaster her husband, at Fontaraby or Bajone. The king staid not long to come to Victoria for this meeting, and the Dutchesse went before to draw her husband to Fontaraby: but he excused himselfe by reason of his apparent indisposition, and vpon the sharpnesse of the winter, which made the passage of S. Adrian difficult. D. Pero Lopes of Ayala, Bishop of Olma, and Fernando of Illesca were sent vnto him from the king to whome he propounded an allyance which he desired to make betwixt Castile and England, and to induce the King D. John to quit that of France, whereof the ambassadors excused their master. The interview being hindered by this occasion the king D. John came to Segobia, to giue order for the warre of Portugal, which had bene somewhat quenched since the duke of Lancasters retreat: for the pacifying whereof Fernando of Illesca, of the Order of the preaching Friars, and the Kings Confessor, had laboured much, but could not conclude any thing.

The King of Portugall falling sicke in his pallace of Cordal, gaue some hope that matters would turne fauourable for Castile: for his sicknesse was so violent, as all men despaired of his life: whereat the Queene Donna Philippe was much grieved, so as shee was deliuered of her first child before her time, which made them doubt the would not haue any more: but midwiues rules are not alwaies true; for shee had afterwards those children whereof we haue made mention.

Friar Fernando and others, who treated a truce betwixt these two kings, being not able to effect that which they pretended, the King of Portugal being recouered, he entred into Galicia, and spoiled the countrie, and tooke Tuy by Intelligence, and Saluaterra: after which spoiles the Confessor Fernando returned into Portugal, and renewed the treatie, where he wrought so, as he yielded to a truce for six yeares, in the yeare 1389. by the which Tuy, Saluaterra, and all the Portugals had taken from Castile, was yielded. By this pacification which continued long, Don John King of Portugal, had meane to settle himselfe in his Royaltie, and wholly to exclude D. Beatrix.

As for the affaires of Arragon, we find that before the war betwixt Castile and Portugal, the king D. Pedro being very old, married the fourth time with D. Sibilla, widow to Aras of Foixes, whom he caused to be crowned at Sarragossa, in the yeare 1381. whether the Estates were called to that effect. At the which the Noblemen which had subiects that were not Gentlemen, maintained that they had soueraigne power ouer them, their goods and liues, and that it had bene long practised in Arragon. This action was begun vpon the complaints made by the Inhabitants of Anzanego, against D. Pedro Sanchez of Latras their Lord: but it was prohibited, and a sentence was given by way of prouision, that the Noblemen should enioy the rights which they had accustomed, although they were not according to the common law or written law: and although they could not shew any priuiledges granted vnto them in that behalf, yet should it not be lawfull for the king to draw them into question, for any violence or bad vsage done vnto their subiects, but the punishment of any excess done by the superiors to their subiects, should be left to God, the which gaue way to infinit wickednes. These Estates ended with trouble & confusion, for that D. Briande of Luna, hauing left D. Lopes Ximenes of Vreca her husband, and married D. Lewis Cornel, these two Noblemen went to armes, and kept the field.

Ggg 3

As

Portugal.  
6.  
explains of the  
K. of Portugal  
in Spaine.

1389.

7.  
Arragon.



Aragon. It is remarkable that at the same time both in Castile and Portugal, there were Kings reigning of the same name. The King Don *Pedro* his father was a lover of learning, he entertained the university of Lerida, and erected one in Huesca. Having given to his sonne *John* the towne of Girone with the title of a Dutche; then beganne the custome, that the eldest of Arragon are called Dukes of Girone, as the eldest sonne of France is called Dauphin of Vienne.

The new King Don *John* beganne his raigne with the persecution of his mother in law, who like unto Donna *Leonor* of Castile, was retired from Barcelona, seeing the death of the King *D. Pedro* approach, and had put her selfe into Zaroca, where she was soon besieged, and taken by Don *Martin* of Arragon the Kings brother. And for that the King Don *John* lay languishing in his bed, and could not be eased by the art of Physicke, this widow Queene was accused to haue caused him to bee poisoned, whereupon she was strictly examined, and all those of her household. All the goods the deceased King had bestowed on her, were made forsaite, and given to the Queen reigning Donna *Violant*. The Regency or Government of the realme was given to Don *Martin*, who also was made duke of Montblanc, by letters given at Grenoillez neere to Barcelona. The preuiledges, lawes and statutes of that city were confirmed by him at his coming to the crowne, and hee did aduow Pope *Clement* at Auignon, by the council of the Cardinal Don *Pedro de Luna*, and the perswasion of the Queene *D. Isant* or *Violant*, and he of Rome was declared vnlawfull, as made by force.

All grants made by the King *D. Pedro* since the yeere 1365. were reuoked. Such were the first acts of this King: a Prince weake both in body and minde, giuen to idleness, hunting, dauncing, musike and poeise, with so violent an affection, as they say, hauing at his coming to the crowne, sent a solemne Ambassage to the French King, to treat of the affaires of their Estates, the chiefe Article was to require the French King, to giue him certaine Poets of Prouence and Languedoc which did flourish in those times in their vulgar tongue, not much differing from the Catalan, whom hee received as a singular fauour, honoured them, and assigned them great pensions, insinuating for the loue of them schooles of their poesies. And to fill vp the measure of his imperfections, he had no care but to please his wife, unto whom he was wholly vowed and addicted. The Generall Estates being assembled at Monçon, the Deputies had charge to require the severity of the ancient manners, and the restoring of martiall discipline, and that the honour of arme might bee reuiued, whereunto the King had no inclination. But above all, that the houses and courts of the King and Queene should bee reformed, and reduced to the fashion and manner of their ancestors, and that some base and vicious persons should be chased away. There were certaine Articles presented against *D. Carrasco* of Villaragut, one of the Queens Ladies, in whom she wholly trusted, and gaue her so great credit with the King, as the honors & offices of the realme, were distributed according to her aduice and will, without reason, measure, or regard of merit. The chiefe which sought this reformation, were Don *Alphonse* of Arragon, Marquis of Villena, *D. James* his brother bishop of Tortosa, *D. James* of Prages, *D. Bernardin* of Cabrera, Vicont of Lisle and Roa, *D. Pedro Queralt*, *D. John Bellera*, and *Raymond* of Bages; against whom their banded some of the Kings Mignons, so as all the realme was in combustion and armes: but the Kings weaknesse was at that time profitable; for it kept them from fighting; and hauing granted a safe conduct to *D. Alphonse*, *D. Lopes Ximenes* of Virea, *John Ximenes* of Virea, and other their complices, they met with Don *Martin* the Kings brother, had conference vpon the reformation, and agreed vpon many Articles. Amongst others Don *Carrasco* of Villaragut was chased from the Queenes court, with a prohibition neuer to conuerse with her, or any of the Princes or Princesses. During these contentions *Bernard* brother to the Earle of Armaignac entred into Catalogne, with an infinit number of souldiers French and English, who foraged and spoiled all they encountered, *Bernard* their leader hauing no other reason, but that he sought meanes to entertaine the souldiers. This danger forced the King to arme, and to march against these vagabond troupes, whereof some beeing found scattered and out of order, were defeated, and the rest forced to repasse into Languedoc.

The

Pope Clement  
at Auignon  
acknowledged  
in Arragon.

Estates require  
reformation of  
the King and  
Queens house

French  
troups spoile  
Catalogne.

A The affaires of Sardynia had beene compounded about the time of the death of the King *D. Pedro*, so as the lands held by *Marian* Iudge of Arborea, were restored to *Leonor* his daughter, and *Brancalon* of Oria her husband deliuered out of prison; and be set downe, as the Siegneury of Genoua might not keepe nor arme any galleys, but in the ports of Genoua, Sauona, Albenga, and Porto Venere, in the riuer of Genoua, and the Ligustike sea, and in other seas at Pera, Capha, Famogosta and Scio, Valencia, Majorca, Minorca, Iuiza, Cailierij and Alguer; so as a peace was entertained in the Island of Sardynia, about the yeere of our Lord 1389, when as the marriage was accomplished between *D. Martin* sonne to the Infant *D. Martin* duke of Mombanc, and *Mary* daughter to *Frederic* the third King of Sicile; a subiect of new warre, by reason of the factions and partialities which were in that Island, amongst the Noblemen, some allowing and others disliking this marriage of their Princesses, who according vnto some, had beene taken out of the castle of Carrane, where by the will of the deceased King her father, the Cattelogne, by them of Clermont.

The new Kings being come into Sicile, with the duke of Mombanc, who served as a Tutor, being accompanied by *D. Bernard* of Cabrera, Don *Artal* of Luna, allied to the King, and many other Noblemen of Cattelogne, Arragon and Valencia, and with a good army, they were receiued by them that held their party in the towne of Trapani, from whence they fought to reduce the factious, some by mildnesse, and others by rigour. The towne of Palermo was yeelded vnto him by the Earle of Modica, and there they were crowned; from whence they made a progresse, so as they were acknowledged throughout the whole Realme, yet there were often troubles renewed through the naturall lightnesse of that nation.

This yeere 1389, died Pope *Vrbain*, residing at Rome, in whose place the Cardinals of his faction did chosse *Boniface* the ninth, called before *Peter Tomacel*, a priest, Cardinal of the title of *Saint Anastasius*. In the yeere of our Lord 1390, the cite of Lisbon was made an Archbishopricke by him at the request of the King *D. John*, who followed *D. the Pope* at Rome, and not him, at Auignon. To it was giuen for *Suffragan* the bishop of Coimbra for that time; and in proceesse of time the church of Portalegre was made a Bishops seat by *Paul* the third.

The same yeere the King of Castile hauing assembled his Estates at Guadajajara, being thrust on with a continual desire to be King of Portugal, whereunto he was animated by the Queene Donna *Beatrice* his wife, hee propounded to his counsell, that hee had resolved in that assembly to giue ouer the Realmes of Castile and Leon to his sonne Don *Henry*, together with his other Lands and Siegneuries, except Seuille, Cordoua, Iacn, Murcia, and all the Moores frontiers: referring also for himselfe the third part of the reuenues of the church, granted vnto him by Pope *Clement*, saying, that he was aduertised, that vpon this renunciation the Portugals would receiue him for their King: for they had no other reason to oppose themselves, and to reiekt him, but for that they could not endure to see the realme of Portugal vnitd to that of Castile. But his counsell did aduise him not to doe a thing so dishonourable for himselfe, and not profitable for his countrie, in quitting his fathers realmes, to thinke to get a strange one, which was held by a resolute enemy: shewing him by reasons and examples that he did hazard the losse of both, and to bee a fable to the world for euer. Hee did willingly heare and beleue his counsellors, and suppress this desire, enioyning them silence. In this assembly he granted a generall pardon to all those that had offended him during the last warres, except the Inhabitants of Tuy, who had yeelded to *D. John* King of Portugal, and to his brother *D. Alphonse* Earle of Gijon, to whom he would shew no mercy. The Estates granted him a greater subvention of money then euer any King before him had. Being required by the Deputies of the Prouinces he reformed the expences and superfluities of his court, and reduced his ordinary troupes of horse, for the gard of the realm, to foure thousand Launces, fiftene hundred Genets, and one thousand crossbowes one horsbacke: he ordained that every launce should furnish two horses of seruice, and the Genets in like

To  
Marriage of  
D. Martin  
with Mary the  
heire of Sicile.

II  
Portugal.

Lisbone made  
an Archbishop-  
ricke.

12.  
Castile.

Estates of Castile.



like manner. To the Launciers and Genets he assigned fiftene hundred Mautaudis by A the yere, and fixe hundred to the crosbow men, a coine which was then very current; granting them moreover many great privileges and immunities. There also it was decreed, that the King should send vnto Pope Clement, to intreat him that in the prouision of the benefices of Spaine he would not admit any that were not borne in the country by reason of the great inconveniences which did grow thereby: vpon the complaints made by the Clergy especially of Guipulcoa, Biscay, Alaua and Galicia, by the Bishops of Calaoira and Burgos, for that many lay men, vnder colour of right of Patronage, had seized vpon many lands, rents and other goods of the church, by reason wherof the diuine seruice was ill attended in many places of those Prouinces, the buildings were ruined, and there were not Ornamentes necessary for the places and persons dedicated to holy workes.

The King being not well instructed of those rights, left matters in the Estate they were, least he should cause some tumult before it were iustified. Besides this, the subiects complained that many Noblemen hauing iurisdiction presumed to carry themselves in a manner like Soueraignes, both in ciuill and criminall causes: it was therefore ordained, that it should be lawfull for any one of what estate or quality soeuer, finding himselfe grieved by the Chastellans, or other subalternall Iudges, to appeale to the Iudge royall. In the behaile of the Nobility it was required, that it would please the King to take away the claue mentioned in the testament of the deceased King Don Henry, touching the succession in the collateral line to lands of the crowne, given by him to Noblemen and Knights which had followed and serued him in the conquest of those Realmes: wherevnto answer was made, that euery one should enioy that which had bene giuen him by the deceased King his father, but hee would in no sort reuoke that claue.

In this assembly of Guadalajara the truce was confirmed with Granado, the Moors Ambassadors being come thither, who brought vnto King John many rich presents. There also the King gaue vnto the Infant Don Ferdinand his sonne, who was Lord of Lara the title of Duke of Pagnafal, hauing a ducale crowne set vpon his head, with great solemnity, the which was made like a bande round and vnited, without any floures surpassing one another, which did belong onely to Kings, though now it bee otherwise vsed, euery one seeking to countenance his authority, by vsurping of title and marke beyond their due. Hee also gaue armes to the said Don Ferdinand, that is, a caske and a Lion with the royall Bands of Arragon, for that hee had him by the Queene Donna Leonora of Arragon his first wife. He was the second Duke in the Realme, for that hee of Benauent was the first. These and other things were decreed at Guadalajara, whether Ambassadors came from Charles the Noble, King of Nauarre, to sommon the Queene Donna Leonora, sister to King John, to returne into Nauarre, to the King her husband, but they could not preuaile.

This Princesse being two yeres before fallne into a great sicknesse, and finding no helpe by physicke, shee was aduised to change the ayre and to goe into Castile, hoping shee should recover her health sucking the breath of her native soile. For this cause the King Don Charles her husband, who loued her much, conducted her himselfe vnto the King Don John her brother; with whom shee had continued some daies in feasting and sportes in the towne of Nauarre, and then hee returned and left the Queene Donna Leonora to remaine there, vntill shee had recovered her health.

The Queene was not onely well entertained by the King of Castile her brother, but her whole household was defraied, and shee was honoured as much as might bee. Being thus at her ease, shee soone recovered her health againe: but as her bodie was in better disposition by this change of ayre, so her minde was much impaired; for were it for the commodities and delights shee receiued in this stately and magnificent court of Castile, or for some other occasion, shee resolved to remaine and keepe there still, and to returne no more into Nauarre, grounding this vnreasonable resolution vpon the badde vltage shee said shee had receiued from the King her husband, who did not loue her said shee, but was hard vnto her; that her reue-

Visitation  
of the Cler-  
gy.

Lord of the  
crown  
giuen  
in recompence  
of seruice.

Duke of Benauent  
the first  
duke in Castile.

13.  
Nauarre.

D. Leonora  
Queene of  
Nauarre light  
and vnkind.

newes

A newes were not well paid her: that the Knights and other Castellans which did serue her, were not respected in Nauarre, with other such womanish excuses, with whom vanity in an other place was of more esteeme; then honesty in her owne house: the which the King Don John did heare with a brotherly affection, but with great discontentment, knowing, or at the least doubting, that they were but collours without truth, King Charles hearing that shee was in good health, hee wrote diuerse times vnto her, to haue her returne, but shee excused herselfe, finding sometimes one let, sometimes another: so as in the end knowing her intention, hee employed the Cardinal Don Pedro de Luna a Cattelán, but without effect: for the Queene seeking to capitulate with the King her husband, she propounded such vnreasonable conditions, as they were forced to take an other courte.

Shee had continued two yeres in Castile, the King her husband vsing all friendly meanes to draw her home, forbearing to cause himselfe to be crowned King of Nauar, for the desire hee had to celebrate this ceremony in her company, and to haue her crowned with him: but seeing that hee lost time in writing and sending messengers, hee sent Don Ramires of Arellán and Don Martin of Ayuar, Ambassadors to the King of Castile, being at the Estates at Guadalajara, to intreat him to enterpise his authority with his sister Donna Leonora, that she might returne into Nauarre, and liue with the King her husband, as God and honesty did require. The King gaue a courteous audience to the Ambassadors, and offered to doe his dutie therein, the which he performed.

C For going the day following to his sisters lodging, he let her vnderstand that it was iust & reasonable, seeing shee was in health, and her husband required it, that she should goe vnto him; and the better to perswade her he promised that if she had not entertainment first for her royall State in Nauarre, he would impart some of his vnto her, and giue her a good company of Knights and Ladies to conduct her into Nauarre, with that honour which did belong vnto her. Shee hauing no iust reason to contradict the King her brother, answered him in these termes, Sir I am much bound vnto you for many respects, besides the good counsell it pleaseeth you now to giue me, wherein I know you seeke my honour and profit. The King my Lord and husband, must also be mindfull of your bounty and brotherly loue, vsed towards him in many matters of great consequence, for my sake: for if you had not imploied your selfe, at my request to the French King, who held him prisoner, it may bee hee should haue found greater difficulties in his deliuey. Being come into Spaine he knows what honours, and what guilts he hath receiued from you during the life of the King his father: And when he came to succeed in the Realme of Nauarre, all the world hath seene how liberally you haue restored him the places, which you might iustly haue retained in Nauarre, being left in deposito at the peace made betwixt your fathers: Moreover you haue discharged him of twenty thousand doubloons of gold, and of his promise for the English Nobleman, who was a prisoner taken in warre, being two thousand pounds sterling: presently after the death of the deceased King his father, you caused mee to goe out of your Realme, into his country, whether I carried whatsoever I had good and precious, to appeare the more honourable amongst the Nauarrois, with the Ladies and Gentlewomen of my traine, borne of great families, all things tending to the honour and profit of the King my Lord: But in steed of acknowledging all this (it grieues me to speake it, and I cannot speake it without blushing) hee hath not receiued mee, nor intreated mee as hee ought. He appointed me certaine prouisions monthly, for the entertainment of my house, my state and attendants, whereof I haue bene alwaies so ill paid, as I haue bene often forced to ingage my iewels, to content my seruants, who complained often vnto me. Besides falling dangerously sicke in Nauarre, and almost dead, I was duly informed, that my languishing proceeded from certaine hurtfull herbes which were giuen mee by a physician a few, sent by the King my Lord to cure me. I doe not thinke that these herbes were giuen me by the commandement of the King my Lord, or with his priuie, and God forbid it should once enter into my thought: but I finde it very strange that hauing complained, he did not vouchsafe to punish this bad physician, as hee deserued.

Seeing my indisposition to continue I intreated him to giue mee leaue to come into Castile, Admonition of the King of Castile to his sister the Queene of Nauarre, Excuses of the Queene of Nauarre.

Castile, to your court, whereas God be thanked and your good reception, I have recovered my health. But during my abode here, in this case, I have bene advertised, that many flatterers and bad servants to the King my Lord and mee, haue charged me with many slanders, the which hath much incensed him against me, so as I know not how my Estate, or my life can be well assured in Nauarre, if I returne as you perswade me: wherefore I beseech you Sir in the name of God, and for the brotherly loue you beare me, that you would be pleased to consult with your good and faithfull counsellors, vpon my returne to the King my Lord and husband, whom I loue and honour, and to provide for the safety of my life and honor: for if I should fall into any danger, or receive any indignity, you should haue interest therein.

These words accompanied with a mournfull countenance, did much moue the King D. John, who promising his sister that he would haue a care of her affaires, he conferred with his counsell, imparting vnto them the speech which the Queene of Nauarre had vsed, causing them all toswear that they should giue him good and faithfull counsell touching her returne to the King her husband. The counsell hauing duely consulted of this businesse they came vnto the King, and told him, that they had found it expedient, that hee should cause King Charles his brother in law, to sweare to vse the Queene Donna Leonora his wife well and honourably, and for assurance thereof he should leaue some places of Nauarre in deposito in the hands of some Knights that were not suspect whereby they thought the Queene might bee well assured to returne into Nauarre, and to liue freely with her husband. The King of Castile allowed of this aduice, and hauing caused his sister Donna Leonora to be called, he acquainted her therewith, exhorting her to follow it, the which seemed nothing pleasing vnto her, yet shee yielded, hauing no iust cause of contradiction: wherefore the King D. John hauing caused the Ambassadors of Nauarre to bee called, hee would haue returned them home with this answer, but they replied that the King their master would take any oth, but to deliuer places into a third mans hand, hee would not doe it: giuing many pertinent reasons, why hee should not yeeld to it.

After many allegations and disputes herevpon, the Queene said, that if it pleased the King her husband to sweare and promise to Pope Clement, the French King, and to the King her brother to vse her well, she would returne. The Ambassadors answered, that the Cardinal D. Pedro of Luna had already propounded such an oth, and that the King their master had answered, that it was not needfull the French King should meddle with any controuersies betwixt him and his wife, and that for the rest he would make no difficulty. These disputes increasing more and more, to the great griefe of the King of Castile, who knew well that the Queene his sister was staid for some other consideration, and that the obiections made against her husband were mere slanders, he was much perplexed: for he both loued Charles King of Nauarre, and the Queene also. The Ambassadors being out of hope to worke the Queenes returne, they demaund the Infanta D. Leonne, the King of Nauarres eldest daughter, to whom the succession of the Realme did belong for want of heires males, to be deliuered vnto them, to carry her into Nauarre, to the King her father, seeing he might not hope for any more children by the Queene, persisting in her vnreasonable resolution, to liue from his company. The Queene excusing her selfe, said, that it was not her intent to liue seperated from King Charles: she desired to bee assured of her life: And the King her brother (who alwaies perswaded her to bee well aduised, and to beleuee what he said vnto her) was forced to send Aluar Nunez of Villa Real, President of his Chancery, into Nauarre, to take information of these venomous herbes, which shee said had bene giuen her by the physician a Iew, and to bring the depositions of the witnesses, whom shee named: but this was an information made without any aduerser party, to the great scandale of Queene Leonoras marriage: so as by the aduice of the royall counsell of Castile it was suppress. The Queene remayning obstinate, not to returne to her husband, the King of Castile prevailed so with her, as shee yielded to send Don Leonne her eldest daughter, for hee gaue her to vnderstand that it would somewhat pacifie the King of Nauarre.

Besides it was to bee feared that if shee staid her, hee might in despite institute

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A his brother Peter Earle of Mortaign heire of his realme. It did much import the Nauarrois, to haue this daughter in the fathers power, fearing least the mother should marry her to some Castilian, against the fathers will, and to the preiudice of the liberty of the Realme: The daughter was deliuered to the Ambassadors, with one of her sisters, being royally accompanied from the towne of Roa, whether the King and his sister came to send her into Nauarre, where shee was receiued with great contentment to the King and the Nauarrois, yet he was much discontented at the rebellion and contempt of the Queene his wife.

This businesse being ended, the King of Castile came to Segobia, where he did institute the Order of the Knights of the holy Ghost, causing collars of gold to bee made like vnto the sunne beames, at which did hang a white doue. This collar hee himselfe did weare, and gaue it to many Knights that were most familiar with him, shewing them a certaine booke of Orders, which they must obserue. Moreover he would also institute an other device, which he called Realon, the which Elquires, which carried themselves valiantly in Iousts and Tournayes, and did any commendable act, should carry: yet hee being dead these things died likewise with him, which followed the same yeere 1390.

He was resolu'd to passe into Andalusia, to order the affaires of that Province, and administer Iustice: passing in the month of October by Alcala de Henares, thence came vnto him fifty Christian Knights borne at Maroc in Affrike, who being sent for by him had past the seas with leaue from their King, and were cometo doe him seruice: Hee receiued them graciously, and promised them pensions and lands in Castile. They were of the most ancient families of Maroc, hauing alwaies held the Christian religion, and were called the Farfanes. The King desirous to see them manage their Genets (for they had the report to bee good horlemen) went to horse-backe, and going out at the port which is called of Burgos, he entred into a plowed field, and beginning to gallop his horse ouer the furrows, he stumbled in the midst of his course, and fell vpon the King, who was so brused as hee died, being but two and thirty yeeres old, whereof hee reigned eleuen and three monthes; his body was carried to Toledo, and buried in the Chappell of the last Kings, where his father and mother lie. A Prince endow'd with good parts but vnfortunate, and too sharpe to his brother the Earle of Gijona, the which did somewhat blemish the luster of his vertues: he was a friend and rewarder of valiant men, and religious according to the time. Hee was founder of three of the chiefe Monasteries in Spaine, and gaue them great reuenues; that is, the Carthusians at Valdeleroya in the territorie of Segobia in Rascaille, the which is commonly called Paular: The royall Monasterie of the Order of Saint Benet at Vaileadolit, the chiefe of the religion in the Realmes of Castile, Leon, Arragon and Nauarre, built whereas the old fort did stand. And moreover hee founded the church and house of Santa Maria of Guadalupe, whereas he put religious men of Saint Ierosimes Order, and tooke away the Chaplains which were wont to bee there; at which place there is an Image, which they hold doth miracles.

This King was very pittifull to Princes and men of marke that were strangers and afflicted, as it appeered by the deliuey which hee sought with great affection of Leon King of Armenia, who was prisoner with the Sultan of Egypt to whom hee sent an honorable Ambassage to that effect. And afterwards this Prince being retired into Spaine, he gaue him conuenient reuenues and pensions vpon the towne of Madrid, and other places in Castile. It is he whose tombe is in the Celestins church at Paris, where he died mediating a peace betwixt the French and English.

The King of Nauarre hauing laboured in vaine for to haue the Queene his wife returne vnto him, desyring to haue her crowned with him, like vnto other Queenes, hee resolu'd not to delay his coronation any longer: wherefore he assembled the Estates of his realm in the city of Pampelone, whereas the solemnity of his coronation was made, as followeth: The Deputies of the Clergy, Nobility and third Estate, being assembled, with the Ambassadors of forraigne Princes, in the great chappell of the Cathedrall church; the Bishops being in their Pontifical habit; Don Alonso of Salua

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An. 1390.

Farfanes christi  
then affi-  
sians.

15

16

Cremoyat  
the King of  
Nauarres co-  
ronation.

Bishop of Pampelone, who was afterwards Cardinall, spake the words vnto the King: A  
O King our naturall Lord, it is fit before you receiue the Sacrament of the holy vnction,  
that you take the oth vnto your people of Nauarre, which hath bene accustomed to be  
taken in this Realme of Nauarre, by Kings your predecessors. Wherevnto the King  
answered, that he was ready to sweare: then a crosse being presented vnto him, and a  
booke; laying his hand thereon, he pronounced these words with a loude voice, We D.  
our people of Nauarre, vpon this crosse and vpon the holy Euangelist toucht by vs, and  
to you the prelates and rich men of the cities and good townes, and to all the people of  
Nauarre, for all your rights, lawes, customes, freedomes, liberties and preiudges: that  
euery one of them, as they now are, shalbe maintained and kept, to you and your succe-  
ssors, whom God pardon, or to you, by Vs or our Officers, we shall hereafter com-  
mand it to cease, and satisfaction to bee made, according vnto right, as they shalbe made  
manifest by good men and of credit.

Form of  
the Kings oth  
to his people.

Form of the  
subjects oth  
vnto the King.

Paction of the  
King of Na-  
uarre.

King of Nauarre  
carried vpon  
a target.

After the Kings oth, the Deputies of the Estates, according to their degrees, standing  
vp, did also sweare after this manner. We N. N. Barons of Nauarre, as well in our owne  
names, as for all the Knights and Gentlemen of the realme, sweare vnto you, our King  
and Lord, vpon this crosse, and these foure holy Euangelists, handled and toucht by vs, to  
guard and faithfully to defend your person, and our country, and to aide you to keepe,  
maintaine and defend the lawes and customes with all our power. After this manner  
did the deputies for the cities and townes sweare, euery one according to the rights,  
lawes, customes, preiudges, freedomes and liberties, which they did enioy. This  
oth beeing taken of either side, except by the Clergy, who sweare not, the King retired  
himselfe into Saint Stephens chappell, of the same church, where he put off his robes,  
and tooke one of white tuffe, which was vsuall in such ceremonies, and then was  
brought backe by the Bishops of Tarrafone and of Dax, to the great chappell, where as  
all things necessary were prepared for his vnction. The King beeing there enuironed by  
the Bishops, he was annointed with oyle by the bishop of Pampelone, with the prayers  
and suffrages vsuall in such actions: and the King hauing instantly put off that white  
roabe he was richly attired in other royall habits, and so approached neere vnto the high  
altar, where there was a sword, the royal crowne glistering with precious stones, and the  
royall Scepter, hee put on the sword, and then drew it forth, holding it vp on high in  
signe of Iustice, and then sheathed it againe, then hee tooke the crowne, and set it on his  
head, and last of all hee tooke the scepter in his hand, and in the meane time the prelates  
continued their prayers. These things beeing done the King mounted vpon a tar-  
get, on the which were painted the armes of Nauarre, the which was borne by the  
Deputies of the Nobility, and them of the city of Pampelone and the three quarters  
thereof, Bourg, Peuplement and Nauarre, as well in the name of the said city, as of  
other cities and townes of the realme, as it had bene appointed by the King: wherevpon  
publike protestation was made by the Deputies of Estella, Tudela, Sanguesa, O-  
lite and other townes, which could not fer to their hands to support this target, on  
which the King was, that it was without preiudice at that time, or hereafter, to their com-  
monalities. Thus the King was raised vp by the deputies, who cried out thrice, *Real, Real,*  
*al Real.*

The King beeing thus carried after the manner of the ancient French, hee cast mo-  
ney vnto the people, which done, hee was taken from thence by the Cardinall Don  
Pedro of Luna, the Popes Legat (who assisted at this ceremonie) and by the Bishops of  
Pampelone and Tarrafone, and led to a royall throne in great state: the prelates and o-  
ther Clergy men continuing still in their prayers and ending with a *Te Deum.*

These things thus performed, the Kings Attorney General, called Garcia of Leach,  
in the Kings name, the Bishop of Pampelone for himselfe and all the Clergy of the  
realme, with the Deputies of the Nobility, townes and commonalities, demanded an  
act of Peter of Godeille Apostolike Notary, of Peter of Iauariz Clarke and Apostolike  
Notary,

A Notary for the Diocefe of Pampelone, and of Iohn of Ceilludo Notary, and Secretary  
to the King, the which was formally done. For the last act of this solemnity, masse  
was sung by the Bishop of Pampelone, whereas the King, according to the custome of  
his predecessors, offered scarlet, gold and siluer. This coronation was the fourth yeere of  
this Princes reigne, in February in the yeere 1390. and to make more particular rela-  
tion of men of quality, which were at this assembly, deputed for the Estates or otherwise,  
First of all there was D. Pedro of Luna Cardinall, of the title of Santa Maria in Cosme-  
din, Legat a Latere in Spaine, to Pope Clement residing in Auignon: Don Martin Salua  
Bishop of Pampelone, D. Iohn of Calaoorra and Calçado, D. Pedro of Tarrafone, Don  
Fernand of Vic of Ossona, D. Pedro of Ampurias, D. Iohn of Dax, D. Garcia of Eugui of  
Bayone, Confessor to the King, all Bishops. Moreouer the Abbot of Trache, the Deane  
of the Collegiall church of Tudelo; the Abbots of the Monasteries of Saint Saluator  
of Leyra, Oliuia, Yranzu, Hitero and Saint Saluator of Vrax: the Prior of the Order of  
Saint Iohn of Ierusalem, the dignities, Chanoins and Clergy of the church of Pampel-  
one, for the Estate of the Clergy. For the Nobilitie and military Order were Don  
Lionel of Nauarre, the Kings base brother, D. Arnaud Raymond Lord of Grammont, D.  
Arnaud Sanchez Lord of Lule, D. Pedro Lord of Laxaga, D. Martin Henriquez of Lacar-  
ra Marshal of the realme, D. Ramir of Arellan, D. Martin Lord of Meargan, and of Saint  
Julian, D. Iohn of Vcara, D. Fernand of Ayanc, D. Martin of Ayuar, D. Bertrand of La-  
carra, D. Aluar Diaz of Medrano, D. Ximen Garcia Vicont of Baigner, D. Pedro Sanchez  
C of Corella, D. Pedro Ynigues of Vxue, D. Martin of Artieda, D. Pedro Arnaud of Garro,  
D. Iohn Gaston of Vitroz, D. Garcia Ramires of Alfayn, D. Iohn of Bern, the young Don  
Pedro Sanchez of Licaraga, D. Iohn Rodrigues of Ayuar, D. Raymond of Esperza and Don  
Pedro of Ayanc: these were accompanied with many other Noblemen and Gentle-  
men, as it was fit for the Maiesty of such an act. The were also the Deputies of the  
commonalities, and good townes of the realme of Pampelone, Bourg, Peuplement and  
Nauarriere which were three quarters, or countries of the city, euery one hauing a feue-  
rall luffe, the which kept them long in diuision, and bred lamentable mutinies and sedi-  
tions: but this King by wise counsel reduced them all into one body, and supprest the  
cause, to the good and quiet of the Inhabitants: Moreouer there were present the De-  
puties of Estella, Tudela, Sanguesa, Olite, Puente la Reyna, Arcos, which at this day be-  
longe to Castile, Viana, Garde, which is also of Castile, of Saint Vincent, of Saint Iohn  
of Pie de Port, of Montreal, Roncevaux, Lumber, Villafranca de Aguilar of Bernedo, at  
this day vnto the crowne of Castile, and of Lans. Besides these deputies, there  
were many Barons, Knights and others of quality of Castile, France and England, which  
did honour this coronation, with the Ambassadors of forraigne Christian princes. Name-  
ly Iohn Vicont of Fussenaguet, Raymond of Beruar, Lord of Castlenau, D. Alphonso of  
Luna, Archdeacon of Gironne, Doctor Iohn Fernandes of Arana, D. Diego Lopes of Estu-  
niga, high Treasurer, Diego Lopes of Lagran, Steward to the King of Castile, Francis of  
Pau of Arragon, Searct of Montagu, Bernard of Roftaing a Basque. These with many  
others, were witnesses of all that past at this ceremony, as appeares by the acts and wri-  
tings which are in the chamber of accounts of that realme. In Iuly following the quire  
of the church fell, where these things were celebrated, for the re-edefying whereof, the  
King and others did contribute very much. The death of D. Iohn King of Castile, fell  
out then vnfortunatly for the King of Nauarre: for besides that hee loued him, and was  
beloued of him like a brother, hee was a fir instrument to tame the wilfulness of the  
Queene Donna Leonora, who did afterwards much trouble him, before hee could make  
her leaue Castile, and returne to him.

Act of ac-  
count at the  
King of Na-  
uarres corona-  
tion.

Hhh 2

Don





the realme with such care and loyalty, as the young yeares of the king his nephew requir-  
red. And they of the Duke of Lancaster demanded, that the league made with the deca-  
sed king, at the conclusion of their peace, should be renewed. All these received courteous  
answers, and were sent backe with content.

In the meane time the Arch-bishop of Toledo leauied forces, and made great pra-  
dises throughout all the chiefe townes, and with the Nobilitie of the Realme. And on the  
other side, at the incitation of the feditious Arch-deacon Don *Fernand Martinez*, the  
people of Seuille, Cordoua, Toledo, Logrogne, and other townes, of Castile, had fal-  
len vpon the Iewes, making a horrible butcherie of this miserable people, and spooyling  
their goods, forcing by this meanes the rest, who escaped the present fury to become  
Christians, or at the least to faime themselves so: What can poore Infidels thinke (seeing  
such cruelties practised by Christians, and such greedinesse in them to imbezzle other  
mens goods) but that their religion is bloudie, desiring nothing lesse then the health  
of those whom they entertaine in their ignorance, by such detestable courses, and diuulish  
couteroufnesse? With the like furie were the neighbour countries infected: for they of  
Valencia and Barcelona did the like, yea the rage of these zealous men had extended vnto  
the Moores dwelling in Castile and Arragon, if they had not feared that the king of Gra-  
nado would haue massacred many Christians that were his prisoners, and that it should  
cause some new warre with the Arabians.

This worldly consideration respecting the commoditie of this life retayned them, not  
to the zeale and honour of Iesus Christ, which consists not in murders and spoiles, but to  
do good to all men, and to pray for their enemies. The King Don *Henry* was aduertised  
of all these disorders, but by reason of his youth which was contemned, he could not ap-  
ply fit remedies. Yet he did somewhat pacifie the mutinie against the Iewes: But as for the  
Arch-bishop of Toledo, and his Confederates, they had need of a sharper restraint. The  
Councell sent twice vnto him: that is, the Master of Saint Iames, who came vnto him at  
Illesca, and afterwards at Talauera de la Reina. D. *John* of Velasco, Lord Chamberlaine  
to the king, and *Peter Fernandes* of Villegas Merin Maior of Burgos, who admonished  
him to forebare to assemble forces, and that he should be content to vndergo with them,  
the resolution of the Estates, vpon their differences, but they had no other answer, but  
what he had formerly made.

Amidst these tumults there fell out a new occasion to increase them: for hauing beene  
propounded in the Councell of the deceased king D. *John*, to take the office of Constable  
from D. *Alphonso* of Arragon, Marquis of Villena, for certaine reasons: being now in dui-  
sion with the Councell, and not greatly beloued of the young King D. *Henry*, D. *Pedro* of  
Castile Earle of Transtamara, came to demand this office, who had yearly for his dyet and  
entertainment 70000. marauidis. The Councell did let him vnderstand, that the king at  
the beginning when the Estates assembled at Madrid, to gratifie the Marquis D. *Alphonso*,  
had confirmed him in the dignity, and that there were no reason thus to degrade him,  
without some apparent cause, the which might be a means to increase the troubles which  
were but too great wherefore they were of opinion, that he should for that time forebare  
and content himselfe with a pension, equal to the Constables entertainment, the which  
they promised him in the meane time: but they sayd, that they must proceede against the  
Marquis by the course of Iustice: for the effecting wherof, they would procure the king to  
cite him to come to Court, and if hee did not obey, they promised to giue him his Estate.  
D. *Pedro* was satisfied with this answer, and D. *Alphonso Ianes Fajardo*, Gouvernor of Mur-  
cia was sent by the King vnto the Constable, to cause him to come to court: but hee ex-  
cused himselfe from coming presently, promising to be there soone after, notwithstanding  
it was farre from his thoughts: for he had intelligence with the Arch-bishop of To-  
ledo, and others of the league, who drew men together from all parts, to come to the  
Court in armes, to the end they might haue the testament of the deceased king D. *John*,  
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The Arch-bishop of S. Iames, the Earle of Transtamara, the Masters of S. Iames and  
Calatraua, *John Hurtado* de Mendoza, Lord Steward of the kings house, & others (wherof  
some were named Tutors by the kings will, and some not) knowing that this was not the  
cause

A cause which drew the Arch-bishop of Toledo, but only a colour pretended by him and  
his confederates to retire from Court, and to take armes; they also provided for their  
parts, and called all their friends to ayde them: they drew D. *Leonora* Queene of Nauar,  
vnto their league, binding themselves by oath one vnto another, and they wrought so, as  
the king Don *Henry* continued vnto the Queene his Aunt the pensions which the deca-  
sed King D. *John* was wont to giue her with an increase: By whose perswasion, and others  
of the Councell, he tooke the office of Constable from Don *Alphonso* of Arragon, who  
had enjoyed it nine yeares, and gaue it to the Earle of Transtamara, who was sonne to D.  
*Frederic*, Master of Saint Iames, and cousin to the King. Herevpon they fell to armes  
in Castile, committing great spoyles, robberies, and murders of all sides, diuiding the  
Realmes, Prouinces, Citties, and Townes, especially Seuille, whereas Don *Aluar Perez*  
of Guzman, great Admiral of Castile, and D. *Pedro Ponce* of Leon, Lord of Marchena, Go-  
uernor generall of that citie, held the Councells part: and Don *John Alphonso* of Gu-  
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The Arch-bishop of Toledo with the Master of Alcantara were about Auila, to whom  
they of the citie of Burgos made many protestations, offers and prayers in vaine, for a  
peace; the like they did to the Duke of Benauent, and then they sent vnto the King, who  
was come to Cuellar, beseeching him to giue care vnto a peace, and to end the troubles  
by a conuocation of the Estates; the which if he thought good to hold in their citie, they  
offered to deliuer all their children in hostage, for their assurance that should come. The  
King moued with the loue and willingnesse of them of Burgos, sent the Legate and  
others to the Arch-bishop and his confederates, but they answered, That when they should  
be neere the place where the king was, they would declare their intentions more at large.  
The Duke of Benauent, and the Arch-bishop of Toledo, were already ioyned with their  
forces, consisting of fiftene hundred men at armes, and 3500. foote, vnto whom the  
Queene of Nauarre came, intreating them, that before matters grew worse, they should  
be satisfied with the resolution of the Estates: and whilest that the laboured with the con-  
federates, the king went to Valledolit, whither came about sixteen hundred men at armes,  
with some other forces. The confederates litle regarding the Queene of Nauarre, came  
to lodge at Simancas, where as he was more amazed then before, and employed all her  
endeauors to make some accord: In the end shee obtayned that there should be a confe-  
rence at Perales, whereas at diuers times, in the presence of the Queene and Legate, the  
parties met and conferred. Once among the rest, the Arch-bishop being demanded by  
him of Saint Iames, if he had any true intent, that the deceased kings testament should  
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cluded in Perales, that the Kings testament should be of force, and that the tutors named  
therein should gouerne: and to the end a peace might be the better entertained, and that  
all emulation and ieaousie might cease, there were added vnto them Don *Frederic* duke  
of Benauent, Don *Pedro* Earle of Transtamara, and the Master of Saint Iames: and for  
the better strengthening of this accord, the generall Estates were held at Burgos, *John*  
*Hurtado* de Mendoza, *Pero Lopes* of Ayala, *Diego Lopes* of Estuniga, and *John Alphonso* de  
*li Cerde*, either of them giuing one of his sonnes in hostage, for the assurance of such, as  
should come to Court.

Thus the Estates were called at Burgos; which citie was at great charges for that cause,  
and for the kings seruice. But before any proceeding, the Councell pretending to bind  
Don *Alphonso* Earle of Gijon vnto them, being prisoner in the hands of the Master of S.  
Iames, they decreed his deliuerie, and procured the king to restore vnto him all the lands  
which he had enjoyed in the Asturia's. There came vnto the assembly at Burgos, the king  
with Queene *Catherine* his spouse, the Infant Don *Fernand*, and his future wife D. *Leo-  
nora*, who lodged in the Castle, whercof *Diego Lopes* of Estuniga was capitaine. The E-  
states being entred into conference, there grew a new tumult: for some of the Noble-  
men not satisfied with that which had bene concluded in Perales, would haue D. *Alphon-  
so* Earle of Gijon admitted to councell, besides the aboue-named, wherewith the Duke

Queene of Na-  
uar intreated  
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the realme with such care and loyalty, as the young yeares of the king his nephew required. And they of the Duke of Lancaster demanded, that the league made with the deceased king, at the conclusion of their peace, should be renewed. All these received courteous answers, and were sent backe with content.

In the meane time the Arch-bishop of Toledo leauied forces, and made great praesent throughout all the chiefe townes, and with the Nobilitie of the Realme. And on the other side, at the incitation of the seditious Arch-deacon Don *Fernand Martines*, the people of Seuille, Cordoua, Toledo, Logrogne, and other townes, of Castile, had fallen vpon the Iewes, making a horrible butcherie of this miserable people, and spoyleing their goods, forcing by this meanes the rest, who escaped the present fury to become Christians, or at the least to faine themselves so: What can poore Infidels thinke (seeing such cruelties practised by Christians, and such greedinesse in them to imbeazle other mens goods) but that their religion is bloudie, desiring nothing lesse then the health of those whome they entertaine in their ignorance, by such detestable courses, and diueltish couetousnesse? With the like furie were the neighbour countries infected: for they of Valencia and Barcelona did the like, yea the rage of these zealous men had extended vnto the Moores dwelling in Castile and Arragon, if they had not feared that the king of Granada would haue massacred many Christians that were his prisoners, and that it should cause some new warre with the Arabians.

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Amidst these tumults there fell out a new occasion to increase them: for hauing bene propounded in the Councell of the deceased king D. *John*, to take the office of Constable from D. *Alphonso* of Arragon, Marquis of Villena, for certaine reasons: being now in diuision with the Councell, and not greatly beloued of the young King D. *Henry*, D. *Pedro* of Castile Earle of Transimara, came to demand this office, who had yearely for his dyer and entertaingment 70000. marauidis. The Councell did let him vnderstand, that the king at the beginning when the Estates assembled at Madrid, to gratifie the Marquis D. *Alphonso*, had confirmed him in the dignity, and that there were no reason thus to degrade him, without some apparent cause, the which might be a means to increase the troubles which were but too great: wherefore they were of opinion, that he should for that time forebore and content himselfe with a pension, equall to the Constables entertaingment, the which they promised him in the meane time: but they sayd, that they must proceede against the Marquis by the course of Iustice: for the effecting wherof, they would procure the king to Marquis by the course of Iustice: for the effecting wherof, they would procure the king to cite him to come to Court, and if hee did not obey, they promised to giue him his Estate. D. *Pedro* was satisfied with this answer, and D. *Alphonso James Fajardo*, Governour of Murcia was sent by the King vnto the Constable, to cause him to come to court: but hee exasped himselfe from comming presently, promising to be there soone after, notwithstanding it was farre from his thoughts: for he had intelligence with the Arch-bishop of Toledo, and others of the league, who drew men together from all parts, to come to the Court in armes, to the end they might haue the testament of the deceased king D. *John*, put in execution, and chase away the Councell.

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23.  
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24.  
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A cause which drew the Arch-bishop of Toledo, but only a colour pretended by him and his confederates to retire from Court, and to take armes; they also provided for their parts, and called all their friends to ayde them: they drew D. *Leonora* Queene of Nauar, vnto their league, binding themselves by oath one vnto another, and they wrought so, as the king Don *Henry* continued vnto the Queene his Aunt the pensions which the deceased King D. *John* was wont to giue her with an increase: By whose perswasion, and others of the Councell, he tooke the office of Constable from Don *Alphonso* of Arragon, who had enioyed it nine yeares, and gaue it to the Earle of Transimara, who was sonne to D. *Federic*, Master of Saint Iames, and cousin to the king. Hereupon they fell to armes in Castile, committing great spoyle, robberies, and murders of all sides, diuiding the Realmes, Prouinces, Citties, and Townes, especially Seuille, whereas Don *Aluar Perez* of Guzman, great Admiral of Castile, and D. *Pedro Ponce* of Leon, Lord of Marchena, Governour generall of that citie, held the Councells part: and Don *John Alphonso* of Guzman, Earle of Niebla and others, that of the Kings testament.

The Arch-bishop of Toledo with the Master of Alcantara were about Auila, to whom they of the citie of Burgos made many protestations, offers and prayers in vaine, for a peace: the like they did to the Duke of Benaunt, and then they sent vnto the King, who was come to Cuellar, beseeching him to giue care vnto a peace, and to end the troubles by a conuocation of the Estates; the which if he thought good to hold in their citie, they offered to deliuer all their children in hostage, for their assurance that should come. The King moued with the loue and willingnesse of them of Burgos, sent the Legate and others to the Arch-bishop and his confederates, but they answered, That when they should be neere the place where the king was, they would declare their intentions more at large. The Duke of Benaunt, and the Arch-bishop of Toledo, were already ioynd with their forces, consisting of fifteene hundred men at armes, and 3500. foote, vnto whome the Queene of Nauarre came, intreating them, that before matters grew worse, they should be satisfied with the resolution of the Estates: and whilst that she laboured with the confederates, the king went to Vailledolit, whither came about sixteen hundred men at armes, with some other forces. The confederates little regarding the Queene of Nauarre, came to lodge at Simancas, where as she was more amazed then before, and employed all her endeauours to make some accord: In the end shee obayned that there should be a conference at Perales, whereas at diuers times, in the presence of the Queene and Legate, the parties met and conferred. Once among the rest, the Arch-bishop being demanded by him of Saint Iames, if he had any true intent, that the deceased kings testament should take place: he made him no answer, for that the Duke of Benaunt, who was not named in it, was present, whom he feared to offend: an infallible argument, that priuate respects did moue him more, then any zeale of the publicke good, or the Kings seruice. It was concluded in Perales, that the Kings testament should be of force, and that the tutors named therein should gouerne: and to the end a peace might be the better entertayned, and that all emulation and ialousie might cease, there were added vnto them Don *Federic* duke of Benaunt, Don *Pedro* Earle of Transimara, and the Master of Saint Iames: and for the better strengthening of this accord, the generall Estates were held at Burgos, *John Hurtado* of Mendoza, *Pero Lopes* of Ayala, *Diego Lopes* of Estuniga, and *John Alphonso* de la Cerde, either of them giuing one of his sonnes in hostage, for the assurance of such as should come to Court.

Thus the Estates were called at Burgos; which citie was at great charges for that cause, and for the kings seruice. But before any proceeding, the Councell pretending to bind Don *Alphonso* Earle of Gijon vnto them, being prisoner in the hands of the Master of S. Iames, they decreed his deliuerie, and procured the king to restore vnto him all the lands which he had enioyed in the Asturia's. There came vnto the assembly at Burgos, the king with Queene *Catherine* his spouse, and his Infant Don *Fernand*, and his future wife D. *Leonora*, who lodged in the Castle, wherof *Diego Lopes* of Estuniga was capitaine. The Estates being entred into conference, there grew a new tumult: for some of the Noblemen not satisfied with that which had bene concluded in Perales, would haue D. *Alphonso* Earle of Gijon admitted to councell, besides the aboue-named, wherewith the Duke

Queene of Na-  
uar intangled  
in the troubles  
of Castile.

Archb. of To-  
ledo respects  
not the publicke  
good.

Estates at Bur-  
go for a peace.

D. Alphonso  
the kings vnkle  
deliuered out  
of prison.





To these Articles the sayd townes bound their goods and persons for ever, vpon paine of fifty maraudis of money then current to be payed by him that should infringe them, and applyable to the Councell of the rest, which should maintaine the contents thereof, to dispose according to their wils: and the towne which hath sayled, shall be forced by the rest to pay the fine, by all ordinarie and extraordinary means, with all charges, damages and interests.

It is credible that the other townes of Guipulcoa made the like associations, in regard of their priuileges and liberties. Vpon this question they pleaded against the Kings Receyuer, and there are letters found granted by the King Don Henry vpon the same, by the which he did abolish these tributes and exactions in fauour of the townes and places of Saluaterra of Iraurgi, *Miranda of Iraurgi*, Villamajor of Marquina, called *Egoyas*, *Pal of Mendaro*, *Monreal of Deua*, *S. Andrew of Ayuar*, *Placenzia*, *Elgueta*, *S. Cruz of Cestona*, the Chastellenie of Sayas, *S. Nicholas of Orio*, Bellamont of Vsurull, with *Aguinaga*, *Astigarraga*, *Aynduayn*, *Vireota*, *S. Peter of Alteaugu*, the quarter of *Larraul*, *Ichaço*, *Cicurguil*, *Gauria*, *Arau*: the country of *Lescano of Aduna*, the Chastellenie of *Aizondo*, that of *Aleria*, *Cumarraga*, the parish of *Beasain*, *Arama*, *Alcega*, *Echafonda*, *Saldibia*, *Gainça*, *Legerretera*, *Goyas*, *Vidania*, *Beycaina*, *Rexil*, *Aya*, and the territorie of *Azgoytia*, whereof there are letters found giuen in Saint *Marie of Pelajos*, in the year 1399. and confirmed at *Villedoit* 1401. and by other kings. Thus the Guipulcoans defended their freedoms and liberties against the Kings Officers, who made them profite during the confusions and troubles betwixt the Noblemen and the Councell. Afterwards all the Townes, Boroughs and places of this Province of Guipulcoa were vnitid and made one bodie, and haue maintained themselves so vnto this day, to the great good and general commoditie of the Countrey, and the seruice of the soveraigne King.

26  
Paine of all  
the townes of  
Guipulcoa.  
An. 1392.

The Estates of Burgos continued with little concord, by reason whereof in the beginning of the year 1391. the Deputies of the Estates, with the consent of the parties contending, propounded every one to write: his voice in bulletins, vpon that which was in question: Whether they should follow the testament of King *John*, or not, and the sayd bulletins beeing cast into a coffer and then opened, the partie that had most voyces should carrie it: but without coming to this trial, the Queene *Donna Leonora*, who alwaies laboured to reconcile these differences, made another accord, and brought so many reasons, as Don *Frederic* duke of Benauent, and Don *Alphonso* Earle of Gijon, were receiued into the gouernement and counsell: so as the Councell should consist of tenne spiritual men, besides the Deputies of the fixe townes, whereof fife should reside fixe moneths: and these were thus diuided: the Duke of Benauent, the Arch-bishop of Toledo, the Master of Saint *James*, and *John Hurtado* of *Mendoza* for one fixe moneths: the Arch-bishop of Saint *James*, the Earles of Gijon and *Tranlamara*, and the Master of the *Calatrava* for the other: the Marquis of *Villena*, and the Earle of *Niebla* should make vp the ten, but they would not come to Court. It seemed by this expedient, practised by the Queene of *Navarre*, that the affairs were in a course of peace: but the death of *Diego Sanchez* of *Roja* a knight of the Earle of *Gijons* faction, who was slaine neere vnto *Burgos* by two horsemen of the Duke of Benauents house troubled the whole assembly againe, and had like to haue caused great slaughter in the citie: he that was slayne was interred, and the murderers escaped. For which fift the Deputies of the Estates were so much discontented, as they neglected all that had bene decreed, and done, touching the establishing of a Councell, and took the way of writing their voyces in bulletins, the which being put into a coffer & thag opened, it was found that all did ioyntly require to haue the will of the *K. D. John* in force. Whereupon the Duke of Benauent, who was not mentioned, went from Court much discontented. The Arch-bishop of Toledo seeing him retired, agreed with them of the aduersie party, vpon these conditions: That whensoever the Marquis of *Villena*, and the Earle of *Niebla* should forbear to come to Court, hee should supply their places, and that a moiety of the kings reuenues should be delivered to him, to be distributed as he should thinke, firs that he should be satisfied for the charges hee had bin at in seeking the execution of *K. Johns* testament. These things thus concluded, the next day the

Agreed betwixt the Noblemen of Castile.

A king with the knights and deputies of the Prouinces being present, it was decreed, that the testament of the deceased king *D. John* should be observed, and that fixe tutors with the Deputies of *Burgos*, *Toledo*, *Leon*, *Seuile*, *Cordoua* and *Murcia*, should gouerne. There were then present of the tutors, the Arch-bishops of *Toledo* and *S. James*, the Master of *Calatrava* who was successor both in the dignity and tutelage to *D. Pedro Nugnes*, and *D. John Hurtado* of *Mendoza*, representing in like manner in this charge *D. Pedro Gonzales* of *Mendoza*, named by the will. And for that the Marquis of *Villena*, and the Earle of *Niebla* were absent, the king sent for them to come to Court by a certaine day. The Legate was very ioyful of this accord, and absolved all them that had sworn to the contrary: and in like manner the king did pardon all those that had made any leagues or assemblies. And to giue some contentment to the Duke of Benauent, and the Earle of Gijon, who were excluded from the gouernment, the tutors agreed to giue to either of them a pension of a million of maraudis yearly, during their liues. In this manner the gouernment of the realmes of Castile began to take some form: but yet the factions dyed not, for euery man fought rather his owne aduancement, then the publike good, as well such as remained in Court, as those that left it: some with extreame ambition and desire to gouerne all, as the Archb. of *Toledo*, and others vpon diuers pretexts of discontents, they did for a long time entertayne diuisions and factions.

Order for the  
gouernment of  
Castile.

During the troubles of Castile, *D. John* king of Portugal, did quietly enioy his conquered realme, with whom the tutors of Castile sought to prolong the truce, which was almost expired. For the effecting whereof they sent vnto the frontier *D. John Serran* bishop of *Siguença*, *Garcia Gonçal* of *Herera*, and *Diego Fernandes* of *Cordoua*, Marshals of Castile, with *Anthony Sanchez*, Doctor and Auditor: to whom vpon proposition of a perpetual peace, or of a long truce, there were such vnreasonable conditions demanded by the deputies of Portugal, as the Castilian Ambassadors were forced to return without effect. The *K. of Portugal* showed himself intractable in his demands, by reason of the new support he thought to find in Castile. For they treated a marriage betwixt a bafe daughter of his called *D. Beatrice*, and *D. Frederic* duke of Benauent, who gaue willingly care vnto it.

27  
Portugal.

The Ambassadors hauing made their report to the king *D. Henry* their master, whome they found at *Segobia*; hee sent back into Portugal the bishop of *Siguença*, and Doctor *Anthony Sanchez*, adding vnto them *Pere Lopes* of *Aiala*, *Alcaide* Maior of *Toledo*. They were much troubled concerning the marriage of *D. Frederic*, whereof the *K. of Naue* did aduertise the king *D. Henry*, yea the did solicit in the name of the *D. of Benauent*, that either he might bee allowed to marry the daughter of the *K. of Portugal*, or else they should giue him the Countesse of *Albuquerque* to wife, who was secretly accorded to the Infant *D. Frederic*. The *K. of Portugal* desiring neither of these marriages, seemed to refer all to the Countesses will, who told the Archb. of *Toledo* in the presence of them all, that shee would do all that pleased the king: wherefore there was hope giuen to the Queene of *Naue* to haue the marriage finished at *Arenual*, and a dispatch was sent to *D. Frederic*, to aduertise him of what was past: but all this was but to diuert the marriage with Portugal, being more pleasing to the Duke, then that of the Countesse of *Albuquerque*, the which hee made openly knowne vnto the king: wherefore the king proceeding in the same manner, sent the Archb. of *Toledo* to him, to perswade him with reason, that neither of these two marriages was fit for him, and rather to offer him the Marquis of *Villena's* daughter, with a more ample dowrie, then that which the king of Portugal could giue to *D. Beatrice* his daughter. But he could draw no other answer from *D. Frederic*, but that many Noblemen about the king declaring themselves his enemies, he was forced to seeke fauor and friendship in Portugal.

28

At the same time the Inhabitants of *Zamora*, growing iecalous of the taptain of the castle, and of the tower of *S. Sauior* (being a gentleman called *Nugno Martinez* of *Villaycan*, a deuoted seruant to the Duke of Benauent) put themselves in armes, and made trenches and barricado's against him, saying, that he had some bad dessein with the Duke of Benauent, whose men he receiued daily into those forts in great numbers, so as they sent to demand succours of the king, and of the Master of the *Calatrava*, who had bene sent with some troupes, to keepe a garrison at *Salamanca*, against the frontier of Portugal.

Troubles in  
Zamora.

The Master considering the consequence of this trouble, at this time when as the truce A  
with Portugal being expired, they expected warre, would not send any succours, left he  
should incense the Duke in shewing himselfe partiall; the which pleased the king, who  
sent the Bishop of Sigüenza speedily to Benauent, whereas the Arch-bishop of Toledo  
was yet, to the end they might so worke with the Duke, as these troubles of Zamora might  
be pacified, the which they effected, and the Archb. came to Zamora, & brought the cap-  
taine, vpon assurance that the king would take it well to promise to deliuer the fort of S.  
Sauior, into the hands of *Fernand Alphonso* of Montenegro, Governour of Toro: the towne  
also gaue hostages: which things being thus ended, the Archb. returned to the king at  
Segobia.

29  
Portugal.

conditions of  
peace proposed  
by the king  
of Portugal.

Castile.

The Deputies of Castile appointed to treat a peace with Portugal, hauing met with  
the Prior of S. Iohn of Portugal, and others appointed by the King *D. Iohn* at Sabugal, &  
conferred often of that busines, they could not yeeld to those hard conditions which were  
demanded: for the Portugals would haue the townes of Miranda and Sabugal left free to  
them: that the king *D. Henry* should giue 12. Gentlemen, and 12. good Burgesse in ho-  
stage for 12. yeares, for the assurance of the peace, which should be changed every foure  
yeares, and others of the like quality deliuered for them. And that during the sayd 12.  
yeares he should not giue any ayde vnto the Queen *D. Beatrix*, nor to the Infants *D. Iohn*  
and *D. Denis*, brethren to the deceased king *D. Fernand*, who were in Castile, nor to any  
other that should attempe against the Portugals: that all prisoners of either side should  
deliuered, with other conditions, which seemed so hard vnto the Castilians, as they durst  
not adventure to promise any thing, but onely concluded a truce for two moneths, that  
they might conferre more amply vpon this pacification.

In the meane time the king *D. Henry* came to Medina del campo, to bee neere to Por-  
tugal, and to the duke of Benauent, who made them to breed some inuouation within  
the realme, hauing drawne together about 500. lances and a great number of Gentlemen at  
Pedroço, and about Toro. By reason wherof, & of many other insolencies, wherof com-  
plaints came daily to Court, the king sent the Archb. of Toledo againe vnto him, with  
some Deputies of the citties which were of the Councell, to let him vnderstand, how vn-  
seemely it was for him to entertaine the realme, whereof he was a member, in such ielou-  
sie, and to consume the people by the spoils and robberies of his men who kept the fields:  
to what end went he so armed: what feared he? whereon did he complain: what greater  
nefit did he pretend by the alliance of Portugal, that he should disdain the fauours of his  
king, who had dealt both bountifullly and honourably with him, giuing him a million of  
marauidis yearly, and might hope for greater matters, and seeing that he had such ample  
testimonies of the kings loue, and the counsels, to perswade him to come to court, where  
he might purchase more fauor then euer? The duke answered to all that which the Archb.  
had propounded vnto him, that he had neuer giuen care to a marriage with Portugal, but  
in case a peace or a long truce were concluded betwixt the two realmes. As for that he  
went accompanied with souldiers, it was well knowne that he had enemies in Court, who  
had factions throughout the realme, which forced him to stand vpon his guard, and ther-  
fore they should not hold it strange if he came not to court. Morcouer, if he had receiued  
fauors from the king, he was ready to employ them in his seruice, and his whole estate.  
The Archb. deliuered many reasons vnto him, in presence of the Deputies to pacifie him,  
and then returned to Medina del campo, where hauing giuen an accompt vnto the king  
and councell of his employment, he held it fit to content the duke in some sort, for the ma-  
riage of Portugal was much advanced. Thereupon it was bruted (whofoeuer were the au-  
rator) that the Duke approached neere vnto the towne, and that hee had intelligence with  
some, to be brought in with his forces, which caused a great mutiny among them, and e-  
uery man began to gather souldiers together for his owne assurance.

The Archb. who was a friend to the duke (so far-forth as he did entertaine the troubles  
wherein he tooke delight) propounded a means which he held very conuenient, to auoid  
the spoiles which might follow these quarrels, which was, that he with the Archb. of S.  
Iames, and the Master of the Calatrava should retire themselves to their houses, and that  
about the king there should only remaine *Iohn Hurtado* of Mendoza, and the Deputies of  
townes,

A townes, and that the king should consult with them how to giue content to the duke of  
Benauent, and to find him a party equal to that which was offered him in Portugal.

By these factions, all the Realme was in combustion, and all sorts of insolencies were  
committed both in town and cuntry, iustice was abused, and the treasure misgouerned. *Mistries of his  
will warre.*  
The city of Seulle was molested by *D. Pedro Ponce* of Leon, Lord of Marchena, and *D. Al-  
fonso* of Guzman, Admirall of Castile, who seized thereon, in the absence of *D. Iohn  
Alphonso* of Guzman, Earle of Niebla one of the tutors, chasing many of his seruants and  
followers out of the city. On the other side *Nuño Martines* of Villaycan, capitaine of the  
fort of Zamora, not satisfied with the accord which had beene made by the means of the  
Archb. of Toledo, sent to the duke of Benauent to haue him approach, and he would deli-  
uer him vp the castle which he had in guard: the duke posting thither, could not effect  
this enterprize, for that the inhabitants of Zamora, being aduertised by some of the dukes  
men, provided for it, whereupon the Duke returned, and many that followed him did a-  
bandon him: wherevpon the king sent the Archb. of S. Iames, and the Master of Calatra-  
ua to assure the townes that were suspected, but they were shut out of Toro, the Inhabi-  
tants saying, that they would not receiue any, if the king were not in person, but they en-  
tered into Zamora, where as many knights of the dukes traine yielded vnto them, and soon  
after the king came. But the Duke was aduertised thereof at the castle of Majorca, belon-  
ging to the Infant *D. Fernand*, by *Iohn Alphonso de la Cerda*, who hauing bin high Steward  
of the Infants house, and then displaced by the kings tutors, substituting in his place *Pero  
Sueres* of Quignones, Governour of Leon, had through despight fallen to the Duke of  
Benauents partie.

Whilste that these contended in Castile, the Deputies, appointed to treat a peace with  
the King of Portugal during the truce which had beene prolonged, came to Extremos  
in the yeare 1393. the Portugal demanding for a small resolution, these Articles follow-  
ing. That they should giue in hostage the base sons of the duke of Benauent, of the Earls  
of Gijon, and of Niebla, (for the great men of Spaine had more base children then le-  
gitimate) the nephewes of the Masters of S. Iames and Calatrava, of the Arch-bishops of  
Toledo, and S. Iames, of *Iohn Hurtado* of Mendoza, and of *Diego Lopes* of Estuniga. But  
about all they demanded the Duke of Benauents son, thinking he would not giue him, vn-  
lesse the king of Castile, would deliuer the castle of Zamora into his hands, the which they  
desired, being assured that the Duke was wholly at their deuotion: but when they vnder-  
stood, that he had sayled to enter that fort, and that he began to be abandoned by many  
of the knights which had folowed him, they became more tractable, and yielded to a truce  
for 15. yeares, so as they would giue them in hostage, the Earle of Gijons son, and eleuen  
Knights sonnes more, with 12. children of the cittizens of Burgos, Toledo, Leon, Seulle,  
Cordoua, and Zamora: yet would not the Deputies of Castile conclude this truce, which  
was most beneficiall for Portugall, but demanded some repite to aduertise the king and  
his tutors. The king with his councell hauing considered the danger wherinto the home-  
bred troubles, together with a forraigne warre would draw them, they yielded to all the  
Portugals demanded, namely, not to ayde nor assist *D. Beatrix* the widow Queen, nor *D.  
Iohn*, nor *D. Denis* her Vncles. Thus a truce was concluded for fifteene yeares betwixt Ca-  
stile and Portugal.

The Court being in the cittie of Zamora, the capitaine of the castle refused for some  
daies to deliuer the place vp to the king, saying, that his father *Iohn Martines* of Villaycan  
lately deceased, being Governour of Zamora, and He had held it by fealty and homage, and  
that they might not deliuer it vp vntill the king were 14. yeares old complete: but the tu-  
tors sought him by so many meanes, and made him such promises, that he should be re-  
compensed for his fathers estates, which had beene giuen to others, as in the end he deli-  
uered the place into their hands, for the which he was in effect recompensed. They had  
promised him the gouernement of Ledesma, which did belong to the Countesse of Albu-  
querque, but they of the place refusing him, for that they did not trust him, he was other-  
wise provided for. The Court remaining at Zamora, the Archb. weary of too much rest,  
retired himselfe into his Bishoprick, being not greatly affected to the kings seruice, but to  
take part and adhere wholly to the Duke of Benauent, he now gaue them greater cause to  
suspect





to court, to give his opinion touching these things, but hee answered, that hee would A  
not come, whilst the Archbishop of Toledo was in court.

With these intestine troubles, the King D. Henry was almost drawn into an vnseason-  
able warre, with the Moores of Granado, by the vaine ouerweening of D. Martin Iua-  
ble warre, with the Moores of Granado, a Portugal borne, who being entred into quarrel  
with *Isoph* King of Granado, touching religion, would make trial of the truth of Chri-  
stian religion by armes; of his person against the King of Granado, or of a hundred  
Christian Knights against two hundred Moores, or more, to that proportion, vnto a  
thousand. The King being aduertised of this other tumult, hee commanded the maister  
by his letters not to enter into this action; for that hee would not by any means haue B  
the truce broken with the Moores: but the maister not regarding the Kings prohibi-  
tion, marched to Cordoua, with three hundred Launces, and one thousand foote, hauing  
a crosse for his Ensigne. They of Cordoua, let him know that he should not undertake  
this enterprise, which was contrary to the Kings will and seruice, and the peace of the  
country, giuing him many examples of their ruine which haue caused vnecessary war:  
but he gaue more credit to an Hermit, called *Iohn del Sayo*, who had assured him that hee  
should haue the victory, wishing him not to giue care to any that said the contrary:  
Moreouer being much giuen to Astronomy, he thought he had foreseene some thing  
by the starres. The wisest men of Cordoua, namely D. *Alphonso* and D. *Diego*; Lords of  
Aguilar, seeing that no reasons could preuaile with the maister, would haue stopp'd C  
passage at the city bridge: but he was so fauoured by the superstitious multitude, vnder  
colour that it was dishonourable to hinder an enterprise of the crosse against Infidels:  
so as he not only past, but so augmented his troups, as being come to Alcala the Royal,  
he had about five thousand foote. At Alcala D. *Alphonso Fernandes* of Cordoua Lord  
of Aguilar, and his brother D. *Diego Fernandes*, came vnto him, who did admonish him  
again, adding withall, that euery one would hold it indiscreetly done of him, who was  
reputed a wise Knight, and Maister of the Order of Alcantara, to goe and defie the King  
of Granado, who was so neere, as with in lesse then two daies hee might encounter him  
with two hundred thousand foote, and fifty thousand horse, and that without doubt, he  
sides the danger and hurt hee might doe vnto the realme, by the breach of the truce, D  
and defeat of his men, he should blemish his honour, and draw vpon himselfe perpetuall  
blame, amongst all men that professe armes as a rash and ill aduised capitaine: but first-  
ing him obstinate, and pretending that it would be held cowardise and basenesse in him,  
if hauing past so farre, hee should now returne: wherevpon they wished him to lead his  
men to the riuier of *Ayres*, which makes the limit betwixt Granado and Castile, and  
there attend the King of Granado a day or two: if hee appeered, hee should either fight  
with him body to body, or else a hundred Christians against two hundred Moores, as  
they agreed: But if the Moores came not to the confines, hee should bring backe his  
troups, and so hee should preserve his honour and reputation. The Maister who was  
confirmed in his desire to fight with the Moores, being moreouer incenled for that the  
Granadins had intreated two Gentlemen ignominiously, whom hee had sent vnto their  
King, to carry this challenge; hee answered brauely to these Knights, that hee thanked  
them for their good aduice, but he was resolu'd not to stay, vntill hee saw the port of El-  
uira at the city of Granado, or fight with the Moores, if hee met them vpon the way,  
& that he did hope to let the world see a miracle within few daies. Thus he entred vn-  
advisedly into the country of Granado, and did assault the tower of Excla, where hee was  
hurt in the hand, and neere vnto him were three of his men slaine by the defendants,  
whereas hee beganne to be amazed, for the Hermit which followed him had told him,  
that he should not loose a man, and therefore hee demanded of him what it meant, that  
they had already slaine three of his men, to whom the Hermit answered, that it was ment,  
in battaile, and not at the seeing of places, the which the Maister beleued, as assaying the  
tower more furiously then before.

The King of Granado seeing the rashnesse of this vnadvised Maister of the Order of  
Alcantara, sent Ambassadors to the King of Castile, to complaine of the breach of  
the truce made betwixt them, and to demand if it were by his commandement or not. On

36.  
Moores.

Great power  
of the realme  
of Granado.

After the  
battail bet-  
twixt Grana-  
do and Castile.

Hermit an  
Impostor.

A On the other side hee assembled a good number of horse and foote, with the which hee  
marched towards the frontier, he surpris'd the maister, who was ill aduertised, and charged  
him, with his troups so furiously, as without giuing them time to arme, hee slue the  
maister, and all his horsemen, with most of his footmen, of the which about fiftene  
hundred saued themselves by flight. The maister D. *Martin Iuares* caused himselfe to  
bee burn'd *without feare*, and there is such an Inscription found vpon his tombe in  
Alcantara, whether his body was carried by the permission of the King of Granado.  
The King of Castile had newes of this defeat being in the Monastery of Santa Maria of  
Pelayos, neere vnto the towne of Saint Martin de val d' Eglice, where in a manner at the  
same time arriv'd the Ambassadors from the King of Granado, who made their com-  
plaint, and demanded if the maister of Alcantara were entred in hostile manner into  
Granado, by his commandement, and what his pleasure was for the entertayning of the  
truce. The King answered, that what the maister had done did much displease him, and  
that he had forbidden him by his letters to vndertake such quarrels, it auaying nothing  
to countenance religion by the breach of the truce, which he desired to entertaine with  
the King of Granado his friend: but he had not obeyed him, for the which hee had beene  
punished, if God by his iust iudgement had not abandoned him to bee slaine by the  
Moores, and his men defeated, as they had well deseru'd, whereof he was newly aduertised,  
to his great content. The Messengers were sent backe with this answer, the which  
did increase the ioy which the Moorish King conceiued for his victory, by the assurance  
which they brought him of the continuance of the truce betwixt Granado and Castile.

This trouble vpon the Moores frontier, was a pretext for the Duke of Benauent and  
other of the confederates to arme, and to fortifie themselves, euery one in his quarter,  
saying it was to be ready at the Kings commandement, if the Moores did enter into An-  
dalusia. The King did cause D. *Fernand Roderiques* of Villalobos, to bee chosen Maister  
of the Knights of Alcantara, in the place of the deceased *Barbuda*. D. *Laurence Suarez*  
of Figueroa Maister of Saint Iames, vnderstood of this route in Ocagne, where he was,  
and came presently to the King being at Pelayos; he aduised him to haue his forces in  
readinesse for all euents, assuring him that he should easily suppress the Duke of Bena-  
uent and the Earles of Gijon and Transamara, with other Malcontents, the which hee  
should not much regard, but rather be carefull of the Moorish warres, if they grew wor-  
And to assure the frontier of Andalusia it was expedient that he were sent to Villa Real,  
with the Archbishop of Toledo, to ioine with the Maister of the Calatrava, and that  
the King should come to Toledo: promising moreouer that he would perswade D. *Al-*  
*phonso* of Arragon Marquis of Villena to come and doe him seruice. The King belee-  
ued this counsell, and came to Toledo, whether D. *Diego Lopes* of Estuniga came vnto  
him, and gaue an account of the goiage which hee had made vnto D. *Iohn Garcia Atin-*  
*rique* Archbishop of Saint Iames: but the King being otherwise aduertised of the diso-  
bedience of the Duke of Benauent, and of his confederats, and how they continually  
leauied men, he came to Illesca being followed by the Archbishop of Toledo, the Mai-  
ster of Saint Iames, the Earle of Niebla, D. *Diego Hurtado* of Mendoza Admirall, *Iohn*  
*Hurtado* of Mendoza Lord Steward, *Diego Lopes* of Estuniga chiefe Iustice, *Ruy Lopes*  
of Aualos Chamberlaine, and other Noblemen, with about seuentene hundred  
Launces.

Heere D. *Alphonso* of Arragon Marquis of Villena, who had not approched neere  
the court all the Kings reigne, came and kist his hands, being accompanied with a hun-  
dred Knights and Squiers of the country of Valencia, which he had aduentured through  
the absence of the Earle of Transamara his competitor, who was in disgrace with the  
King D. *Henry*. The Marquis hauing purged himselfe of such things as might bee ob-  
iect'd against him, and made many excuses, for his not comming to court, he made sure  
to be refore to his Office of Constable of Castile, which had beene taken from him by  
the Governours, to conferre it vpon D. *Pedro* Earle of Transamara, to the preiudice of  
his honour and dignity, to whom the King gaue a gracious answer, assuring him that  
he would order his affaires with all equity and Iustice: then he intreated him to passe the  
mountaines and to come with him into Castile the Old, but the Marquis excus'd him  
selfe,

Ambassade  
from the king  
of Granado to  
the King of  
Castile.

37.  
D. Henry re-  
ceiveth the  
rebells to his  
obedience

D. Alphonso of  
Arragon re-  
ceiveth gratia  
easily by the  
king of Castile.

selfe, saying, that he was not come so well appointed as he desired to doe him service, A  
but if he gaue him means he would returne willingly to serue him. So he returned in-  
to his country, not well satisfied with the King D. Henry, who made no account to re-  
store him to his office of Constable, but soone after, by the aduice of the Archbishop of  
Toledo, he tooke from him the title of Marquis of Villena, for that it seemed not safe,  
nor profitable for the Estate of Castile, that a Marquisate fronting vpon a forraigne  
Realme, should remaine in the hands of a Knight who had so strict an alliance as the  
Marquis D. Alphonso had with the Kings and Realme of Arragon. From Illesca the  
King past to Vaileddolir, where he was aduertised that the duke of Benauent was at Cis-  
neros with six hundred Launces, and two thousand foote; and the Archbishop of Saint  
Iames in Amusco, with other fix hundred Launces and one thousand foote. Many were  
of opinion that the Kings forces should be led against them, to fight with them: but the  
founder iudgment diswaid al fighting, if it were possible, for the realm should loose of  
either side, besides the hazard where into the King should thrust both his Estate and  
life, by a battaile, to the which a Prince must neuer come against his subiects, vnlesse he  
be forced by inevitable necessity. This aduice preuailed, and there were sent vnto the  
Archbishop of Saint Iames, and at his request, John Hurtado, and Diego Lopes of Men-  
doça to Calabazanos, with whom they wrought so, as they drew him to court vpon alli-  
ance, whereas the Archbishop did also obtaine a safe-conduit for the Duke of Benauent,  
to whom he went himselfe, and brought him to court. The duke being in the Kings pre-  
sence, sought to free himselfe of the accusations which were laied against him. First he  
maintayned that he had taken none of the Kings reuenues within his iurisdiction, but  
that was due vnto him, the which should not be held to great a crime, seeing that many  
prelats and others of lesse quality then himselfe, had often vied it, and were not drawn in  
to questiō. As for the men of war which he had gathered together, he had therein follow-  
ed the general command, for feare of war with the Moores, after the defeat of the mai-  
ster of Alcantara: and if he had bene at Roa, to see the Queene of Nauarre his sister it was  
not preiudicial to the realm, nor contrary to the Kings seruice. These excuses were held  
neither good nor true by the king, who notwithstanding told him, that he would willingly  
forger al that was past, so as he would from thenceforth liue in peace and obedience, D  
propounding vnto him these conditions. That if it were found he had leauied more mo-  
ney then had bene assigned him at the last Estates held at Madrid, he should restore it  
vnto the king, or to such as it did belong: that he should cause D. Pedro to come to court,  
whom the King pardoned, for that which did concerne him, restoring to others their in-  
terests: that the duke should giue his two base sonnes in hostage, and should leaue in de-  
posito the castles of Medina del Riosecco, and Tordehumos for foure yeeres; with this  
clause that if he raised any tumults, those places should come vnto the King: That if he  
should fall from the Kings seruice, certain Knights of his household should promise & swear  
to turne vnto the kings party: that the pension of an hundred & 15. thousand Marauidis,  
grauented vnto the Duke at the Estates at Madrid, should be augmented to six hundred  
thousand: that for the fuenty thousand frankes of gold which had bene promised him  
for his marriage, the King gaue him the reuenues of Valence de Campo, the which John  
of Portugal had till then enjoyed, and now he tooke it from him, for that hee had bene a  
praetiser and confederat against his Estate. These things being thus ordred, the duke and  
the Archbishop went from court, and being come to Cisneros, the duke ratiſied al, and  
dismissed his troups, retayning only a hundred launces for the Kings seruice.

Within few daies after D. Alphonso Henriquez came vnto the King being at Vaileddolir,  
with a letter of credit from the Constable D. Pedro Earle of Trantamara his brother,  
telling the King, that if it pleased him to giue some assurance vnto the Earle, hee would  
come to court: wherevpon the King assured him, and hee came presently, freeing him-  
selfe of many things whereof he had bene accused: then he complained of D. Alphonso  
Earle of Gijon, who had forcibly taken from him the towne of Alua de Tormes, which  
the deceased King D. John had giuen him in exchange for the towne of Naua, which  
he had taken from him, to giue it to D. John Infant of Portugal.

The King gaue the Constable a good reception, promising to provide for all things  
according

Duke of Benauent comes to court, and seeks to purge him selfe.

conditions propounded to the Duke of Benauent.

D. Pedro Earle of Trantamara comes to court.

A according vnto Iustice: and presently he went in perfon to Paredes of Naua, which place  
he deliuered into the hands of Ray Lopes of Aualos his Lord Chamberlaine, and did som-  
mon his vnkle D. Alphonso Earle of Gijon, to appeere within threecore daies, and to  
produce what right he had to this place, wherevpon Iustice should be done him: but if  
he did not appeere, it should be adiudged to D. Pedro. The King did also presse him to  
swear the Articles of the truce of Portugal, as other Noblemen, Prelats and Knights  
had done according to the capitulation; the which the Earle would not doe, but sought  
excuses and euasions, wherewith the King was very much discontented. This was a  
matter of great importance, for the Marquis of Villena and the Earle of Gijon refusing  
to swear the Articles, the King of Portugal pretended that the truce was of no force,  
and that the hostages were forfeited vnto him: So as he refused the oth which the Mar-  
quis, after his refusal, would haue taken when as hee came to court, saying, that the  
time prefixed for such ratifications was past, wherefore they must capitulate anew.

During these troubles in Castile, the King of Nauarre did still sollicit his wiues returne  
or at the least of his two daughters: and the King D. Henry had a great desire to see her  
dislodge, but he knew not how to send her honestly out of Castile: But she her selfe pre-  
pared the way: for when as hee vnderstood that the Duke of Benauent, and others of  
the league were reduced vnder the Kings obedience, fearing some surpris, he procured  
D. Pedro the Constable to come to Roa, with two hundred Launces, and some foot-  
men, and then seeing her selfe as it were assured, shee sent vnto the King to demand as-  
surance to come to court, to iustifie her selfe: but the King thinking that the Duke of  
Benauent, the Constable, his aunt, and all they of the league in General, did smother  
in their breasts the same wils they had before, hee resolved to punish them, one after an  
other; and therefore he caused them, that the Queene of Nauarre had sent vnto him, to  
be staied, and then being come to Burgos, he propounded in counsell, what was to bee  
done. There were present the Archbishop of Toledo, the maiſters of Saint Iames and  
Calatrava, D. John Hurtado of Mendoça the Admiral, D. John Hurtado, D. Ray Lopes of  
Aualos, and others, whereof some came armed to counsell, by the Kings commande-  
ment. D. Frederic Duke of Benauent came also, notwithstanding that some of his friends  
had wished him to retire, telling him that they ment to take him: as he entred into the  
place where the counsell was kept, the King went forth, making shew that he would goe  
up, and speaking aloude, that they must consider what answer to giue to the Queene of  
Nauarre.

And soone after hauing sent them word, that they should speedily dispatch that  
which they had to doe, the Duke was taken prisoner, and put in the castle of Burgos, in  
the custody of the Maister of Saint Iames, from whence hee was afterwards transported  
to Montreal, and in the end in the time of the King. D. John to the castle of Almodouar  
del Rio neere vnto Cordoua, where he ended his daies.

This is that famous prison of D. Frederic duke of Benauent, celebrated throughout all  
Spaine. This done the King sent Diego Peres Sarmiento the Gouvernor, to seize vpon all  
the Lands and goods, not onely of the Duke of Benauent, but also of the Constable D.  
Pedro, and by the same means he seized vpon the lands of his aunt, Donna Leonora  
Queene of Nauarre, and he himselfe, being followed with some troups, went to Roa  
(where she was) to beseege her, and take her: wherevpon the Constable who was with  
her, abandoned her, and went into Galicia, to provide for his owne affaires. The  
Queene seeing her selfe forsaken, beganne to lament, filling all the castle of Roa with  
pitifull cries; and the more to moue them to pity, she attired her selfe, her daughters  
and women in mourning weeds, and sent her Confessor vnto the King, to know his  
pleasure, seeing hee came in that manner with an army. The King gaue him some rea-  
sons, and marched on to Valera, from whence he sent John Hurtado of Mendoça and Ray  
Lopes of Aualos to the Queene, to whom (being full of teares, and with a mournfull ha-  
bit and countenance) she complained much of the King her Nephew, saying, that hee  
sought to take away her goods; and demanded assurance to see and speake with him.  
The Inhabitants of Roa, carefull of their safeties, sent to offer the place vnto the King, if  
it pleased him to receiue them as his owne, and not to alienate them any more, where-  
with

D. Frederic Duke of Benauent is prisoner.

Queene of Nauarre.



with the King was content: whereupon they received the Archbishop of Toledo, *John Aluarez*, *Diego Lopes* and *Ruy Lopes* with their followers, and soone after the King entred, to whom the Queene being come, they entred into a church, and there had much conference. In the end the King granted her the reuenues of Roa, Sepulveda, Mardrigal and Arcualo, retayning the Iustice vnto himselfe and he commanded her to follow him to Vailledolit.

Earle of Gyon  
seizes upon  
Ouedo.

This businesse being ended, the King marched towards Leon to make warre against his vnkle D. *Alphonso* Earle of Gijon, who was in the Asturia, and had seized vpon the city of Ouedo, which did belong vnto the King, the which he did fortifie, with his towne of Gijon, and other places. By the way hee had conference with the Archbishop of Saint Iames, who was much moued for the imprisonment of the Duke of Benauent: for he had come to court vpon his word and assurance. The King made him promise that he should not enter into any league, yet the griefe hee had for the Dukes detention, made him forget all the affection he had had to the seruice of the crowne of Castile, which in the end he left, and retired into Portugal, making the Schisme in the church his pretext, saying, that of his knowing the Pope reigning in Auignon was not lawfull, but he that held his seat at Rome: and for that the Portugals did adhere vnto him he retired into Portugal, where he obtained the Bishoprike of Coimbra, and then the Archbishoprike of Braga, where he ended his daies. He was of the noble family of Manriques, a man of a small stature, but of an active spirit, full of courage, high minded, eloquent, liberrall, apt to compound great mens quarrels, ambitious, and one that enuid the Archbishop of Toledo. D. *Pedro* of Tenorio, who was of a different humor; seuer, statly, ambitious also, but he couered his ambition with modesty, maintayning his dignity in such sort as he was respected and feared. He lost in Castile the Archbishoprike of Saint Iames, the office of Chancellor to the King, with many other Iuyings. The King in passing caused the castle of Manilla to be razed, and vniued the towne (which had belonged vnto the Duke) vnto his demaines. He then sent his men against Gijon, the which they did beseege both by sea and land.

Archbishop of  
S. Iames comes  
into Portugal.

His disposition

Being come to Leon, he made a declaration in a great assembly, in the chiefe church, of the rebellions and felonies of the Earle D. *Alphonso* his vnkle, committed both against the King D. *John* his father and himselfe, the fauors he had done him since his enlargement by the Gouvernors, and his Ingratitude, for the which he did confiscate all his goods to the crowne, except the Siegneury of Noruegna, which he gaue to the church of Ouedo, as had beene formerly ordained by the deceased King his father. The King hauing sent some troupes towards Ouedo the Earles men were chased away, and the King was maister of the city; so as the Earle was forced to shut himselfe into Gijon, where he was straightly beseege. One of his base sonnes called D. *Hernando* holding the castle of Saint Martin, deliuered it vnto the King, and came vnto his seruice. The Constable D. *Pedro* Earle of Transimara, seeing what had befallne the Duke of Benauent and the Queen of Nauar, and how they handled the Earle of Gijon, he found means to make his accord, and came vnto the King at the seige of Gijon, by whom he was well receiued, and had giuen him the townes of Pont Ferrada, Villafranca and Varcarell, which had beene the Duke of Benaunts. The yeere growing towards an end, and the country of Asturia being barren, not able long to maintaine an army, the King resolved to make some accord with the Earle, who sought it: whereupon they concluded these Articles. That the French King should be Iudge of their controuerfies, who should iudge within six monethes whether the Earle had offended, and if it were found that hee should loose his lands, he was content, if not, all should be restored to him againe: That vntill a definitiue sentence, the towne of Gijon should remaine in the Earles hands, vpon condition it should remaine in the Estate it was then, without adding any supply of victuals or men; and that the Earle should not goe about three leagues from the town, if it were not into France, to sollicite the iudgement of this cause. In which case the King should giue him thye hundred thousand Marauidis, to defray his charges: That the Earles other Lands should remaine in the possession of D. *Ruy Lopes* of Aualos, Lord Chamberlaine to the King, who should hold them vpon his faith; and that the Earle

VPon against  
the Earle of  
Gijon.

Accord made  
with the Earle  
of Gijon.

A Earle should giue his sonne D. *Henry* for hostage. By this composition the Earle D. *Alphonso* was freed from seige.

This yeere 1394, died D. *John Alphonso* of Guzman Earle of Niebla, a man of a peaceful spirit, yet was he somewhat engaged in the troubles of Castile, leaving his sonne D. *Henry* of Guzman heire to his great possessions. Pope *Clement* died also that yeere in Auignon, the sixteenth yeere of his Popedom, in whose place the Cardinals of that seat, meaning to proceed to the election of an other, receiued letters from the Vniuersity of Paris, to perswade them to deferre it for some daies, to know the intention of Pope *Boniface* the ninth, resyding at Rome, touching the vniou of the church; yet notwithstanding they entred into the Conclau nine daies after the funeral, and without regard of any letters written by the Vniuersity, and King *Charles*, they gaue their voices, and withall made a protestation in writing, that the future Pope should not hinder the rooting out of the Schisme, and that he should bee bound to giue ouer his dignity if neede were; they made choise of D. *Pedro de Luna*, carrying the title of Santa Maria in Cosmedin, a Carellan and Doctor of the Canon law; a man of great authority, and well practised in worldly affaires, whom they called *Benedict* the thirteenth. The French King yielding to that was done, sent his Ambassadors to Auignon, to doe the accustomed homage to the new Pope: but being afterwards sollicit by some of the Cardinals, who repented themselves of *Benedict* election, he fought, by means of the Cardinals, which had beene made, to force the Pope to quit his dignity, vnder pretext to reconcile the Schisme; but *Benedict* was loth to leaue so sweet a morcell, which so many of his order had gap'd after, resisting long, to the great preiudice of all Christendome, and the French King did in vaine sollicite by many Ambassages, D. *Henry* King of Castile, to ioyne with him, in the displacing of *Benedict* from his Popedom, whom the Kings of Nauarre and Arragon did also obey.

38  
Death of the  
Earle of Niebla.

Death of Pope  
Clement at  
Auignon.

Election of  
Pedro Luna  
to be Pope,  
called Benedict  
the 13.

The King D. *Henry* hauing proceeded, as we haue said, against the chiefe authors of the troubles of his realme, he returned to Vailledolit, and knowing by good experience the disposition of his aunt, whom he had brought with him, he resolved to send her into Nauarre, to King *Charles* her husband, the which (notwithstanding the Estate shee was in) she did impugne by all means possible: wherefore the King fearing she would steale away, and put her selfe into some place of strength, which would be very troublesome to take, he commanded the prior of Saint Iohn to set a gard about her lodging, and he himselfe went to Tordeffillas. Then the Queene knew that she must of force returne into Nauarre, without any other assurances then such promises and othes as the King her husband had giuen, and seeing no euasion, nor delay, she sent to intreat the King her Nephew to be well aduised what he did, in seeking to force her to returne into Nauarre; and seeing that it did concerne both her honour and life, she intreated him to propound it to the graue and learned men of his council, to resolve what was fit for her to doe. The King was very well pleased herewith, and committed the businesse to the Bishops of Palence and Zamora, by whose aduice it was concluded; that the Queene Donna *Leonora* should returne to her husband, and that the King her Nephew should accompany her to the frontiers of Nauarre, whereof she was aduertised, that she might dispose her selfe to obey, but it was against her will: whereupon the King returned to Vailledolit, and from thence they tooke their way towards Nauarre, hauing sent the Archbishop of Toledo and him of Zamora, an Arragonois, and the bishop of Albi a Frenchman, with others, to Tudele, to aduertise King *Charles* of his wifes coming and to take a new oath of him, to intreat her well and honourably. The Archbishop of Saragossa came to meet the Queene, being accompanied by many Knights of Nauarre, France and Arragon; to whom she was deliuered, with her daughters, vpon the confines of Castile and Nauarre, to the great contentment of King *Henry*, to whom she had beene chargeable many yeeres, by her turbulent and ambitious spirit. The King D. *Charles* did shew by the effects, that he was neuer ill-affected towards her; for he receiued her, with all that did accompany her, with great honour, and shewes of loue and ioy: he intreated her courteously, and honoured her as much as she could desire: commanding there should be feasts and bonfires made throughout all the realme of Nauarre, by reason of her coming.

39  
Nauarre.

Queene of  
Nauarre sent  
to her husband  
against her  
will.

ning. And for that they had not yet had any sonne, he would haue the Estates of his A realme assembled to that end at Pampelone, some monthes after the Queenes returne (swearing the Infanta's his daughters for lawfull heires of the realme, and of his other Estates, who should succeed one after another, vnto the last liuer. He caused his subjects to take this oth, as it was accustomed in Spaine, and to auoide warre and sedition, whereof they had fresh examples in the neighbour countries of Arragon and Valencia.

Arragon.

D. John King of Arragon, sonne to D. Pedro the Cerimonious, hauing reigned nine yeeres and three monthes, went about that time into the Island of Majorca, whether he had beene drawne by the seditions of the Islanders, rayfed against the Lewes, which dwelt among them, whom they had slaine, and spoiled, after the manner of the Castilians and Arragonois, incensed by a seditious Archdeacon, preaching at Seuile, with which B mischief all the townes of Spaine were in the end infected except Saragossa. The King hauing punished the chiefe authors of these hatefull mutinies, in his returne, he was driven by a storme, to Cap de Cruz, about Ampurias, from whence being come to Castillon, he was surprized by Iodaine deathsome hold that it was in chasing the Wolfe in the woods of Foxa, others say, hee fell and bruized his skull, in the yeere 1395. This Prince, as we haue formerly said, had taken to wife a French Lady, called Marthe, daughter to Iames Earle of Armaignac, who gouerned him quietly, by whom he had one only daughter called Joane, married at the time of his death to Mathew of Castellbon, Earle of Foix, and Lord of Bearn, which was the cause of much warre in Arragon. C Queene D. Marthe being dead, soone after her deliuey, the King D. John married Donna Violant daughter to the Duke of Bar, who brought him a sonne, but of short life, and lies interred at Saragossa, and afterwards a daughter, carrying the mothers name, and practised in Spaine, that the crowne of Arragon did belong vnto his wife, and sought all meanes to obtaine it: but the Arragonois would not then subiect themselves vnder a strange Prince, and reiecting the womans right, they did choose D. Martin for their king, who was brother to the deceased, and was then in Sicile.

The Arragonois reiect D. Joane from the succession and choose D. Martin.

These quarrels ryling from the succession in Arragon, and the reiection of the heire of that realme, which happened soone after the returne of the Queene Donna Leonora into Nauarre, it moued King Charles to take an oth of his subjects, that they should maintaine the Realme to his eldest daughter, and successiue to the rest.

The end of the seauenteenth Booke.

THE



## THE EIGHTEENTH BOOKE

of the Generall History of Spaine.

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ARRAGON.

CASTILE and LEON

NAUARRE.


15. D. Martin 1.  
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32. D. Iohn 1.

IN

## The generall History of Spaine.

A  N the reigne of King Henry the third, it often appeared how vaine the en-  
terprises of bad subiects are against a vertuous and innocent Prince: for  
God did preferre this poore pupill, from the ambitious rage of his Tutors,  
Princes, Prelats and great Lords of Castile, ruining them by their owne  
discord. And he did so much honour the royall Maieesty, as when as this  
young Prince had taken vpon him the government of the realme, at the age of foure-  
teene yecres, he deliuered them into his hands, to punish them, as their obliuate rebelli-  
on, and ingratitude had deserued. Being freed (as we haue said) of the Duke of Benauent,  
the Queene of Nauarre, and the Archbishop of Saint Iames, and hauing by their exam-  
ple reduced the Earle of Transamara and the Archbishop of Toledo, to their duties:  
B there onely remained D. Alphonso Earle of Gijon his vnclē, who was reduced to that ex-  
tremity, as he was forced to vndergoe the censure of a strange Prince, in a cause which  
concerned his honor, his goods and his liberty: the which he might haue enioyed with  
reputation, yea much augmented his dignity, if he had contained himselfe with mode-  
sty, in the fauor of D. Henry King of Castile his naturall Prince.

According to the accord made at the seege of Gijon, the King sent his Ambassadors to  
the French King, to debate the causes he had to dispossesse D. Alphonso, who hauing staid  
many daies in the court of France, the Earle of Gijon, nor his Attorney appeering,  
and the time of the assignation being expired, they prepared for their returne, when they  
C had newes that their aduersie party was come to the coast of Brittain, and was coming  
towards Paris: wherefore to giue more countenance to their cause, they attended.  
Being arriued, hee spake with King Charles, for his iustification, accusing the King his  
Nephew, that he sought to take his portion from him, lying in Asturia, Leon and Cas-  
tile, the which was assigned him by the deceased King D. Iohn his brother, adding many  
other charges and excesse, wherevnto the Ambassadors answered pertinently, laying  
open the Earles ingratitude, rebellion and conspiracy, against the King his Lord, and  
benefactor, who had drawne him out of prison, and restored him to all his goods,  
the which King Iohn had iustly taken from him, adding therevnto pensions, Estates and  
honours; and accusing him in particular of the violent usurpation of the towne of Pa-  
redes of Naua, and other tyrannicall actions done by him, hauing also refused to signe the  
D truce of Portugal, with many other acts of contempt and felony: concluding that hee  
ought to loofe the Earldome of Gijon, and to be wholly left to the discretion and will of  
the King his Lord; so as in the proofes of these crimes, exhibited by the Ambassadors, in  
defence of their Princes actions, hauing not any thing to reply publicly, he gaue the  
Lords of the French Kings councill secretly to vnderstand, that the ill will which the  
King his Nephew bare him, incensed by his bad counsellors, who were corrupt and mer-  
cenary, proceeded from nothing else, but that hee had alwaies opposed himselfe to the  
practises and secret intelligences which they had with the English, in league with whom  
they would draw the King of Castile, to the preiudice of the friendship and ancient al-  
E liance, which was betwixt the houses of Castile and France: wherefore he intreated  
them to deale so with King Charles, as he would iudge fauorably of his cause, causing his  
Estates and Lands to be restored to him againe, promising, all his life time, to doe him  
good and loyal seruice.

The King desirous to reconcile Princes that were neere in blood, caused the Am-  
bassadors to be treated with about a prorogation of the assignation; for they had pro-  
tested that the time prefixt being expired through the Earles negligence and contempe,  
to whom the King their maister had caused three hundred thousand maraudis to be de-  
liuered, for the charges of his voiage, and to take from him all excuse, that they could no  
more appeere before him, as before, their Iudge: yet they said, that seeing the King of  
F Castile their Lord had submitted himselfe vnto his Iudgement, for the brotherly  
loue that was betwixt them, notwithstanding, that many of his councill had diswaied  
him, holding it a dispraggement for the soueraigne Prince to contend with his vassall  
and subiects before a strange Iudge, and out of his country and iurisdiction.

They were of opinion that if the Earle Don Alphonso did willingly deliuer the  
towne of Gijon vnto the King of Castile, and submit himselfe to his will and mercy,  
Kkk 3 that

that by his intercession the Earle should obtaine a safe conduit and assurance to come in A to Castile, and so he should treat of his affaires more profitably then by any other course. They withall made a request vnto King *Charles* in the name of the King their Lord, that for the league which was betwixt the two Kings and realmes, he would be pleased to command *D. Alphonso* to depart his country, which the French King could not refuse, and therefore he caused notice to be giuen vnto the Earle, that he should retire himselfe, commanding all Gouvernors of Prouinces, especially of port towns, not to giue him any fauor or aide, wherefore he went away in poore estate, & kept himselfe some daies about Rochelle. The six monthes of truce concluded betwixt the King and him being many daies before expired, and yet the Ambassadors had not written any thing concerning the conclusion of this lute, there were some troupes of horse and foote sent about Gijon, B after which the King came with greater forces, both by land and sea, the which did so presse the place, as the Countesse, *Donna Isabella* of Portugal, yielded it, compounding for her life and liberty, and of some Knights that were within it, and the deliuey of her sonne *D. Henry*, whom the King held in hostage. In the meane time letters came out of France, from the Ambassadors, containing what had past in this cause, wherewith the King was well satisfied. The miserable Countesse *Isabella*, daughter to *D. Fernand* King of Portugal, being destitute of all meanes, went into France to her husband *D. Alphonso*, who was poore, and without any helpe or fauour, but from the Viconesse of Tours, in whose country he liued in the towne of Marant. After the taking of Gijon, the King went C to Seuille to treat a truce with the Moores, being solicited by King *Mahumet* then reigning in Granado, the third after the death of *Mahumet* the old, who was bruted to haue poisoned the King *D. Henry* the second, and this was his succession.

Great yielded vnto the King, and the Earle dispossessed and banished into France.

### Mahumet Guadix the tenth King of Granado.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahumet* surnamed *Guadix*, after the death of *Mahumet* the Old his father, was sedd King of Granado: he onely among all his predecessors, receiued this Scepter peaceably, and left it quiet at his death. During his reigne which beganne in the yeere 1379. and ended 1392. he had not any warre against Christian Princes for all the time of his reigne, the Estate of Castile vnder King *John* was so troubled with wars with *D. Fernand* King of Portugal, and afterwards with the maister of Auiz, and besides with the Duke of Lancaster, as the Realme of Granado felt no trouble. This *Mahumet Guadix* was sonne in law to the King of Tunis, whose daughter, named *Hadisa*, of the ancient lineage of the *Almohages*, he had married when his father liued, by whom he had *Ioseph* his successor to the Realme, and yet he had other wiues, and many children by them, according to the liberty of the *Mahumetists*, in that point. During this calme, he fortified many places in the Realme of Granado, especially towards the frontier of Andalusia; by the which the Kings of Castile were accustomed to invade the Moores. Hee renewed the truce betwixt the two realmes of Granado and Castile, with King *John*, in the yeere 1390. the which was sborne and confirmed by the Kings, and by their eldest sonnes and successors. The name of *Guadix* was giuen him, for the great loue he bare to the towne of Guadix, and that country, from his Infancy, the which he did frequent and beautifie with many things whilest he liued. He died in peace, in the yeere of our Lord 1392. the thirteenth of his reigne.

### Ioseph the eleuenth, King of Granado.

TO him succeeded this King *Ioseph*, of whom wee haue made mention, in the route which he gaue vnto *Martin Ianez* of Barbuda, maister of Alcantara. Before there was

A was some likelihood of warre, during the raigne of *D. Henry* the 3. king of Castile, but it was soone pacified, after an encounter neere vnto Lorca, whereas the Moores at the coming of this king *Ioseph*, beginning to flie, were defeated with great losse. If the father had raigned peaceably, as well among his subiects, as with Christian Princes his neighbours: his son gouerned with great difficulty & tumults: for besides the quarrels he had with the Christians, (which succeeded reasonably well) he was pursued by his owne sonne, and in danger to loose both Crowne and life. This bad sonne called *Mahumet*, as his Grandfather was, thrust on with ambition to raign, ioyned with a Nobleman among the Moores, called *Aben Mohaya*, who had long hated King *Ioseph*. These two together did what they could to put him from his royall seat, dispersing among the Moores all the slanders they could inuent against him: but chiefly they did charge him with the vice of clemencie, which he had vsed to many Christian captiues, hauing set them free without ranfome: an vndoubted argument, sayd they, that he was a Christian in heart. There were great combultions throughout all Granado, by meanes of this peruerse sonne and his confederats, the which were pacified by the mediation of an Ambassadour from the king of Maroc, of the lineage of the Merins, who was then at Granado, for his Princes affaires, who wrought in such sort, as the sonne and all that followed him, yielded obedience vnto the king, to the good of the Realme, which for a time enioyed a desired peace: for by reason of the troubles, many Christians had imbraced these quarrels of the Moores, ioyning with either partie, but all tending to the ruine of their estate. Besides this *Mahumet*, son to king *Ioseph*, who made warre against him, Histories make mention of three others: that is, *Ioseph* the eldest, who raigned, but not immediately after his father, *Cidi Ali* and *Cidi Amed*. After this pacification, and the defeat of the Master of Alcantara aboue-mentioned, king *Ioseph* was more respected among his subiects, and gouerned his Realme in peace the remaynder of his dayes without any opposition: He kept friendship with the Princes of Spaine his neighbours, and with the Kings of Affricke, as much as he could: yet he grew into secret hatred with the king of Fez, whereof no man knows the occasion, neither did he discouer it, vntill he felt the poison, which this trecherous king sent him: for among many rich presents, there was a cassocke of cloth of gold, of great price, but infected with D this mortall poyson, which did not worke sodenly, but by degrees: an art much practised among those damned creatures, to free themselves of their enemies, or to make States and Principalities voyd, as their ambitious appetites did driue them. King *Ioseph* hauing no cause, as he thought, to suspect any such treason from a king of his sect, whome hee had not offended, receiued the presents: but hauing one day put on the cassocke, he felt himselfe presently poysoned without remedie: the which was of such force, as hauing depriued him of all his naturall faculties, his flesh fell away by peece-meale, with great horror to them that were about him, and amazement of the Physitions, which had him in cure, to whome the true cause of his infirmities, nor the remedies were euer knowne. Thus this king died miserably, hauing raigned about foure yeares in Granado, in the yeare of our Lord 1396. and of the Arabians 779.

Some perscutes the father in raigne.

*Ioseph* king of Granado poysoned.

Vnderfall force of poyson

### Mahumet the 9. of that name, and 12. king of Granado.

MAHUMET this sonne surnamed *Aben-Balus*, who had so much desired to raigne in his fathers life-time, vsurped the Realme from his elder brother *Ioseph*, who yielding to the time, supported it as well as he could, beeing countenanced by some Noblemen, that were friends to his deceased father and him. The first entrance of this king *Mahumet* was pleasing vnto the Moores, by the cruelty he suffered to be done to two Priars brethren, who moued with an inconsiderate zeale, would goe and preach in Granado. Being forbidden by the king to preach their doctrine to a people ill prepared to receiue it, they persisting in their resolution, the Alfasquis and Doctors of the Alcaron fell vpon them,

and hauing whipt them, they slue them most cruelly, so as these two poore Friars were A held holy Martyrs, whereof some of their bones were gathered together, and carried to Seuille and Cordoua, to them of their Order, all men periuading themselues that they wrought miracles. This king thinking himselfe seded in his estate, he confirmed the truce with Christian Princes, especially with D. Henry king of Castile, who freed him of the tribute which the kings of Granada were wont to pay to the Kings of Castile. The King Don Henry shewed himselfe tractable, by reason of the indisposition of his person; who being the rest of his daies ill disposed, purchased the surname of Sickly, and made him to desire peace with his neighbours, and to hate warre. The friendship and familiaritie of these two Princes was very great, and continued long, visiting one another by ambassages, and sending presents, struing who should be more stately and bountifull: and King B Mahomet desiring on a time to make demonstration of his loue to the king D. Henry, sending him rich presents, hee gaue the charge of the ambassage to one of his wiues, the which gaue great content to the king of Castile.

D. Henry of  
Castile called  
the Sickly.

3  
Castile.

But to returne to this king Don Henry, after that he had subdued the Princes of his blood, and their confederates, who contemning his youth, and thrust on by ambition, had troubled his Realme, he beganne to besickely, and vnfit for the actions of warre, the causes whereof by the singular grace of God ceased. Hee had a great care of Iustice, and to ease his subiects, and being in that estate hee sought all meanes to maintaine his reputation and authoritie, fearing nothing more then to bee contemned of his seruants, to whome he sometimes seemed seuer and rigorous, and sometimes was content only to terrifie them: Whereof they produce this example. The king on a time hauing hunted late in an vnknowne countrie, and ill followed, recovered his lodging, being ready to sit downe to his supper, hauing a very good stomack, he found it ill prepared, so as hee began to grow in choller with the Clarke of his kitchen, saying, that hee was negligent, and that he would punish him. The Clarke who (it may be) sought for this occasion, excused himselfe vpon the small meanes which were appointed him by his Councillors to furnish his table: so as, sayd he, besides the assignation which is very short, I recover it with such difficultie, as I am forced to pawne mine owne, to supply it: wherewith the king was very sad, taking it for a great argument of the small esteeme the Noblemen that ruled, made of him, by this dishonest sparing for a kings table, into whose coffers there entered of yearly reuenue 70. millions of Marauidis, if Writers do not erre. And therefore he beganne to studie, how he might make them know it, giuing to his Clarke one of his robes, called at that time Balandras, the which hee pawned for two shouldres of mutton; with the which, and some Quails which they had taken, the king supped, being serued by the Clarke.

Being returned to Burgos, he dissembled that which he had in his heart, and watched an opportunitie to be reuenged. Hee was aduertised that the chiefe Noblemen of his trayne and Councell, holding the greatest dignities in the Realme of Castile, the Prelats, the Masters of knightly Orders, the Duke of Medina Celi, D. Ray Lopez of Aualos, Don Iohn and D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Diego Lopes of Estuniga, Iohn of Velasco, Gomes Manrique, Peter Alfan of Ribera, and others hauing gouernements in the chiefe Prouinces, should meet together one night at a stately and sumptuous banquet: wherfore hee found meanes to enter disguised, to see their cheare, and heare their discourse: where hee saw all things furnished in great abundance, and with more then royall state, where there wanted not any thing that might please the appetite, and as for their discourse and table-talk, it was nothing but of the great and bounteous pension they drew from the King, of the profits and commodities of their Offices and Gouernements, gifts, presents, honours, fauours, and such like, which makes the Courtiers paradise. The King hauing observed all this, being returned vnto his lodging, hee secretly in the night, drew in his Guards, and many other souldiers: and when it was day, hee sent for all these Noblemen of the Banquet, to come vnto his Pallace, to bee witnesses to the Will which hee would make, who flocking thither with all expedition, they stayed in the great Hall, vntill it was past noone.

In the end the king came forth with a naked sword in his hand, setting him downe in

A in his chaire, and then presently the hall was full of his armed guards, so as the Noblemen were amazed at this vnaccustomed ceremonie. The king addressing his speech to the Arch-bishop of Toledo, asked him, how many kings of Castile hee had seene: he answered, that he had seene foure; which were the king D. Pedro, D. Henry his grandfather, D. Iohn his father, and himselfe. The like demand the king made vnto the rest, and euery one answered as he had seene, according to their ages, some three, some foure, and some fise. How can it then be, sayd the king, that I who am younger then any of you, can brag to haue seene aboute twenty: The Noblemen replied, that they knew not what hee meant thereby; for naturally with his corporall eyes he could not haue seene so many kings. Yes truly, sayd the king, I haue seene them, and all you here present are those kings, who dis- B pose of my Realme, and mannage my rents and reuenues at your pleasures. I am king but in name, and as a shade, but you are the bodie and the effect, waisting my goods to my dishonor, and the contempt of my authoritie. I haue seene, I haue seene the pompe and abundance you liue in at my charge, and haue vnderstood how you intreat my subiects, and abuse the power which I giue you in your estates and gouernments: but you shal not liue vnpunished, I haue conuicted you all by your owne confessions and brags, and iudge you all to die, like bad and trecherous vassals. This speech being ended, the Ministers of iustice appeared, & among them the executioner of the court, carying an axe and cords, the which did much amaze all the Noblemen, thinking verily, that they should lose their heads: seeing themselves compassed in his guards, and considering that they had to do C with a young king, who for want of iudgement might giue way to his choller, and reuenge his wrong without regard to the consequence. Being thus amazed, looking one vpon another, and not knowing what to answer, the Arch-bishop of Toledo tooke courage to speake vnto the king, who kneeling downe, told him, that so seuer a sentence was happily more iust then honourable for a young Prince, or profitable for the realme of Castile, which for euer would feele the losse of so many great and worthy men, both for counsel and armes, as he meant to put to death, for that they had committed some faults which are common to all that liue with kings, and are bred vp in great charges of realmes. Moreouer, it was not reasonable to take that for a confession to conuict one, which is spoken at banquets, and in wine, where men do usually talke, and bragge, and oftentimes D without truth, yet he spake not these things to iustifie himselfe, or any of his companions not to contend against his clemencie, as being free from offence, the which they would rather implore and trie, demanding with all humilitie, the liues of all these offenders, and his pardon, adding many other reasons, the which were allowed by the king, for he desired an occasion to pardon them, yet he would haue them yeeld vp all the fors which they had in guard, and he condemned them in pecuniarie fynes, so as he drew from them aboute an hundred and fifty millions of marauidis, for the exactions and concussion done vpon his people, and the kings money: keeping them two moneths in the castle of Burgos, vntill the full payment and execution of these things.

E If he were moderate in this act of iustice, hee vsed greater rigour at Seuille, where all were full of partialities, proceeding from the diuisions and quarrels which his tutor had bred, which the Magistrates and kings officers could not suppress. Being declared of full age, he went thither and caused the Earle of Niebla, Peter Ponce of Leon, and other heads and chief authors of these seditions to be put in prison, and hauing examined every mans actions, he banished some, others he condemned in great fynes, and losse of their offices, and caused many to be hanged, or lose their heads: so as there were aboute a thousand persons intangled in the punishments and executions of iustice: one of the chiefe ministers whereof, was Doctor Iohn Alphonso of Toro, to whom the gouernement of Seuille was given for matters of iustice: and the more to countenance him, the king stayed there many daies.

This king gaue many other testimonies of his loue to iustice: he gaue audience to all suitors indifferently, three daies in the weeke, he heard all the complaints of his subiects, and provided for them: he could discerne of men of iudgement, which were fit for council, and the gouernment of the commonwealth. The most esteemed, and of greatest authority about him, were Don Pedro Tenorio, Arch-bishop of Toledo, Friar Iohn Henriquez,

Executions at  
Seuille.

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Don Pablo a  
few learned  
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ques, and Friar *Fernando* of *Illeca*, with the Cardinal *D. Pedro* of *Frias* Bishop of *Osma*, A  
and these for the Clergie: of Knights he made great esteeme of *Don Laurence Suarez* of  
*Figueras*, Master of Saint James, *Gonzales Nagues* of *Guzman*, Master of *Calatrava*,  
*Diego Hurtado* of *Mendoza*, high Admirall of *Castile*, *Ruy Lopes* of *Aualos*, his Lord  
Chamberlaine, and afterwards Constable, *Diego Lopes* of *Estuñiga* chiefe Iustice, *Peter*  
*Lopes* of *Ayala*, a knight of great learning, who came to be Lord Chancelour, *John Pe-*  
*lasco* a Chamberlaine, and other knights of his Councell, which consisted of sixteen grave  
personages. Among others, that were very deare vnto him, there was a Doctor, a law  
yer, borne at *Burgos*, who afterwards embraced the Christian Religion, called *Don*  
*Pablo*, who for his learning and good life, was in time chosen Bishop of *Carthage*, and B  
in the end obtained the Bishopricke of *Burgos*. He had many times oppugned the Chri-  
stian Religion, as a Jew Rabin, and Master in the Jewish Law, but hauing receiued in gift  
a Christian Doctor, the booke of *Saint Thomas Aquinas* intituled *de Legibus*, he read  
it diligently, and was so moued with the reasons thereof, as he left his Jewish religion,  
the which is not strange, say the Diuines of *Spaine*: for he that knowes not *Saint Thomas*  
knoweth not any thing, and he that knoweth him, knowes all things. This Prelate who  
was a great Preacher, a great Philosopher, wise and iudicious in matters of State, and  
of the kings Councell, wrote many bookes, whereof some are yet extant. Being a Jew, he  
was married, and had three sonnes all learned men, whereof the one was Deane of *Sego-*  
*biz*, and succeeded his father in the Bishopricke of *Burgos*, he was called *Don Alphonso* C  
of *Carthage*, from whence we haue the genealogie of the kings of *Castile*. Written in  
Latine. *Don Gonzalo* another sonne of *D. Pablo* was Bishop of *Paleña*, a Prelat of great  
learning: and the third was *Aluar Garcia* of *S. Maria*, a learned man also, *D. Pablo* their  
father being of the King *Don Henries* Councell, notwithstanding that he had bin a Jew,  
did aduise him and his successors, not to receiue into their seruice, either of his households  
Councell, or to any Offices of the Realm, any Jew, although he were conuerted, and that  
for some speciall causes.

The King *Don Henry* being endowed with these good qualities beyond the Ordinary  
of young Princes, had also some blemishes, like other mortall men: for hee was noted to  
be sparing, and desirous to heape vp treasure, and yet they say, that it was without the op-  
pression of his subiects, the which is hard in a Prince: yet hee gaue many prouisions and  
pensions to them that were neere to him in blood, or allyed to him by amitie: as to the  
Queene *D. Beatrix*, his mother-in law, whom he maintained in the estate of a Queene,  
and to *Don Fernand* his brother, who shewed himselfe alwaies obedient to his will. His  
countries being in peace, he gaue himselfe to repaire and fortifie the frontier places, and  
did build a new castle of *Carthage*. As for religious buildings, the church, and con-  
uent of the Carthusians at *Burgos*, called *Mirefleurs*, are his worke: he was a great fauor-  
er of the Franciscans, to whom Queene *Katherine* his wife, had a particular deuotion,  
who was a Ladie of great pietie, according to the instruction of that time, bountifull,  
maiesticall, wife, and discreet in her words, yet superfluous in her manner of liuing, and  
louing wine, whereby in her latter dayes she fell into a palsey.

The Kings infirmity which began at the age of seuentene yeares, did in time fo vnder-  
mine him, being incurable, as he became drie and leane, so as the proportion of his body  
was changed, and he seemed another man, then formerly he had beene: moreover, he was  
so sad and melancholicke, as most commonly he was alone, and would not admit of any  
company. Yet he was alwaies carefull of the gouernement of the Realme. He alwaies en-  
tertained Ambassadors in Princes Courts, as well Christians as Mahumetists, by whom  
he was aduertised what was done in forraigne countries, their manners, and manner of go-  
uernements: a thing most profitable for him that sends them, but not for them that re-  
ceiue them: for by Ambassadors which are resident, the Councels and actions of Princes  
are discouered, to the great preiudice of their estates. Two of his Ambassadors sent into  
the East, the which were *Pelazo* of *Soto maior*, and *Fernando Pelafuel*, fell into the hands  
of *Tamberlaine*, Emperour of the Tartarians, after the defeat of *Batazer*; who intreated  
them graciously, and sent them backe into *Spaine* with an Ambassador of his, to demand  
friendship of king *Henry*.

During

A During his raigne, in the yeare 1397, the order of the Knights of the *Calatrava*, in steed  
of a blacke hood which they had worne vntill that time, tooke for their make a red square  
crosse, which they carry at this day, the which was done by the Bull of Pope *Bene-*  
*dict* of *Auignon*, at the instance of *Don Gonzal Nagues* of *Guzman*, maister of the  
*Calatrava*.

The realme of *Castile* being at peace with all men it was engaged in new troubles by  
*Don John* King of *Portugall*, for that the Articles of the truce, concluded betwixt their  
Ambassadors for fifteene yeares, had not bene signed and sworn by certain Noble men  
of *Castile*, as had bene agreed: with other light occasions, which drew him to field, be-  
ing yet proud of his former victories, and contemning the youth and infirmity of King  
*Henry* his aduersary, wherefore he suddenly brought his army before *Badajos*, which towne  
hee tooke, and the Marshall *Don Garcil Gutiere* of *Herrera* in it: whereas the King *Don*  
*Henry* was much incensed, and speedily provided for all things necessary, to suppress the  
boldnesse of this *Portugall* King, both by sea and land. One of the most remarkable ex-  
ploits of this warre, which continued three yeares, was the encounter of five Castilian  
gallies with seauen of *Portugall*, comming from *Genoa*, laden with armes and soldiers:  
the fight hauing continued very sharpe some houres, in the end foure of the gallies of  
*Portugall* were taken, one broken and the rest put to flight. In this encounter the *Portu-*  
galls lost about five hundred men, besides the armes and equipage of their gallies, the  
which were drawne to *St. Lucar*. Many noble men of *Portugall* at that time left King  
*John*, and retired into *Castile*, where they were entertained, and had lands and houses gi-  
uen them by the King *D. Henry*. Among others *Martin Vasques* of *Acugna*, and his bre-  
thren *Giles Vasques* and *Lopes Vasques* came also with an hundred lances, *John Fernandes*  
and *Lopes Fernandes Pacheco* bretheren, *Aluar Gonzales Camelo* Prior of *S. John*, with ma-  
ny others. The king of *Portugall* entring by *Gallicia*, he tooke from king *Henry* the towne  
of *Tuy*, and towards *extremadura* he layd seige before *Alcantara*: to whose succour  
was sent *D. Ruy Lopes* of *Aualos*, then made Constable of *Castile*, in the place of the  
Earle of *Transmara*, who raised the seige, and entring into *Portugall*, spoiled and burnt  
the countie, and tooke *Pegna maior*, a place of strength, by force. On the other side, the  
D. towne of *Miranda* of *Duego* was beleeged by King *Henries* captaines, who prest in such  
sort as it yielded. After some courtes and prizes made at sea by the Admirall of *Castile*,  
the truce was renewed betwixt the two kings, and was so entertained, as it was the last war  
which the *Portugals* had with *Castile* vntill our daies, so as these two Princes gouerned  
their Estates in peace and quietnesse the remainder of their liues.

In *Arragon* whilest they contended for the right of the succession against *Mathew* of  
*Castellon* Earle of *Foix*, and his wife *D. Isane* eldest daughter to the deceased king *D. John*  
as we haue sayd: *D. Maria* wife to the D. of *Momblanc*, being absent in *Sicily*, took vpon  
her the title of Queene, by the aduice of the counsell of *Cattelogne*, in the city of *Barce-*  
*lona*, where there assisted *D. Inigo Valterra*, Archb. of *Tarragona*, *Bernard* of *Pinos*, *Hugh*  
*Angelo*, *Roger* of *Moncade* Viceroy of *Sardinia*, *Michel Gurria*, *Francis* of *Aranda*, who  
was held the wisest of his time, *Bernard Michel*, *William Pujade*, *Gerard Patol*, and *Bernard*  
*Zairille*. These were of opinion that the Regencie of the realme should be put into the  
hands of *D. Maria*, vntill her husbands coming, to whom they had sent *D. Hugh* of *Bage*,  
Bishop of *Tortosa*, *John Foull* son to the Earle of *Cardona*, *Emanuel Ragidell*, *Raymond*  
*Zaua*, a Citizen of *Barceloneta*, and *Peter Grimald* of *Perpignan*, Ambassadors, to giue  
him notice of his election, and to hasten his returne. The widow Queene *Violant*, was in  
the meane time accompanied by foure of the chiefe Ladies by order from the Councell,  
the which did neuer abandon her, and should haue a care of her deliuey, for that she  
was with child. And for that many men of state, and others hauing had charges & of-  
fices in the time of the deceased King, had abused them, their actions were now called in  
to question during this Interregne, and some of them were committed at *Barcelona*. The  
Will of the deceased King, being opened in the Assembly of *Cattelogne*, they found  
that the same Duke of *Momblanc*, to whom the peoples fauour inclined, was there na-  
med heyre and successor to the Crowne, in case the King *Don John* dyed without issue  
male, the which was signified to the Countesse of *Foix*.

As

Red crosse the  
mark of the  
Order of Calatrava.

6  
Portugal.

Victory of the  
Castilians at sea

7  
Arragon.

Francis of  
Aranda a wise  
man.

Officers called  
into question

At the Estates assembled at Sarragossa, to giue order that the realme should receiue no A  
losse in the absence of the king D. Martin, these chiefe men were present:

D. Garci Fernandes of Heredia, Archibishop of Sarragossa.

D. Iohn Martin Murillo, Abbot of Montarragon.

D. Pedro Fernandes of Ixar.

D. William, and Raymond Allamans Cernillon.

D. Pedro Ruiz Morio, for the great Prior of Aruposta.

The Prior of Rota.

The Abbot of S. Fides.

D. Pedro de Ladron, Vicount of Villanoua.

D. Lopes Ximenes of Virea.

D. Fernand Lopes of Luna.

D. Iohn Martin of Luna.

D. Alphonso Fernandes of Ixar.

D. Pedro Fernandes Vergua.

D. Francis of Allagon.

D. Pedro Ximenes of Virea, son to D. Lope.

The Attorneys of D. Lewis Cornel, of D. Aral of Allagon, of D. Iohn Ximenes of Virea Arasillo, of D. Pedro Galcerand of Castro, and of D. Anthony of Luna. Moreouer, Iohn Ximenes de la Cerda, Iustice Maior of Arragon, with many other Noblemen, knights and Deputies of towns and commonalties, who without regard to the demands and protestations of Mathew Earle of Foix, and D. Ieanne his wife, confirmed the Duke of Monblanc testamentarie heire of the Realme, disannulling the conuentions made by the deceased king D. Pedro, grandfather to D. Ieanne, at the treatie of her marriage with the Earle of Foix, by the which it was sayd, that if Don Iohn her father dyed without issue male, she should inherit the Realme: whereupon Mathew Earle of Foix sought to obtaine his right by armes, seeing that iustice was denied him. And hauing employed the ayde of the Earle of Armagnac, of Iohn Duke of Berry, the French kings vncl, and of other Noblemen of France, he passed with a thousand men at armes, and three thousand light horsemen, from the Vicountie of Castellbon, beyond the Pyrennees, and by the valley of Ferriere at Villemur, he tooke Camaraca, and marched as farre as Lerida, where he spoyle the country: against whome the Estates did chosse Don Pedro of Vrgell for General. And for that it was suspected that D. Iohn Earle of Ampurias, had fauoured these French troupes at the passage of the mountaines, he was committed to prison, but soone after deliuered, hauing made prooue of his innocencie. Although the Earle of Foix did much annoy the Arragonois, yet the greatest losse fell vpon himselfe, for beeing too weake a partie to encounter the power of Arragon, he did nothing but spend his estate, ingage himselfe, and strue for nothing, his army beeing forced to rise from before Barbalro, and to retire for want of victuals and other discommodities towards Huelca, and then to passe by Caparosso belonging vnto Nauarre, into Bearne, on this side themountaines, after which hee neuer made any memorable attempt. The king D. Martin, notwithstanding all the importunitie of the Arragonois, was not resolved to leaue Sicile, yntill he had seene his sonne peacefull king of the Iland, the which he effected after a long and tedious warre, by the ruine of the noble families of Clairmont and Alagon, and of other rebels, whereof Andrew of Clairmont Duke of Modica was beheaded at Palermo, after which Aral of Alagon was expelled Sicile, with all his family, by vertue of whose Predecessors, that Realme had beene in a manner conquered for the house of Arragon.

Articles of marriage between by the Estates to the prescience of the Earle of Foix.

Andrew of Clairmont beheaded at Palermo.

D. Martin

D. Martin the first of that name, and 15.  
King of Arragon.

Matters beeing thus brought to passe, D. Martin clea King of Arragon, leauing with the King his sonne, called also D. Martin, and his wife Marie, William of Moncado, Marquis of Malta, chiefe Iustice and Constable of the Realme, Peter Serra Bishop of Catriana, Francis Zagarriga, Hugh Santapaz, and other Cattelans and Arragonois, for Counsellors, he sayled towards the Island of Sardinia, where he was visited by the Noblemen holding his partie, as well of that Island as of Corfica, whereas the Earle of Cinerche and others of the familie of Istria, and of that of Rocca, held many townes and castles at his deuotion. From thence the King past into Prouence, where he did visit Pope Benedict in Auignon, receiuing a rose from him on Palme Sunday, hauing done him homage for the Islands of Sardinia and Corfica: then continuing his voyage, hee arrived in Cattellogne in the beginning of Maie, in the year 1397. At his entrie into the countie, hee found a stately ambassage, where were the chiefe Noblemen of Arragon, and deputies of the cite of Sarragossa, who intreated him, that without any stay he should goe vnto the Estates assembled at Sarragossa, and that he would not deale in any affaires of the realme, vntill (according to the auncient custome) hee had taken and receiued their othes, the which seemed something strange vnto the King: yet he answered these ambassadors graciously, that beeing tired with so long a voyage, he had need of rest: wherefore after some little staid at Barcelona, hee would come presently to Sarragossa: notwithstanding after his entrie into Barcelona, which was very stately, sitting in his tribunall, hee pronounced a sentence against Mathew Earle of Foix, and D. Ieanne his wife, beeing his neece, by the which he declared them rebels, and guilty of high treason, and fallen from all their rights: he did confiscate the Vicontie of Castellbon, and other lands held by them in the realme of Arragon and Cattellogne, adiudging them vnto the crowne. Moreouer, hee sent from thence shippes and souldiers into Sardinia and Sicile, sending backe D. Roger of Moncado into his gouernment of Sardinia, and D. Pedro of Bage into Sicile. After which, hee went to Sarragossa to the Estates about the end of October. The King presiding in this assembly, did much commend the vertue, fidelitie, and valour of the Arragonois, seeking by good words to make them tractable and well-affecte to him and his children: for after the oath taken by him for the obseruation of the rights and priuiledges of Arragon and other Prouinces, and reciprocally by them, he intreated the Estates to acknowledge his sonne D. Martin King of Sicile, beeing absent, for lawfull heire of that crowne after him, the which was willingly done, the King of Sicile ambassadors hauing promised an vnion of the two realmes for euer, and to cause the King their master to ratifie it, and to take the othes accustomed in such acts. There was giuen vnto the King at these Estates 13000 florins of gold to pay his debts, and 30000 for his expences. During the assembly, there was some tumult of warre in the Mountains, there being entred by the pace of Sarrazal some of the Earle of Foix troupes, who tooke and sacke Thermes: but without any other exploit they returned. In the meane time Mathew of Castellbon Earle of Foix dyed without any children, being in the year 1398, whereby D. Martin remayned peaceable King of Arragon, who setled himselfe, and disposed of his affaires according to his desire.

First of all knowing that the wisdom of a Prince consists chiefly in knowing wel how to chuse men of valour, whose seruice he must vse in the gouernment of his Estate, he laboured to draw vnto him, by his bounty and fauour, the hearts and affections of those which he knew to be such: namely, he gratified D. Alphonso of Arragon much, and honored him with the Dutchie of Gandia; he made D. James of Prade Constable of Arragon, and to many other Noblemen and knights, hee gaue gifts and priuiledges: hee reitored Archambaud of Graille, who had bene heire in the right of succession to the Earledome of Foix by reason of his wife, sister to the deceased Mathew of Castellbon,

L. 11

to

Sentence against the Earle of Foix.

Death of the Earle of Foix.

Prudence necessary in a Prince to chuse men of valour.



to the lands which he had forfeited: yet he made but a bare recompence to his Neece the Countesse of Foix, who retired her selfe to Valencia, with 3000. florens of yearly pension, for her whole entertainment, where she ended her dayes. He married his other neece *D. Violant* to *Lewis* Duke of Anjou, chosen king of Naples, to whom hee gave 16000. florens in dowrie, so as the should renounce all rights and pretensions which shee might haue to the Crowne of Arragon, and other lands of the deceased king *D. Iohn* her father, adding afterwards to this bond, an alliance which he made with *Navarre*, to be the better assured of the French. And not to forget the workes of pietie, covered with the vale of religion, seeing Pope *Benedict* greatly molested in Auignon, although it were by the praeligion, the French king, he sent an armie by sea, to assist him, and if need were to carrie him away, the euent whereof was miserable: for being come vnto the mouth of the river *Rhodie* about December, in the heart of a very sharpe winter, the gales not being able to go vp the riuier, by reason the water was low, most of the flauies, mariners and soldiers dyed for cold.

Statues sent by  
the Pope into  
Arragon.

The fauour which the king of Arragon did shew vnto the Pope, did so far auayle him, as it made the French king forbear for a time to oppose himselfe: to acknowledge the which, and in his loue to his country, he sent into Arragon foure statues of siluer and gilt and enriched with stones, the which were kept in the city of *Sarragossa*, and therein were inclosed the reliques of *Valerius*, *Lawrence*, *Vincent* and *Eustratia*, reputed by the *Sarragossians* for Saints, patrons and protectors.

Thus the king *D. Martin* fought in the first yeares of his raigne, to content the world by his humane wisdom, and to purchase the fame of a politicke and religious Prince: notwithstanding as humane wisdom failes most commonly, he could not keep such a mean, but in gratifying some, he discontented others, yea the Arragonois themselves: the Realme being often in combustion, by reason of the old quarrels betwixt the houses of *Luna*, *Vrrea*, and *Gurrea*, and especially during the interregne many of these families presumed to go to field, and did rob and spoile euen to the towne gates: whereupon the king raised some troupes to suppress these theues, giving the charge thereof to *Don Alphons*, sonne to *D. Alphons* of Arragon Duke of *Candia*, making him as it were Gouernor of the realme, and his Lieutenant generall: a great dignity, which was presently impugned by the Noblemen of Arragon, moued through enuy, alledging, that that charge ought not to be giuen according to their ancient customes, but to one that was borne in Arragon: wherefore they appealed before the Iustice maior, being an attempt against their liberties and freedoms: so thinking to preuent a mischiefe, hee augmented it for the Realme was presently full of armes, which hee was forced to remedy with great difficulties and seuerer meanes, it may be vnworthie of his royall Maiestie.

Troubles in  
Arragon.

Castille.

The Schisme which was in the church of Rome, did somewhat trouble Spaine: yet by the wise counsell of Princes, all past without any great alteration. The French king did greatly sollicite him of Castile to ioyne with him, to force Pope *Benedict* of Auignon to submit himselfe to a compromise treated by the Princes, and according to the protestation of the Cardinalls which had chosen him, to leaue his dignity, vntill it had bene determined who should be Pope, and head in the church of Rome. For the which the king *D. Henry* having called a great assembly at *Salamanca* of Prelats and Doctors, both Diuines and Canonists, in the end he yielded after many difficulties: whereof *D. Martin* King of Arragon being aduertised, he was wonderfully moued, for he did much support Pope *Benedict*, a Cattelane by nation, and therefore sent to *Salamanca* before the kings departure, his ambassadours were *Vidal* of *Blagues*, and *Raymond* of France, to complaine of this vnion which the king of Castile had made with him of France, without communicating any thing vnto him: to whom an answer was made in friendly tearmes, which did satisfie them.

In the assembly of *Salamanca* it was aduised, that the two Popes should reuoke all the proceedings made one against another, and should haue an interview in some place of this assurance, where they should denie betwixt themselves how to free the church of this Schisme, the which they should declare within a certaine time: and during the delay they should giue a certaine pastor vnto the church, but if they could not, or would not agree, that

At that time there sprung vp a Sect of white coates: their author was a Priest of the mountains of *Sauoy*. They were men moued with deuotion, who began to runne ouer Italy, as it were in procession, attired in white shirts, and wearing their haire long ouer their faces, demanding pardon of God, and mercie for their sinnes, with great and lamentable cries: and moreover in going they sung Hymnes, as that which begins, *Stabat mater dolorosa*, and other such suffrages. Their troupe in the beginning being but small, they grew to so great a number, there ioyning with them at all the townes where they past, as they were forced to diuide themselves into bands, which sometimes were not lesse then ten, twelue, or fifteen thousand persons, which made many Princes and Potentates of Italy to suspect, that vnder a shew of religion they had some hidden enterprise to the prejudice of their Estates. The towne of *Luca* gaue them most credit. They ranne vntill that they came vnto the farthest point of *Calabria*, and then returned backe.

beginning of  
the white coate

Their captaine with a great multitude of his followers being come to *Viterbo*, Pope *Benedict* found meanes to draw him to Rome, where being examined of his intention, they found nothing in him but meere ignorance and superstition, whereby all the townes and families in Italy had bene troubled: many men leauing their houses, wiues, children, parents, with all publike and priuate affaires, to follow this poore ideot, who for all the pain he had taken, was by the Popes sentence condemned to the fire, who being burnt, eury one retired to his home, and his followers were dispersed into diuers parts.

About the yeare 1399. died *D. Pedro* of *Tenorio*, Archb. of *Toledo*, being forrie hee could not attaine vnto the yeare 1400. to the end he might depart this world in the yeare of Iubile. The Spaniards speake much good of this Prelate: that he had bene employed during the raigne of three kings, in the weightiest affaires of Spain, with opinion to haue bene a wise and discreet Councillor, a learned man, and a louer of learned men: but he was wilfull, and that which he himselfe bragged of, nor very liberrall (for the great reuenges which he enjoyed) especially to his kindred, who neuer receiued any aduancement from him, nor by his fauour, from the king of Castile. His house was ancient, issued from *Galicie*, but growne greater in *Portugall*: he himselfe was borne at *Tauira*, the sonne of a simple Gentleman, and but poore. He left many remembrances of him in his buildings in diuers parts of Spaine, as *S. Martins* bridge in the cite of *Toledo*, and the castle of *S. Seruant* towards the port called *Alcantara*, the Monasterie of *S. Catherine* of the Order of *S. Ierome*, and the Collegiall church of *Chanoins* in the towne of *Talauera*, the chappell where his bodie lyes in the great church at *Toledo*, and the cloyster thereof, a stately and royall worke. Besides these buildings, he repaired the castles of *Canales*, *Alhamin* and *Almonacid*. He caused a strong castle to be built neere vnto *Alcala* the royall, to serue for a refuge for Christian slaues, which escaped the Moores that were nere vnto the frontier, and ordained a certaine rent for the entertainment of a wonderful great lampe, the which should be a direction in the night for poore fugitives, giuing light three great leagues round about. The towne of *Villafraanca*, the church and the bridge vpon *Tayo*, betwixt *Talauera* and *Guadalupe*, were his worke, it being called at this day, the Archbishops bridge. By the death of this Prelate, the sea of *Toledo* was void foure yeares, the Schisme in the Romish church being the cause thereof. In the meane time *D. Iohn* Bishop of *Siguencia* had the gouernement of the Church, who gaue credit to the image of Saint *Marie* of *Nieua*, and beganne to build the Church thereof, the which was afterwards augmented by the Queene *Donna Catherine*. This image was found by one *Peter*, who for that cause was surnamed, Of good aduerture, who hauing found it, aduertised the bishop. It is much reuerenced by the Spaniards, who hold, that shee doth wonderfull and great miracles.

An. 1399.

Deaths of the  
Arch-bishop of  
Toledo.

See of Toledo  
void for foure  
yeares.

The yeare 1400. at what time the Iubile was, the Spaniards going about to set vp a great



Deu'd of  
King Henry of  
the 1. of France.

of a hundred millions of Marauidis then currant, paying to every horseman twenty Marauidis a day, and to every footeman tenne. He therefore intreated the Estates, to provide and contribute that summe freely and speedily, seeing it must be employed for the defence and safety of all Spaine. The Estates were amazed at so great a charge at that season and had so great a treasure lying at Segobia, whereof a small portion might ease the Estates. The Prelats and Clergy men above all others, made great difficulty for this contribution: which in the ende the King, after conference with his Brother, and other his familiars, ordered in this manner.

Testament of  
the King D.  
H. 17.

That the Estates should presently furnish fourey fve Millions of Marauidis, B which are valued at a Million of Crownes by the Authors of those times: and if the King should neede any more, hee might impose it without calling of the Estates. The condition to impose money vpon the subiects without calling the States seemed hard, yet they all consented for that time, so as it might not be a president. Matters standing thus, the Kings infirmity increased in such sort, as foreseeing his approaching death, he made his will, and instituted for heire of his realmes his Sonne D. John, being but twenty two moneths old, leaving him for Tutors, vntill hee came to the age of fourteen years compleate, the Queene D. Catherine his wife, and his brother the Duke of Pegnasil. And if his heire should die, hee did then substitute his daughter Catherine, and vnder the same tutors, to whome also he left the gouernment of his realmes.

Death of King  
Henry of Castile.

His will was to be buried in the habit of Saint Francis, and that his Sonne should bee bred vnder the discipline of Diego Lopes of Estuniga, chiefe iustice of Castille, of D. John Pelayco his Lord Chamberlaine and of D. Pablo Bishop of Cardagena. Hauing thus disposed of his last will, hee died loone after. Some Authors say, that he was poysoned by a Phisition a Iew, the which was knowne afterwards by the confession of other Iewes that were prisoners, for other disorders committed in derision of the on of other Iewes that were prisoners, for other disorders committed in derision of the ceremonies vsed in the Christian Religion, and were executed at Segobia. The King D. Henry the third hauing rayned sixteen years and almost three months, dyed in the year 1406. in December, in the City of Toledo, being not much above twenty seauen years old: hee was interred in the Chappell of the last Kings in the Cathedrall Church there. The same year dyed Pope Innocent the seauenth at Rome hauing rayned two years, in whose place was chosen Angelo Carairo a Venetian, Patriarke of Constantinople, and Cardinall of Saint Marke, by thirteen Cardinalls of his faction, and was named Gregory the twelfth by whome the Schisme was continued.

13  
Nauarre.

After the returne of the Queene D. Leonora to the King of Nauarre her husband, shee was deliuered of a Sonne in the city of Pampelone, who was called by his Fathers name, but heelyued little. The peace of this realme was great vnder this King Charles, who liued very contentedly with his wife, after her returne, and made her Regent when hee past into France, which was in the year 1397, for hee had many great affaires to decyde with King Charles the sixt, who detaineyd many places from him, which had beene seized on in his fathers time, and had often sollicitied him in vaine by his Ambassadors to do him reason: wherefore hee was forced to goe in person. Before his departure, hee ordaineyd that there should bee payed towards the building of the great Church of Pampelone, ruined some yeares before, the fourth pennie of all the reuenues of his realme, for twelve yeares, where-with it was built in the forme we now see it. Hereof there were letters given by this King at Saint John of Pie de Port this year 1397. in May. His voiage into France did benefit him little, for besides that the French King was not counsellled to yield vp the places which he held, especially in Normandy, the friendship which the King of Nauarre had with the English, was suspected and odious vnto him, although this amity were not prejudiciall to the French, but rather a Neutrality (to the end they might liue in peace) then a league. Seeing therefore that hee was not wellcome, hee returned presently into Nauarre, from whence loone after he sent the Cardinall of Pampelone, who had rettyred himselfe into Nauarre, after that hee had endured many milicies in Auignon, for Pope Benedict.

Hee

A He vfed such diligence and fit meanes, as he made the French King and his counsell willing to giue recompence to the King of Nauarre for his lands, wherefore he was constrained to repasse the Pyrenees againe. In the meane time died John of Montfort duke of Britaine, husband to Joane, sister to this King Charles of Nauarre, who had by her husband foure children, John who was duke, Richard, Arthur and Gyles. This Princeesse was afterwards married to Henry of Lancaster King of England, fourth of that name, he who depriued his cousin Richard of the crowne: by him he had not any children. Charles King of Nauarre, hauing caused his sonne Charles to be borne his heire by the Estates of his realme, he married D. Joanne his eldest daughter to John the eldest sonne of Archibaud, who had succeeded in the county of Foix and Bearn, by the death of Mathew B of Castellon: his second daughter called Donna Maria died a Virgin: and as for the third, Mary Queene of Sicile, being a little before dead, who by her testament had left this realme to D. Martin her husband, sonne to D. Martin King of Arragon, he thought to make her Queene of Sicile, and to marry her to this young D. Martin being a widower. He therefore sent his Ambassadors to the King of Arragon to this effect, who was very well pleased, and yielded to the marriage, although they had offered him many other matches for his sonne D. Martin King of Sicile, and that the Sicilians did what they could to make him incline to a marriage with Joane sister to Ladislaus King of Naples. The accord was made betwixt the King of Arragon, and the Ambassadors both of Nauarre and Sicile (amongst which was Peter Serra, Cardinal of Carthage) at a place called C Altamira in the Realme of Valencia, in the yeere of our Lord 1401. where it was concluded that the King of Nauarre should giue in dowry with his daughter a hundred thousand florins, of the stamp of Arragon: whereof forty thousand in hand, and three score thousand at a certaine time, for the which he should giue in pawns the townes and castles of Arguedas, Santa Caro, Murillo, and Gallipienso: the King of Arragon should binde for her dowry the townes and castles of Sos, Saluaterra, Vncastillo and Ruefte. And for that they were somewhat allied by affinity, there should be a dispensation procured from Benedict. For confirmation and execution of these things, the Kings of Arragon and Nauarre had an interview vpon the confines of their Realmes, betwixt Cortes and Mallen, where they did sweare what had beene concluded. With the King of Nauarre did sweare D. Lionel of Nauarre his brother, D. Charles of Beaumont chiefe Standard-bearer, D. Martin of Lacarra Marthal, D. Francis of Villa Espeça, Chancellor of the realme, John Ruys of Ayuar, superintendant of the treasure, and D. Martin of Olloqui prior of Saint John with others: In like manner did many noblemen and prelates for the King of Arragon.

Marriage of  
D. Martin  
King of Sicile  
and D. Joane  
of Nauarre.

This don the King of Arragon was conducted to Cortes, where hauing bene royally feasted by the King of Nauarre, the Infanta D. Blanch was deliuered vnto him, a Princeesse of excellent beauty, whom he led into his country, & hauing prepared a fleet at Valencia, he lent her into Sicile, to the King D. Martin his son vnder the charge of D. Martin of Cabrera, a Knight of Carcelogne, in 1402. This Lady was in the end Queene of Nauarre: for loone after the content of this marriage followed a discontent for the death of D. Lewis the second son to the King of Nauarre, being but sixe months old, and not long after that of D. Charles his eldest, which two Infants are buried in the Cathedrall church at Pampelone, and D. Blanch suruiued her eldest sister D. Joane. The crowne of Nauarre fell then to the succession of daughters, and the King caused D. Joane his eldest daughter, to be againe (sworne heire of the realme, with her husband D. John of Foix. This same yeere the Episcopal sea of Pampelone was voided, by the death of Cardinal Martin of Salua, bishop of that city, who had past the age of 66. yeeres, in great trouble and paine, to maintaine the party of Pope Benedict in Auignon. D. Michel of Salua his Nephew obtained the Bishoprike after him, who was afterwards made Cardinall by Pope Benedict, in following of whom he died two yeeres after at Monaco. The King of Nauarre being the third time called in France, his voiage was then more profitfull vnto him, then at the precedent, for he obtained of king Charles the sixt the Lordship of Nevers, the which was erected to a Dutchy, and moreover twelve hundred pounds sterling of yeerely rent, to be taken out of the reuenues of Bry and Champagne, with a good

Death of the  
two Infants of  
Nauarre.

Title of Earle  
of Ebreux  
ceased in the  
house of Na-  
varre, and takes  
that of duke  
of Nemours.

good summe of ready money for all pretensions and rights, the which he renounced, seeing he could not doe otherwise: in respect whereof the title of Earle of Eureux ceased.

The towne of Cherbourg in Normandy, held in the King of Nauarres name, by the  
Marshall D. Martin Henriquez, was by this accord deliuered to the French: all letters and  
for expeditions being ended, the King D. Charles returned into Nauarre, another way; for  
he paſt by Languedoc and Cattelogne, where he viſited the King D. Martin at Leniz,  
with great content and pleaſure to theſe two Princes allied. Paſſing from thence by  
Sarragoſſa, he came into his country, where afterwards he gaue himſelf to building in  
many places, yea two ſumptuous palaces, one in Tafalla, the other in Olite, where the B  
now fall to ruine, for want of reparations, eſpecially that of Olite, where the Marſhalls  
of Nauarre were accuſtomed to lodge; and the Spaniards fay, that he had intent, to  
make a paved caufey and covered, to paſſe at all times without diſcommodity, from one  
of theſe places to the other, being but a little league diſtant. The bridge of Eſtella vpon  
the riuer of Ega, was this Kings worke, who for that he had liued in continual peace, had  
ſtoore of treasure, to imploy in ſuch buildings. During his aboad in France, there had  
beene fome ſpeech of marriage betwixt his youngeſt daughter D. Beatrix and D. Iames  
lord of Vergele, of the blood royall of Arragon, the which by reaſon of cer-  
taine lets,ooke no effect: wherefore the King being returned, he married her to Iames  
taine lets,ooke no effect: wherefore the King being returned, he married her to Iames  
of Bourbon Earle of March, one of the goodlieſt and actiue Princes of his time. The  
marriage was celebrated in the city of Pampelone, in the yeere 1406. with great ſolem-  
nity, and conſourſe of the nobility of Spaine and France, about the beginning of  
warre of Granado, and alittle before the death of D. Henry King of Caſtile, the newes  
whereof were greceous to King Charles, a great friend and alie to the houſe of Caſtile.

D. Iohn the second of that name, 18. King  
of Castile, 39. of Leon.

14  
Castile.

Factions in  
Castle after  
the Kings  
death.

**T**Hē heat of the warre against the Moores was somewhat quenched by the death  
King Henry, leaving his sonne and successor in his realmes , an Infant, in his sweth-  
ling clothes, being but two and twenty monthes old . For it behouded to have a speedy  
care of that which was necessary for the peace of the Realme, wherein the Queene D.  
*Catherine*, and the Infānt D. *Fernand* duke of Pnegasial, appointed Gouernors by the  
testament of the deceased King, employed all their care; but they could not keepe the  
noblemen from entring into factions : and as the gouernment of two is neuer firme,  
they were the first which diuided themselves . The prelats, noblemen and deputies of  
the towncs which were in court, assembled againe in Toledo : Some perswaded the Infānt  
D. *Fernand* duke of Pnegasial, to take vpon him the title of King, promising to main-  
taine and defend him, alledging that it was no new thing in Spaine, when as the deca-  
ted Kings children were young and not fit to gouerne, or they left none but daughters,  
that the royall Scepter was put into the vnclen hands, or some forme other Prince of  
that blood, a man of fit age and endowed with wisdom, to gouerne the affaires of that  
realme : producing many examples of D. *Sancho* the fourth, who had bene reigned for  
his grandfather, who had raignd with the consent of the Spaniards, although he  
was a bastard, to the prejudice of D. *Constance* Dutchesse of Lancaster, being then eld-  
est daughter to the King D. *Pedro*; with other examples more antient, as well of Castile  
as of the first Kings of Leon, either well or ill reported ; That the wgent affaires of the  
realme, and the warre of Granada which he had lately seene in his brotthers time, did aduertise him to pre-  
uent others, which were a breeding if Castile should receiue an Infānt of two and twent-  
y monthes for King . The Infānt D. *Fernand* was not well pleased with these perswa-  
sons, but the Constable D. *Ruy Lopes* of Aualos, hauing in a publike assembly, required  
openly,

A openly that they would raise him to the royall throne of Castile, being a plot laid among the noblemen, thinking that most victious would chuse *D. Fernand*, he made an answer of rare example, and perswited therein; and to whom then said he belongs the realme, but to my Nephew *D. John* sonne and onely heire to the King *D. Henry* my brother? Thus by this conscientious Prince, the crowne of Castile and Leon was preferred for the Infant, who was then at Segobia, with the Queene *Donna Catherine* his mother, whether the duke of Pegnafel went, with the other noblemen, after the funerals of the deceased King. The breeding vp of the young King was left in the mothers charge, who made great intestine against *D. John* of Velasco, and *Diego Lopez* of Eslunga, who demanded it, according vnto the fathers will, to stop whose mouthes, and to giue them some content there was presently giuen them twelue thousand florins of gold. The will being read, and an other taken, the Queene and the Duke charged themselves with the gouernment of the King, swearing in the hands of *D. John* of Illeca Bishop of Siguença, and promising the obseruation of the lawes, rights and preiudleges of the realme, Prouinces and cities thereof: But within few daies the Queene and *D. Fernand* disagreed in their commands. The Queene being a woman was gouerned by an other woman of Cordoua, called *Leonora Lopez*, without whose aduise she did not any thing, so not that which was resolved in council; so as without the dukes great modesty and patience, the realme had been full of feditions and great confusion. It was ordained that the King should haue three hundred lances for his gard, and the Duke two hundred, the which did much displeafe euery man of iudgement. And for that the soldiars which were vpon the frontier were not paid, and endured much, there was drawne out of the Kings cofers twenty millions of Marauadies, vpon condition it should be repaied out of the first of the Kings reuenues that should be receiued, or others that should be leaued.

Whileſt they were attentive about theſe affairs at Segobia, the Marſhal of Caſtile *Fernando Garcia* of Herrera, being in Lorca, entered into the country of Granada, to ſurpriſe ſome Moors, who had their retreat at Vera, but for want of ladders he could not eſſect it. Some daies after he incountered with other troups neere vnto Xurena, where hauing defeated them, he entered into the towne, but he could not take the caſtle; wherefore the Chriſtians retired, hearing that a great number of Moores came to charge them. Theſe petty exploits did ſomewhat kindle the warre of Granada, wherein the Infant *D. Fernando* deſired to employ himſelfe.

Difficulties increasing in Segobia, in respect of the government, it was thought fit Donna *Catherine* the Queene mother, and D.*Fernand* duke of Pegnafel should divide it betwixt them: so as the places remotest from all tumults of warre, and within the country, should be at the Queenes disposal; which were the dioceses of St. James, Tuy, A. florga, Ouedo, Leon, Zamora, Salamanca, Ciudad Rodrigo, Auala, Segobia, Oima, Burgos and Caloorar. And vnder the dukes charge, should remaine the Archbishopsricks of Toledo and Seulle, and the Bishopsricks of Cuena, Sigüenza, Carthagena, Caliz, Cordoua, Ilaen, Badajos, Coria, Plallance, Lugo, Mondonedo, Palence and Orense, with certain conditions upon the iudgement of wits, and other things.

The King of Granada hauing for his allies and assistants in this warre the petty Kings of Tunes and Tremessen, he cauled his army to march towards Priego. And at the same time the Duke of Pegnafel went towards the frontier, and came to Seule. There were many light incounters, sometimes with cueas, sometimes with losfe: the towne of Zaara, the castle of Andito, Priego, Cagneze, Las Cueuas and Ortexica were taken from the Moores. The strength of the Moores army was about Iacen, and yet they durst not giue battaile to the Christians, who went and camped before Septemil, hauing in their campe some peeces of ordinance, whereof the Spaniards were in those daies very vnskillfull, the inuention of that deuillish Engine being then new. At fea thirtene galleies of Castile did fight against three and twenty of the Moores, D. *Alphonso Henriquez* being Admiral of Castile, who tooke eight of the enemies galleies, the rest some perished, and some fled.

The siege of Septenil was long, during the which D. Pedro of Estuniga took Ayamont: and in the end through the valour of the Moores which were within Septenil, they

*The Infant*  
D. Fernandez  
susets the  
realm of Can-  
sile.

*Gouernments  
Castile diuided  
betwixt the  
Queene mo-  
ther and the  
Duke of Peg-  
nasick.*

15  
First use of  
Artillery in  
Spain.

they were forced to raise the siege. The Moores after this retreat recovered Priego A and Las Cuevas, and burnt them: they attempted Cagnette, but they found it well manned.

The duke of Pegnafiell going from Seuille, had carried in this warre the sword of King *Fernand* furnished the holy, who tooke that city from the Moores, attributing some vertue and happinesse thereunto: and for that hee had promised to bring it backe, and leave it in its place, hee did it at this returne, and then past into Castile, leaving good order upon the frontier: this is all was done in the yeere of our Lord 1407. in the warre of Granado; at what time died *Don Pero Lopez of Ayala* great Chamberlaine of Castile, being threecore and fiftene yeeres of age, a Knight endowed with two principall qualities which adorne nobility; for besides his learning, which was great, he had made B proofe of his valour in the two battailes of Nagera, betwixt the two Kings *D. Pedro* and *D. Henry* brethren, and in that of Aljubarote, betwixt *D. John* King of Castile and *D. John* of Portugal. He hath left in writing the History of Castile, of his time; a treatise of hunting, whereunto he was much giuen, and other Bookes.

An. 1407.  
Death of *D. Pero Lopez of Ayala*, valiant and learned Knight.

An. 1408.

The yeere 1408. being come, the Estates of Castile and Leon, assembled at Guadajara, whether came the King, the Queene-mother and the Infanta. The duke of Pegnafiell came also, whereas the deputies of the Estates having had diuerse conferences touching the continuance of the warre of Granado, they agreed and offered money for the furnishing thereof, yet with some delays and difficulties. *D. Pedro de Luna* Archbishop of Toledo, who had bene at this assembly, had led a young man of eightene yeeres of age with him, whom he aduowed to be his kinsman, and was called *Aluaro de Luna*, whom he brought into the Kings house, and made him Page of the chamber, by the meanes of *Gomez Carrillo* the Kings Governour. He was held to be sonne of *Aluaro de Luna*, Lord of Cagnette, who was chiefe cup-bearer to the King *D. Henry*: but he who was held to be his father, did not avow him for his sonne, for he was borne of a dishonest woman, called *Mary* of Cagnette, who had bene common to others, and had brought them children: wherefore *Aluaro de Luna* did not thinke that this was his sonne, and for that he should not inherit his great possessions, hee souled all in his life time, leaving to this child only eight hundred florins, and that at the intreaty of his friends. *Aluaro* the father being dead, the child retired to Auignon, to the court of Pope *Benedict*, where he remained some time, he came into Castile to the Archbishop, by whose meanes he was receiued into the Kings house, and in time grew so great, as he was made Constable of the realme, and yet it was not very successfull for him. His mother *Mary* of Cagnette, had also by a captaine of Cagnette, *D. John* of Crezuela, who was Bishop of Olma, and afterwards Archbishop of Seuille, and in the end of Toledo.

Exploits of warre betwixt the Castilians and Moores.

Truce with the Moores.

Whilest they remained at Guadajara, the King of Granado came to the siege of Alcaudete, having seven thousand horse and 26000. foote in his army: yet through the valour of *Martin Alphonso* of Montemajor and others, which were within the place, it was preferred. The Moores victuals were many times cut off by the garrisons of Andalusia, & many light victories gotten one of another, whereas *Garcia Fernandez Manrique* captaine of Xeres, and *Fernand Rodriguez* of Vallezillo, who held Zahara, and *Fernand Arias* of Sahauedra, Governour of Cagnette, shewed themselves both valiant & vigilant, carrying great spoiles out of the Moores country, every one in his quarter. This warre being more difficult to the King of Granado then hee had esteemed, he sent Ambassadors to the Governours at Guadajara, to demand a truce, the which was granted, against the will of *D. Fernand* Duke of Pegnafiell, who desired the warre should continue. Wherefore the Estates reduced the subvention which they had granted of threecore millions of marauides, to five and forty.

Joseph

## Joseph the thirteenth King of Granado.

During this cessation of armes, King *Mahumet Aben Balus* died, having put on a poisoned shirt, the twelfth yeere of his reigne, and of the Arabians the 791. in whose place came King *Joseph* his eldest brother, a little before put in prison in Salobregne, from whence he was drawne and led with great silence to Granado, to raigne ouer the Moores, being loath presently to divulge *Mahumet's* death, for feare of the Christians enterprises. Seeing himselfe settled, he sent a messenger presently to *D. Alphonso Fernandez* Governour of Alcala the royal, aduertising him of his aduancement, and withall he sent vnto the King of Castile and to the Governours, a Moorish Knight called *Abdalla Alamin*, to let them vnderstand what had past, intreating them to reioyce at his good hap, and to continue the truce made with his predecessor *Mahumet*, the which the Queene mother, and the duke *D. Fernand* did conforme for the said time, and sent a Secretary to Granado to see it sworn. At his returne, he was accompanied with an other Ambassador, who had charge to present vnto the King of Castile, horses, swords, some peeces of veluet, rayfins, dried figs, almonds and other presents, and to require a prolongation of the truce for two yeeres, but he obtained it not; for the Queene mother and the duke of Pegnafiell, would haue King *Joseph* acknowledge himselfe vassall to the King of Castile, whereof the Ambassador excused himselfe, saying that he had no charge to treat of any such matter: yet all acts of hostility ceased that yeere 1409. notwithstanding some tumult at Priego, the Moores contrary to their plighted faith, running vpon them which did repaire it: but this was pacified and satisfied, with excuses from King *Joseph*, and the truce prolonged for five monthes.

An. 1409.

The court being at Valledolit, was then in some combustion, for that many imagining that *D. John Velasco* and *D. Diego Lopez* of Estuniga, did entertaine the Queene mother in quarrel with the duke of Pegnafiell, *D. Frederic* the young Earle of Transimara, sonne to *D. Pedro*, did presse him to punish them, offering to lay hold of them, if he pleased: whereof they hauing some intelligence, retired from court, whereas the Queene was much discontented, and was not quiet vntill she had caused them returne, hauing obtained a safe conduit from the duke *D. Fernand*. At Valledolit there arrived Ambassadors from the French King, and from *Lewis* Duke of Orleans his brother, who offered the King of Castile and his Governours to come to the war against the Moores, with a thousand launces entertained: with them were Ambassadors from the Dukes of Austria and Luxemburg, making the like offers: and moreover the Duke of Orleans demanded *Queene Beatrix*, widow to King *John* the first to wife. There were great thanks giuen vnto them all, and the truce made with the new King of Granado made knowne vnto them. As for the marriage the widow Queene would giue no eare vnto it, contenting herselfe to liue a widows life, in her house of Villa real, from whence she did not part. The French Ambassadors confirmed the ancient league betwixt the houses of France and Castile.

At Valledolit there was an assembly, in the which was ratified the marriage of the Infanta Donna *Maria* the Kings sister with her cousin Germain *D. Alphonso* eldest sonne to the Duke of Pegnafiell, to her was assigned for dowrie the Marquise of Villena, Andalusia and Portillo: and for an earnest penny of the marriage, there were thirty thousand doubloons of gold deliuered. This yeere *D. Laurence Suarez* of Figueroa, maister of Saint Iames being dead, there was substituted in his place *D. Henry* the third, sonne to the Infant *D. Fernand* Duke of Pegnafiell, notwithstanding all the labouring of *Garcia Hernandez*, Lord of Villagarcia, great Commander of Castile.

About that time there was set vp (as a most holy thing in Spaine) an Image of the Virgin *Mary*, found by a religious Frenchman, in the mountaine which is betwixt Salamanca, and Cité *Roderigue*, called *La Peña* of France, where afterwards there was a Monastery

16.  
Marriage betwixt *D. Alphonso* eldest sonne to the Duke of Pegnafiell, and *D. Maria* the Kings sister.

monastery built, in honour of this Image, whereof the Spaniards report many Prodigies A  
and miracles, of the which they haue made whole bookes and treatises. This age was  
fertile (during the Schisme of the church) of sects and new monasticall institutions. For  
besides the reformation of the regular Chanoinis of Saint *Augustin*, by the diligence of  
Leon of Carrate Prior of Frigionaja of Santa Maria in the fields of Luca, by *Bernard* and  
of White Monkes of Mount Oliuet had its beginning neere vnto Siena, by *Bernard* and  
other Monkes of Siena, and that of Saint George of Alaga, by *Laurence Iustinian* a Venetian  
otherwife called blue Celestins.

The same yeere the Schisme in the church did produce a third head in the church of  
Rome: for many Princes hauing insisted much for the reuision of the church, that the B  
two Popes *Benedict* of Auignon, and *Gregory* of Rome, should meet at *Sauona*, and take  
some good course for the quiet of Christendome, these good fathers, zealous of their  
glory, did so contemne one another, as there was no meanes to draw them together:  
wherefore many Cardinals being disbanded, as well from the sea of Rome, as from that  
of Auignon, there was a council celebrated by them at *Pisa* in Tuscany, by the which  
*Benedict* and *Gregory* being depoued from their papal dignity, *Peter Philargia* friar,  
borne in Candy, Archbishop of Milan, and Cardinal of the title of the twelve Apostles,  
was chosen, and named *Alexander* the fifth, who liued but tenne monethes: wherefore  
the Cardinals were forced to meet againe at *Bologna* in Lombardy, whereas *Balthasar* C  
the Cardinal of the title of Saint Eustace, and Legat of *Bologna*, was  
chosen, and named by them *John* the three and twentieth. This was a tripling of the  
Schisme, and confusion in the church of Rome: for the two first Popes did still hold  
their dignities, and had their followers, to the contempt one of another, namely Ca-  
stile and Nauarre held for *Benedict* relying in Auignon, holding the other two for  
false Popes.

Three Popes at  
one time in the  
church of  
Rome.

Arragon.

About all others *D. Martin* King of Arragon did reuerence and support Pope *Bene-  
dict*, who at that time had many crosses both within and without his realme: for the King  
of Sicile his sonne, being young and gouerned by young men, had so discontented the  
Noblemen of the country, both Sicilians and Arragonois, as finding himselfe plunged  
againe in very great difficulties, the King his father was forced to send him succors both D  
of gallies and souldiars, whereby in the end he became maister of all Sicile, but with great  
paine: and being better counselled he did gouerne it with more honour and authority,  
but not without continuall ieaousie and distrust: Yet hee had meanes to imploy him-  
selfe in the warre of *Sardynia*, and to preferue that Island to the crowne of Arragon:  
In the which *Brancaloon* of *Oria*, had made such attempts against the Arragonois, as  
they were in a manner ready to abandon it, hee hauing ioyned vnto his forces those of  
*Americ* Vicont of *Narbonne*, who had married *Beatrice* sister to his wife *Leonora* of *Arbo-  
rea*; these two brothers in law, being strong and also fauored by the common-weale of  
*Genoua*, it was needfull to haue the forces of Sicile and Arragon vnto to supplee  
them. *D. Martin* King of Sicile came thither in person with tenne gallies, with ar- E  
restion not to leaue the Island, vntill he had wholly subdued it, whereof he did aduen-  
ture the King his father, who soone after sent *D. Pedro Torellia* into *Sardynia* with an hun-  
dred and fifty faile, which transported good numbers of foote and horse with many No-  
blemen and Knights of fame.

Viceroy of Val-  
encia (saue  
by the treache-  
ry of his own  
brother,

During this preparation *D. Raymond Boil*, Viceroy of *Valencia*, was murdered in Ea-  
ster weeke, going out of the castle, whereof his owne brother was a praeficer, whereof  
being conuicted, he lost his life, with the rest that had committed the murder. Within  
a while after there was a marriage in the same city, betwixt *D. James* of Arragon Earle  
of *Vrgel*, sonne to *D. Pedro*, and *D. Isabella* the Kings sister, and daughter to the deceased  
King *D. Pedro*, and of *Sibille* of *Storza*, his last wife, an vnfortunate marriage, as we will  
see. And for that a son which *D. Martin* King of Sicile had had by *D. Blanche* of Na-  
uarre, was dead about that time, *D. Martin* King of Arragon the grandfather, conceiued  
warre, as retrying himselfe from all affaires, he shut himselfe vp in the Mona-  
stery of *Val de Christus*, which hee had caused to bee built, and left the whole charge of  
the warre of *Sardynia* to his sonne *Don Martin* King of Sicile, who (with the forces  
of

A of Arragon, led by *D. Pedro Torellia*) charged the enemies campe about *Sauluri*, and  
put them to rout with great slaughter, forcing the Vicont of *Narbonne* to saue himselfe  
in *Montreal*: he tooke *Sauluri* and the castle, with the towne of *Eglice*, and laid seige  
to *Oristagno*, the chiefe fort of *Brancaloon* of *Oria*, and of the *Sardinians* rebelled: but  
the King being surprized with sickness in this fortunat victory, hee caused himselfe to  
be carried to *Cailley*, where he died, to the great griefe of all the Sicilians and Arrago-  
nois, and extreme sorrow of the King of Arragon his father, who liued not long after  
him. By his death without any lawfull children, the realme of Sicile fell to the King of  
Arragon, and was for euer after vnto that crowne. *Blanche* of *Nauarre*, the widow  
Queene, remained Regent of the Island, by the will of the King her husband, confirmed  
by her father in law. A bafe sonne of his called *D. Frederic*, had for his portion the  
Earldome of *Luna*. At that time there grew great troubles in Arragon, whereof *D.  
James* Earle of *Vrgel* was the chiefe author, a turbulent Prince, who made no difficulty  
to challenge the crowne euen in the life time of the King *Don Martin*: and for that it  
was a tickle point, and did not succeed well, he aspired to the ordinary Regency, which  
was a dignity wherewith the eldest sonnes of Arragon, and the presumptiue heires,  
were wont to bee honoured, the which hee obtained, and was moreover made *Consta-  
ble*: but vnderhand the King gaue order that he should not be receiued in his Regency,  
and caused an appeale to be made by the factions of *Vrrea*, *Heredia* and other, before the  
Iustice Major of Arragon.

Death of Don  
Martin King  
of Sicile.

This was in the yeere 1409. when as the King desirous to see if he might haue a child  
to succede him in his great Estates, married with *Donna Ioane* of *Prades*, or *Marguerite*,  
as some write, a faire young virgin of the bloud royall, the which hastened his end: and  
in the meane time hee was much sollicit by *Lewis* duke of *Aniou*, who had married  
*Donna Violant*, daughter to *D. John* King of Arragon, and by the Duke of *Pegnafiel*,  
borne of *Donna Leonora* of Arragon, daughter to the King *Don Pedro*, and sister to this  
King *D. Martin*, that he would declare his successor, the which he refused to doe, at their  
requests, but tired with their importunities, he was ready to name by his testament, for  
heire of the realmes of Arragon, Sicile and other lands, *Don Frederic de Luna*, bastar-  
d of his deceased sonne. This King being thus distracted with passions in his age, the  
fares of Sicile and *Sardynia* were more troubled then before.

Marriage of  
D. Martin  
King of Arra-  
gon & Donna  
Ioane of Pra-  
des.

In the yeere 1410. beganne the warre in Castile against the Moores, the truce beeing  
expired, and the Moores army hauing surprized *Zahara* with great slaughter of the in-  
habitants and souldiars, and great spoile of them that remained. The Infant *Don Fern-  
and* coming for this occasion to *Cordoua*, hee caused the ruines of *Zahara* to bee  
repaired, and went to beseege *Antequera*, hauing in his army tenne thousand foote and  
three thousand five hundred horse. Neere vnto the towne were two hills, the approaches  
whereof beeing kept, the army might bee safe from all attempts of the Moores, who  
were in field with five thousand horse and 80000. foote, led by *Cidi Ali* and *Cidi Amer*  
brethren to *Joseph* King of *Granado*. These passages were garded, the lower part of  
the hill with fixe hundred Launces and two thousand foote vnder the command of  
*Don Sancho* of *Rojas* Bishop of *Palencia*, *Don Diego Fernandes* of *Quignones* Gouer-  
nor of the *Asturia*, *D. Aluar Perez* of *Guzman*, and *Don John Hurtado* of *Mendoza*.  
And at the other hill of harder access, being higher and easier to be kept, there were  
set foure hundred Launces and one thousand foote, commanded by *Don Martin Vas-  
quez*, *D. Fernand Perez* of *Ayala*, Gouerrior of *Guipulcoa*, *D. Raymond* of *Guzman* and  
*John* of *Soto* Major great commander of *Alcantara*. The Duke of *Pegnafiel* had cau-  
sed many ladders to bee brought from *Seuille*, with other Engines of warre to assaile  
townes.

18  
Castille.

The Moores beeing desirous for to raise the seige from before *Antequera*, came to  
assaile the Bishop of *Palencia* and his troupes in this passage of strength, from whence  
they were not only repulst, but the skirmish growing very hot, in the end, beyond  
the Moores expectation, there was a great encounter, the Bishoppe being fortified  
with new bands, which came from the campe, so as the Moores fighting without  
order, and rather hindered then fauoured by their numbers of rascally footemen,  
M m m  
they

they were forced to turne their backs with great losse; for authors write that there were A  
about fiftene thousand of them slaine vpon the field, and onely twelue hundred  
Christians.

After this victory the sege was continued, and the place battred by all meanes, the  
which in like manner was valiantly defended, where as the Christians lost more in the  
fallies of the besegged, then they had done in the battaile. There died *Martin Ruy* of  
Aben Dagno, of a poisoned arrow. On the other side three hundred christians hone-  
men, going out of their garrison of Iaca, were incourted, and cut in peeces by the  
Moors about Montexicar. But the Moores garrison of Archidona within two leagues  
of Antiquera, were happily defeated by the Christians that were at the sege, for they  
did much annoy them, by their continuall courses, and cutting off their victuals and  
foragers that came to the campe. The river of Gorza was their common waiting  
place whether they could not go without a gard. The Christians being aduertised of an  
enterprize made vpon their men, hauing set a sentinell vpon an high eminent place, cal-  
led the rocke of two Louers, they found themselves so strong, when as the Moores came  
to charge them, as they repulst them, and pursued them beating and killing euen vnto  
the gates of their fort: there were two thousand slaine vpon the field, and many carried  
away prisoners. The rocke of two Louers was so called from the deed of a Christian  
slaine, and his Maisters daughter being a Moore, whom he had perswaded to flie with  
him from Granado, to enioy their desired loues, and to lue freely together in Castile: C  
they being pursued by her father, who was well accompanied, and overtaken vpon this  
rocke, which is midde-way betwixt Archidona and Antiquera, after that they had long  
defended themselves against them that would take them, and seeing no meane to e-  
scape, they cast themselves downe head-long from the top of the rocke, imbrasing one  
an other, and so flue themselves. To diuert the sege of Antiquera, the Moores sent  
some to burne the Engines of battery that were before it with wilde fire, vnder colour of  
treating of a truce. The treason being discouered and punished, the Infant called a  
trench to be cast and a rampart to be made round about the place, setting good guards,  
and then he pursued the sege, hauing fortified his army with the companies of Seulle  
and Cordoua, who haue alwaies done great seruice in these Moorish warres, the which D  
kept King *Ioseph* for aduenturing of a battaile.

The towne of Antiquera being prest with all violence, it was taken, there going first  
vnto the assault, the companies of *D. Garci Fernandes Manrique*, of *D. Charles* of Artil-  
lan Lord of Los Cameros, and *Roderigo* of Narbaez. The first which died in fighting,  
was *Iuancho* a Biscaia, and the first which entred were *Gutierte* of Torres and *Sancho*  
*Gompaes Cherino*. The castle did hold out eight daies longer, and then was yielded  
by the Moores, to haue their liues saued and their goods, who were safely conducted  
to Archidona. There entred into it, *Don Frederic* Earle of Translamara, and the Bi-  
shop of Palencia: the garde of the towne and castle was given to *Roderigo* of Nar-  
baez. In the meane time the Moores did forrage the territorie of Alcalá the royall, E  
and the Christians after the taking of Antiquera, did ouerrunne the country of Azna-  
mara, Cabecha and Yehar, small rownes which were taken by force, through the wil-  
dome and valour chiefly of the Constable *D. Ruy Lopes* of Aualos: after which exploits  
the Infant *Don Fernand* returned a victor to Seulle, where he had messengers from the  
King of Granado, soliciting him to make a truce, wherevnto hee yielded, being prest to  
attend the affaires of Arragon: wherefore there was a truce concluded betwixt Castile  
and Granado for seuentene monthes.

We haue before left *Don Martin* King of Arragon, beeing without children, so  
succeed him, importuned by many Princes, pretending to bee his heires, troubled with  
the seditions and rebellions of the Sardinians and Sicilians, beeing old and broken,  
and yet newly married to a young Princeesse, with hope to raise his house: But beeing F  
the weak both in bodie and minde, griefe and care made way to a pestilent feuer, the  
which seized on him this yeere 1410. in the Monastery of Valdonzellas, neere to Bar-  
celona, hauing reigned about 14. yeeres, whose body was buried in the Monastery of  
Poblette.

There

A There was no will of his found, or any heire instituted in his Realmes of Arragoni,  
Sicile &c. The reason thereof was thought to bee for that hee knew not to which hee  
should incline amongst all the pretendants to that crowne, after his decesse. Where-  
fore the Arragonois, Valentians, Cattelans and Sicilians were in great perplexity, for  
Don *Fernand* Duke of Pagnafel Infant of Castile pretended a right, being sonne to  
Donna *Leonora* of Arragon, sister to the two last Kings deceased: *Lewis* Duke of An-  
jou hauing married Donna *Isabel*, daughter to King *John* the first, maintained the suc-  
cession to belong to him: the like pretension had *Don James* Earle of Virgel, hauing  
also married one of the daughters of the King *Don Pedro*: *Don Frederic* of Arragon,  
Earle of Luna, base sonne to *Martin* King of Sicile, put forth himselfe, and so did *Don*  
B *Aphonso* Earle of Gandia: all these pretendants had their partisans within the Realme,  
and euery one tried all meanes, with great contention, and likely hood of sedition, to  
attaine vnto that which hee pretended, so as in these tumults *Don Anthony* of Luna  
flue *Don Garcia* Archbishop of Saragossa treacherously. To prevent which disorders  
in time, the Noblemen of the Realme agreed, that of the three Estates there should  
be nine men chosen, by whose Iudgement the Scepter of Arragon should bee given to  
him of the pretendants whom they should thinke most profitable for the common-  
weale. For Arragon there were named *Don Dominie* Bishop of Huelua, *Francis* of  
Aranda and *Don Berenger* of Bardaxi a great Lawier. For the principality of Catalog-  
D *D. Pedro Zagarriga* Archbishop of Tarragona, *William* of Vallesca and *Bernard* of Gual-  
les. And for the Realme of Valencia were chosen *Vincent Ferrer*, of the Order of  
the preaching friars, who was afterwards canonized, his brother *Boniface Ferrer*  
a Lawier, a Monke of the Order of the Carthusians, and Maister *Peter Bertrand*, this  
last was substituted in the place of *Gines* of Rabesca who fell mad. These nine men be-  
ing assembled in the castle of Calpe which is in Arragon, all those which pretended a  
right vnto the Realme, were summoned to exhibit their reasons before them, where-  
of some appeared personally, and others by their Ambassadors. In the meane time  
in Castile the Infant *D. Fernand*, for himselfe and the King his Nephew, caused this bu-  
sinesse to be consulted of by the learned of the country, who in the beginning were of  
opinion that both of them had an interest, and that they must frame an opposition be-  
fore the Delegates, as well in the Kings name, being a pupill, as in his vncle and tutor  
Don *Fernand*; yet hauing better considered, or being otherwise perswaded, they gaue  
all the right of the succession, in the realme of Arragon, to the Infant *D. Fernand*, who  
for this cause deputed Ambassadors, the Bishop of Palencia, and *D. Diego Lopes* of Estu-  
niga, chiefe Iustice of Castile, and Lord of Bejar, with Doctor *Pero Sanches* of the Kings  
council, to send them into Arragon: and at the same time hee caused fiftene hundred  
launces to draw neere vnto the frontier of Arragon: hee and the Queene-mother with  
the young King coming to Aillon, a neere place to Arragon.

Whilest they are busie about these pursutes, the Duke of Benauent a prisoner in the  
castle of Mont-real, brake prison, and escaped, hauing slaine the captain which had  
him in gard, whereof they beeing aduertised at court, they provided speedily for all the  
passages, especially towards Portugal, thinking that hee would bend that way: but hee  
went towards Nauarre, where hee was kindly entertained by the King *D. Charles*, and  
by the Queene Donna *Leonora* his sister: who notwithstanding hauing receiued letters  
from the Queene-mother, the Infant *Don Fernand*, and the councill of Castile, intrea-  
ting them to set a gard vpon the Dukes person, vntill they had further newes, they cau-  
sed him to bee put into a strong castle, yet intreating him with all honour and respect,  
and then they sent an Ambassador into Castile, to make their excuse, for that they  
had receiued this fugitiue Prince, and intreated him as their brother, but they kept him  
in sure garde, that he should not attempt any thing against the crowne of Castile. This  
F Ambassador found the court at Aillon, where he was well receiued, and his excuses al-  
lowed.

There arriued also Ambassadors from the French King, with very rich presents,  
the which were requited with others of no lesse value, being sent by an expresse Amba-  
sage some monthes after.

Mmm s

This

Disfaul  
Christians  
were to Mon-  
texico.Rocke of two  
Louers.Antiquera  
taken.Truce with the  
King of Gra-  
nado.19  
Arragon.Princes pre-  
tending to the  
realm of Ar-  
ragon.Murder of  
the Archbishop  
of Saragossa.Nine arbitra-  
tors to choose  
the King of  
Arragon.D. Fernand  
with his wife  
15th arms.

20

Castile.



An. 1411.  
Green cross  
the badge of  
the Knights  
of Alcantara.

This yeere of our Lord 1411. Pope *Benedict* graunted that the Knights of Alcantara, in stead of hoods which they did wear in signe of their profession, should from thence forth carry greene crosses. During the courts aboad at Arllon, attending what would be the end of the troubles of Arragon, which increased daily, they sent the hofdemen of Castile to fauour the friends of the Archbishop of Saragossa that was slaine, by the which the lands of D. *Anthony de Luna* were spoiled. And at that time friar *Vincent Ferrer*, that great preacher, made a voiage to the court of Castile, who made some sermons before the Queene mother, and some Noblemen; by whose aduice there was an Order made, that all Iewes, dwelling in Castile, should carry for the marke and distinction to bee knowne, a peece of red cloth vpon their cloakes, and the Moores greene hattes with white moones. The affaires of Arragon growing tedious, the King was carried backe to Vailledolit. The truce of Portugall being expired it was treated by Ambassadours to make a perpetuall peace, the which was not then concluded.

Arragon.

The arbitrators appointed to iudge to whom the Realme of Arragon did belong, hauing bene many daies in conference in the castle of Caspe, in the end they did agree to adiudge it to the Infant D. *Fernand* of Castile, whereof hee had notice giuen him in line, in the yeere 1412. being at Cuenca: wherefore hauing made his election he thanks for the fauour he had receiued in that respect by the forces and meanes of Castile, he prepared himselfe to goe and take possession of his Realme. And first of all he declared for Tutors and Gouvernors of the Realme in his place, D. *John* of Illeca, Bishop of Siguenza, D. *Pablo* bishop of Carthagea, D. *Henry Manuel* Earle of Montalegre, and *Pero Alfan* of Ribera, Gouvernor of Andalusia, with whom hee ioyned other men of State and learning. This and other things being ordred hee went into Arragon, where he found great resistance, especially of Don *James* Earle of *Vergel*, who pretended to reigne: him he sought by all friendly meanes to draw vnto his seruice, but in vaine for the Earle being obstinate, he drew the English into Spaine, notwithstanding whose aide he yielded.

### D. Fernand the first of that name, the sixteenth King of Arragon.

21.  
Genealogie of  
a ragon.

Don *Fernand* the first of that name, reigned in Arragon, Cattelogne, Valencia, Sicile, Majorca, Minorca &c. By the consent of all the Estates: and for his good parts was furnamed the honest, whose posterity was famous: Before hee came to the crowne of Arragon, he had by his wife the Countesse of Albuquerque, Don *Alphonso*, who was heire of the Realmes, and was in his fathers life time called Prince of Girone, in stead of the title of Duke, vsurped vntill that time by the eldest sonnes of Arragon. He had also by her the Infant Don *John*, who was King of Nauarre, and afterwards of Arragon and Sicile by the decease of his elder brother. Moreouer hee had, Don *Henry* maister of Saint James, Don *Sauecho* maister of the Alcantara, and the Infant Don *Pedro*, who died in the warres of Naples, being slaine with a great shot: all these five Princes were borne in Castile. The daughters which issued from this marriage were Donna *Maria* Queene of Castile, married to King *John* the second her cousin germaine, and Donna *Leonora* who was Queene of Portugal, wife to Don *Edward*. D. *Fernand* was two and thirty yeeres old when hee beganne to reigne in Arragon, being Lord of was two and thirty yeeres old when hee beganne to reigne in Arragon, being Lord of Lara to Don *John* his second sonne, all which Inheritance, both by father and mother in Castile, his children enioyed for a time, but being turbulent, and not able to entertaine themselves with the Kings of Castile, they lost all.

In the yeere 1413. the King Don *Fernand* hauing besieged the Earle of *Vergel*, in

A *Vergel*, in the towne of Balaquer, for that hee did still raise new troubles, hee prest him in such sort, as his wife was periwaded to goe forth, and casting her selfe at the Kings feete to demand her husbands life. The King vsing his accustomed clemency, pardoned him his life: but the Earle comming forth, and hauing killt the Kings hands, hee was shut vp in the same castle. There were many Knights of Castile which serued the King in this warre, and amongst other forces, there were sent vnto him by Donna *Catherine* Queene of Castile, foure hundred launces with promise to furnish him with foure thousand, if he had need; but the Earles yeelding freed him of that necessity. Hee seized vpon Lerida, and other places, and in a short time made all within the Realme to bow, and therefore hee sent away his souldiars of Castile well satisfied, Don *Godfrey* of Nauarre, Earle of Cortes, and Marshall of Nauarre, the Kings base sonne, was at this warre, with some men at armes.

The new King did afterwards cause the Earle of *Vergel* to bee arraigned, and condemned him to perpetuall prison, depriving him of his dignity and goods, and then he sent him prisoner to Vruagna, a fort in Castile, from whence he was afterwards transported to Mora. The Countesse his mother was also condemned to loose her goods, and some men of base condition were put to death. These things being done, the King came to Saragossa, where he was crowned by the Archbishop of Tarragone, in the presence of many Noblemen of Arragon, Valencia, Sicile, Cattelogne, Castile and Nauarre, at the which there were great and stately triumphes. To serue at this ceremony, the Queene of Castile his sister in law had sent him a crowne of gold, weighing fiftene marks, inrich with many stones of great value. He was armed Knight by the Duke of Gandia, and then annoited and crowned in the great church of Saragossa: after which ad he was very bountifull to the Noblemen and Knights that assisted at his coronation. From Nauarre came the Marshall D. *Godfrey*, *Peter Martin* of Peralta, with many others.

Goeing from Saragossa, he came to Morella, where he should meete with Pope *Benedict*, who after his deposing had retired himselfe into Arragon, yet retaining still his dignity, as much as he might. There they had an interview, whereas Pope *Benedict* went in a sollemne procession, in his pontifical habit, with a white Miter on his head set with stones of great price, to whom the King did all the honour hee could deuise: Before his departure from thence there came Ambassadours from the Emperour *Sigismund*, who periwaded the King of Arragon to fauour the counsell, which was then called at *Constance*, for the rooting out of the schisme. To treat whereof there was an interview concluded betwixt the two Princes at Nice, and the King was intreated to periwade *Benedict*, willingly to renounce his dignity of Pope. The counsell began the fifth day of Nouember in the yeere 1414. and continued aboue three yeeres. There were Ambassadours sent from Castile, by the aduice of King *Fernand*, D. *Diego* of Anaya Maldonado Archbishop of Seuille, and D. *Martin Fernandes* of Cordoua, accompanied with many great Doctors in Diuinity. This yeere died in Castile *Vincent Arias* a great Doctor, and the first that did comment vpon the lawes of Castile.

The King D. *Fernand* hauing held the Estates of Cattelogne at Momblanc, hee past to Valencia, where hee found *Benedict* held for Pope onely in Castile, Arragon and Nauarre. In that court there were also many prelates, noblemen and knights, as well of the realme as strangers, by reason of the marriage which was celebrated there, betwixt the Infant D. *Alphonso* of Arragon, the Kings eldest sonne, and Mary of Castile, sister to the King Don *John*, by reason whereof there were great sports, so as some Bishops, according to the manner of that age, carried the praise, namely Don *Sauecho* of Roias Bishop of Palence: to whom at the intreaty of the Queene of Castile, *Benedict*, the pretended Pope, did conferre the Archbishoprike of Toledo, being void by the decease of Don *Pedro de Luna*. And for that in the contract of future marriage, there had bene granted in dowry to the Infanta, the Marquisate of Villena, when as there was no likely-hood that the Infant should come to the crowne of Arragon, it was againe concluded, for that it seemed by this meane the Marquisate should bee alienated from the crowne of Castile, that in lieu thereof there should bee giuen two hundred thousand doubloons of Castile.

Coronation of  
the King D.  
Fernand at  
Saragossa.

22  
Pope Benedict  
in Arragon.

Counsell of  
Constance.  
An. 1414.

Marriage be-  
twixt D. Al-  
phonso of Ar-  
ragon and D.  
Maria of Cas-  
tile.

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During



Tholoufa, Rafan, S. Angelo, S. Enfface, S. George, and Montarragon, the Archb. of Tarragona, and the Bishops of Barcelona, Vic. Elne, Girona, Huesca, and Tarrassone, with many Abbots, and other Clergimen, who held him for true and lawfull Pope.

26  
Conquest of the  
Canaries by  
Joins of Betan-  
court.

This year *John* of Betancourt, knight of France, by gift from *Queene Catherine*, conquered the Ilands of the Canaries, and intituled himselfe King. He could not take the great Canarie, for all the Inhabitants of the Iland had retired themselves thither: wherefore finding too great resistance, he retired himselfe, having built a fort in that of Lancelor, from whence he did traffice, and drew profit from the neighbor places, of Iether, tallow, slaues, and other such commodities: but this king *Menauls* hated him, in whole time Pope *Martin* instituted an Episcopall see in those Ilands, to the which there was a certaine Monke called *Friar Mendo* advanced: but this king *Menauls* having no great regard, when there was question of profit, to the soules health of the Ilanders, he sold them indifferently, as well the Pagans, as those which had received Baptisme: whereof the new Bishop did complain to *Queene Catherine*, requiring her to free them of that Lord: whereupon she sent *Peter Barba de Campos* with three ships of warre, with whom *Menauls* having long contended, in the end by the *Queenes* sufferance, he sold these Ilands to a Knight of Seville, called *Fernando Peres*, in whose hands, and his successors of Seville, they have remained vnto the time of the king *D. Fernando* the 5. and of the *Queen D. Isabella*.

*Menauls* the 2.  
King of the Ca-  
naries, sold the  
Ilands to Seville.

27  
Family of Bha-  
niga comes out  
of Nauarre.  
An. 1418.

*D. Diego Lopes* of Estuniga, Justice maior of Castile, having long serued King *Henry* the 3. and *John* now reigning dyed this year. His house came out of Nauarre, and was of the blood royall, as some Authors have left in writing. The year 1418. *Queene Catherine* dyed suddenly, being fifty yeares old, she was buried at Toledo in the chappell of the last kings. By her death King *John* was freed from tutors, and there was a Councell established, with the which he should gouerne his Realmes, whose letters and expeditiōs should be signed on the back-side, by two of his Councillors. This year there came ambassadors to him from France, to demand ayde against the English, to whom they gaue hope of an army at Sea. The king of Portugal did also send to confirm a perpetual peace betwixt Castile and Portugall, but there was nothing concluded at that time. The English proclaimed warre against Castile, whereupon the truce with Granada was prolonged for two yeares. King *John* being at Medina del campo, was betrothed to *D. Maria* of Arragon his cousin, daughter to the deceased king *D. Fernando*: then hee held a Parliament, when for his new accord of marriage, they granted him a great subuention. The same year mention is made of the death of *Friar Vincent Ferrer* of Valencia, afterwards canonized a Saint by Pope *Calixtus*, who was also of Valencia. Hee that most gonerned the king at that time entering into his maioritie, was Don *Sancho* of Rojas, Arch-bishop of Toledo, whereat they did murmur, from which time the Estate of Castile was very turbulent.

The Guipulcoans and Biscayens fell to theeing at sea, without any subiect of warre, euen vpon the coast of Brittain, whereof *D. John* then liuing complained much by his ambassadors, to the King of Castile, who desirous to liue in peace with Christian Princes, sent *Fernando Peres* of Ayala, Gouernour of Guipulco, to bee an arbitrator. Hee with another chosen by the Duke of Brittain, caused all disorders to bee reformed, and restitution to be made. The Councell of King *John*, was then reduced to siseene Prelates and Knights, whereof sise should assist and serue, and they should change eury four moneths.

28  
Portugal.

Don *John* King of Portugall laboured to quench and qualifie all occasions of new troubles, betwixt his Realme and that of Castile, by a firme peace: Wherefore having sent backe his ambassadors in the year 1419. to Don *John* King of Castile, they were returned with good hope and promise, to send ambassadors into Portugall, expressly to that end. This king *D. John* the first of that name then reigning in Portugall, having made a long truce with *D. Henry* King of Castile, during that time he gaue himselfe to gouerne his Realme with iustice, to repaire the ruines which had growne by the precedent warres, and to adorne it with new buildings: wherein employing himselfe with judgement, bountie, and wisdom, hee was beloued and respected both of his owne subiects, and of strangers.

In

A In remembrance of the victorie which he had gotten at Aljubarrote, he did build neere vnto it a sumptuous Monasterie, which he dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, and did call it Saint *Mary* the royall of the battell, or victorie, which is a Conuent of Iacobin Friars. And for that he had a better iudgement then many other Princes, knowing that most of the religious Monks, and other persons did not vnderstand the Latin tongue, in the which the houres and suffrages were sung in churches, he caused them to be translated into the Portugall tongue, and in like manner many bookes of the holy Scripture, and the interpretation thereof, namely, the foure Euangelists, the which did afterwards much displease our Doctours in Diuinity. Hee was so zealous of the honor of his house, as a Græme of his chamber called Don *Fernando Alphonso* of Saint *Iren*, having so much for gotten himselfe as to defloute one of the *Queenes* maides, daughter to *D. Aluar Peres* of Castro, Earle of Arrôyoles, he caused him to be burnt in the place of Ruffio in Lisbon, and as for her, hee chafed her shamefully from Court, sending her to her parents, neither could the *Queenes* intercession preuaile any thing. He did also punish with great severity, the other insolencies of his Courtiers, and about all things he shewed himselfe a louer of iustice, only he did forget to do reason to *D. Beatrice* *Queene* of Castile, pretending to be right heir of the Realme, which he enioyed whilest that he liued (as it were) in a priuate estate in Castile, an example of rare patience and chastitie: for shee would neuer heare speake of a second marriage, although the were sought vnto by Princes of great state, who happily might haue settled her in her fathers kingdome.

C Besides the aboue-named buildings, he built the towne of Almerin vpon the riuer of Tayo, the pallace of Sintra, the castle at Lisbon, those of Sierra Balada, neere to *S. Iren*, and other. Seeing himselfe in peace with all Christian Princes, and well obeyed of his subiects, he passed the sea with an armie, and tooke Ceuta from the Moores of Affricke, having in his company the Infant *D. Edward*, holding then the place of the eldest, for Don *Alphonso* was dead, the Infant Don *Pedro* Duke of Coimbra, and Lord of Montmajor the old, and of Auero, Don *Pedro* of Meneses, Earle of Viana, Standard bearer of the realm, who was the first Gouernor of Ceuta, which victorie was intermixt with mourning for the death of the *Queene D. Philippe* his wife, which happened in the year 1415. at what time the king *D. John* did take a vay the vse of accomplishing the yeares, by the *æra* of *Cesar*, the which had bene till that time obserued in Portugall, ordaining, that from that time the yeares should begin from the Natiuity of Christ: and that it should bee so dated in all publike and priuate writings, to the end to conforme himselfe to that which was brought into Castile, Arragon and Nauarre, and to auoyd the confusion which fell out in contracts and bargains, betwixt the subiects of the Realmes of Spaine.

In the year 1419. the Infant Don *Henry* his sonne, who was Master of the Order of Christ, moued with an honest emulation, by the conquest which his father had made vpon the Barbarians, hauing conferred with some men of knowledge and experience in Cosmographie, resolved to runne ouer the Ocean sea, and to discouer the shore and Ilands thereof. Going from Lisbon with some ships, hee came to the Iland of Madera in the year 1420. the which he found desert and full of wood, whereof it carries the name: for Madera is that which the Latins call *Materia*, and we timber. He set fire to this wood, so as hauing cleansed it, they found the foyle good and fruitfull for all things, especially for sugar canes, which grow in such abundance, as both Spaine and all Europe make great vse of it.

The Infant did afterwards continue this and other nauigations, and was the first spur to the Portugals, which came after, to discouer the coasts of Affricke and Asia, and the Ilands of the South, and Easterne seas, with great honor to their nation, and infinit profite to the whole world. These things were attempted by the Portugals, when as the peace betwixt them and the Castilians was doubtful: for the Councell of Castile delayed it, by reason of the kings minority, yet they liued quietly one with another.

About that time the ambassadors of Castile, which had bene sent to the Councell of Constance, returned into Spaine, bringing home the re-union of the church of Rome vnder Pope *Martin* the first. Among them was Don *Diego* of Anaya Maldonado Archb. of Seville, who built the Colledge of Saint *Bartolomew* at Salamanca, this year 1420. being

Book of the  
Holy Scripture  
translated into  
Portugall.

1419.

An. 1420.  
A. alexa disp.  
conceda

D. Henry Ma-  
ster of Christ,  
the first discou-  
erer of sea.

Castile.

being called the great Colledge, the most auncient of all Castile, where many learned men haue bene bred. In that vniuersitie of Salamanca are many other Colledges, built and endowed with good liuings, where there is good exercise of Diuinity, arts, and tongues, as also in other townes of Spaine, by the care of Bishops and good Prelates, labouring chiefly to maintaine learning which are the grounds of pietie and vertue.

29.  
Nauarre.

The same yeare a marriage was made betwixt D. *Blanche* of Nauarre, the widow-Queene of Sicile, and the Infant D. *John* of Arragon, second sonne to the King Don *Fernand* deceased. By the treatie concluded the yeare before, it was sayd: That if the Infanta, the presumptiue heire of Nauarre (for the elder sister the Countesse of Foix, was already dead without children) should die before her husband, hauing children or not, that he should raigne during his life in Nauarre, after the decease of King *Charles*, his father-in-law. From this condition and promise being sworne, there grew many troubles in Nauarre. Besides the expectation of the Realme, there was giuen to the Infant Don *John* by King *Charles*, in dowry with D. *Blanche* his daughter, foure hundred twenty thousand, a hundred and twelue florens of gold, of the coyne of Arragon, sixte folz, and eight deniers: a notable summe for a King of Nauarre, an argument of the great treasure which hee had gathered together during the long peace of his raigne. It was also agreed, that the lands and fons which the Infant did hold in Castile and Arragon, should descend to the heire which should be borne of that marriage, succeeding to the Crowne of Nauarre. The Infant did enioy in Arragon the Dutchie of Gandia and Momblanc, the Earldome of Ribagorça, and the towne of Balaguer: and in Castile the Dutchie of Pagnafiel, Infantazgo, and the Seigneurie of Lara: and moreover, the townes of Cuellar, Castro-Xeris, Villalon, and Haro: afterwards he obtayned Alba de Tormes, Olmedo, Paredes of Naua, Majorca, Villaredo, Cerezo, Medina del campo, Aranda of Duego, Roa, Colmenar, and other places, all which he afterwards lost by the wars he had against Castile, the titles and patters whereof are remainyng in the records of Nauarre.

Possessions D.  
John Infant of  
Arragon.

These articles of marriage were sworne by the three Estates of the Realme. And it was long disputed betwixt the Infant Don *John*, and the king of Castiles counsell, where this marriage should be celebrated. In the end he got fortie dayes libertie to go and perform it in Nauarre, whether he went accompanied with many of the Nobility of Castile: From henceforth D. *John* will entitle himselfe Infant of Nauarre and Arragon. The marriage being ended, returning with his wife D. *Blanche* towards Castile, hee met with a messenger from Don *Sancho* of Roias, Archbishop of Toledo, who aduertised him of a great excellence committed by his brother Don *Henry*, Master of Saint James, soliciting him to returne with all speed to court: and thus it was.

30  
Castile.

Don *Henry* the third sonne to the deceased Don *Fernand* king of Arragon, desired to marrie Donna *Catherine*, king *Johns* youngest sister, who had the Marquise of Villena for her dowrie, but fearing that he should neuer obtaine her by any due course, he resolved to haue her by force: so as being rash and exceeding bold, he entred on a time into Toledo with three hundred armed men, where he seized on the kings person, wherein he was assisted and fauoured by Don *Ruy Lopez* of Aualos the Constable, and D. *Pedro Henriquez*. They tooke *John Hurtado* of Mendoza Lord Steward of the kings house, and others who were opposite vnto them, and holding the King as it were a prisoner, they caused many of his household seruants and Officers to be chased away: about all they desired to displace D. *Aluaro de Luna*, kinsman to the deceased Archbishop of Toledo, who of a page of the chamber was come to be the kings great minion. But D. *Henry* held it now the best to winne him by mildnesse and bountie, that hee might make vse of him in that which he pretended.

The Infanta Donna *Catherine*, to whom this marriage with Don *Henry* was not pleasing, entred into the Monasterie of Saint *Claire* in that citie, from whence she was afterwards taken, for that Don *Henry* led the King to Segouia, and then to Auila, promising nor to vse any force concerning the marriage. Don *John* Infant of Nauar and Arragon, hearing of these newes, he much blamed the attempt of Don *Henry* his brother, and resolved to oppose himselfe against him, wherefore he called all his friends to Olmedo, and such Noblemen and Knights as disliked of this excess: so as in few daies hee assembled

3000.

A three thousand Lances, the Infant D. *Henry* preparing also for the warre, hee was in a manner equall in strength to his aduersaries, being in the towne of Auila, whether hee had led the King. The factious being ready to enter into a furious warre, D. *Leonora* the widow Queene of Arragon, and mother to these two Princes, laboured to betwixt them as all these troupes retired except a thousand Lances, which remained for the Kings guard: then comming to the treaty of marriage, the Infanta D. *Catherine* being instantly intreated by the King her brother (who was not free) to take D. *Henry* for her husband, she would by noe means harken to it, D. *Henry* being the stronger about the King, thinking that D. *John* was opposite to his desires, he kept him from the king, & not respecting him, nor them that followed him, he called an assembly of his partizans, in forme of a Parliament, where he caused the fact of Tordeillas to be allowed, and ordained what he pleased: yea he caused letters to be written in the Kings name to the Pope, by the which hee intreated him to giue vnto the Infant D. *Henry* the Lands of the Maisterhippe of Saint James in fee simple, to him and his children for euer, with the title of a Dutchy: an impudent demand, and so reiected by the Pope. The King married with D. *Maria* of Arragon, in Auila, without feasts or ceremony, and then they led him to Talauera and the Infant D. *Henry* neuer ceased vntill he had celebrated his marriage with D. *Catherine* his Cousin Germaine, causing the Marquise of Villena to be assigned for her dowry with the title of Dutchy, who was the third Duke of Castile: and the question being of marriages, where they doe usually shew themselves bountifull, *Aluaro de Luna* the Kings Minion, had in guist the towne of Saint *Stephen* of Gormas, and other Knights were aduanced to other lands, as it pleased D. *Henry*. The King being much discontented with his retrained Estate, hee conferred often with *Aluaro de Luna* of the means how hee might escape, but there appeared great difficulties on euery side, for the confederates which held him watcht carefully ouer him, notwithstanding going one day abroad vnder colour of hunting, he aduentured to runne to Villalua, and finding himselfe not safe there he past to Montalban, which is betwixt Talauera and Toledo, some what out of the way: whereof the Infant D. *Henry* being aduertised, who had newly synished his marriage he was wonderfully troubled in mynde, drawing what forces he could to field, and then the Constable and he followed the King, but in vaine, for he was in a place of safety, who sent some to aduise them that they should not follow him, but returne to Talauera, which the Infant D. *Henry* did, but the troupes which were in the pousure stayed not vntill they had some newes, and came and lodged about the Castle of Montalban, yet they attempted not any thing, for the reuerence they bare vnto the King, who seeing him selfe as it were besegged, and without victuals in the place, he had means to aduertise the Infant D. *John*, D. *Sancho* of Roias, Archbishop of Toledo, the Admirall D. *Alphonso Henriquez*, and other Knights, intreating them to come and free him.

Estates foreu.

Diamonds D.  
Henry must im-  
pudent.

Marriage for-  
ced betwixt D.  
Henry and D.  
Catherine of  
Castile.

King escapes  
out of D. Hen-  
rys hands.

In the meane time D. *Henry* held a counsell with his partizans at Talauera and provided for many things, least the King should escape from him. Being intreated by his men, who were in the forme of a Campe about Mountalban, hee came thither, bringing with him the Queene D. *Maria* his Sister and all the Nobility that was at Talauera, to repaire this disorder in some sort. The King and such as were with him in the Castle, for want of better food, did eate their horses: D. *John* of Torillas Bishop of Segobia, being brought in, hee sought to make an accord for the Infant D. *Henry*: but the King interrupted him, saying, that D. *Henry* should come himselfe, and so hee sent him backe. D. *Henry* would not aduenture to enter, but hee procured that the Constable of Aualos, and D. *Aluaro* of Luna conferred together, but they could not conclude any thing, nor yet the deputies of the prouinces of the realme, who entring into the Castle, were intreated to moue the King, but they could get noe other answer but that D. *Henry* must free his lodging from leage: who indeed was forced to dislodge, for the Infant D. *John* and other Noblemen, being followed by good troupes of men at armes approached, and would haue taken him from thence by force. Thus the King was deliuered from this leage, and the Castle furnished with victuals: wherefore he sent a commandement to the Infant D. *John* of Arragon, that he should not aduance with his troupes, vntill he had other newes from him. The Infant stayed at Fonsalida, where D. *Alphonso Henriquez* the Admirall ioyned with him,

King of Castile  
besegged by his  
owne subjects.

him, being well accompanied, and others which came from all parts, to deliuer the King A as they laid, out of prison. This was at that time when as Villareal beganne to be called Ciudad real, in recompence of the good seruice which the Inhabitants did vnto the King in this tumult. Don Henry being retired to Ocagne, hee had commaundement from the King to lay downe armes, but hee would not obey. The King parted from Montalban to returne to Talauera, vpon the way hee was met by the Infant Don John, and Don Pedro his brother, with other Noblemen, who hauing kist the Kings hands, dined with him at Villalua, and then they were sent backe to their troupes: for Aluar de Luna, who gouerned the King, could not endure that any of the Infants should stay in court, least it should impair his credit and authority.

The King being come to Talauera, he sent a new commaundement to Don Henry and his confederates to disarm, who were content, so as D. John the Infant of Arragon, did also disarm, whom the King commanded to send away his men, wherein he obaid: after which the King hauing dispatched some businesse in his fauour at Talauera, hee went to Auila: by the way hee came to Pegnafiell, where hee did visit his cousin Donna Blanche of Nauarre, wife to the Infant Don John, making great demonstrations of loue vnto her. Don Henry would not disarm, especially being degraded of the title of Marquis of Villena, by a decree of the councill, and his lands being seized on, hee would recover them by force, if he might not otherwise, for prooffe whereof hee assailed Chinchilla, Alarcon and the castle of Garci Nugnes, where there was a garrison for the King: causing on the other side his wife Donna Catherina (to whom the Marquisate did belong) to bee a tutor vnto the King for his pardon: but the King was so incensed, as he would not heare speake of it, and he reuoked the title of Duke, which hee had caused to bee giuen him, of the lands belonging to the Order of Saint Iames, hoping to make them hereditary. The King did also reuoke the gift of Castagneda in the Aluria's of Santillana, which hee had made vnto Don Garci Fernandes Manrique, for that hee was one of Don Henries faction: Don Garci refusing to yeeld, being in possession, there were some companies of men at armes sent, who chased him, and tooke some of his followers, of whom Iustice was done. Don Henry hoping for no fauour from the King, marched towards Aguilar del Campo, as hee sayd, to kisse the Kings hand; but the King dislodged from Aguilar, and came to Palenzuela, sending word to Don Henry that hee should not aduance, and that hee should dismis his soldiers: then hee came to Vaileddolit, and from thence to Tordeillas, whereas Queene Mary his wife was: yet Don Henry followed the King, leading with him fiftene hundred launces, and came vnto Guardarama; so as the King was forced to draw companies vnto him for his safety. Don Henry sent againe to beseech him to giue him access, that he might discharge himselfe, causing the deputies of townes to make the like sute from him; but they laboured in vaine, the King giuing them so many reasons, as they laied all the blame vpon Don Henry and told him that he must obey, and leaue his armed troupes, the which he promised to doe, but he did not performe it.

The Queene Donna Leonora mother to these Infants of Arragon, being in great perplexitie to see this her Sonne in danger to be ruined, she laboured all shee could possibly to pacifie the Kings wrath: most iustly incensed against this rebell and rash vassall. Don Lope de Mendoza Archbishop of Saint Iames did the like, but they preuailed nothing, the King reiecting all prayers and sute, vntill hee had laid aside Armes: wherefore Don Henry hauing made fiew of two thousand Lances, and three hundred light horse, hee dismist them, and returned to Ocagne with the Noblemen of his faction, except Don Pedro de Velasco, who came to the Court. The King did also muster his men, where there were found aboute fixe thousand men at Armes, whom hee also discharged, being payed, except one thousand Lances which hee ratayned for his guard.

In the meane time Donna Blanche Infanta of Nauarre, was deliuered of a Sonne at Pegnafiell, in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand foure hundred twenty and one, the which was Christened at Olmedo by the King of Castile, and was named Don Charles, and Don Aluar de Luna was his other God-father: Don John the Infants father, sealed the

D. Henry deposed of his title and dignity of Marquis of Villena.

Intercession for D. Henry Infants of Arragon.

A the King and whole court, with great honour and state, Two yeares, after this Infants was carried into Nauarre, at the instance of King Charles, his Grand-father, who at that time made Vienna a Principallitie, affected to the eldest sonne of Nauarre, annexing to the towne and castle of Vienna, those of Guas, Saint Vincent, Bernardo, Aguilar, Yacouneilla, Pombation, San Pedro, Cambreda, val de Campego, Maragon, Toro, Herara and Buradon: and more ouer he gaue vnto him Gocela, and Camruenigo, Peralta and Cadrieta, these foure last being distant Sieges from the Principallitie: And at the Estates at Olme he caused him to be sworne heire of the realme of Nauarre, after the decess of the Infant Don John his father.

From Olmedo, the King of Castile came to Toledo, to the Estates, whether D. Henry, the Constable, and their confederates were cited, who appeared not, but sent their Ambassadors to make their excuses, saying, that they held for their professed enemies Don Sancho of Rojas Archbishop of Toledo, D. John Hurtado de Mendoza, and many others, and that they suspected the Infant D. John: whereof the King being more incensed then before, resolved to pursue them by armes, whereof they were: but Don Henry being aduertised and aduised, promised to present himselfe before the King at Madrid by the fourteenth of May this yeare 1422. where he appeared a day before the Assignation. Having kist the Kings hand, beginning to enter into a discourse, to excuse and iustifie himselfe, the King would not heare him, but sent him backe to his lodgings. The day following, there were produced in the Kings Councell, fourteen of the Constable d'Anslas letters, by the which he was charged with treason, and practising with the King of Gra-

nado against the King of Castile his Lord. They were openly read by Sancho Romero the kings Secretary, who said, that D. Diego de Fuenfildia, Bishop of Zamora had giuen him then. D. Henry and Garci Fernandes Manrique, thinking to defend the Constables innocence and fidelitie, were committed to prison by the Kings commaundement, and all the horses and furniture they had in Court seized on. The Constable and the Infanta D. Catherina, being aduertised of what had past at Madrid, they left Castile, and retired to Balueda, a castle in the realme of Valencia, and the Gouvernor Don Pedro Manrique fled to Tarassone: wherefore the King caused all their goods to bee seized, commanding all Gouvernors and Magistrates to apprehend them. These letters did not seeme very certaine, wherefore they of the Kings councell suspecting that they were counterfet, (as in truth they were) they caused the Kings Attorney general, to frame an accusation against the Constable, for that he had beene a confederate and sauourer of D. Henry, when as the King was detained in Tordezilla, and of the disorders which after followed: by reason whereof his goods were seized on, for it did appeare that the letters were counterfet, by the confession of John Garcia of Guadalaraja the Constables Secretary, who betraying his Master, had himselfe counterfettered them, and sealed them with his seale at Toledo, for which crime he was executed at Vaileddolit. The King caused Gonçala Mexia to bee named Administrator of the Order of Saint Iames, whereof the Infant D. Henry, being in prison, was Master, and did aduertise the King of Arragon of his detention and the causes. The Constable and the Infant D. Catherina being retired to Valencia, they were well entertained by them that did gouerne those realmes: in the absence of D. Alphonso of Arragon, who was at Naples, whereas D. John King of Castile was so much discontented as he sent his Ambassadors into Italy to the K. of Arragon to complaine of this fact. About the end of this yeare 1422. King John had by Queene Mary his wife, a daughter borne at Ilesca, who was named D. Catherina: and about that time D. Sancho of Rojas Archbishop of Toledo, died at Alcalá de Henares, in whose place was substituted Don John of Contreras Deane of the same Church, and borne at Riixa. The Infanta D. Catherina was declared and sworne heire of the Realme of Castile, the yeare following 1423. at the Estate of Toledo, if the King her father should die without heires male: for such was the custome of Spaine. There the truce betwixt Castile and Portugal was renewed for twenty nine yeares, with a condition, that if hereafter the one should offer to make warre against the other, hee should giue him warning 18. moneths before: A sinceritie which is contemned in this age, whereas they seeke to surpriue one another by any secret and indirect means. This truce was proclaimed the court being at Auila.

Castile.

An. 1422.

D. Roy de Aragon the Constable charged with treason.

Death of the Archb. of Toledo.

Nnn.

And

And soone after the king Don *John* being at Vailedoiir, there came ambassadours from A  
D. *Alphonso* King of Arragon, to excuse the reception which had beene giuen at Valen-  
cia, to the Infanta D. *Catherina*, and the Constable, Don *Ruis Lopes* of Aualos : and to  
acquaint the king of Castile with the successe of the waits of Naples, whereas they king  
of Arragon was buied.

31  
Arragon.

Infantesse  
of Joane 2.  
Queene of  
Naples.

This Prince who was famous not onely among all them that had reigned in Arragon,  
but in all the rest of Christendome had this occasion to vndertake the warre of Naples:  
after the decease of king *Ladislavus*, his sister *Joane* the second, widow to the Duke of Ester-  
lic, hauing succeeded in the Realme, as shee was infamous, by reason of the familiarity  
which was more then did befit the greatnesse of a Queene, which she had with *Pandolfel-  
lo Alope*, a Knight of Naples, being held to be one of the goodliest men of his time. Shee  
to couer their loose life, contracted marriage with *James* of Bourbon, Earle of Marche,  
a Prince of the bloud Royall of France, vpon condition that he should not intile him-  
selfe king, nor should not meddle with the gouernement of the Realme, but as she plea-  
sed. The Earle being come to Naples, he soone discouered what past betwixt the Queene  
his wife, and *Pandolfello*, wherefore being moued with a iust disdain, hee caused the a-  
duiterer to be slaine, and deprived the Queene of the gouernement, hauing punished  
her onely with words and reproches. The Queene dissembling her discontent against the  
Earle, watched a fit oportunitie to be reuenged: wherein she wrought so by her practices  
and intelligences, as he not onely recovered her liberty, but she put the Earle her hus-  
band into prison, who being afterwards freed by the intercession of Pope *Martin*, who  
was molested by the faction of Visims, the chiefe whereof was *Braccio Fortebracci*, hee  
made a strict league with this Queene, by the which she promised to ayde him with three  
thousand horse, and other things : but their friendship was soone dissolved : and Pope  
*Martin* to annoy Queene *Joane*, did inuest in the Realme of Naples, *Lewis* Duke of An-  
iou, called the third, who was sonne to *Lewis* the second, and of the Infanta D. *Violant* of  
Arragon, and declared Queene *Joane* fallen from it, and deprived thereof : wherefore *Le-  
wis* began to league himselfe in Italy with many Princes and Potentates, namely, with  
the Commonweale of Genoua, who were mighty at sea, from whom he was ayded to D  
conquer the Realme of Naples, with thirteene galleies, whereof *Baptist Fregefo* was Ge-  
nerall.

Alphonso King  
of Arragon,  
leads an Armie  
into Corfica,  
against the  
Genouois.

These things beeing come to the knowledge of King D. *Alphonso*, who was newly ad-  
uanced to the Crowne of Arragon, beeing young, and desirous of glorie, considering  
how much it might preiudice the Estate of Sicile, if the house of Aniou should settle it  
selfe againe at Naples, he thought he should greatly disappoint *Lewis* his destines, if he  
should make warre against the Genouois: wherefore hauing prepared an armie at sea, he  
came and landed in the Iland of Corfica, which was wholly in the power of that State,  
and vnder colour of the right which the kings of Arragon did pretend, by reason of an-  
cient donations made vnto them by the Popes, of the two Ilands of Corfica & Sardinia: E  
at his first landing he tooke Calui, and then besieged *Boniface*, pressing in in such sort,  
as without speedie succors from Genoua it had beene taken, and the whole Iland. During  
this siege Queene *Joane*, who saw a great storme ready to fall vpon her, sent *Anthony  
Caraffa* vnto him, intreating him to vndertake the defence of her and her Realme, against  
*Lewis* of Aniou, the Pope and their allies, in requitall whereof the would adopt him for  
her sonne and successor in the Realme of Naples, and for an earnest-peny he would de-  
liver him the two castles of Naples. King *Alphonso* was well pleased with these condi-  
tions, who to make this accord authenticke, sent *Raymond* of Perillos to Naples with 18.  
galleies, and 14. gallions, and D. *Bernard* of Centillas, and D. *John* of Moncado his ambal-  
sadors, with authoritie and sufficient instructions, who agreed with Queene *Joane* in the  
Kings name, and received the above-named forts: and after the releefe of Boniface by the  
Genouois, whereas the king received some losse, he passed with the rest of his army into  
Sicile, and from thence to Naples, where the accords and adoption was confirmed, the  
Queene inuesting him then in the Dutchie of Calabria, as presumptiue heire of the  
Realme: but the peace betwixt the mother and the sonne was not lasting : wherefore the  
repenting

A repenting to haue adopted *Alphonso*, he dealing in her affaires, there fell out warre be-  
twixt them: so as after many encounters, and variable successe, the Queene left Naples,  
and was forced to retire to Auerse, from whence she sent to call backe *Lewis* of Aniou,  
being then at Rome, who in the year 1423. came to Auerse, where hee was receiued  
with great ioy, and was adopted there by the Queene, and was made Duke of Calabria,  
and of *Henry* Master of Saint Iames, brother to the king D. *Alphonso*, and the retreat of  
D. *Catherine* his wife, with the Constable to Valencia, and of other Noblemen into di-  
uers parts of Arragon, whose goods D. *John* King of Castile had confisked, whereupon  
B grew many quarrels: by reason whereof the King D. *Alphonso* was forced to returne into  
Spain, leaving his brother D. *Pedro* at Naples, to make head against the Duke of Aniou,  
with *James Cadore*, and many Noblemen Italians, of his faction to assist him. Sayling a-  
long the coast of Prouence, he surprized Marceilles, a Towne belonging to the Duke of  
Aniou, being Earle of Prouence, the which he spoyled and burnt, carrying away for a  
precious Jewell the body of *Leis* sometimes Bishop of Tholouza, sonne to King *Charles*  
the Lame, being held a Saint. It is noted for a noble and religious act in this Prince, that  
at the taking of the towne hee would not suffer any iniurie to be done vnto the women  
that were retired into the Churches, nor any thing to be taken from them. It was taken  
in the night at a second assault: *Alphonso* being rich with spoiles landed at Valencia.

Marceilles sur-  
prized by the  
King of Arra-  
gon.

C In the meane time in Castile they made the proceffe of all the fugitiues, and degraded  
D. *Ruis Lopes* of Aualos, of his Estate and dignitie of Constable, deprived him of the go-  
uernement of Murcia, and did confiscate all his lands and goods. He had enioyed Xodar,  
Nimena, the tower of Alaquin, Arcos, Arjone, Arjonilla, Figuiera and Colmenar, in  
the countie of Auila, and Osorno and Ribadeo in Galicia, and other places, which were  
all forfeited to the King, who gaue the office of Constable to Don *Aluar de Luna*, who  
was afterwards created Earle of Saint Stephen de Gormas, and receiued with great solem-  
nities, *Alphonso James Eniarado* was made Gouernor of the frontier of Murcia, and his lands  
were distributed to others : so as the house of Aualos remained very poore in Castile.  
The King decreed, that D. *John* of Tordezilla Bishop of Segobia, who had beene Super-  
intendant of the treasor, in the time of the deceased King *Henry*, should be apprehended,  
to make him giue an account of his charge: but the bishop of Zamora who had this  
charge, shewed himselfe a friend, and suffred him to escape into Portugal, from whence he  
past to Valencia. About the end of this yeere 1423. D. *Leonora* king *Johns* 2. daughter was  
borne: as soone as he had intelligence that the king of Arragon was arrived at Valencia,  
he sent him an Ambassage, to congratuat his arrival, and to intreat him to send him D.  
*Cathrina* the wife of D. *Henry* and the fugitiues of Castile, or else to chafe them out of  
his country: whereof the king D. *Alphonso* excused himselfe, as well to these Ambassadors of  
Castile, as by others whom he sent expressly to *K. John*, who intreated him for an enter-  
view, wherewith the king was willing, but such as were enriched with the constables spoils,  
disliked him, wherewith the king of Arragon was discontented, and afterwards more,  
E they refusing him to let him confer with the Queen of Castile his sister. In the yeere 1424.  
the Infanta D. *Catherina* died at Madrigal, whereupon the King caused the Princeesse *Leona-  
ra* to be sworn for heire of those realms, in case he died without any issue male. In  
which yeere there also died at Pegniscola, *Benedict*, being 90. yeeres old; hauing held the  
Popedom 31. yeeres 2. months and 10. daies, from his election made at Avignon, and af-  
ter that hee had bin depozed by the council of *Constance*, 7. yeeres and 4. months, his body  
was interred in Illuega, in vnhalloved ground (as they say): a man too violent in all his a-  
ctions, obstinate and indomptable: of so strong a constitution of body, as they could not at-  
tribute the cause of his death but to poison, the which they found had bin giuen him in  
certaine sweet meats, by a Monke, called *Thomas*, set on by the Cardinal of Pila, who was  
sent into Spaine to that end. The crime being auerted, the Monke *Thomas* was taken  
and quartered, the Cardinal who remained at Torrofa fled, fearing that Don *Roderigo*  
and Don *Aluar de Luna Benedict*s Nephewes should reuenge his death vpon him.  
After his decease the Cardinals which were of his faction, and were retired with him,  
to Pegniscola, would haue continued the Schisme, and entering into the Conclau

32  
Castile.

D Aluar de  
Luna made  
constable of  
Castile.

Don Alphonso  
King of Arra-  
gon & Leonor  
by a new  
Seditious.

1425.

Birth of the  
Infant Don  
Henry of  
Castile

Nauarre.

Death of  
Charles King  
of Nauarre.

Pampelona  
united into  
one body.

with the accustomed ceremonies, they did choose a Chanon of Barcelona, named Gil A. *Mugnos*, borne at Teruel, whom they called *Clement* the eight, wherevnto Don *Alphonso* King of Arragon consented, beeing in bad termes with Pope *Martin* at Rome. This *Clement* created Cardinals, gaue Benefices and Dispensations, and did all acts of a Pope as well as *Martin*, and by him the Church of Rome continued diuided.

In the year one thousand foure hundred twenty and five, *D. Henry* sonne to *D. Iohn* King of Castile, was borne at Vailledolit, who succeeded him in the Realmes. Hee was baptized by Don *Aluaro* of Osorno Bishop of Cuenca, the God-fathers were *Aluar de Luna*, the Constable, and Don *Alphonso Henriquez* Admirall of Castile; and the Godmothers Donna *Eluira Porto-carrero* the Constables wife, and Donna *Joane* of Mendoza B. the Admirals: and within few moneths after this Infant was sworne Prince and heire of the realmes in that Towne, in the Monasterie of Saint *Pablo*, the Infant Don *Ihon* of Arragon, as Lord of Lara, being the first that swore him fealtie and future homage.

The offences betwixt the Kings of Castile and Arragon were such, as they attended nothing but open warre, not onely in these two realmes, but also in Nauarre, the succed for thereof, Don *Iohn*, being much bound to either countrie: wherefore the King Don *Charles* vsed all meanes possible to reconcile them. Notwithstanding the King Don *Alphonso* sent a letter open, by a Secretarie of his, to the Infant *D. Iohn* his brother, to come into Arragon to assist at a Parliament which hee had called, vpon paine to bee declared a rebell. Don *Iohn* not onely obtained leaue to goe to the King his Brother, but hee C had also full authoritie to make an accord with him. When he came to the Court of Arragon at Tarassoue, hee had newes of the death of the King of Nauarre, his father in lawe, which happened suddenly at Olite, in September, beeing busie about his build- ings. A Prince much lamented both of his subiects and strangers, for his vertues and milde dispositions: who besides other remarkable things, fetled a perpetuall peace in Pampelone, the which before his time had beene deuided into three regions or coun- tries, called Bourg, Peuplement, and Nauarriere, gouerned by three diuers Iudges, with feuerall Iurisdiccions, so as there oftentimes fell out great contentions and mu- tinies among them, the which hee did abolish, reducing all the Inhabitants of the Towne vnder one Iustice, taking away for euer the factious names of parts and quar- ters, placing one Gouvernour or Magistrat oute them, with ten Iurates to assist him. Hee was threecore and foure yeares old when hee dyed, and had reigned thirtie nine yeares and nine moneths. His body was laide in the Cathedrall Church at Pampelone, with Queene *Leonora* his wife.

### Don Iohn, first of that name, thirty three King of Nauarre.

Don *Iohn* his sonne in lawe succeeded him, in the right of Donna *Blanche* his wife, the Crowne of Nauarre passing from the house of France, to the house of Castile and Arragon, for want of heires male, the which continued not long: Hee was about eight and twenty yeares old when hee began to raigne in Nauarre: when as King *Charles* dyed, hee was in the campe of King Don *Alphonso*, who being incensed against the King of Castile, for his brother Don *Henries* imprisonment, was gone to Arrames, and had his forces on the confines of Arragon and Nauarre, about Tarassoue, the which hee caused to enter into Nauarre, as soone as the newes came of the Kings death. After which they vsed this ceremonie: Don *Iohn*, who should succede, kept F his chamber three dayes, after which hee went to horse-back, accompanied with the King his brother, and causing the Standard of Nauarre to be carried before him, by a Knight called *Nugno Pace*, and a Herald to march before with a coate of the armes of Nauarre, crying out aloud, Nauarre, Nauarre, for the King Don *Iohn* and Donna *Blanche* his wife: going often about the field, the Trumpets sounding, and being followed

Ceremonie in  
taking posses-  
sion of the  
realmes of  
Nauarre.

A followed by many Knights and Gentlemen of Castile and Arragon, on foote, but there was not one Nauarrois, for the Nobilitie of Nauarre had done the like at Olite, for the Queene Donna *Blanche* their naturall Princeesse, and not without a misterie.

Whilst that these things past vpon the frontiers, the King of Castile hauing made a great assembly at Palence, and gathered together much money, in the end hee was aduised to free Don *Henry* out of prison, beeing the cause of all this tumult, and for the which the King of Arragon had taken Arrames. The King of Castile would first haue the King of Arragon deliarmed, which difficulties being debated, it was agreed that Don *Henry* should bee deliuered in the hands of Don *Iohn* King of Nauarre, who should bee answerable vntill that the King of Arragon his brother had laide downe B Arrames. Wherefore *Pero Garcia* of Herrera, Marshall of Castile, followed by five hun- dred men at Arrames, came to the Castle of Mora, whereas the Infant Don *Henry* was deliuered vnto him, hee swearing to conduct him and deliuer him into the hands of Don *Iohn* King of Nauarre.

34.  
Castile.

Don Henry  
brother to the  
Kings of Arra-  
gon and Nau-  
arre, deliue-  
red.

The two Kings Brethren being come to Saint *Vincent* of Nauarre, hearing that they brought Don *Henry*, they returned, and going to meete him, the King Don *Iohn* recei- ued him at Agreda, and then ledde him to Tarassoue, whereas the King of Arragon embraced him with great content. Beeing there, Don *Lewis de Guzman* Maister of Calatraua, and Don *Ihon* of Soto maior, Maister of Alcantara, sent to offer him their friendship and meanes, against them of the Kings Councell, and against his Mig- C nions, which had beene opposite against him. The which the King of Castile did not doubt, but sent *Fernande* of Robles, and Doctor *Periagnez* of his Councell, to Calcanta Towne of Nauarre, to treat with the King Don *Ihon* touching his returne into Castile to end that which remained to doe touching Don *Henry*, the which hee yielded vnto, and came to the King of Castile beeing at Roa, the which hee kindly, and hauing beene there some dayes together, without speaking of any affaires, the King of Castile went to Segobia, and hee of Nauarre to Medina del Campo. Soone after, in the beginning of the yeare one thousand foure hundred twenty and six, hee came to Toro to the King of Castile, where hee gaue him an accompt of that which hee had negotiated with the King of Arragon his Brother, wherewith the D King seemed to bee very well satisfied. The Estates were held there, by the which the King was let vnderstand of the superfluous charge of a thousand Lances which hee led for his garde, the which cost eight Millions of Maraudis, wherupon they were redu- ced to a hundred, vnder the Constables charge, who was in such authoritie and fauour, as every man feared him openly, or hated him secretly. The Estates requiring also that the Kings excessiue gifts should bee cut off, it was ordained, that all that had or should be giuen by the King before the age of twenty five yeares, should bee reputed voides: Many other good decrees were made, but they lasted little.

Estates at  
Toro, and  
their remou-  
ance.

The King of Nauarre staid in Castile, where hee had great possessions, and was much fauoured, yea for his sake many Noblemen Castilians were aduanced to Offices in the E Kings house, as *Ruy Dias* of Mendoza was made Lord Steward, and *Ihon Aluaro* of Ga- dillio Standard-bearer. As for himselfe hee was wholly gouerned by *Diego Games* of Sandoval, whom hee made Earle of Castro Xeris, a place which was of his patrimonie. There were three Leagues beginning in Court, one for the king of Nauarre, the second for *Henry* his brother, and the third for the Constable Don *Aluar de Luna*, who increa- sed dayly in authoritie. The king spent the rest of that yeare one thousand foure hundred twenty and sixe, at Fuente del Sauco, at Vailledolit & at Zamora, where hee caused some pettie mutiniers and rebels to bee punished by Iustice, whilst that great men, which troubled the realme, liued in all assurance.

In the beginning of the yeare one thousand foure hundred twenty and seauen, the In- fant Don *Henry* and his wife Donna *Catherina* came from Valencia to Ocagne, where the harred burst forth betwixt the King of Nauarre, and the Constable Don *Aluar de Luna* being much fauoured and highly supported by the fauor of the King, who desired also to entertaine the King of Nauarre. Don *Henry* aduancing towards the Court, came to Vailledolit, accompanied by the Maisters of Calatraua and Alcantara,

Nnn 3

and





ceremony of the vnction, and others accustomed in such cases. There were present the Ambassadors of forraigne Princes, the Bishops of Calaoorra, Tarrasone and Bayone, with many Noblemen and Knights of Nauarre, Castile and Arragon. At this coronation there was againe sworn and confirmed the matrimoniall conuentions betwixt the King D. Iohn, and D. Blanche the heire, made in the time of King Charles her father.

The Estate of the Moores of Granado, during these tumults in Castile, had bene quiet, by prorogation of the truce with the King of Castile, and his counsell in consideration of a certaine tribute, which was paid by King Ioseph vntill his death, the which was in the yeere 1423. being very old, and hauing enioyed the realme fiftene yeeres.

### Mahumet the Left-handed, called Aben-Azar the fourteenth King of Granado.

Moortes.

After Ioseph reigned his sonne Mahumet, called Aben-Azar, the Scepter of Granado continuing by him in the succession of Ferrachen, who was Gouvernor of Malaga. This King who was left-handed of his person, had also a sinister reigne: for he was thrice chased from his throne, after great miseries, and twice restored. These seditious changes were ordinary, and haue alwayes bene amongst the Arabians, who are inconstant, treacherous, rauishing and ambitious, if there be any liuing. King Mahumet did maintain the truce, and entertaine himselfe in the fauour and friendship of the King of Castile, for some yeeres, and in like manner with Muley Aben Ferriz King of Tunes: but he could not get the loue of his owne subiects. In the beginning of his reigne, he made a Knight whose name was Ioseph, of the family of Aben Sarrares (which was great and much esteemed amongst that nation) Alguazil Major or chiefe Marshall of Granado. The troubles of Castile, whereas many Noblemen, yea D. Henry Maister of Saint Iames, banded against their King, was a president for the Moores, who conspired against this Left-handed Mahumet, in fauour of another of the same name, surnamed the Little: so as they made him King, and forced Mahumet to flee to Tunes, to King Muley Aben Ferriz his friend: in which exile he was followed by about five hundred Moores of his faction, as well horse as foote, who were all well entertained, and afterwards assisted to recover the lost Kingdome in Spaine.

Mahumet Aben-Azar expelled.

### Mahumet the Little, the fiftenth King of Granado.

Mahumet called the Little, reigned then about the yeere 1427. the eleuenth of that name, and fiftenth King of the Moores at Granado. The surname of Little, was given him, to distinguish him from his predecessor, who reigned before him. This King entering by tyranny, thought that rigour and cruelty was the best means to maintaine him in his Estate, as commonly tyrants doe; wherefore he beganne to persecute the Officers, friends and partisans of his predecessor (whom he had expelled) by imprisonments, banishments, confiscations and cruell deaths, whereas many were ruined, and many also escaped, amongst the which was the Alguazil Ioseph Aben Sarraz, who fled to Lorca a towne in the realme of Murcia, submitting himselfe to the mercy of the King of Castile, and of the Gouvernor of Lorca, who was Lope Alphonso of Lorca, who afterwards led him to court, and presented him to the King D. Iohn at Illesca, a towne belonging to the Archbishop of Toledo, seated betwixt Madrid and Toledo. The King gaue good entertainment to this Moore, from whom he vnderstood the resolutions of Granado, Lope Alphonso being truchman betwixt them. The King being intreated by Ioseph Aben Sarraz, to aide his maister to recover his realme, hee yielded vnto it, and hauing giuen him many presents, and shewed him all fauour, he sent him with Lope Alphonso in Ambassage

Tyrants care not to be hated, so they be feared.

to Tunes, to let King Mahumet vnderstand how much hee desired to doe him good, and to exhort him of Tunes, to aide and fauour his guest. The businesse succeeded so well, as Mahumet Aben Azar, receiuing money, and all other kinde of aide, from the King of Tunes, he past from Tunes to Oran, and then crossing the sea, hee came and landed at Vera in Granado, whose coming being divulged through the country, the towne thereabouts, yea that of Almeri, opened their gates vnto him. Mahumet the Little, who held the Realme, resolved to make head against him, thinking that his forces were yet but weak, sending about eight hundred horse and some foote before to encounter him, most of which ioyned with Mahumet Aben Azar, who pursuing his good fortune, entred with the like facility into Guadix, yea hee was receiued into the city of Granado: so as Mahumet the Little, his competitor was forced to shut and fortifie himselfe, in the Alhambra of Granado; where he was presently beleeged, Aben Azar lodging his campe at a place called Alcabisgar, neere to the fort of Alhambra: to whose obedience there presently yielded the townes of Malaga, Gibraltar, Ronde, and in the end the whole realme: wherefore Mahumet the Little, being hated and abandoned of all men, and fainting, hee was forced, and taken in the castle of Alhambra, with his children, where hee ended his daies miserably, and his children were kept prisoners. Thus Mahumet Aben Azar recovered the realme, two yeeres after he had bene expelled, in the yeere 1429. and of the Arabians 812.

Mahumet Aben-Azar recovered his realme of Granado.

Mahumet the younger taken and put to death. An. 1429.

The King of Nauarre at his departure out of Castile, left Diego Gomes of Sandoual, Earle of Castro Xeris, his familiar friend there, who presently cauled the townes of Pegnassell, Portillo and Castro Xeris to bee repaired, which made D. Iohn King of Castile conceiue, that there was some enterprise in hand to his preiudice, and that the King of Nauarre was gone away discontented with him. In which opinion he was confirmed by the newes which he receiued, that they leauied both foote and horse in Nauarre and Arragon, the which they couered with a pretext to send them into France, to succour King Charles against the English: Moreouer that hauing treated an accord and pacification betwixt Castile, Nauarre and Arragon, although the King of Nauarre had signed it, yet he of Arragon would not heare of it. For these causes the King of Castile sent first Francis of Soria his confessor, and Peter of Bocanegra Deane of Cuenca, Ambassadors into Nauarre, to know what the King of Nauarres intention was, and to complaine of the Earle of Castros doings, and of other things, whereof hee was aduertised, which were practised against him, and the Estate of Castile. To whom answer was made, that they did not practise any thing against him, and that the souldiers which were leauied, were not to bee sent into Castile, and if they should, it were not for any thing that might offend the King their maister.

But in effect D. Iohn King of Nauarre, hee of Arragon, and D. Henry their brother, were conspired against the government of Castile, and they had an intent to trouble the State, to pull downe them that were great, and to aduance others, who were kept vnder or chased away; about all the King of Nauarre was furiously ialous of the Constables D. Aluaro de Luna's greatnesse, and other things that were managed in that court contrary to his liking: and as he was of a turbulent spirit, hee did not cease to seeke occasion of quarrels, entertaining his brother D. Alphonso King of Arragon in the hatred which he had conceiued against the king of Castile, for the imprisonment of D. Henry. These two Princes being thus disposed, all things prepared to warre, the which did much trouble the Queene Donna Blanche, and the Estates of Nauarre, who intreated him that hee would forbear, and enioy his realme in peace, and those goodly Estates which hee had in Castile, whereas the Queenes dowry was assigned, & the reuenues of many Lordships affected to Prince Charles his sonne: but they were not heard, and much lesse a second Ambassage from the King of Castile, in which were D. Alphonso Tenorio, Notary or Secretary of the realme of Toledo, and Doctor Fernand Gonzales of Auila counsellor of State to the King of Castile, with two deputies of townes: wherefore the King of Castile made preparation, and leauied men of all sides, to resist the kings of Nauarre and Arragon, and he rooke a new oth of fealty of all the Noblemen of his realme, especially of the Infant D. Henry.

Ceremony taken possession of by the King of Nauarre.

Here.

Death of D.  
Alphonso Hen-  
riques Admi-  
ral of Castile.

VVarres of the  
Castilian a-  
gainst Arra-  
gon and Na-  
uarre.

Army of the  
King of Cas-  
tile.

Hereupon the King of Nauarre sent to excuse himselfe, and to require an interview of A the King of Castile, but his excuses were not credited, yet the interview was granted. At this time there being dead D. *Alphonso Henriques* high Admiral of Castile, base sonne to D. *Frederic* maister of Saint Iames and grand-child to King D. *Alphonso* the twelfth, there was substituted in his place his sonne D. *Frederic*: his body was interred at Saint Clara in Palence, founded by him. The Kings troups being ready to march, the constable went towards the frontier of Arragon with two hundred lances, and the King led the rest of his forces towards Pegnasil, whereas the Earle of Castro and the Infant D. *Pedro*, brother to the Kings of Arragon and Nauarre, had forsaken themselves. Their other brother, D. *Henry*, fought in the meane time to leauy men about Toledo, but the Inhabitantes hindred him. The King sommoned D. *Pedro* and the Earle to yeeld vp the towne of Pegnasil, vpon paine to be proclaimed traitors, and to be so condemned; so as the Earle yeelded vp the towne, vpon honorable conditions, and amongst others, not to be bound to carry armes against the King of Nauarre. The castile which was commanded by *Gonsalo Gomes* of Sumel, held some daies. On the other side the Kings of Arragon and Nauarre, entred into Castile, with two thousand five hundred men at armes, and some few soote, whose entrie the constable could not stop, with whom Don *Henry* ioyned with two hundred and twenty horse, against the promises made. They ranne neere vnto Cogollado, and beeing come to Xadraque, the Constable following them, they presented him battail, the which he would not accept, for *Peter* Cardinal of Foix sonne to *Archimbad*, and *Mary* Queene of Arragon, sister to the King of Castile, came by great iourneies out of Arragon, and put themselves betwixt them, making an entrance to an accord, which was, that the two Kings should returne into their realmes, and that the constable and other noblemen of the King of Castiles army, should intreat him to restore vnto the King of Nauarre, and to the Infant D. *Henry* their lands: for as soone as the army of Arragon and Nauarre had entred into Castile, the King did cause all that the house of Arragon did hold in Castile, to be seized on. By this meanes the armies parted, and the two brethren Kings came to Huerta and Hariza, in Arragon, and the Infant D. *Henry* to Ocagne; but the indignation of D. *John* King of Castile, was so great, as he did not regard, that which had bene capitulated, but sent to all his subiects, that they should hold the Arragonois and Nauarrois for enemies, and make violent warre against them, and committing himselfe in person to the campe at Piquera, hee resolved to goe and charge his enemies in their fort at Hariza. Queene *Mary* and the Cardinall *Felix* returned againe to the King of Castile, propounding many meanes of peace, but all in vaine: wherevpon they returned, very much discontented. D. *Frederic* of Castile Earle of Arjone, was apprehended in the army, vpon suspicion that he fauored the Arragonois: war being proclaimed throughout all Castile, the inhabitants of the country of Biscay, Guipulcoa, Alaua, and Rioja, entred suddenly into Nauarre, where they committed infinit spoiles. Thus an innocent Realme suffered for a nocent King, whom they had earnestly intreated to entertaine peace with Castile.

The King of Castiles army being strong and ready to enter into Arragon, hee sent word to D. *Alphonso* King of Arragon, that he would spare his country, if hee would forsake the king of Nauarre, the which hee refused: wherevpon the constable of Castile being followed by five hundred horse, marcht to Montreal, tooke it, spoiled Ceitia, and finding no resistance, returned to the army, which consisted of 7000. men at armes, 3600. genets or light horse, and 60000. foot, with the which King *John* entred into Arragon, where he tooke and burnt the towne of Hariza, but hee attempted not the castle, which was very strong: this was all the exploit was done with that mighty army: for the two brethren Kings not presenting themselves to battail, and victuals fayling for so great an army, he was forced to retire into Castile, towards Medina Celi, from whence he sent for the gard of the frontier, D. *Pedro* of Velasco his Lord Chamberlain, with 600. lances to lie with them in Alfaro, Calaoarra, or Logroño: against whom the King of Nauarre did fortifie Tudela, Viana and La Garde.

In the meane time D. *Henry* and D. *Pedro* brethren to the kings, ouerran the country of Eftremadura, hauing to encounter them Don *Roderigo Alanfo Pimentel*, Earle of Benauent

A. Benauent, who finding himselfe weake, had the Constable sent to him, with sufficient forces. The king being returned to Pegnasil, wrought so as the captain of the castle yeelded it vnto him, fearing to be put in the ranke of rebels and traitors to their Prince. The king of Arragon slept not, but employing his forces (his enemy being farre off) hee tooke in Castile, in the country of Soria, Deca, and the castles of Ciria, Boronia and Bozmediano, carrying away an infinite number of prisoners, about forty thousand charges of corne, and great store of cattle and other spoiles. The king of Castile was much moued with these newes, and gaue all the lands which the king of Nauarre, his sonne D. *Charles*, the Queene Donna *Blanche*, and the Infant D. *Henry* held in Castile, to D. *Henry* his sonne, Prince of the Asturias, and he sent D. *Pedro* of Velasco to make most violent warres in Nauarre: and being resolved to enter himselfe in person the next yeere with a great army, he called the Estates to Burgos, to haue money, demanding a hundred millions of Marauidis to entertaine it sixe monethes: and for that their was some difficulty to draw together so great a summe he borrowed of rich men, and of churches, all their plate and silver vessel, and sent it to be coined at Seuille. During the assembly at Burgos, there came Ambassadors from the kings of Nauarre and Arragon, which were, *Peter* of Peralta, the Abbot of Roncevaux, Doctor *John* of Lezana, D. *John* of Luna, and *Berenguel* of Bardaxi, to treat of a peace, to whom answer was made, that the king of Castile would send Ambassadors expressly to giue them a conuenient answer: and to them of Nauarre, shewing particularly in the name of Queene *Blanche* and of her sonne D. *Charles*, that they had not done any thing, for the which they should seize their rents and pensions, yea the Queenes dowry, who had neuer consented to these quarrels, the like answer was made. The Ambassadors of Castile were D. *Sancho* of Rojas Bishop of Alborga, *Pero* Lope of Ayala Marshall of the kings body, and D. *Fernando* Gonçales of Auila, of the Kings council. Who being come into Nauarre, made great complaints of D. *John* King of Nauarre, accusing him of great faults, wherein they did also comprehend the Queene, saying, that she was a confederate in the warre, seeing that she had sold her jewels to furnish her husband with money; and made other demonstrations of an enemy. From Nauarre they past into Arragon, where they gaue as little hope of peace: wherefore King D. *Alphonso* sent Ambassadors to Rome, to Pope *Martin*, to complaine D of the King of Castile, who refused all honest meanes of an accord. The Constable being come into Extremadura, he made the Infants D. *Henry* and D. *Pedro* retire towards Albuquerque, vpon the frontier of Portugal, whether they sent great store of cattle, hoping they should serue to victual them, for the which the King of Portugal was glad to excuse himselfe to the King of Castile, who complained. The Constable tooke Trugillo, and hauing seized also of the castle by the meanes of one of the captains of the garrison, he deliuered it into the Kings hands: hee attempted Montanches, and hauing taken D. *Roderigo* *Alphonso* Pimentel Earle of Benauent with him, he came and camped before Albuquerque, an impregnable fort, but hee desired to draw the Infants to fight Knight to Knight, but they would not vouchsafe to accept it: wherefore he retired his army towards Pierrebonne, from whence hauing aduertised the King of the Estate of his affaires, he came presently to the campe, and then the castle of Montanches yeelded, by intelligence which the constable had with the captain. The Prouinces and townes of Castile did furnish the King with five and forty millions of Marauidis for the warre: and there was an Ambassage sent to Rome to Pope *Martin* to free the King of Castile of the imputations which were laied vpon him by him of Arragon. The King of Nauarre making thew to enter into Castile by Briones, D. *Pedro* of Velasco went to field, with all the troups he could gather together, hauing drawne out of Biscay three thousand men, led by *John* of Abendagno, *Ordengo* *Garcia* Arcega, *Gonsalo* *Gomes* of Burton, and his sonne *Gomes* *Gonsalo* of Muxica, Lord of the house of Muxica, and finding no man to make head against him hee went to beseege the towne of Saint Vincent, the which was taken by assault, but whilst the Biscains were busie at the pillage, not caring to keepe any order, nor martiall discipline, entring confusedly into the houses, without any guards vpon the approaches: being entred into the houses, the Inhabitantes who were armed, and retired into the castles, seeing this confused multitude in their towne, they brake

exploits of the  
King of Arra-  
gon.

Biscains de-  
fected by them  
whom they had  
vanquished  
for want of  
discipline.

brake out upon them, and encountering *Gomes Gonçales* in the street, with a small company they took him, having slain most of his souldiers: whose father *Gonsalo Gomes* of Buitron, running to succour him, being as ill accompanied as his sonne, was slain with some of his men, and could not be releued. *D. Pedro* of Velasco, seeing that the castle could not be forced with a long and painefull siege, he set fire on the suburbs, and of some houses in the towne, and then returned to Haro, carrying with him many of his Knights and good souldiers wounded. The towne of *Saint Vincent*, for the losse it sustained then, and for the good seruice it did in the warre betwixt Nauarre and Castile, obtained many priuiledges and freedoms for the inhabitants thereof. He among the Nauarrois which did most harme to the Castilians, was a Knight called *Sancho* of Londogno the kings Marthall, issued from the house of Londogno, neere to Ordugna, a member of Biscay: he running one day into Rioja, was surprized by the ambushes which *Diego Peres Sarmiento* captaine of Bal tide had layed for him, who carried him prisoner to that fort: but this losse was soone recompensed by *Ruy Dias* of Mendoça the bald, borne at Seuille, and yet he did serue the king of Nauarre faithfully, and was gone south of Tudela with foure hundred horse and five hundred foot, ouer-running the countrie of Ageda, against whom *D. Inigo Lopez* of Mendoça Lord of Hita and Buitrago (who kept a garrison there for the king of Castile) falling forth, and coming to fight in the field of Arauiana, he was there vanquished, with the death and imprisonment of many Castilians. At that time the Infanta *D. Izabella* of Portugall, daughter to the king *D. John*, was married to *Philip* Duke of Bourgondie, Earle of Flanders, and Lord of many other Seigneries, who had two wives without any children. Of this marriage was born *Charles* whose daughter and only heire was afterwards married to *Maximilian* of Austria. The very day that this marriage betwixt *D. Philip*, and the Infanta *Izabella* was celebrated with great pompe at Bruges, the Order of Bourgondie of the golden fleece was instituted by him, the tenth year after his coming to it, vpon a vow which he had made to go and make warre against the Infidels of Syria, and to conquer the countrie of Iuriebut his great affaires made his vow fruitlesse. His Order had for head and patron (I know not by what diuinity) *S. Andrew*, and the slemnitie of the Order was to be celebrated every year three dayes together, whose knights should be the first day attired in red, in signe that heauen is purchased by the effusion of blood and by Martyrdome: the second day in blacke, representing mourning for the dead: and the third in white, in honour of the purity of the Virgin *Mary*: and they should carry for a marke of their knight-hood, a chaine made in fashion of fuzils, with a rams skin & fleece hanging at it: a deuise taken, not from the Pagan *Iafon*, but from the faithfull *Gedeon*, as some say. The first knights of this Order were foure and twenty in number, of the Noblest and most renowned of his Estates of Burgondy, Flanders and the Netherlands: wherewith since many Princes and great Noblemen of Spaine and other places, haue held themselves much honoured. This was that Duke *Philip*, who to reuenge the death of his father *Iohn*, murdered at Montcaut-Yonne by the Dauphin *Charles*, drew the English into France, to the ruine of his naturall country, as you may read at large in the History of France.

1430.

The yeere 1430. being come, *D. Iohn* King of Castile prepared to make warre against the King of Nauarre, against whom he had the greatest spleene; and forgetting no kinde of rigour, he resolved to deprime him and his of all the lands which they held in Castile, without euer hoping to re-enter into them: and therefore he gaue to *D. Gutierre* of Toledo Bishop of Palence, and afterwards Archbishop of Toledo, the towne of Alua de Tormes, to *D. Pedro Manrique* Governour of Leon, the towne of Paredes de Naua: to *D. Rodrigo Alphonso Pimentel*, Earle of Benauent, Majorga: to the Marthall *Luigo Ortiz* of Estuniga, Cerezo: he would haue giuen to *Fernand Diaz* of Toledo, five hundred vassals in the lands which did belong to *D. Iohn* King of Nauarre, but hee refused them: He gaue to *D. Frederic* of Arragon Earle of Luna, bafe sonne to *Martin* King of Sicile, Villalon and Cuellar: to Queene *Mary* his wife *Olmedo*; and other places to other Knights. The king being come to field, before the fort of Albuquerque, hee caused the Infants *D. Henry* and *D. Pedro* to be summoned, to yeeld him the place, promising that the Infants should be herd in Iustice, and that all the rest should haue a generall pardon:

giuing

Towne of  
Saint Vincent  
obtains new  
priuiledges.

Institution of  
the Order of  
the golden  
fleece.

Ceremonies of  
the order of  
the Fleece.

39.  
King of Nauarre  
lands  
in Castile con-  
fiscated and gi-  
uen away.

A giuing the Infants thirty daies time to resolu, and the rest forty: but their answers were arrows and bullets, with great daunger to the Kings person, who being in a great rage at their obstinacy, he caused *D. Henries* proceesse to be made, and gaue the administrati- on of the maiesty of Saint Lames to the constable, diuiding his lands to diuers Knights, very prodigally, as hee had done the King of Nauarre. In the meane time *D. Diego* of Estuniga, or Suniga, Bishop of Calaoarra, and *Calpado* and his vncler *D. Pedro* of Estuniga, Earle of Ledesma, Iustice Major of Castile, and another *D. Diego* of Estuniga his cousin, with the forces of the frontier, tooke the towne of La Garde in Nauarre, by Scalado, being two leagues from Logroño, the castle held out, and cost many good mens liues, on either side, and being fortified with new succors, sent from the King of Nauarre, they made furious and bloody sallies vpon their enemies, who held the towne, but in the end they were so prest by the Bishop and the Earle of Ledesma, as they did capitulate to yeeld, if by a day prefixt they were not releued by the King their Lord; during the which there should be a cessation of armes; and if there came any succors, the beleaged should bee bound to aduertise the Bishop that hee might doe as hee pleased. This accord being made, the captaine of the place beleaged made a mine vnder ground, by the which he drew into the castle a great number of souldiers, which the King of Nauarre had sent him, vpon the aduertisement of the capitulation. The time being ready to expire, the captaine aduertised the Bishop, that the succors were arrived, and at that instant he opened the mine in the midst of the place, from whence issued great numbers of souldiers of Nauarre, who beganne to charge the Castilians, which caused a great confusion amongst them, and did much trouble the Bishop; yet being made with this treachery, they put themselves in defence, and repulst the Nauarrois into the castle ditch, having lost many good men of either side. This hauing not succeeded so happily as the Nauarrois expected & their viduals sayling them, by little and little they abandoned the fort: So La Garde both towne and castle remained in the King of Castiles power. The Queene *D. Leonora* mother to the Princes of Arragon, sorrowful for so many ruines, being old, and wholly giuen to deuotion, lyuing at Medina del Campo, in her Monastery of St. Iohn de las Duegnas, was not exempt from the discomforts of this warre for the King of Castile suspecting that she fauored her children, caused her to be shut vp in Santa Clara of Tordisillas, and put garrisons in her houses of Montalban, Vireyna, and Tyedra: and would haue done as much at Castro Xeris, and Saldagne, but the Earle found meanes to exempt himselfe, and yet the King was not very well pleased with him. The court being in Astudillo, there came an Ambassador from *Iohn* Earle of Foix, father to *Gaston*, who afterwards married *Leonora* the heire of Nauarre, who besought the King of Castile, that he would bee pleased that the Earle his master might employ himselfe, to make a peace betwixt him and the Kings of Nauar and Arragon: to whom the King of Castile answered, that he did thanke the Earle of Foix for his good will, but there was no meanes of a peace. On the other side the Earle of Armagnac, an enemy to the King of Nauarre and the Earle of Foix, hauing giuen all the hindrance hee could towards Gascony, that no succors should passe out of France to the King of Nauarre, for the which he had bene at great charge, hee sent to intreat the King of Castile, to re-boueise him, to whom were paid ten thousand florins of gold. This yeere *D. Pedro* of Velasco, Generall vpon the frontier of Nauarre, was created Earle of Haro. The King Zamora, had taken the castle of Alua de Lita: and passing afterwards to Osma, which was the Rendezvous for the army of Castile, there came vnto him a Franciscan friar, confessor to Donna *Blanch* Queene of Nauarre, whom they called Archbishop of Tyre: *Peter* of Perault chiefe Steward to the King of Nauarre, and *Kamis* Deane of Tudelo, counsellor to the King, Ambassadors for the King of Nauarre; and for him of Arragon, *D. Dominike* Bishop of Lerida *D. Raymond* of Perillos, and *William* of Vigue, Knights, sent to treat and conclude a peace, at what price soeuer.

The difficulties were very great, and they were forced to send backe some of the Ambassadors to the two brethren Kings, and in the meane time the army marched: but the reasons, and propositions of the Ambassadors were in the end admitted, and a truce

O o o

Garde taken  
by the Casti-  
lans.

Leonora  
Queene of  
Arragon re-  
leased by the  
King of Castile.

Truce betwixt  
the King of  
Castile and the  
King of Ar-  
ragon and  
Navarre.

Death of the  
Duke of Ar-  
ragón.

truce was accorded at Majano, for five yeeres, both by sea and land, betwixt the King of Castile, and D. Henry his sonne Prince of Asturias, on the one part; and D. Alphonso King of Arragon, D. John King of Navarre, D. Blanche his wife, and D. Charles Prince of Viana, their sonne, on the other part: into which truce there entred for the King of Castile, the Earle of Armaignac; and for the two Kings brethren, the Earle of Foix. It was also agreed, that D. Godfrey of Navarre, Earle of Cortes, brother in law to King John, who had followed the party of Castile, should not be troubled nor molested in the perception of his goods, nor otherwise. This Knight staid long in Castile, and did the King good service in his warres against the Moores: the like assurance was graunted in regard of the Infants D. Henry and D. Pedro: and to iudge of the differences during the truce, there were seven persons named for Navarre and Arragon, and seven for Castile, whose seat should be at Tarassone and Agreda, alternatively. Thus ended the warre betwixt Castile, Navarre and Arragon, to the great prejudice of the towne of Cardie, in Navarre. During these treaties, D. Frederic Duke of Arjone died a prisoner at Pegnasil, whose Dutchy and Estates were given to D. Frederic of Arragon, Earle of Luna. There were also restored unto Queen Leonora her houses & castles, and she was set liberty, and freed from the Monastery of Santa Clara of Tordeillas, at the intreaty of the King of Portugal, to whom the King of Castile sent the proceedings against her four sonnes, the King and Infants of Arragon, and their offences, to the end that the might see what cause he had to confiscate their lands. The same yeere King John of Castile, was solicited to make a league of friendship with the English, but he excused himselfe touching the league, being loath to doe any thing to the prejudice of the King and Realme of France, an ancient friend and confederate to the crowne of Castile, sending backe the Ambassadors with a discreet and friendly answer: and soone after having sent D. Sancho of Rojas Bishop of Astorgo to the King of England, he concluded a truce betwixt Castile and England for one yeere. At the same time being fought vnto by the King of Granada to continue peace and friendship betwixt them, the said Moorish King offered him all the force of Granada to serve him at his will, he gaue him thanks for the offer, and by an Ambassador which hee sent expressely to Granada, to conclude some truce, he deliuered the Estate of that realme. The Ambassador, who was Lewis Gonzales of Luna, Governour of Cordoua, found King Mahomet averse to those conditions, which the King of Castile demanded: wherefore he returned without any conclusion, reporting how little assurance there was of the Moores faith; which made the King of Castile to thinke vpon the affaires of that frontier, and to man it well, sending some presents to the King of Tunes, by Lopes Alphonso of Lorca, his Ambassador, with complaints against the King of Granada, intreating him that he would not succor him in the warre which he was resolved to make against him.

Moores.

Mahomet Aben-Azar King of Granada, was, as we have said, restored to his regal seat, in the yeere 1429. two yeeres after his exile, who shewed himselfe thankfull to the King of Castile, for the fauour and aide which he had giuen him in the recovery of his realme, offering sundry Ambassages vnto him, with offers and thanks: but refusing this yeere to pay the tribute and pensions to the King of Castile, which he demanded, of friends they became enemies, and the warre was begunne by Diego of Riueira, Governour of the frontier, who running through the plaine of Granada, tooke about two hundred horse, and towards Ronda. D. Fernando Aluares of Toledo, Lord of Val de Corneja, did great spoiles vpon the Moores. The King of Castile meaning to imploy D. Diego Games of Sandoval, Earle of Castro Xeris, in this warre, hee sent for him to court; but the Earle distrusting the King, retired to Briones a place belonging to Navarre, from whence hee sent to make his excuse, but it was not allowed. Wherevpon the King caused his proceesse to be made, and by a sentence giuen at Zamora hee was condemned by contumacy, as a rebell, his castile of Castro Xeris was confisked, and deliuered by the Captaine thereof to John of Luxan, Ramir of Tamojo, and to Doctor Fernando Diaz of Toledo, whom the King had sent thither. The Earle hauing many great men, and of the Kings fauorites which hated him, durst neuer more appeare in his presence.

Before

Castro Xeris  
confisked.

A Before he entred into Granada, Don John King of Castile, keeping his Court at Medina del Campo, was solicited by the Ambassadors of Portugal, to make a perpetuall peace betwixt the two realmes, wherevnto hee consented, and it was sworne in the yeare one thousand foure hundred thirty and one, by the two Kings, and their eldest sonnes, and next successors to the Crowne, Don Henry of Castile Prince of the Asturias, and Don Edward of Portugal. This peace did end all quarrels betwixt Portugal and Castile, and continued fortie three yeeres, to the great good of both realmes. This yeere dyed Don Nugno Aluares Pereira, first Constable of Portugal, by vertue whereof Don John, from being Maister of Auiz, came to the royall dignity. This great personage towards the end of his dayes, posselt with a superfluous deuotion, left the affaires of the world, whereas hee mought haue serued God well, and beene profitable to the common-weale, retyring himselfe into the Monasterie of the Carmelites in the city of Lisbon, which he had built, and there he liued very solitarie and simply almost nine yeeres. The Portugals speake wonders of the almes-deeds, fastings, prayers, and other workes tending to piety of this Noble man, as well in his Monastical life, as before. Besides the Carmelites at Lisbon, he caused S. Georges Church to be built in the place of battaile at Aljubarote, that of Saint Mary of Villa viciosa; the great Chappell of the religious of Saint Augustin in the same place, the Church of Saint Mary de Monte, Saint Mary of Portel, and Saint Mary of Sonfel; and others. Before hee retired himselfe, hee distributed his goods after this manner. To Don Diego his grand-child, borne of Donna C. Beatrice his daughter, and of Don Alphonso Earle of Barcellos, her husband, hee gaue the Earldome of Oren, with all the lands which hee held in Extremadura, at Lisbon and thereabouts. To Don Ferdinand his other grand-child, borne of the aboue named, heire after his father of the Duchie of Bragance, and who succeeded in the Earldome of Arroyolos, with all the rents hee had on this side Tayo and Vdiana. To Don Isabella sister to his two grand-children, married to the Infant D. John Maister of Saint James of Portugal, the Kings Sonne, who was the second Constable of that realme, hee gaue the lands of Lonsada Payua and Tendanes, and the Towne of Almada, with the rents of Loule: and to his familiar vassalls and household seruants, he diuided his money, horres, armes, apparrell and moueables. And thus naked, and discharged of all temporal goods D. hee entred into the Monasterie, where hee was posselt with so strong an opinion to merite heauen by austeritie of life, trauell, and affliction of his body, as hee resolved to separate himselfe more from the company of men, and to liue alone in desarts, if the King Don John and Prince Edward his Sonne, had not diuerted him, shewing how much it would hurt the estimation which all men had of him, and of his wisdom: wherefore hee contained himselfe in his Monasterie vntill his death, which was in the yeare 1431. and 71. of his age.

40  
Portugal.

Peace betwixt  
Portugal and  
Castile.

Religious built  
during of the  
Constable Don  
Nugno Aluares  
Pereira.

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The end of the eighteenth Booke.

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## THE NINETEENTH BOOKE of the Generall History of Spaine.

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18. Moores incited by the King of Nauarre against Castile: warre against Granada.
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20. Exploits of warre betwixt the Nauarrois and Castellans.
21. Seditions at Toledo: Concussons and rebellions of D. Pedro Sarmiento.
22. Birth of D. Isabella, who was Queene of Castile and Arragon.

- A 23. Entry of the Castilian army into Nauarre, and their retreat through the modesty of D. Charles Prince of Nauarre; the vertues and disposition of this prince.
24. Hatred betwixt Prince Charles of Nauarre, and his mother in law D. Ioane.
25. Enterprises against the Constable D. Aluaro de Luna: his imprisonment, and miserable end.
26. Last acts of D. Iohn of Castile and his death.
27. Troubles, emulations, and death of Princes in the house of Portugal: alliance of the Emperor Frederic in that familie by marriage. Descovery of the country in Affrike by the Portugals.



### The Kings mentioned in this nineteenth Booke, are of PORTUGAL.

11. D. Edward. 1.
12. D. Alphonso. 5.



He affaires of Castile being some-what pacified, with the Christian Princes of Spaine, made way for the warre which King Iohn had resolved against the Moores of Granada, notwithstanding that according to the discipline brought in of late, hee had alwaies a spleene against them which had presumed to resist him by armes: and therefore vpon euery occasion he fell into new troubles within his realme: for he had mignons by whom hee was wholly gouerned, who made him iecalous of many great men, and by their importune reports did estrange them, and in the end made them ill affected to their Prince. For besides that which we haue related in the precedent Booke, of the Earle of Castro Xeris, D. Iohn of Soto Major, maister of Alcantara, being sent for by the King, he neuer durst with assurance present himselfe before him, nor come to court, what promise soeuer he made him, neither could Don Guttiere Gomes of Toledo, Bishop of Palence, his great friend perswade him: Yet did he performe whatsoeuer they commanded him, that did concerne the Kings seruice, and the obedience which hee ought him, excepting alwaies that he would not be bound to come to court against his will. And moreouer, notwithstanding any peace concluded betwixt Castile and Nauarre and Arragon, the King D. Iohn did still entertaine occasions of quarrels, and maintained the Earle of Armaignac, a great enemy to the King of Nauarre, furnishing him with money, to be ready he might be as a thorne in his foote, to annoy him towards France, so as hee might not attempt any thing against Castile. And for a greater prooffe of his hatred against this Prince, not satisfied to haue taken his lands from him in Castile, he caused his castle of Pegnafil to be razed.

The country of Galicia being in a manner all in armes through the quarrels of *Nuẽno Freire* of Andrada, and his subjects, the King sent and pacified them then leaving D. Pedro Manriques for Gouernor general in Castile, he went in person towards Cordoba: for *Roderigo* of Pereira Gouernor of Gaporla having entered rashly with three hundred

Hatred betwixt Courtiers cannot be reconciled, but by the ruine of one party.

Castilians de-  
feated by the  
Moors.

red horse, and one thousand foot into the country of Granado, had beene defeated and A most of his men cut in peeces by the Moores: but this losse was at the same instant recou-  
penced by the taking of the towne and castile of Ximena by scaldou, through the dili-  
gence of the Marshal *Garcia* of Herrera: wherefore the King hearing that the warre be-  
gan to grow hot, he made halt to approach nere vnto that frontier: being vpon the way, &  
passing by Ciudad Real, there was a great earthquake, ouer a great part of the country;  
for enen the city of Granado was shaken therewith. The King being come to Cordoua,  
he sent the constable *D. Aluaro de Luna* with three thousand horse, who foraged the ter-  
ritories of Illora, Trajara, Loxa, Archidona and other places in the champion country of  
Granado, and then he returned towards Eccia. B

Moore.

In the meane time a knight, called *Gilaire*, who was by birth a christian, and had beene  
taken being twueight yeers old, and instructed in the law of *Mahumet*, came to the King  
at Cordoua, letting him vnderstand that there was a Knight of the Moores, descended  
from King *Mahumet Aben Alhamar*, called the *Vermeil*, the ninth King of Granado, hee  
who had beene slaine by *D. Pedro* King of Castile, called *Ioseph Aben Almas*, who was in  
no good termes with *Mahumet Aben Azar* then reigning, and desired some fit occasion  
to reuolt from him; wherefore if the King would enter into the plaine of Granado, hee  
did assure him, that this Moore would come and ioine presently with his army and re-  
uolt the whole realme in his fauor. This businesse being propounded in council, they  
were of opinion, that King *John* should aduance with his forces, which were 80000, C  
fighting men. On the other side *Mahumet Aben Azar* assembled all his forces of Grana-  
do, which amounted to two hundred thousand foote, and fise thousand horse, with the  
which hee came to make head against King *Johns* army, with whom *Ioseph Aben Almas*  
the Moore, had ioined, with some troupes of horse. The armies being neere, about the  
mountaine of Eluira, there were many skirmishes: so as on a Sunday the first day of  
Iuly, both the armies were drawne forth to battaile, in the which the Christians had the  
victory. This was called the battaile of Figure, for that it was fought in a country full  
of figs, and is very famous in Spaine; for there died about ten thousand Moores, King  
*John* remaying so maister of the field, as he spoiled and burnt all round about the city of  
Granado, and yet the Moores durst neuer come without their walles to defend their D  
houles and fields. The King of Castile had greater enterprises, but by the counsell and  
importunity of the Constable, he retired: they say the King of Granado had corrupted  
him with good store of gold, which he sent him in a present of figs & dried rayfins, which  
made him so presse the Kings retreat: who being returned to Cordoua, and hauing gi-  
uen order for the safety of the frontier, he came to Toledo, and from thence to Escalona,  
where he was wonderfully feasted by the constable. After which the Estates were called  
at Medina del Campo, at the which the peace with Portugal was confirmed, and there  
was granted to the King of Castile by the deputies of the Prouinces, 45 millions of Ma-  
rauidis, for the charge and continuance of the warre against the Moores of Granado  
whereof *Ioseph Aben Almas* intriplot himselfe King, by the aduice of *D. John* King of Cas- E  
tile, who did assist and fauor him all hee could to dispossesse *Mahumet Aben Azar*: and  
therefore he sent commandement to the captaines and Gouernors of the frontier, to as-  
sist him in any thing hee should vndertake. This Moore was so well followed in a short  
time by a good number of Knights of his sect which hated King *Mahumet*, as hauing sur-  
prized Montefrio, he made it his residence and storehouse for the warre, the which he did  
manage with wisdom, vsour and iudgement: and being aided and fauored by Don  
*Lewis* of Guzman, maister of Calarraua, *D. Diego* of Riuera, and other Noblemen and  
Christian captaines, within few daies hee rooke the townes of Cambil, Alicum, Illora,  
Ronda, Ilnajar, Archidona, Caparobonella, Setenil, Turon, Hardales, Castellar and Loxa,  
all which yielded willingly, except the castile of Loxa, which held for King *Mahumet*, into F  
the which the Algazil *Ioseph Aben Sarraz* had put a good garrison: but loone after  
he being dead, it was yielded to *Ioseph Aben Almas*, through the fauour of a route  
the which hee gaue to *Mahumets* troupes: which victorie was of such consequence,  
as the citie of Granado opened her gates: so as King *Mahumet* being out of hope  
to bee able to resist, going out of Alhambra, with that which was most deere and  
precious,

Battaile of  
Figure  
where the  
Moors were  
defeated.

Defeat of King  
Aben Almas and  
the taking of  
Granado, by  
Ioseph Aben  
Almas.

A precious, heeled with him the two sonnes of *Mahumet* the little, who had beene vanqui-  
shed and slaine by him, with a Sister to Captaine *Coxo* his Neece, and so fled to Malaga.  
By this euent *Ioseph Aben Almas* remained King of Granado, in the beginning of the  
yeare 1432. *Mahumet* hauing reigned since his returne three yeares, and it was in the  
815. yeare of the Arabians raigne.

1432.

### *Ioseph Aben Almas*, the sixteenth King of Granado.

B

THIS new King *Ioseph* being receiued of the whole realme without contradiction,  
the Crowne of Granado returned by him into the family of *Mahumet Aben Alha-*  
*mar*, or the *Vermeil*, who presently made himselfe vassall to the King of Castile, by whose  
fauour hee had gotten the realme, promising a certaine tribute of money and other  
things, whereof there were letters past, sealed with his seale of Gold. He did aduertise King  
*John* of the successe of this warre, and did attribute all the happinesse thereof to God  
and him: informing him moreouer of the siege which hee went to lay before Malaga,  
wherein the King did assist him, as he had done before, commanding *D. Diego* of Ribera,  
Gouernor of that frontier, to furnish him with men, victuals, and all sorts of aide in that  
enterprife. Whilest these things were acting, there came a Geneuois to Court, an Arn-  
bassador from *Muley Aben Ferriz*, King of Tunes, who had charge to intreate King *John*  
to spare King *Mahumet Aben Azar*, and to finde some expedient for peace: but finding  
the realme already posselt by *Ioseph*, hee complained in the name of the King of Tunes  
his maister, of the misfortune of *Mahumet* his Kinsman: to whom the King of Castile  
answered pertinently, saying, that he had made warre against him for good and iust rea-  
sons, for that hee had beene dayly informed that hee had secret Intelligence with the  
Kings of Nauarre and Arragon his enemies. This Ambassador staid some dayes in the  
Court of Castile, being then at Vaileddolit. The raigne of *Ioseph Aben Almas* lasted not  
about fixe moneths: for being old and broken, hee dyed that same yeare 1432. whereby  
D *Mahumet Aben Azar* came to raigne againe the third time, who being aduertised of the  
death of his Competitor, tooke all fit courses to make the Granadins obey him againe,  
wherein the King of Castile did not oppose himselfe, it may be moued at the request  
of the King of Tunes, by his Ambassador, who returned well satisfied into Affrick, being  
accompanied by *Lope Alphonso* of Lorca, sent by the King of Castile, that hee might  
take with the King of Tunes some friendly expedient for peace, betwixt Castile and  
Granado: and in the meane time there was a short truce granted to *Mahumet*, who made  
a Knight called *Audilbar*, who had beene faithfull vnto him, his Alguzail Maior, in the  
place of the deceased *Ioseph Aben Sarraz*.

*Mahumet Ab-  
ben Azar* re-  
couers the  
realme of  
Granado.

E The warre of Granado being ended after this manner: there fell out new occasions  
of trouble in the Court of Castile by the Kings credulitie, who willingly gaue eare to  
reports, giuing him to vnderstanding that the Kings of Nauarre and Arragon had secret  
Intelligences with *D. Pedro Fernandes* of Velasco, Earle of Haro, *Gutierre Gomes* of To-  
ledo, Bishop of Palence, and his Nephew *D. Fernando Aluarez* of Toledo, with other  
great men of Castile: wherevpon he staid some, imprisoned others, and many seeking  
to escape, were brought back to Court, being then at Zamorra, and others escaped: so as  
it was full of amazement and tumult. Of the number of the prisoners were the aboue-  
named *D. Fernando Aluarez* of Toledo, Bishop of Palenza, and the Earle of Haro, who  
had the Court giuen him for prison, putting in caution. The Bishop was committed to  
F the castile of Muzientes, and *D. Fernando* his Nephew to that of Vruengna. *D. Ferdinand*  
of Velasco the Earles brother fled away, and being come into his brothers country, hee  
assured himselfe of the towne and places of strength there. Don *Inigo Lopes* of Men-  
deça, Lord of Hita and Buitrago, hearing what had beene done in Court, and how  
his friends and kinsmen were persecuted, he fortified himselfe in Hita. There was no  
matter found to charge and conuict these Noblemen, so as they were deliuered one  
after

2  
Castile.  
Troubles in  
Castile by false  
reports.



after an other, but the Bishop and his Nephew were the last of all. Don *Iohn* of Soto. A Maior, Maister of Alcantara remained, who being in disgrace with the King, and afterwards reconciled, yet he fell againe into dislike, so as Don *Henry* Infant of Portugal was enforced to imploy himselfe to restore him to grace. The King gaue charge to Doctor *Franc* to end all differences with him, who conferring with *Diego* of Manjares Treasurer of Alcantara, they ended all matters, so as the Maister had reason to be contented: but hee shewed himselfe so indiscreet, as hee reiected all that they had concluded: and notwithstanding that the Doctor sought to satisfie him in all his demands, yet he was so transported with his passions, as contemning the King, and all them that treated in his name, he called D. *Henry* and D. *Pedro* Infant of Arragon, remaining at Albuquerque to deliuer them Alcantara, and the sorts which depended. The Maister going from Alcantara to Valencia, before he had gone two leagues, he had a conceit that hee should not be safe in that towne; wherefore he returned to Albuquerque, to the Infant D. *Henry*: And for that he feared to be surprized in the towne, he desired to lodge in the castle, whether also Doctor *Franc* was led prisoner. Whereupon it was given out, that the Infant Don *Henry* kept the Maister of Alcantara prisoner in the castle of Albuquerque: wherewith *Gustiere* of Soto Maior, great Commander of Alcantara, nephew to the Maister, being much discontented, he staid the Infant Don *Pedro* prisoner at Alcantara, the whole people consenting thereunto. Don *Frederic* Admirall of Castile being aduertised of these things, hee went post to Alcantara, with all his horsemen, C to the end this prisoner might be deliuered vnto him, to conduct him vnto the King, but the Commander would not yeeld him: The Admirall with him to keepe him in safe guard, promising him a great recompence in the Kings name, and from thence hee went and spoiled the country about Albuquerque.

The detention of the Infant Don *Pedro*, did much trouble Don *Henry* his brother, who caused the Maister to goe to field, to let the world know that hee was no prisoner: but for all this the Commander would not release Don *Pedro*: for the King tempting the couetousnesse and ambition of this man, promised to make him master of Alcantara in his Vncles place: so as it appeared to all men, that in retaining Don *Pedro*, hee had more hope to aduance him selfe, then charitie to his Vncle, who indeed was deprivied of his Maistership, the Commander aduanced vnto it, and the Inhabitants of Alcantara, for their forwardnesse in the taking of the Infant, were endowed with great priuiledges. Don *Henry* seeing his affaires in very bad estate, fearing they should vie his brother vnworthily, he had recourse vnto the King of Portugal, to mediate his peace with the King, and his brothers deliuey: by whose meanes an accord was made with this condition, that the fort of Albuquerque, & all others that the Infants did hold, should be deliuered into the Kings hands, and they deprivied of all their lands in Castile.

These things happened in the yeare 1432. when as King *Iohn* gaue the title of a City to the towne of Victoria, the chief in the prouince of Alaua. About the end of this yeare there fell such abundance of Snow in Nauarre and Arragon, as the townes and boroughs were in a manner besieged, the Snow continuing forty dayes together, so as they could not go from one place to another: and the long continuance thereof made many beasts, yea the most sauage, and birds of all sorts, to come familiarly into their houses, being prest with hunger, and suffer themselves to be taken, as if they had put off their natural wildnesse, and were become tame, a preface of future miseries.

The truce betwixt the King of Castile, and *Mahumet Aben Azar* King of Granado being expired, in the yeare 1433. there were new supplies of men sent vnto the frontiers of Andalusia, vnder the command of Don *Fernand Aluares* of Toledo, Lord of Valdecomeja, who tooke Benamaruel and Bencalema from the Moores: and the Estates of Castile were held at Madrid, where they treated to continue this holy warre.

This yeare D. *Iohn* King of Portugal, dyed in the Castell of Lisbone, a Prince full of yeares, leaving his realme in peace, and a happy memory of his gouernment, hee was sequenty seauen yeares old when hee dyed, and had reigned forty nine yeares. His body was layed in the Cathedrall Church at Lisbone, and afterwards buried in the royall

Nephew betrays his vncle through ambition.

Infants of Arragon loose all their lands in castile.

Admirable Snow in Nauarre & Arragon.

An. 1433.

Portugal. Death of Don Iohn King of Portugal.

A royal Monasterie of S. *Mary* of the battell. Before he left this world, he saw a son borne of D. *Edward* his sonne and successor of the Realme, and of Donna *Leonora* of Arragon his wife, who was named Don *Alphonso*, and reigned after the father.

## D. Edward the first of that name, and II. King of Portugal.

B On *Edward* was presently after proclaymed king in the pallace of Alcaçaua, in the presence of his breethren D. *Henry* Master of the Order of Christ, and duke of Visco, the Infant Don *Iohn*, Master of Saint Iames of Portugal, and Constable of the realm, Don *Pedro* of Meneses Earle of Viana, the bishop of Eborra and many other Prelates and Knights: whereas the bishop of Eborra did celebrate the ceremonie. They say, that the Noblemen being assembled to celebrate this act, a Lew. Phisitian to the new king, and verily learned in astrologie, came and presented himself vnto the assembly, beseeching them to deferre it vntill noone, with assurance that he had obserued some bad constellation, threatening that Kings raigne, that should be receiued at that houre. The king (who was better instructed, touching these prognostications) would haue them proceed without delay, wherefore the Iew replied, that the king should raigne little, and with great trouble. He was one and forty yeares old when he began to raigne, and had bene married fye yeares before, too late for a Prince that was heire to a great Estate. His wife Donna *Leonora* was daughter to King *Fernand*, who of Duke of Pegnafiel had bene made king of Arragon, by election of the arbitrators deputed by the Estates of the countrie, borne of Donna *Leonora* of Albuquerque, who was issued of the bloud royall of Castile and Portugal: for Donna *Beatrice* her mother was daughter to the king Don *Pedro*, and sister to Don *Iohn* king of Portugal, borne of the faire and happie *Agnes* of Castro, and the father was Don *Sancho* sonne to Don *Alphonso* king of Castile, the last. Of this Princeesse of Arragon king *Edward* had Don *Alphonso*, his eldest, and successor to the Crowne of Portugal, borne in the pallace of Sintra, in the yeare 1432. then D. *Fernand* his second sonne this yeare 1433, who was Duke of Visco, and married Donna *Beatrice* his cousin germaine, daughter to D. *Iohn*, Master of S. Iames, and the third Constable of Portugal: of which marriage was borne Donna *Leonora* Queene of Portugal, wife to Don *Iohn* the second: and also D. *Isabella* Dutchesse of Bragance, and Don *Dominicke* Duke of Visco, and Don *Mannuel* who came to raigne in Portugal, from whome is descended the last King Don *Sebastian* by the masculine line. Besides these two sonnes, Donna *Leonora* brought King *Edward*, her husband, foure daughters, D. *Philip* who dyed being but eleuen yeares old, stricken with the plague at Lisbon, D. *Leonora* married to the Emperour *Fredericke* the third, father and mother to the Emperour *Maximilian* of Aultria, the first of that name, the third was D. *Catherina*, who was betrothed to Don *Charles* Prince of Viana, heire of Nauar, and afterwards to *Edward* the fourth King of England, and yet married neither of them, but dyed a mayd: the fourth was D. *Isabelle*, a very faire Princeesse, who married with Don *Henry* the fourth, king of Castile. This was the issue of King *Edward*, who is numbred for the eleuenth king of Portugal, vnfornate at the least in this, that during his raigne the plague neuer ceased to consume his people: yet he was a louer of iustice, for the administration wherof he deputed euery three moneths one of his breethren, an Earle and a Bishop, commanding them to do Iustice to euery man, and to suppress all excessse: he was sober in speech, and in his manner of liuing, as much as any Prince of his time: he did limit the expences of his Wardrobe to fye hundred doubloons of gold by the yere, he caused both gold and silver to be coyned of a good Standard. His residence at his first comming to the crowne was at Belin: there his brother the Infant D. *Pedro* the Traueller, duke of Coimbra, came and kist his hands, and sware vnto him fealty and homage.

The first yeare of his raigne, and the second of the age of his sonne Don *Alphonso*, hee caused

Genealogie of Portugal.

Title of Prince  
first usurped  
by the eldest  
sonne of Portu-  
gall.

Statly sum-  
mate of King  
John of Por-  
tugal.

Modesty of the  
Infant D. Pe-  
dro, and his  
other vertues.

caused him to be sworne the lawfull heire of the Crowne, by the assembled at Sintra, and A would haue him called Prince, a title first vsurped by him in Portugall, following the example of the eldest of other Christian kings, his neighbors in Spaine. After this solemnity, he caused the bodie of the king his father to be transported, whose obsequies were the most royall and statly that euer were made for any king of Portugall. For two monthes space that lay in the cathedrall Church, there were thirtie Masses sayd every day, and an aniuersarie once a weeke, the bodie being accompanied, and watched euery night by a great number of clerkes and religious men, singing diuers suffrages for the soule of the deceased. The bodie being to be transported, it was layed vpon an high bed, garnished with many banners and trophees, and it was watched in the night by the Infant Don Pedro, being accompanied by a great number of gentlemen, Don Fernand Arch-bishop of Braga the kings nephew, doing the seruice, who the next day slung Masse in his pontificall habit, with great state & ceremonie, after which and the Sermon made by Friar Giles Lobo the kings Confessor, the bodie was layed vpon a chariot, and conducted by the new street, where there was another Sermon made, & a third in S. Domingo: after which it was accompanied with a great procession out of the towne, and conducted by the king and the Princes to the Monasterie of S. Denis of Odiuella, distant a league and an halfe from Lisbon, where it rested that night, where as the Infant Don Henry, Master of the Order of Christ, with his commanders watched: from thence it was carried to Villafraanca, where they made another pause: the Infant Don John Master of Saint Iames, with his Commanders, watching that night: Passing on the next day with the like pompe, they came to Arcoentre; where it rested againe, and the bodie was watched by the Infant D. Fernand Master of Auiz, with his comandars. Continuing the next day, they came to Alcouaga, where they made the fourth pause, and there watched D. Alphonso Earle of Barcellos, brother to the Infants aboue-named, accompanied by his two sonnes, Don Diego Earle of Oren, and Marquis of Valencia, and Don Fernand Earle of Arroyolos, and Marquis of Villavitiola, in all which places there was Euen-song and virgils sayd at night when it arrived, and in the morning before it parted Masse being sung pontifically by the abbot of Alcouaga, and the Bishops of Ebora and la Garde, in all places: in the end they came to the Hermitage of Saint George in the place of battell, with the like procession, pompe and ceremonie, as they came out of Lisbon. The Hermitage came forth to meet it, and did accompanie it to the royall Monasterie of the battell, where it was receiued, and layd in a royall sepulchre, with great and sollemne Masses, and other ceremonies, and very rich offerings, where as aboue all others the pietie and filiall duty of the Infant D. Pedro, was remarkable, in which good and kind offices hee continued towards king Edward his brother, in the gouernment of the affaires of the realm committed vnto him.

This Prince is much commended by the Portugals for his modestie, affirming that he would neuer suffer any one to kisse his hand, nor to speake to him kneeling, nor to vie any other tearmes of submission accustomed to great men: Hee loued learning and learned men greatly, and himselfe did write some Treaties of the gouernment of Princes, and made some traductions out of the Latine tongue into the vulgar Portugall, not without learning and iudgement: He had a particular deuotion to Michael the arch-angell, as he was instructed by the Diuines of that age, wherefore he carried a ballance for his deuice, and was a great builder of Temples and holy places: He caused Saint Michael of Penela, and Auero to be built: and in the same towne he was the founder of the Monasterie of Piety of the preaching Friars, and of the church of Tentubel: and of the hospitall of Saint Eloy: he made a collegiall Monasterie, as it is at this present. Besides which buildings, hee caused the Estates to be built in the city of Lisbon, to lodge Courtiers, to ease the inhabitants of that troublesome, and many times preiudiciall subiection. This Prince was husband to Donna Izabella of Arragon, daughter to Don James Earle of Virgel, and of D. Izabella Infanta of Arragon, daughter to Don Pedro the fourth of that name. Of D. James, I say, who thinking to raigne in Arragon after the decess of D. Martin, rebelled against the determination of the arbitrators, who had chosen Don Fernand of Castile for King, the which cost him his libertie, and estates, goods, and dignities, whereof being

deprived

A deprived, he dyed a prisoner. The Infant Don Pedro had by this Ladie Donna Izabella, Don Pedro who was third Constable of Portugall, who in the warres which the Cate-  
lans had against Don John king of Nauarre, heire to his brother Don Alphonso King of Arragon, he was chosen King of Arragon, and dyed in that warre, with that title. More-  
ouer he had Don John future king of Cypres, husband to Donna Izabella, whome Don Alphonso the fifth of that name, her coulin germaine married: a princesse hauing her deu-  
otion and hope directed to Saint Iohn the Euangelist, in whose honor shee caused the Monasterie at Lisbon to be built, dedicated to him on the toppe of Euxobregas. With these two sonnes he had D. Philippe, who liued a religious woman in the Monasterie of Odiuella, and was so giuen to studie, as she translated into the Portugall tongue, a worke  
B of Laurence Iustinians Patriarke of Venice and of Aquileia, founder of the Order of S. George of Alaga, moreouer, Don James and Donna Beatrice, who were retired after their fathers decess, by Donna Izabella, Dutchesse of Bourgondie, their aunt. Don James was advanced to spirituall liuings, afterwards made a Cardinall, and Arch-bishop of Lisbon, and Donna Beatrice was married to the Lord of Rauestein, nephew to the Duke of Bourgondie. This Cardinall dyed a Virgin, as they say, at Florence, where he was buried, in the time of Pius the second.

Cardinall dyed  
a virgin.

In the beginning of the yeare 1431. there had beene a generall councill called, the which was continued by Pope Eugenius Successor to Martin the fifth, in the citie of Bas-  
C fill, this yeare 1433. but afterwards the fathers were diuided, and the Pope himselfe, find-  
ing the councill not pleyable to his affections, transferred it to Ferrara, and from thence to Florence. In this councill of Basfill, the Fathers being assembled, they were specta-  
tours of a combat betwixt a gentleman of a Portugall race, but borne in Castile, called John de Merle, and Henry of Ruestan a knight of Bourgondie, who fought on foot, and the Bourgondian was vanquished. The same de Merle had a little before fought a com-  
bat on horsebacke, with the like happinesse, in the citie of Arras against Peter of Brece-  
mont, Lord of Charny, in the presence of D. Philip.

King Edward hauing finished his fathers funerals, and all solemnities, oaths, reception  
of fealtie and homage, and other accustomed duties, at the first comming of Kings, hee  
D assembled the Estates of his Realme at S. Iren, in the yeare 1434. to consult concerning  
the gouernment thereof: from thence there was an ambassador sent to the councill of Basfill, which was D. Diego Earle of Oren, being accompanied with many learned men  
and Prelates of Portugall: and then the warre against the Moores was propounded, after  
the example of Kings his Predecessors: It was also held conuenient to continue that  
which King John had begun in Affricke: for the execution whereof he obtained a Croisa-  
do from the apostolike Sea of Rome, by the meanes of the Earle of Oren, who brought  
the Bull into Portugall.

An. 1434.

The King of Castile also sent many of his Prelates and Diuines to the Councill, du-  
ring the which Don Alphonso Carrillo, Bishop of Siguença and Cardinall, dyed, whose  
E Bishopricke was giuen to his Nephew, carrying the same name, who in time came to  
be Arch-bishop of Toledo. The ambassadors for the king of Castile at this councill were  
D. Aluaro of Osorno, Bishop of Cuenca, D. John de Sylua Lord of Cyfuentes, Standard-  
bearer to the king, and Doctor Alphonso of Carthagea, Deane of S. James and Segobia,  
sonne to D. Pablo Bishop of Burgos, which Bishopricke Don Alphonso obtayned in his  
life time, he being preferred to be Patriarke of Aquileia. There falling out a great questi-  
on in the councill betwixt the ambassadors of England and Castile for the precedence,  
this Doctor Don Alphonso of Carthagea did so well defend the preheminnence of the  
croune of Castile, and gaue such pertinent reasons for the dignity and prerogatiue ther-  
of, as the fathers gaue the precedence to the ambassador of Castile, wherein the Doctor  
F was held to haue done great seruice to his countrie of Spaine, whereof he himselfe hath  
made a treatise: notwithstanding Raphael Polateran, in his third booke, and last chapter,  
sayth, That in the time of D. Fernand the 5. this cause was pleaded againe at Rome, and  
ended in fauor of the king of England, who had giuen sentence by prouision, without  
any great examination of the cause.

Returning to the politike affaires of Castile, the King D. John being aduertised that  
Don

Controuersi  
betwixt En-  
gland and Ca-  
stile for prece-  
dencie.

*D. Frederick of Arragon Earle of Luna & Prior of Calile.*  
 Don *Fredrick* of Arragon, Earle of Luna, would haue seized vpon the city of Seuille, A he caused him to be apprehended at Medina del campo, and to be carried to the Castle of Bracuelos, which is neere vnto Olmedo, where he ended his dayes, and many of his confederates were put to death, who for that cause were brought to Medina del campo. The warre begun in Granada, continued with variable successe, for after the taking of Benamaruel, by Don *Diego* of Ribera, Lord of Val de Corneja, Gouernor of the frontier of Andalusia, attempting the towne of Alora, hee had bene slaine by the Inhabitants, and them that defended it: after whose death, the King gaue the gouernement to *D. Pedro Alfan* his sonne, a young man but fiftene yeares old. Don *Roderigo Manriquez* somwhat to ease this losse, tooke the towne of Huescar by scalado, and the castle afterwards by fight: for the recouerie of which place, there were enterprises and encounters betwix the Christians and the Moores, all that yeare, 1434. in the which dyed *D. Iohn* of Contreras, Arch-bishop of Toledo, and Primat of Spaine: and to him succceeded *D. Iohn* of Cerezuela, brother by the mothers side to the Constable *D. Aluaro de Luna*.

About that time the king of Castile gaue vnto the Earle of Armagnac (who had alwaies shewed himself his great friend and partizan in the wars against Nauar) the towns of Cangas and Tinco, with the title of an Earle: and there arriued at Madrid ambassadors from *Charles* the 7. the French king, to renew the league betwixt France and Castile, to whom the king gaue audience in great state, and sitting on a high throne he gaue them a good and friendly answer, who after much feasting, were sent home well satisfied: there they did see a tame lyon lying at the kings feet, a thing which is not ordinarie.

*Death of Don Henry of Villena.*

*Defeat of the Master of Alcantara by the Moors.*

The same yeare dyed *D. Henry* of Villena, the kings vnkle, son to *D. Pedro*, and nephew or grand-child to *D. Alphonso* of Arragon, who had bene Marquis of Villena, and first Constable of Castile: a Prince abusing learning, wherein he had bene bred, giuing himselfe to infamous Magicke arts, whereof he had written many treatises, the which by the kings commandement, and by the censure of *Friar Lopes* of Barientos, then Schoole-master to *D. Henry* Prince of the Asturias, were for the most part burnt. The king being in pilgrimage at Guadalupe, *D. Gutierrez* of Soto maior, the new Master of Alcantara, being entred into the Moores countrie with 800. horse and 400. foot, was surprized and compassed in by the Moores in a streight passage, so as there hardly escaped an hundred of his whole troupe. This crosse shold haue admonished him of the bad office he had done his vnkle, and the Infant *D. Pedro*: the which although they would couer with a colour of the kings seruice, yet was it a plotted treason: *D. Fernand Aluarez* of Toledo, Lord of Val de Corneja, had bin also in danger, if he had not speedily retired from Huelma, which hee sought to force, hauing failed to take it by scalado: for a great number of Moores marched to fight with him, and hee had not sufficient forces to resist them. Hauing retrayed with his men to Iacn, he entred by Guadix, scoured the country, and was sharply encountered by the Moores, who notwithstanding were vanquished: *D. Fernand Aluarez* spoiling two leagues round about Guadix.

4  
Arragon.

The truce betwixt Castile, Nauarre and Arragon beeing expired in the yeare 1435. E there came ambassadors to the court of Castile, from the Queenes of Arragon and Nauar, to beseech the king for a propagation of the truce, in the absence of their husbands, which the king granted them for some moneths: the which was the sooner obtained by their sending of *D. Iohn de Luna*, the Constables cousin, who gouerned the king his Master. These two kings, brethren, were gone into Italy, to pursue the realme of Naples, where matters succeeded as followeth: After that king *D. Alphonso* (being called back into Spaine, for matters which concerned him nere, namely, for the imprisonment of his brother *D. Henry*) had left Naples, *Queen Ioane* and her adopted sonne *Lewis* of Anjou, had some time of breathing, and means to recouer the city of Naples, and other places of the realme: there only remained *Iohn Anthony* of Vrsins, Prince of Tarentum, a partizan to *D. Alphonso*, who made head against *Lewis* duke of Anjou: the duke making war in Calabria, was surprized with a burning fever, whereof he died at Cosenza, in the yere 1434 not leauing any children: and the same yeare dyed *Queen Ioane* also, leauing by her will (whether it were true or counterfeit) *Rene* of Anjou, duke of Lorraine and Bar, brother to *Lewis* deceased, heire of the realme of Naples, who was at that time a prisoner in the hands

*Death of Ioane Queen of Nauar, and her will.*

A hands of *Philip* Duke of Bourgondie, by reason of the warre betwixt the French and the English: for whose libertie the Gouernors of the Realm, chosen after the Queenes death, sent ambassadors into France: but on the other side those that were affected to the house of Arragon, as the Prince of Tarentum, *Iohn Anthony* of Marzan Duke of Sella, *Christopher Gasetan*, Earle of Fondy, and *Roger* his brother, with other Noblemen and knights which held Capua, called backe King *Alphonso*, who a little before was come into Sicily, hauing led the Queene *D. Maria* his wife, Regent in Arragon, and had led his brethren with him. *D. Iohn* king of Nauarre, who had left the gouernement to *D. Blanche* his wife, Queene proprietarie of the Realme, *D. Henry* and *D. Pedro*, who being dispossessed of all they held in Castile, had retired themselves vnder the fauor of the kings their brethren, with them, and many Noblemen and Knights, as well Spaniards, as Sicilians. King *Alphonso* past into the Realme of Naples, and came and landed at Gayete, in which place were besides the Inhabitants, and other souldiers of the countie 300. Geneuois, vnder the command of *Francis Spinola* of Genoua, sent by *Philippe Maria Angelo*, Duke of Milan, vnder whose protection the common-weale of Genoua was at that time, and who held the partie of *René* Duke of Anjou. The besieged seeing themselves preft, aduertised the Duke of their extremity, and what need they had of succors: whereupon he presently gaue order to prepare an armie at Genoua, of the which *Blaise Araxero* was General, beeing accompanied by *Elisa Spinola*, *James Lustinian*, *Galis Lomelin*, and other famous Captaines & expert at sea, who directed their course towards the Iland of Ponce, whereof King *Alphonso*, who was before Gayete, beeing aduertised, hauing nineteen great ships, and eleuen galleies, he left onely few to continue the seage, and resolved to go in person with the rest to encounter the enemy: but he must first pacifie a question which was growne betwixt the King of Nauar, for the generall conduct of the armie, with his brother *D. Henry*, either of them aspiring to haue it, moued with zeale to ayde their brother.

*Army sent to Genoua for Gayete.*

Hauing set sayle, Don *Pedro* hauing charge of the galleies, the Kings and the Infants eury one apart, well appointed, came to encounter the Geneuois armie, the which did consist of twelue great ships, three galleies, one galeasse, and a foist. Being in fight, and within a league and a halfe one of another, the Geneuois seemed as if they would not fight: the kings army kept it selfe together till noone, striving to get the wind, that they might fight with more aduantage: In the meane time the galleies of Arragon discovered the enemies armie, which approached neere vnto them, finding that they had left three great ships behind, as it were for a reward. Before they came to ioyn the Generall of the Geneuois armie, sent a trumpet in a boate to let the king of Arragon vnderstand, that their intent was not to hurt him, but they had onely put to sea to draw out of Gayete, their souldiers, citizens, and merchants of Genoua, with their goods and merchandize, and to transport them to Genoua. The trumpet was detained a good time, during their consultation, but the conclusion was, that they must charge them: for it was likely, that the Geneuois had sent this trumpet, for that they fainted, and feared the Arragonois army. The captaines and souldiers, with great demonstrations of courage, cryed out for battell, and presently discharged their artillerie, which the Geneuois did presently answer, so as grappling ship to ship, and galley to galley, the fight was furious and cruell, and continued long doubtfull, vntill that the three great ships left by the Geneuois in the rearward, hauing gotten a full wind, came with great violence vpon the ships of Arragon, and among others giuing the stemme to that in which King *Alphonso* was, they made it lye on the one side, and had so shaken and shattered it, as it tooke in an abundance of water, and put the king and all them that were in it in great danger, so as he was forced to yeeld to *James Lustinian*, Gouernor of the Iland of Scio, who took him into *Spinola's* ship.

The shippe wherein King *Iohn* did fight, hauing lost her maine-yard, yeelded, and was taken by *Galis Lomelin*. Don *Henry* was prisoner to *Cyprian de Mart*. With these Princes there were taken *D. Diego Gomes* of Sandoual, Earle of Castro Xeris, and two of his sons, *D. Iohn* of Sotomajor, who had bene Master of Alcantara, *Ruy Diaz* of Mendoça the bald, *Fernando Aualos* Chamberlaine to *D. Henry*, and another Sonne of Don *Ruy Lopes*.

*Prisoners taken in a battell at sea.*

*Lopes d'Auolos*, who had bene constable of Castile, with many other Noblemen and A Knights of Arragon, Nauarre, Cattelogne and Valencia, and about 600. souldiers and mariners slaine. The Infant D. *Pedro*, leaping with the helpe of a cable from one galley to another, escaped: there were 13. ships taken, and most of the galleies were burnt, or sunke, after they had spoiled them. To conclude, the Geneuois victorie was great & memorable, as well in regard of the prisoners, as of the rich spoyles who shewed all curtesie and humanity, for after the end of the fight, they did set at liberty about 400. souldiers, that were prisoners, besides mariners, retaying only the chiefe men: wherein they did wisely, and like souldiers, for a multitude of prisoners of meane qualitie, are but an incumber: and it is an vnprofitable charge, and doth many times make the vanquished take courage to rebell, and to become Masters of them that hold them. Among the multitude that were set at liberty, there were many Knights of great worth escaped vnknowne. That which gaue the aduantage to the Geneuois army, was the 3. ships left in the rereward, the abundance of scalding lime, and wild-fire which they cast, and finally, that they were better sea-men then the Arragonois.

*In agnanimity  
of king of Ar-  
ragon.*

The victorious army approaching neere to the Iland of Ischia, King Don *Alphonso* being a prisoner was prest to make it yeeld vnto the Geneuois, wherunto although he was a captive, he would not yeeld. By this defeat the feege was raynted at Gayete, and the prisoners carried to Sauona, from whence they were afterwards, by the Duke of Milans commandement, distributed into diuers prisons: King Don *Alphonso* to Pauiia, with Don *Henry* and others: King *John*, the Earle of Castro, and *Ruy Diaz* of Mendoza were led to Milan.

*Reuolunt of the  
duke of Milan*

These lamentable newes did wonderfully trouble the Queene of Arragon and Nauarre, and all the people of these two Kingdomes, especially Donna *Leonora* the widow-queene of Arragon, who liued in her Monasterie of Saint *John de las Duegnas*, without the walles of Medina del campo, very simply and modestly, who conceived so great a griefe as shee dyed soone after: This did much afflicte the King and Queene of Portugall, and all the Noblemen of that Realme. The imprisonment of these Princes and Noblemen was short, for Don *Philip Maria* being courteous, and visiting his prisoners often, hee was so perswaded by king *Alphonso*, that both he and his Estates should reape more profit in maintaining the partie of Arragon, then that of France, as vanquished with his reasons, hee not onely let them all go free without ranfome, but gaue them many rich presents, after that he had enterrayned them royally many dayes, suffering them to go and come with all libertie, where they pleased. Hee caused Don *John*, King of Nauarre, and Don *Henry* his brother, to bee conducted to *Porto Venero* with fixe hundred horse for their guard, where they were receiued by Don *Pedro* their brother, and moreover he would that the Neapolitane Knights which were then at Milan, and the ambassadors of townes should take an oath of fealtie to King *Alphonso*, acknowledging him for their king, making so great a change of all things, as of an enemy he became a partisan and friend to the Arragonois: by reason whereof the Geneuois being incensed, rebelled against the Duke.

If the newes of the defeat and taking of these Princes, caused great heauinesse in Arragon and Nauarre, the ioy was so much the greater, when as they vnderstood of their deliuerie, the which was carried into Castile, where as the king of Nauarre was much desired of many, to whom the greatnesse of the Constable D. *Aluaro de Luna*, was offensive and hurtfull, Don *Fredericke* Admirall of Castile, who was one of them, sent a messenger to Queene *Blanche*, aduertising her that her husbands absence was very preiudiciall to himselfe and all his friends, for that his aduersaries grew great according to their owne desires, and therefore the should do well to hasten his returne as soone as might be: The like aduertisements were giuen her by many other knights of Castile, wherefore she sent three knights of her houshold into Italy, to the king her husband: which were *John Henriquez* of Lacarra, *Sancho Ramirez* of Aualos her caruer, and the Seigneur of Yentiz, to hasten his returne.

*Castile.*

D. *John* king of Castile at the request of his sister Queen *Mary* of Arragon, continued the truce five moneths longer, vpon the newes of the defeat of the two kings brethren. Being

A Being at Segobia, there was a Germain knight called *Robert* presented himself vnto him, who would make triall of armes, with D. *John Pimentel* Earle of Majorca, by whom he was vanquished. The like proofe being made by other twenty Germain knights, which came in the company of *Robert*, had in a manner the like issue, to the dishonour of strangers, and great commendation of the Spanish nation: D. *Fernand* of Gneura, a knight of great valour, being at Vienna, the chiefe towne of Austria, he fought within a lift on foot, with a Germain knight called *Purapach*, in the presence of Duke *Albert* sonne-in-law to the Emperor *Sigismund*, who casting his staffe, caused the combat to cease, and put them out of the lifts, to the great honour of the Spanish knight. Don *John* of Pimentel Earle of Majorca, desirous to trie his valour with strange Knights out of Castile, as he practised to play with a battell-axe with a seruant of his called *Lope de la Torre*, hee was strucke by him inconsiderately on the face, so as he dyed soone after; a due reward for this quarrelling exercise, which was then in so great estimation, to go seeking honor, (without cause or quarrell) in the force and dexterity of the body, more then in the gifts of the mind, humanity and iustice.

Whilest that King *John* was busie at Alcala of Henares to celebrate the funerals of his deceased aunt Queene *Leonora*, there was hot warre made vpon the frontier of Granada, where as D. *Alphonso Ianes Pajardo*, receiued the townes of Velez the white, and Velez the red, which yielded voluntarily to the king of Castile, the Inhabitants Moores promising to pay him the same tribute which they payed to king *Mahumet*, wherewith the King was satisfied: but he would not heare the ambassadours of Baqa and Guadix, who came to beseech him to giue them another king a Moore, then *Mahumet*, for that he did intreat him ill: but k. *John* knowing that this was but a deuce to free themselves from the spoile which he intended against them, he sent them away, and commanded his captaines to forrage and spoile their countrie, the which was executed by D. *Fernand Aluarez* of Toledo. The Moores of Galea and Castilegia yielded to D. *Roderigo Manriquez*, vpon the same conditions like vnto them of Velez. It fell out vnfortunatly for D. *Henry* of Guzman, the feege which he pretended to lay to Gibraltar for being come by sea with some barks before the towne, whether his sonne *John* of Guzman should come by land D with the rest of his forces to beseege it, he had no patience to attend, but landed, & began to skirmish on the shoare, neere vnto the walles, with the Moores which sallied out against him, but the sea flowing, it forced him to retire to his barke, leauing many of his Knights on land, in prey to the enemy, who began to cry out and to complaine, that he had left them there to the slaughter, with such vehement words, as moued to pittie, hee caused his barke to approach to land to receiue them: but it was so ouer-laden as it sunke, and there the Earle Don *Henry*, with about forty Knights were drowned, whose losse was great. The bodies being cast vpon the shoare, were drawne to land by the Moores, and the Earles was put into a coffer, and set vpon an high tower, to be a terror to the Christians, where it continued some yeares. By this pittifull successe, the sonne retired from Gibraltar, and out of all Andalusia with teares and mourning: the bones of this Earle are at this present in a most auncient Tower made of Bricke, in the highest part of the castell of Gibraltar, which the common people beleuee was built and erected by *Hercules*.

*D. Henry of  
Guzman draw  
and neere Gi-  
braltar.*

Whilest that these things past in Spaine, in the yeare 1436. the Kings of Arragon and Nauarre were deeply ingaged in the warre of Naples, whither the Dutchesse *Isabell* of Lorraine, wife to *Rene* of Anjou a prisoner was come, and with the helpe of Pope *Eugenius* defended her husbands right courageously. The two breethren kings being aduertised of the affaires of Spaine, by their friends and seruants, they resolu'd to send a ioynt ambassage to the king of Castile, to treat a peace with him vpon some good conditions. The ambassadors found the Court at Toledo, where hauing deliuered their charge vnto the king, it pleased God that after many conferences and debates, a peace was concluded vpon a promise of marriage betwixt D. *Blanche* Infanta of Nauarre, and Don *Henry* of Castile, Prince of the Asturias, with these conditions:

That the solemnization of this marriage should be accomplished within the limite of a certaine time, betwixt *Henry* heire of the Realmes of Castile, and Donna *Blanche*, eldest

Conditions of  
peace betwixt  
Castile, Navarre  
and Arragon.

eldest daughter to D. *John* King of Navarre, to whom should be assigned the Marquisat A of Villena, the townes of Medina del campo, Olmedo, Coca, Roa, and Aranda: the reuenues of which lands, D. *John* King of Navarre should receiue the foure next following yeares. That if there were no children borne of this marriage, the king of Navarre should haue ten thousand florins of gold of yearly rent assigned vpon the reuenues of Castile. That to D. *Blanche*, Queene of Navarre, and to her sonne D. *Charles*, should in like manner be given an assignation of ten thousand florins of gold yearly, during their liues. That all knights should be pardoned, which during the warres, and fore-past quarels, had followed either partie, and they restored to their goods and dignities, except on the part of Castile, D. *John* of Soto-major, who had bene Master of Alcantara, and the B Earle of Castro Xeris: and on the behalfe of Navar, D. *Godfrey* of Navar, Earle of Cortes: Item, that to the Infant D. *Henry* brother to the kings of Arragon and Navar, should be assigned 5000. florins of gold of yearly hereditarie rent: and to the Infanta D. *Catherine* his wife should be given 5000. florins of gold in ready money for her dowrie. These articles being accorded, a peace was proclaimed in the Realmes of Castile, Arragon, and Navar, and D. *Pedro* of Acugna, son to *Lopes Basknes* of Acugna, Lord of Buendia, was sent to Azagna, with sufficient authority, to make the first promise in the name of Prince *Henry*, and it was concluded the sollempne betrothing should be at Alfaro, whether came at the time assigned, the Prince D. *Henry* accompanied by D. *Aluaro de Luna*, constable of Castile, and many other Noblemen, Knights, and Prelates, who arriving C two dayes before the Infanta: being aduertised that she was at Corella, he went to meete her with all his traine. The Queen of Navarre, mother to the Infanta, Prince *Charles* her brother, the Bishop of Pamplone, with many other Prelates, *Peter* of Peralta, Lord Steward of the kings house, *Leon* of Garro, and other knights, many Ladies and Gentlewomen of Navarre attended her, all in equipage worthy of such a solemnitie, the which was celebrated in Alfaro, in the yeare 1437. D. *Pedro* of Castile, Bishop of Osma stipulating and receiuing the promises, either of them being but 12. yeares old. The Prince D. *Henry* gaue many goodly and rich Jewels to the Infanta, and vied the like bountie to the Ladies and Knights of her traine. Then having spent foure dayes at Alfaro in great feasting and joy, the parties separated themselves, euery one retiring into his country. By this peace D there was also restored vnto the king of Navar, the town & castle of la Garde, and the castles of Asaturuguen and Burandon: and towards Guipulcoa, there were yielded the castles and places of Gorriti, Cobono, Toro, Araciell, and Saragana, which the Guipulcoans had taken during the wars. Moreover, the towne of Briones was yielded to the king of Navar, touching the Seigneurie and the reuenue, but the Soueraignty remayned to the king of Castile. This peace was promised and sworne, vpon a penalty of 300000. florins of gold, payable by him that should breake it: and it was confirmed by the chiefe officers of either realme, both clergy and secular, and by the deputies of the chiefe townes. For Navar, there signed D. *Martin* of Peralta bishop of Pamplona, the archb. of Tyre, the Queens confessor, the Prior of S. *John*, & the Deane of Tudele, clergy-men: D. *Lewis* of Beaumont, *Tristan* Lord of Luçe, *Peter* of Peralta, Lord Steward, *Philip* Marshall of Navar, & Vicont of Ro, with other knights: moreover, the deputies of the cities of Pamplona, Estella, and Tudela, and of the townes of Sanguette, Olite, Arcos, Biane, S. Vincent and others. For Castile, besides the great officers of court, there did sweare all the Noblemen of the frontier of Guipulcoa, Rioja, and others, yea they of the families of Lazcano, Beraltequi and Amezueta: and these accords were written by *Bartholomew* of Renes, Secretarie to D. *John* King of Navar, and of Queen *Blanche* his wife, and by *Alphonso* *Perez* of Bivera, high Treasurer and Secretary to the king of Castile.

Imprisonment  
of D. *Pedro*  
*Manrique*.

This ioy was croit according to the custom of humane things, with great griefe in the court of Castile, the king having caused D. *Pedro Manrique* Gouvernour of Leon to be committed to prison, where at euery man did shew himselfe discontented, so as the king caused 2000. lances to come for his gard, which remayned continually about the court. He sent the prisoner to the castle of Fuente Dueña, commanding that hee should haue the liberty of the prison, & that sometimes they should suffer him to go on hunting, which liberty was procured by the Admirall of Castile, who was discontented for his detention. This

A This yeare which was 1438. there were brought vnto the King stones, which they said, were fallen from heauen in great abundance, at Maderuelo, a house belonging to the Constable, very light: the which although they were reasonably big, yet were they to light as they did not hurt any one they fell vpon, a strange thing, and which was held prodigious. The Articles of the peace being brought into Italy, were allowed and confirmed by King Don *Alphonso*, in the presence of Doctor *Ferdinand Lopez* of Burgos, one of the Kings Councill.

The warre of Granado was managed with variable successe: many Knights among the Moores disliking the government of King *Mahumet*, revolted, taking the party of Castile, of the which one *Aven Amar* was Capitaine, who soone after went with his men to the King of Tunes, with leaue from the King of Castile, having receiued both pay and presents from him: and moreover 6000. pounds sterling for the charge of their voyage. Don *Inigo Lopez* of Mendoza Gouvernour of the Fronter, Lord of Hyta and Buytrago, who was afterwards Marquis of Sentillana, tooke the towne of Huelsma from the Moores, and had the castle afterwards by composition, causing the garrison of Moores to be conducted in safety to Cambil and Halabar. But *Roderigo* of Perca, Gouvernour of Caçortia, being entred rashly into the Moores countrie, was surprized by a great number of horse and foote, lead by *Aben Sarraz*, a wife and valiant man, among all them of his nation, by whom he was cut in peeces, scarce twenty of his men escaping, being in all foure hundred horse, and a thousand foote: yet this victory was not without losse of blood to the Moores, for their Capitaine *Aben Sarraz* was slaine, and many Knights of note.

The sacred warre of Affrick, which was led by D. *Ferdinand* Maister of Auis, and Don *Henry* Maister of the Order of Christ, Infants of Portugal, had answerable successe, who having obtained, by great importunity from the King their brother, leaue to passe the sea, had besieged the towne of Tanger, having brought but 6000. fighting men out of Portugal. The siege having continued thirte seven dayes, being well assailed and well defended, there came an infinite multitude of Moores, both horse and foote, to succour the besieged, being lead by the Kings of Fez, Maroc, Velez, and other Princes in person. Wherefore the Portugals fought to retire themselves, but being in a manner inuelted D by this great armie, they were forced to fortifie themselves in their trenches, and changing their condition of besiegers, they found themselves besieged, so as hauing no means to escape, they must capitulate with the Moores for their liues and liberties, promising to yeeld vp vnto them the towne of Ceuta, and all the captiue Moores that were in Portugal. Vpon this accord D. *Henry* and his men were sent back, and came naked and stript to Ceuta, the Infant D. *Ferdinand* remaining for hostage in the hands of the King of Fez, vntill the accord were performed: But D. *Henry* being returned with this disarmed armie into Portugall, when as King *Edward* had assembled the Estates of the realme at Ebor, being much grieved at this unhappy successe, to take some course for the deliuey of D. *Ferdinand*, they would neuer yeeld that the towne of Ceuta should be deliuered E vnto the Moores: but they consented to all other means to free D. *Ferdinand*: the difficulties and delays were such, together with the death of King *Edward* which happened, as for want of execution of that which had bene promised vnto the Moores, the Infant D. *Ferdinand* past the rest of his dayes in prison in the hands of Infidels, with great constancie, and a rare example of patience and religion, comforting the other captiue Christians, not onely for that they saw a Prince participare of their miseries, but he did also encourage them by godly exhortations to continue constant in the faith of our Sauour. King *Edward* being very pensive for this dishonorable losse, but especially for the captiuitie of his brother, going out of Ebor, where as the plague was violent, hee retired to Auis: and to ease the court, and to spare charges, hee commanded the Infants his brethren to retire to their houses. Hee came in person to Pont du Soleil, where hee caused a strong wall to be made, to assure that place from theues, then going to the Monasterie of Tomar, hee felt himselfe toucht with a sharpe and pestilent Ague, whereof hee died in September this yeare 1438. being fortie seauen yeares old, and having reigned onely fise: his body was interred in the royall Monasterie of the Battaille.

By his will he left all his moueables to the Queene Don *Leonora*, and made her Gouver- A  
neste of their children, and Regent of the Realme.

Castile.  
D. Pedro de Man-  
rique stays  
out of prison.

About that time Don *Pedro Manrique* a prisoner in Castile at Fuente Duegnas, slip-  
ping downe with cordes from the castle wall, he fled to Enzinas, a fort belonging to his  
sonne in lawe D. *Aluaro* of Estuniga sonne to D. *Pedro* Earle of Ledesma, whether pre-  
sently came the Admirall Don *Frederic*, his brother, Don *Henry* and his friends, with  
great company. The King at one instant receiued this newes, and that of the death of  
the Infant Don *Pedro* of Arragon, who had bene slaine with a great shot, assaying the  
citie of Naples, whereto he was equally grieued, but with diuerse passions: the Infants  
body was buried in the castle of *de l'Oso*. This fort *de l'Oso*, and the new castle at Naples, B  
had alwaies held good for the Arragonois. King *René* was come a little before to Na-  
ples, with twelue galleys of Genoua, and was there receiued with royall pompe and  
state: after which hauing sent back his galleys, hee filled the citie and all places there-  
abouts with his soldiars, hauing gathered together a great armie, he began to assaile the  
neighbour places, but with small effect. There came a Herald in his name to King Don  
*Alphonso* being at Castellucci in Abruzzo, with a gantlet dipt in blood, challenging him  
to a single combat: Don *Alphonso* receiued the gantlet, and demanded of the Herald, C  
if King *René* meant they should encounter in single fight, one against another, or with  
all their forces: the Herald answered, that the King his Maister would present himselfe  
with his armie. Wherevpon King Don *Alphonso* replied, that seeing hee was the chal-  
lenger, it was in him to make choise of the place, and day of battaile; and therefore he  
did choise the fields which are betwixt Nola and la Cerra, whether hee would come  
within eight dayes, with his whole armie, to fight as his aduersary would. At the day  
assigned, Don *Alphonso* presented himselfe vpon the place, and attended *René*, who ap-  
peared not, for that he had bene disswayed by his friends and seruants, who came to  
lodge with his armie at that place, from whence Don *Alphonso* was parted, and tooke  
Castelluccio. *Alphonso* on the other side tooke Arpaio in the valley of Gardano, and  
so taking places, and ruining the country hee marcht to Naples, hauing about 15000.  
men in his armie, with which forces and ten galleys he held the towne besieged, where  
happened the death of the Infant Don *Pedro*, as wee haue said. But soone after, *René* D  
comming with the like, or greater forces, hee not onely preferred the citie, but he forced  
the garnisons of the new castle, and of the fort *de l'Oso*, to yeeld for want of victuals.  
About which time the King of Nauarre returned into Spaine, to ouerthrow those  
good accords which had bene made betwixt him and the King of Castile, and to trou-  
ble all Spaine, being of an inconstant and turbulent disposition.

Returne of D.  
John King of  
Nauarre into  
Spaine.

8  
Castile.

The enemies of Don *Aluaro de Luna* the Constable, relying much vpon the King of  
Nauarre, and his forces, had banded themselves openly against him: the chiefe whereof  
were the Admirall Don *Frederic*, Don *Pedro Manriques* Governour of Leon, Don *John*  
*Ramir* of Ariellan, Lord of Los Cameros, Don *Pedro* of Quingones Merin Maior of  
the Asturia, Don *Diego* of Estuniga sonne to the Earle of Ledesma. Don *Roderigo* of  
Castagneda Lord of Fuente Duegna, and Don *Pedro* Mendoza, Lord of Almacan, E  
who drew many others vnto their league, namely the Earle of Ledesma, who had his  
lands fronting vpon Ecia. The King called soldiars from all parts to suppress this  
tumult (among the rest hee was speedily serued by the Nobility of Andalusia) to  
whom the confederates did write very dutifull and respectiue letters, intreating him  
to cause the Constable to dislodge from Court, before that hee grew so powerfull, as hee  
might be prejudiciall both to him and his realme. There was in truth some reason to sup-  
presse the boldnesse and greatnesse of this man, who was insolent, covetous, and not  
very faithfull to his Prince, the which was well knowne to the King, and to many of his  
Councell: but hee had them all so tyed vnto him, as not any one could attempt against  
him, nor consent willingly to that which should please him: wherefore an answer  
was made vnto the letter, quite contrary to that which the Noblemen of the league de-  
manded, with whom there newly ioynted Don *Lewis* de la Cerda Earle of Medina Celi,  
and Don *Pedro* of Castile Bishop of Oms, who had seized vpon many places, as Don  
*Pedro* of Quingones had done of the City of Leon, so as the whole realme was full  
of

D. Aluaro de  
Luna the Con-  
stable insolent,  
covetous and  
treacherous.

A of seditions and tumults, all in generall imputing the fault vnto the constable, partly  
with reason, and partly without. The King being at Roa, vied all diligence to assem-  
ble forces, to be the stronger, writing letters to Toledo and other great townes, admo-  
nishing them of their duties, and to be faithfull vnto him.

In the meane time the Marshall D. *Inigo Ortiz* of Estuniga, brother to the Earle of  
Ledesma, entered into Vaileddolit, with five hundred men at armes, and seized on the  
towne in the name of the confederate Lords. On the other side the King was aduer-  
sified that the King of Nauarre, and D. *Henry* his brother, were entered into Castile with  
five hundred men at armes, and not knowing vpon what pretext, considering the accord  
lately concluded betwixt them, he sent vnto them, intreating them to ioyne with him  
and to come to court: the King of Nauarre consented, and came to the king to Cuellar,  
with fixe horse onely, whereto the whole court did much reioyce. They came at the  
instance of the confederate Lords, and also incited with a desire to recouer that which  
they had lost in Castile, by means of the present troubles, in whose company was the  
Earle of Castro. The King of Nauarre being seperated from the rest, and come vnto  
the king, receiued great honour and good vsage: but the Infant D. *Henry* aduanced not,  
but staid with the troups, the which hee led to Pegnassiel, where they opened him the  
gates, the King hauing so commanded, and soone after hee had conference with the  
king of Nauarre his brother at Minquela, neere to Cuellar, there being good corre-  
spondency betwixt them, although they made no shew of it: for the King of Nauarre  
continued with the King of Castile, and hee retired to Vaileddolit, to the Lords of the  
League: there was much trouble, and many enterviewes of Noblemen of either part,  
with great leaues of souldiars to the oppression of the people, and yet there was no  
meanes to make an accord: the confederats insisting still that the constable should be  
banished from court, the which was a hard matter to effect. The Admirall and the In-  
fant D. *Henry* sent to challenge the constable, and he accepted the combat, but yet they  
did not fight. The King did sollicit D. *Henry*, promising him that if he would bee of his  
party he would make him maister of Saint James, and would giue him other things, for  
the which the Infant gaue him thanks, letting him vnderstand, that whatsoeuer he did,  
was for his seruice.

D In these treaties of pacification the greatest difficulty was in the restitution of lands  
forfeited, the which had bene distributed to many: yea to some of the confederats,  
who would not restore them, at the least without recompence. Being in these garboiles  
and out of hope of any accord, they had newes, that D. *Roderigo* of Villandrado, first  
Earle of Ribadeo, who had some yeeres before serued *Charles* the seventh, the French  
King, with great reputation and honour, was come into Castile, bringing with him three  
thousand souldiars to serue and succor King *John* his naturall Lord: wherefore all trea-  
ties of accord ceasing, the Kings of Castile and Nauarre went as farre as Pegnassiel  
to meet him with some troups, to assure him from the surprises of the confederats, who  
sent the Earle of Ledesma with fifteene hundred horse, to attend him at a passage. This

Lands of con-  
fession given  
away vnder  
the peace.

E supply, and other occasions, together with the diligence of certaine religious men,  
who sought to reconcile these Noblemen, made the parties more tractable, so as in  
October 1439. a peace was concluded, vpon these conditions. That the constable D.  
*Aluaro de Luna* should absent himselfe from court for fixe monethes, and that the king,  
of Castile should recompence the king of Nauarre and D. *Henry* his brother, for the  
lands he had taken from them: and the proceesse and proceedings made against them that  
were in armes disannulled: that the townes and forts held by the confederats should be  
restored. These things being concluded at Castro Nugno, the constable to fulfill the  
Article which concerned him, parted from court, leaving most of the kings counsell  
which faoured him, discontented: The Noblemen dismiss their souldiars, and the king  
parted from Castro Nugno to goe vnto Toro. In the meane time the Infanta D. *Cather-  
rina*, wife to D. *Henry*, died in child-bed.

An. 1439.

F There was no peace firmly settled by this accord, for the king being possessed by a counsell  
made by the constable, was held in distrust, and the courtiers in continuall ialousie. He  
caused some of them, which had followed the confederate Lords, to be imprisoned at Sa-  
lamanca,

*Insolencies of the Constable of Castile made knowne unto the King.*

lamanca, and to take Segobia from *Ruy Diaz* of *Mendoza*, who held it, he gave it to the Prince of the Asturias his sonne. The King of Nauarre and his brother *D. Henry* seeing these proceedings, they went from Madrigal, towards the court, whereupon the King sent to forbid them to come there: and to the end they should not finde him at Salamanca, he dislodged and went to Bonilla de la Serra, from whence hee sent to demand a fauourable conduit of the Noblemen for *Don Gutiere Gomes* of Toledo Archbishop of Seuille, whom hee ment to send to treat with them, the which beeing willingly granted, the Archbishop came to Madrigal, with some of the Kings council, but they returned without any conclusion: wherefore the King of Nauarre and the Infant his brother led some troupes towards Auila, where by the meanes of *Aluaro* of Bracamont, and *Fernando* of Aualos, who had taken vpon them to defend it, they became maisters, from thence the King of Nauarre did write a letter vnto the King of Castile full of good counsel, accusing the constable of auarice, cruelty, tyrannie, insolency, and contempt of the Princes and Noblemen, yea of the King himselfe, hauing presumed to kil a squier in Arcualo; and a groom, to flie his fury, hauing cast himselfe at the Kings feet, as in a most assured Sanctuary, he had beaten him almost in his bosome, stretching his armes ouer the Kings shoulders, without any respect to his dignity, whom euery man (to the great dishonor of his royal person) said he had incanted: and to conclude, if he did not chafe him away and punish him, he could not be honored nor serued by the Princes, and Noblemen of Castile, who could not endure such indignities from an vpstart, whose beginning was scarce knowne. The King knew well that many things contained in these letters were true, yet being gouerned by such as faoured the constable, he made no answer: whereupon the confederats sent the Earles of Haro and Benauent vnto him, who after many Negotiations, concluded with the Kings council, that they should make an assembly of the Estates at Vaileadolid, whereas the deputies of the townes and Prouinces of Castile and Leon should meet, and determine of that which should be held expedient for the quiet of the realme, so as the Archbishop of Seuille, and his Nephew the Earle of Alba did remaine at their houses. Before the execution of that which had bene concluded, the Infant *D. Henry* entred Toledo with three hundred and fifty knights, through the fauor of *D. Pedro Lopes* of Ayala the Gouernor, and made himselfe maister thereof, hauing good correspondence with the King of Nauarre his brother, whose faction was very strong at that time in Castile, his friends and confederats holding the chiefe townes of the realme: for besides that he had vnder his command the towne of Auila, and his brother that of Toledo, the Earle of Ledesma held Burgos and the castle: *Pedro* of Quignones was maister of Leon: *Ruy Diaz* of *Mendoza* commanded Segobia, with the fort: *D. Henry Henriquez* the Admirals brother had Zamora, and the castle: Salamanca was in the hands of *John Gomes* of Anaya: Guadalajara of *D. Inigo Lopes* of *Mendoza*, Lord of Hita: Plaisance of the Earle of Ledesma: Vaileadolid of the Earle *Pedro Nugnes*: other places were held by other Knights of that party, the which did much trouble the King, and his constable. To make the assembly of Vaileadolid more easie, the Earles of Haro and Benauent returned to Bonille, where it was againe concluded that the Kings and the Noblemen should retire their troupes; and there was a general passport giuen to all them that should come to Vaileadolid, with assurance of their goods; yea to the constable, who remained in his house at Escalano, where by an ill preface, the greatest part of the castle had some few daies before bene burnt with lightning; notwithstanding the King would haue the passport serue also for the constables person. In this assembly it was decreed that the cities and townes held by the confederats, should bee left free at the King of Castiles dispose, but there was not any thing effected, and the more to trouble the realme, *D. Henry* Prince of the Asturias, perswaded by his spouse, and the confederat noblemen, began to ioyne with the King of Nauarre, his future father in law, retrying himselfe vnto the Admiral *D. Frederic* lodging, wherewith the court was much troubled; and the King sent the Earle of Castro, and *Ruy Diaz* of *Mendoza* to the King of Nauarre, to vnderstand the cause of this alteration; who answered that he knew it not: and wishal went with them to the Admirals lodging, to vnderstand the reason. The Prince answered, that he had required himselfe thither, by reason of Doctor *Perjueros*, *Alphonso Perez* of Biutero and

*Nicholas*

*A Nicholas Fernandes* of Villanar, of the Kings council, being vnworthy of that ranke, and beseeching the King that he would chafe them away, else he would retire himselfe. The King promised to dismiss them, whereupon the Prince was pacified, and came to the Kings palace, after midnight, the King of Nauarre accompanying him. The Prince *D. Henry* was gouerned by a yong gentleman called *D. Iohn de Pacheco*, sonne to *Alphonso Telles Giron*, Lord of Beaumont, who was preferred to his seruice by the constable, and was afterwards made Marquis of Villena, and maister of the Order of Saint Iames. The King at the Estates of Vaileadolid, settled some order for Iustice, which was but badly executed in Castile, and some thing to pacifie the Princes and Noblemen that were muted, and to diuert their armes, hee thought it now time to celebrate the marriage of *D. Henry* and the Infanta of Nauarre, being three yeeres since they were made sure, and either of them being fifteene yeeres old: the bond of consanguinity, which might hinder it, was dissolved by Pope *Eugenius* the fourth. The Infanta being sent for, she entred into Castile, in the yeere 1440. beeing accompanied by Queene *Blanch* her mother, the Prince of Viana her brother, and many noblemen, prelates and knights of Nauarre. Shee was receiued in the towne of Logroño, by *D. Alphonso* of Carthagena, Bishop of Burgos *D. Inigo Lopes* of *Mendoza* Lord of Hita, and by *D. Pedro* of Velasco, Earle of Haro. From thence the Prince *D. Charles* returned into Nauarre with his Gouernor. *D. Iohn* de Beaumont, who in the Princes name gouerned the realme, the Queene mother being absent.

The Princeesse with all her traine being come to Vilhorado, a house belonging to the Earle of Haro, she was entertained with sumptuous feasts, great sports and rare inventions; and much more at Birbiesca, by the Earle himselfe. *D. Pedro* of Acugna did the like at Duegnas, whether the Prince *D. Henry* came to meet his spouse, whereas he presented her with many rich iewels, and shee him: who hauing bene some foure and twenty howers with the Ladies, he returned to Vaileadolid, whether they went. There went forth to meet them, the Kings, and all the principall Noblemen of the court, who made a stately entry into the towne, and the Queene and Princeesse went to the King of Nauarres lodging, whose brother *D. Henry* came from Toledo to assist at the marriage, the which was celebrated with a royall pompe, *D. Pedro* of Ceruantes Bishop of Auila, performing the ceremony. But the vnfortunate hap of this Princeesse was such, as the Prince *D. Henry* proued vnable to consummate the marriage, the which she did veruously conceale for many yeeres. To honor the marriage, the noblemen ran at tile with sharpe pointed lances, but the sport was so dangerous, as the King was forced to forbid it, for *Pedro Porto Carrero* a Knight of Torroy, and *Iohn* of Salezar lost their liues, and others were fore hurt in these encounters. This royall feast (which had continued many daies) being ended, the Princes and Noblemen of the court being dispersed, the Prince *D. Henry* was conducted to Segobia by *D. Iohn de Pacheco* his great mignon, who through a courtiers Ingratitude, forfeited the King of Nauarres party, and that of the Noblemen confederated to ruine the constable, by whom hee had bene aduanced working so, as the Prince his maister ioynd with them, who reuiuing their old quarrels, sent to beseech the King, that without any more delay he would cause the constables proceesse to be made, degrading him of the honour and dignity which he held, and of the gouernment of the realme. The King was much troubled to see new seditions which he thought had bene suppressed, and wonderfully incensed against his sonne, would not make any direct answer to this demand: besides he had still some of his counsell which defended the constables cause: wherefore in the yeere 1441. the troubles began more violent then before. *Mary* Queene of Castile sister to the King of Nauarre tooke then his part, which she had not done before.

*F* The Infant *D. Henry*, brother to the King of Nauarre, being after the marriage returned to Toledo, hee fortified himselfe there, and receiued *Pedro Lopes* of Ayala, contrary to the Kings commandment: where continuing in his accustomed rebellions, hee staid the Ambassadors which the King had sent vnto him, to perswade him to take a better course, yea the King being in person to Saint Lazzaro, without the walles of the city, vpon the way to Madrid, onely with thirty horses of his household and traine, the Infant

*D. Iohn de Pacheco gouerns Prince Henry.*

*An. 1440.*

40

*Cardinal of Saint Peter.*

*Marriage of the Prince of Castile and the Infanta of Nauarre.*



Infant fallied forth, and presented himselfe in battaile, vsing threats and proud speeches, A  
so as the King was forced to returne speedely. There was in his company D. *Roderigo*  
of Villandrado Earle of Ribadeo, who in this voiage obtained a goodly preuiledge for  
him and his family, which was, that the robe which the Kings of Castile put on the first  
day of the new yeere, should belong to him, and that hee should that day eate at the  
Kings table, leauing this preuiledge to his posterity in the King of Castiles court. As  
soone as the King came to Torrijos from Saint Lazaro, he beganne to proceed against the  
Infant D. *Henry*, for the detention of his Ambassadors, and so he retired to Auila. The  
constable and his brother D. *John* of Crezuela Archbishop of Toledo (against whom  
all this warre was intended) sent to beseech the King to send some of his counsell vnto  
them, to the end their might be some order taken for so many inconueniences, the which  
being done, they concluded that the King should send vnto the confederate Lords, to ad-  
uise them to obserue the accord made at Bonille de la Serra, and the more to ease the  
country, they should dismisse their souldiers.

That to determine all quarrels betwixt them and the constable, they should choise  
Iudges, who should examine where the fault was, and should appoint punishment for  
them that were found culpable: and that if they thought it fit, there should be a gene-  
rall assembly of the Estates called to that end. The Kings offered all these things to the  
confederats, who were for the most part in Arevalo: but they answered, that there was  
no meanes of pacification, if the constable who was newly come to Auila, did not dis-  
lodge from court. The King hearing this answer, sought to retire his sonne D. *Henry*,  
who being counselled by the King of Nauarre, and the Queenes of Castile and Na-  
uarre, went to Auila, where he protested to the King his father, that he desired nothing  
more, then to mediate a good peace: where after some small stay, he returned to Sego-  
bia, promising that from thence he would write vnto the Queenes, touching their meet-  
ing at Santa Maria de Nieua, there to treat with them of the meanes of an accord.

In the meane time the King receiued letters from *Diego de Valera*, a wife Knight and  
of great experience, who had sene and frequented the courts of forraigne Princes, seeking  
(according to the custome of Noblemen of that age) honour by armes, at Tournayes  
and combats, beginning for pleasure, and ending many times with death, or some o-  
ther misfortune; yet he had alwaies bene fortunate, and had wonne much honour and  
reputation, both in Spaine and else where. These letters contained many graue con-  
siderations, and profitabie counsell, both for the King and his Estate. Being read in open  
counsell, D. *Gutierrez* Gomes of Toledo Archbishop of Toledo, without any great con-  
sideration, stept forward to answer for all the rest. Bid D. *Diego* said he, send vs men and  
money, for wee haue not any need of counsell. The King to gratifie the Prince his  
sonne, gaue vnto him the towne of Guadaluara, the which by this meanes he thought  
to wrett out of the hands of D. *Inigo* Lopes of Mendoza, Lord of Hita and Buytrago: but  
they made resistance in the taking of possession. This hapened at such time as he came  
to visit the King at Auila, or a little before. The Queenes and the Prince, according  
vnto that which had bene promised to the King his father, met together at Santa Ma-  
ria de Nieua, where D. *John* de *Pacheco* was also present: they conferred long together  
about the pacification of the troubles, without any great conclusion.

From thence there was sent vnto Auila, *Alphonso Telles* Giron Lord of Beaumont,  
father to *John Pacheco*, and Doctour *Valdenebro*, a prior, that to make matters more easie,  
he should approach to Arevalo, wherunto the King would not yeeld, wherein he was  
ill counselled by some, who feared they should loose their credit and authority, by the  
accords which might be made there.

Matters being broken off the confederats sent the Admirall Don *Frederike*,  
the Earle of Benauent, Don *Pedro* of Quignones and *Roderigo Manriquez*, with  
good numbers of men, beyonde the mountaines, into the Countrie of Toledo, who  
ranne as farre as Escalona, and presented battaile vnto the constable, and to the Arch-  
bishop his brother, who came from Illesca to ioyne with him, when as their enemies were  
retired: these Lords of the league returned to Toledo without any blowes, whether came  
some men of authoritie from the King, to stay them from fighting. At that time the In-  
fant

Preuiledge of  
the Earle of  
Ribadeo.

D. Diego of  
Valera giues  
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A fant Don *Henry*, at the Earle of Benauents, and the Admirals request, deliuered the Am-  
bassadors: but he did not ferbeare to spoile the Constables and the Archbishops coun-  
tries, putting all to fire and sword. The Archbishop abandoned Illesca in the night, go-  
ing towards Madrid, whereof the Infant Don *Henry* being aduertised, he followed him  
with all speed, and hauing onely ouer-taken and spoiled his baggage, hee returned and  
seized vpon Illesca: The Archbishop saued himselfe in Madrid, where hee was receiued  
by the Kings commandement: the Admiral and the Earle of Benauent after these light  
exploits, returned to Arevalo. About that time Don *Inigo* Lopes of Mendoza, one of  
the Lords of the league, hauing surprized the towne of Alcalá de Henares, *John de Ca-  
rillo* Gouvernor of Casorla, a Captaine of the Archbishop of Toledos and the Const-  
ables faction, approached neere vnto the place with fure hundred horse, and one thousand  
two hundred foote, which he laid in ambush in certaine valleys, and sent some to runne  
in view of the towne, to draw Don *Inigo* forth, who failed not, yet not with such order  
and strength as he ought, wherefore he heind him in, in such sort, as hauing lost most of  
his men, himselfe being soare hurt, hee could hardly recouer Alcalá. To recompence  
this losse, the Infant Don *Henries* men, did cut some of the Constables troups in pec-  
ces, in Grismonda, where notwithstanding he lost *Lawrence d'Aualos* his Chamberlaine,  
nephew to the Constable Don *Ruy* Lopes d'Aualos.

The Infant hearing this, went presently to field, marching towards Toledo with fixe  
hundred horse, ouer-running the country of Escalona, thinking that the Constable  
would fight with him, but hee stirred not, finding himselfe too weak: wherevpon hee  
sent to haue the Archbishop his brother to come, and being ioyned together, they  
went to charge the Infant at Torrijos, who then kept himselfe within his fort, and whilest  
that they spoiled the Country, euen vnto the gates of Toledo, killing men, and carrying  
away the prey, he aduertised the King of Nauarre, and the other confederate Lords of his  
estate, who parted presently from Arevalo and Ontiueros, with one thousand two hun-  
dred men at armes, and light horse to succour him. The King of Castile being much  
incensed against the confederates, resolved to seaze vpon the lands, rents, and reuenues  
of the King of Nauarre, beginning by *Medina del Campo*, neither did the protestations  
and threats of the King of Nauarre and his confederates, preuaile any thing, to whom  
D the King of Castile made no other answer, but that they were all in armes contrary to  
his commandements, and carried themselves as rebels.

### Don Alphonso the fift of that name, and twelfth King of Portugal.

Dying these tumults in Castile, the realme of Portugal was not without some cof-  
les. After the death of King *Edward*, his sonne Don *Alphonso* succeeded him, at  
the age of six yeares, vnder the government of the Queene Donna *Leonor*, according to  
the Fathers testament: but many townes of the realme reiecting the government of a  
woman, especially a stranger, they intreated the Infant Don *Pedro*, Duke of Coimbra,  
that, as the eldest brother among the Infants of Portugal, hee would take vpon him the  
sole government of the realme. Many others, more modest, who would not altogether  
breake the will of the deceased King, were of opinion that hee should gouerne with the  
Queene. Of the first opinion, were the Infants Don *Henrie* Master of *Christus*, and Don  
*John* Maister of Saint Ieames, Don *Pedro* excusing himselfe of this charge, he perswaded  
Don *John* to gouerne with the Queene Mother, wherewith he should bee well satisfied:  
but Don *John* answered him freely, that it was not for him, who was the yongest amongst  
the brethren, to gouerne: but that hee Don *Pedro* and Don *Henrie*, should aduise to take  
the government of the realme vpon them, as Princes of Portugal, and worthy of such  
a charge, and that they should not suffer a strange woman to rule ouer them, being an  
infamous thing, vnworthy of the house of Portugal, and preiudiciall to the realme:  
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found

11  
Portugal.

Government  
of a woman  
cause of con-  
tention.

Priviledges of  
the Earle of  
Ribadeo.

Infant sallied forth, and presented himselfe in battaile, vsing threats and proud speeches, A so as the King was forced to returne speedely. There was in his company D. *Roderigo* of Villandrado Earle of Ribadeo, who in this voyage obtained a goodly preuiledge for him and his family, which was, that the roabe which the Kings of Castile put on the first day of the new yeere, should belong to him, and that hee should that day eate at the Kings table, leaving this preuiledge to his posterity in the King of Castiles court. As soone as the King came to Torijos from Saint Lazaro, he beganne to proceed against the Infant D. *Henry*, for the detention of his Ambassadors, and so he retired to Auila. The constable and his brother D. *John* of Crezuela Archbishop of Toledo (against whom all this warre was intended) sent to beseech the King to send some of his counsell vnto B them, to the end their might be some order taken for so many inconueniences, the which being done, they concluded that the King should send vnto the confederate Lords, to aduise them to obserue the accord made at Bonille de la Serra, and the more to ease the country, they should dismisse their souldiars.

That to determine all quarrels betwixt them and the constable, they should choise Iudges, who should examine where the fault was, and should appoint punishment for them that were found culpable: and that if they thought it fit, there should be a generall assembly of the Estates called to that end. The Kings offered all these things to the confederates, who were for the most part in Arealo: but they answered, that there was no meanes of pacification, if the constable who was newly come to Auila, did not dislodge from court. The King hearing this answer, sought to retire his sonne D. *Henry*, who being counselled by the King of Nauarre, and the Queenes of Castile and Nauarre, went to Auila, where he protested to the King his father, that he desired nothing more, then to mediate a good peace: where after some small stay, he returned to Segobia, promising that from thence he would write vnto the Queenes, touching their meeting at Santa Maria de Nieua, there to treat with them of the meanes of an accord.

D. Diego of  
Valera giues  
good aduice  
vnto the King.

In the meane time the King receiued letters from *Diego de Valera*, a wife Knight and of great experience, who had sene and frequented the courts of forraigne Princes, seeking (according to the custome of Noblemen of that age) honour by armes, at Tournais and combats, beginning for pleasure, and ending many times with death, or some other misfortune; yet he had alwaies beene fortunate, and had wonne much honour and reputation, both in Spaine and else where. These letters contained many graue admonitions, and profittable counsell, both for the King and his Estate. Being read in open counsell, D. *Gutierrez* Comes of Toledo Archbishop of Toledo, without any great consideration, stept forward to answer for all the rest. Bid D. *Diego* laide he, send vs men and money, for wee haue not any need of counsell. The King to gratifie the Prince his sonne, gaue vnto him the towne of Guadaluja, the which by this meanes he thought to wrest out of the hands of D. *Inigo* Lopes of Mendoza, Lord of Hita and Buytrago: but they made resistance in the taking of possession. This hapened at such time as he came to visit the King at Auila, or a little before. The Queenes and the Prince, according vnto that which had beene promised to the King his father, met together at Santa Maria de Nieua, where D. *John* de Pacheco was also present: they conferred long together about the pacification of the troubles, without any great conclusion.

From thence there was sent vnto Auila, *Alphonso Telles* Giron Lord of Beaumont, father to *John* Pacheco, and Doctor *Valdenubro*, a prior, that to make matters more easie, he should approach to Arealo, where vnto the King would not yeeld, wherein hee was ill counselled by some, who feared they should loose their credit and authority, by the accords which might be made there.

Matters being broken off the confederats sent the Admirall Don *Federike*, the Earle of Benauent, Don *Pedro* of Quignones and *Roderigo* Manrique: with good numbers of men, beyonde the mountains, into the Countrie of Toledo, who ranne as farre as Escalona, and presented battaile vnto the constable, and to the Archbishop his brother, who came from Illesca to ioine with him, when as their enemies were retired: these Lords of the league returned to Toledo without any blowes, whether came some men of authoritie from the King, to stay them from fighting. At that time the Infant

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11  
Portugal.

Gouernment  
of a woman  
cause of con-  
tention.

found vnrasonable and vnjust. They that held the party of the widow Queene Donna A  
*Leonor*, were D. *Alphonso* Earle of Barcellos, with his sonnes D. *Diego* Earle of Oren and  
 Marquis of Valencia, and D. *Fernand* Earle of Arrojolos, and Marquis of Villanucoia,  
 and with them the Archbishop of Lisbon, whose sister D. *Constance*, the Earle D. *Alphonso*  
 had taken to his second wife; D. *Nugno de Goyz* prior of Saint Iohn, and D. *Alphonso*  
 Lord of Calcais: who with many others their adherents, who aduised the Queene  
 not to giue ouer the government in the which the King her husband had placed her:  
 vpon which quarrell the Estates of the realme were called, by the Princes and Noblemen,  
 holding the chiefe dignities, where by the diligence of the Infant D. *Henry*, there  
 was this order taken. That the Queene mother should be gouernesse of her childrens  
 persons, and of their reuenues and patrimonies, estates and Offices of the Kings house:  
 and that the Infant D. *Pedro* should haue care of the defence of the realme, and of armes,  
 and D. *Fernand* Earle of Arrojolos, of matters belonging vnto Iustice: This did nothing  
 please the Queene, being desirous to command alone: wherefore the contention  
 being greater then before, they made many new assemblies of the Estates: so as the last  
 conclusion was, that the Infant D. *Pedro* should gouerne alone: the which was instantly  
 required of all men in general: so as the Queene was wholly dispossessed of the authority,  
 whereof she might haue retained a good part: Being thus frustrate, with extreme  
 griefe, she had recourse to womanish practices, complaints and accusations, as well to  
 the Noblemen of the Realme, as to the Kings of Nauarre and Arragon her brethren:  
 and in the end she came sorrowfull and discontented to the King of Castile, her cousin  
 and brother in law, this yeere 1441. to complaine of the Infant D. *Pedro*, and to craue  
 aide against him. She found the king at *Gomes Naharra*, a Borrough of Medina del Campo,  
 troubled with the quarrels of the King of Nauarre, and other Noblemen, against the  
 constable, so as she could not obtayne any thing.

Castile.

It was at such time when as the King of Nauarre, and the confederat Lords were gone  
 into the Realme of Toledo to succor the Infant D. *Henry*, who hearing that the King  
 proceeded against them with rigour, repaist the mountaines, and came towards Medina  
 del Campo, and Olmedo, townes belonging to the King of Nauarre, whereof he of Castile  
 had seized. Approching neere to Medina, and waiting the time in demands and  
 answers, they of Olmedo receiued the King of Nauarres men, whose army encreasing  
 daily, he came to lodge within two bow shootes of Medina, into the which the constable,  
 the Archbishop of Toledo his brother, and D. *Iohn* of Soto Major Maister of Alcantara,  
 entered the night following with 1600. horse, so as for many daies there were  
 diuers skirmishes amongst them, in the which many good men were slaine and hurt.  
 The Queenes of Castile and Portugall, sisters, and the Prince D. *Henry* propounded certain  
 conditions of peace, whereon there was long debate, without any frute. But whilst  
 they were busie intreating and debating of these Articles, the King of Nauarre (who had  
 Aluaro of Bracamont and *Fernando Rejan*, Knights well affected to his seruice in Medina,  
 ) delt so with them, as one night the constable and his brother beeing in gard and  
 not caring to goe the round themselves, but relying vpon an other, they gaue him entry  
 by a place called Our Lady of Antigua.

Medina del  
 Campo surpris-  
 ed by the confederat Lords  
 and the Constable a most  
 sacke.

The confederats army was then growne to be aboue fise thousand men at armes and  
 light horse, and a great number of foote: wherefore the King of Nauarre and the confederate  
 Lords, entred furiously into the towne with these forces, against the which  
 there was no offer to make defence, for the King knowing well that they had no quarrell  
 to the constable, he commanded him, his brother, the maister of Alcantara, and others  
 of his faction, to saue themselves by an other port, opposite to that where their enemies  
 entred, wherein they shewed themselves nothing obliuate. These being gon,  
 the King retired himselfe to the place of Saint Antolin, without any care or trouble for  
 them that entred, who came presently to kisse his hands, first the Admirall, the Earle of  
 Benauent, and other Noblemen and captaines then the King of Nauarre, who as a King,  
 made onely a reuerence, but did not kisse his hand, at which time there was no signe of  
 discontentment, but the King did looke of them all with a cheerefull countenance. The  
 constables lodging and of the rest of his faction were sacked: and the Queenes of Castile  
 and

A and Portugall; sisters, did aduertise Don *Gomes Gattiere* of Toledo Archbishop of Se-  
 uile, and his Nephew Don *Fernando Aluarez* of Toledo, Earle of Alba, the first of that  
 house which carried that title, and Don *Lopes* of Bariento Bishop of Segobia, that they  
 should retire from Court, for that they were too much affected to the Constables  
 party, the which they did the next day, and all the Officers which had beene preferred  
 vnto the King by the Constable were dismist. And to make a good end of these troubles,  
 the Kings of Castile and Nauarre, and the other Princes and Noblemen which  
 were at Medina, made a compromise in the hands of Mary Queene of Castile, Don *Henry*  
 Prince of the Asturia, the Admirall, and of Don *Garcia Aluarez* of Toledo, who con-  
 cluded as followeth. That the Constable Don *Aluaro de Luna* Earle of Saint Stephens,  
 should absent himselfe from Court for the space of fixe yeeres next ensuing, appoint-  
 ing him for his abode, his houses of Saint Martin of Val d'Eglise, or Riaca: That  
 he should not write any letters to the King, but concerning his owne businesse, where-  
 of hee should send a coppie vnto the Queene of Castile and to the Prince her sonne.  
 That during the said time, hee should not make any league nor confederacie: That  
 all Knights which had followed him should retire to their houses, and none to remaine  
 about him but his household seruants: Notwithstanding the Constable, and the  
 Archbishop of Toledo his brother, might retaine for the space of thirty daies after the  
 notice giuen them of this sentence, either of them fifty men at armes: And for the  
 execution thereof, the Constable should leaue in deposito the castles of St. Stephen,  
 Aillon, Maderuelo, Ganga, Rojas, Maqueda, Montalban, Castle of Bayuela and Escalona,  
 which places should remaine during the said fixe yeeres in the custody of certain  
 Knights. And for a greater caution, the Constable should deliuer Don *Iohn de Luna*  
 his sonne and heire in hostage to the Earle of Benauent, during the said time: That after  
 the Constable should haue accomplished the aboue mentioned conditions, the  
 townes and places which the confederats held, belonging vnto the King, should be yeel-  
 ded vp, and the garrisons depart: That the King should restore priuate men to their  
 goods, honours, and dignities, whereof hee had deprived them, by reason of these troubles.  
 All gifts and grants made by the King, since the first of September, in the yeere  
 D 1438. vnto this present yeere 1441. should be reuoked and held for void, except to  
 certain persons of respect: That all that were partisans to the Constable, should be put  
 out of the Kings counsell, who should be named by the King, of Nauarre, the Earles of  
 Ledesma and Beneuent, *Inigo Lopez* of Mendoza, and *Ruy Diaz* of Mendoza: That all  
 souldiars should presently retire, and no longer hold the field: That the King of Castile  
 should recompence him of Nauarre, for the losses he had sustained in his hands in Castile,  
 during the seditions and that he, should pay the souldiars which the King of Nauarre  
 and his partisans had brought by reason thereof. These with some other Articles  
 were concluded the third of Iuly, this yeere 1441. and were confirmed by the king of Castile,  
 thinking thereby to end the confusions, whereinto he like a yong Prince, had plung-  
 E ged his Estate, by fauoring and supporting his mignon to much, who was both indis-  
 creet and insolent, to the contempt of the Princes of his blood, and the chiefe Noblemen  
 of the Kingdome, who notwithstanding vnder colour of providing for the public  
 good, tended all to their priuate. Soone after the King beeing at Castro Xeris, the  
 Licentiate *Alphonso Ruiz* of Villena came vnto him, with procuration from the Constable,  
 who allowed and accepted of the sentence; requiring to haue men sent to receiue  
 the hostages. After all this the Kings went to Burgos, where they spent sometime in  
 feasts and sports, and to auoide all ialousie which might cause troubles and diuidions  
 amongst the Noblemen they made an accord amongst them that not any one should  
 affect to be more familiar with the King then an other: notwithstanding the Admirall  
 F D. *Fredric* began to be very gracious with the King of Castile, not without ialousie of  
 the King of Nauarre, who would willingly haue raised some stir, after the accustomed  
 manner, but his impaciency was restrained by the Earle of Castro, his ancient and faith-  
 full seruant, who gaue him to vnderstand, that it must needs redound to his profit, and of  
 other Noblemen of the league.

And to make a stricter bonde, hee aduised him, seeing that Queene *Blanche* his wife  
 Q 99 was



after received the forts of Capuana and Saint Herno by composition; And that *Renz* A finding that he had need of new forces, leauing a good garrison in Castle Nouo, and a Geneuois called *Anthony Caluo* to command there, had gone to the Florentines, and to *Pope Eugenius*, his confederats in Italy, from whom not being able to draw any sufficient aide, he sent word vnto capitaine *Caluo*, that if he could not hold the fort, he should yeeld it with the best conditions he could, the which was done, and by that meanes the King their maister remained absolute Lord of the chiefe city of the realme, and of the castles, where he had bene received and acknowledged by the Neapolitans for their King, with great pompe and triumph, his aduersary being retired to Marseilles, after that he and his wife had held that realme in suspence and troubles by the space of sixe yeeres. B These newes were pleasing to the King of Castile, who with milde and friendly words seemed to take in good part the admonitions and counsell which the Ambassadors had giuen him in the King of Arragons name. Thus King *D. Alphonso* remained peaceable possessor of the realme of Naples, in the yeere 1442. after that he had contented for it one and twenty whole yeeres, from the time that he was called from Conscience Queene *Isabe*. And soone after this conquest, making his peace with *Pope Eugenius* who had need of his assistance and aide, for the recovery of the Marquise of Ancona, and the which *Cont Francis Sforza* held, by the meanes of Cardinal *Lewis* of Padoua, and of the Patriarke of Aquileia, the Pope granted the inuestiture of the realme to him and his, making *D. Fernand* of Arragon, base sonne to King *Alphonso* Legitimate to that. C he, hoping to succede in the realme of Naples, and disannulling all other Inuestitures which had bene made by him or his predecessors Popes, to all other Princes whatsoever. In regard whereof, the King did aide the Pope with his forces, against such as opposed themselves in the Marquise, and made him to enjoy it quietly. The King of Arragons Ambassadors did admonish the King of Nauarre priuately, to keepe friendship with the King of Castile, and to doe him seruice: the like admonitions they gaue to the Infant *D. Henry*, hauing such charge from their maister.

*Alphonso king of Arragon*  
murdered in the  
realme of Na-  
ples.

The Noblemen of Castile hauing with such contention plunged the Constable and them of his party in a gulph of miſeres, and the Courtiers hell, which is the disgrace of their Prince, and decay of their authority, they gaue him meanes by their negligence and basenesse, to resolute and to returne to that dignity, from which he was fallne: for every one respecting more his priuate profit, then the publike good, or the maintenance of their league, followed that which he held to be most profitable for himselfe, beginning to iarre, and to haue factions amongst themselves, whereof the Constables friends that were in disgrace, could make vse; wherefore Doctor *Pero Ianes*, and *Alphonso Peres* of Buiero, very much affected to the Constable, had meanes to returne to Court. *D. Lopes* of Barrientos, Bishop of Segobia, besides that he was a very deere friend to the Constable, hauing or fearing to haue some quarrell with *D. Iohn de Pacheco*, fauorite to Prince *Henry*, hee exchanged his Bishopricke for that of Auila, with the Cardinal *D. Pedro* of Cerbantes, for that the Prince did ordinarily remaine at Segobia, it may bee hee would haue this exchange seruice for a colour for that which he politickly pretended, making shew to hate and flie the Prince *D. Henry*, when as he had most desire to bee in fauour with him, to restore the Constable, and to retire him from the King of Nauarre and the confederats league. Soone after *D. Pedro Suarez* of Toledo, sonne to *D. Garcia Aluarez* of Toledo Lord of Oropeſa, being fauored by *D. Henry* Prince of Castile, who was but of a turbulent spirit, fortified himselfe like an enemy in Talauera, the which being made knowne to the King of Castile, who was then at Santa Maria of Nieua, with the King of Nauarre, to celebrate the Annuiuersary of *D. Blanch* Queene of Nauarre deceased; *D. Henry* to two Kings marched thither with some troups, and hauing caused the Infant *D. Henry* to come vnto them, they forced them that held Talauera to yeeld, which place they gaue in regard to *D. Fernand* of Cerezuela, Archdeacon of Toledo. From thence they went all together to Toledo, where by the way they did visit the Constable *D. Aluaro de Luna*, at Elcaſtor to Toledo, where by the way they did visit the Constable *D. Aluaro de Luna*, at Elcaſtor where the King and Queene were his Gossips to a daughter, who was called *Isabe*, the which did wonderfully discontent the Admirall *D. Frederic*, and the other confederate Lords. The Commonalties of the Province of Alaua, who had taken armes against the Earle

*Polluxy of the*  
*Bishop D. Lopes*  
*of Barrientos*.

*Kings of Ca-*  
*stile and Na-*  
*uarre visit the*  
*ghele*.

A Earle of Castagneda, and *D. Anigo Lopes* of Mendoza; did much harme vnto the gentlemen of the country, and others, ruining their houses and committing many insolencies, as a brutish people is accustomed to doe, being a meere folly to arme them, how iust so euer the cause be: yea they proceeded so farre, as they did beseege *D. Pero Lopes* of Ayala, Lieutenant and Gouvernor of Guipuscoa in the towne of Salatierra of Alaua, which did belong vnto him, who seeing himselfe pressed, sent to intreat his Neighbour and kinsman, *D. Pero Fernandes* of Valasco, Lord of Haro, being then at a village of his, to come and succor him, who hauing sente *D. Pero* of Ayalas letter, hee endeoured with all speed to releue him, gathering together in lesse then foure daies aboute foure thousand foote and five hundred Lances, with which forces hee marche towards Salatierra: The Commandons being aduertised of his coming, dislodged, yet not so speedily, but hee tooke many, whom he either slue or carried away prisoners, hauing chaled the rest home vnto their townes, and burnt many of their houses.

*Dangerous*  
*counsell to arm*  
*a multitude*.

*Influence of*  
*the command*  
*to their*  
*passage*.

In the yeere 1443, *D. Lewis* of Guzman, maister of the Knights of the Calatrava died so as the King of Nauarre obtained that place of the King of Castile, for a base sonne of his called *D. Alphonso* of Arragon: whereof the King hauing written to the Commandons (to whom the election did belong) *D. Fernando* of Padilla treasurer of the Order (who had great credit among them, and the greater, for that he held *D. Iohn Ramires* of Guzman great Commander of that Order prisoner euer since the ciuill warre, and would neuer deliuer him, neither by the Kings commandement, nor for the threats of the Princes and Noblemen) wrought so, as without respect to the Kings letters, or to anything else, hee caused himselfe to be chosen maister of the Calatrava, disappointing *D. Alphonso* of Arragon, and the King of Nauarre his father, of their poulture, who for that cause made great Instance vnto the King, and obtained many letters and commandments to the Commanders, to disannull this election which was fraudulent, violent and against their Orders: for this new maister being chosen, had freed the great Commander, but hee had first made him to allow of his election, and to sweare fealty and homage vnto him, as to his Superior, and maister of the Order. All this preuailing nothing, the King caused the rents and reuenues of Calatrava to be seized on, forbidding all their subiects and vassals, to obey or acknowledge *D. Fernando* of Padilla, who notwithstanding was fauored and supported by *D. Henry* Prince of Castile, and other Noblemen, who were somewhat ialous of the King of Nauars greatness. Moreover the King sent the Infant *D. Henry* of Arragon, with an army, who did beseege this usurper in the fort of the Conuent of Calatrava, where he spent some daies, being defended by a good garrison. At the last the war ended, by an accident which happened to *D. Fernando* of Padilla, who died, being shot vnadvisedly by one of his Squires, who aymed at the enemy. They that defended the place, hauing lost their maister yeelded vpon composition. The Infant aduertised the King of Castile what had happened, who at the request of the King of Nauarre, did write againe vnto the Commanders to choose *D. Alphonso* of Arragon, the which was done, but hee enjoyed it little.

1434.

*Election pre-*  
*posed*  
*forcibly*  
*made*.

*Usurper en-*  
*joyes his ma-*  
*giship*.

*D. Alphonso*  
*of Arragon*  
*best some to*  
*the King of*  
*Nauarre, ma-*  
*ster of Calat-*  
*raua*.

The Court removing from Toledo, to come to Madrigal, the King being at Ramaga, the Prince *D. Henry* his son did solicit him to imprison *Alphonso Peres* of Buiero, *Fernand* de Xeris, *Iohn Manuel* of Lando, and *Pedro* of Luxan Grome of the Chamber, for crimes whereof hee accused them, and the King of Nauarre did the like, which was an occasion to chafe againe from Court all the Constables friends, fauorers and dependants, and to change many of the Kings household seruants, yea to giue him so many guards, as he was discontented, yet he had no wil to redresse it, for he was faint-hearted, and had no royall resolution, yea hee endured that *D. Henry Henriquez* the Admirals brother, and *Ruy Diaz* of Mendoza were continually in his Chamber, to obserue what hee did, and to aduertise the King of Nauarre, and his sonne in law the Prince Don *Henry*. It is credible that this was the practise of Don *Lopes* of Barriento, lately Bishop of Segobia, and now of Auila, who sought to giue the confederats some occasion to vse the King rigorously, whereby it should appeare that they held him in vnworthy seruitude, wherewith the King, his sonne the Prince of Asturias, and others whom hee would make friends to the Constable, might bee discontented, as it happened,

for this Bishop, being a very polletike man, yf such meanes, as he wonne *D. Iohn de Pa. A*  
*checo*, who was the heart of *Prince Henry*, procuring him to let the Prince his maister  
 vnderstand, how vnworthy a thing it was for him to continue in their league, who in-  
 treated his father so vnworthely, who hauing chased from court by their seditious  
 armes, the constable, and other most faithfull seruants to the crowne of Castile, ynder  
 collour of some youth, but in effect it was for that they opposed themselves against  
 their tyrannie, which they did build vnder a shew of the publike good, they held the  
 King's person as it were in captiuitie, to whom it was not lawfull to speake, see, nor  
 heare, but by their Organes, no not to conuerse priuately with the Queene his wife,  
 nor with him his sonne, without witness and gards, who went and reported all to  
 them that he did and said: a shamefull thing, and full of contempt, the which he should  
 not suffer, who should be the support of his father, and the hope of all faithfull subjects,  
 nor the greatnesse of the crowne of Castile, and the honour and reputation of their  
 louing the greatnesse of the crowne of Castile, and the honour and reputation of their  
 King: with such perswasions hee induced the Prince *D. Henry* to leaue the league, the  
 which he did cunningly, as he was counselled by the Bishop, who vied the happy ende-  
 uors of *Iohn de Pacheco*, and by other diuises and meanes, hee drew vnto the constables  
 friendship (who was almost in despair, and resolute, seeing himselfe so pursued, to passe  
 into Portugall) the new Archbishop of Toledo, the Earle of Haro, Alba, Castagneda  
 and Ledesma, who now intituled himselfe Earle of Plaisance, *Inigo Lopes de Mendoza*,  
 and *Pera Aluarez Osorio* and other great Noblemen. The better to coher this practise, bec-  
 ing also necessary for the Archbishop of Toledo to dissemble, hauing not yet receiued  
 his Bulls from Rome for his Archbishoprike, hee and his Nephew, the Earle of Alba  
 made a new league, with the King of Nauarre: but the Bulles receiued, and being in  
 quiet possession of the Archbishoprike, they left the league, and ioyned with the  
 constable.

The effects of the Bishops of Auila practises beganne now to appeere, the Earle of  
 Haro hauing complained of the subiection wherein they held the King, vying some  
 word of threatening that he would remedy it: going to Curial to the Earle of Plaisance  
 to conferre with him about it: whereupon the King of Nauarre sent after him to take  
 him, and he had beene taken, notwithstanding that he went by vnknowne waies, it hee  
 had not beene very well mounted, and escaped by the swiftnesse of his horse, into his  
 owne country, where hee leauied men, and invited all his friends to ioine with him  
 in so honourable an enterprize, to free the King from the oppression wherein they  
 held him, so as within few daies hee had gathered together one thousand horse, there  
 being ioyned with him the Earle of Castagneda, and *D. Pedro Sarmiento*: against whom  
 Don *Iohn* King of Nauarre sent fiftene hundred Launces, led by the Admirall and the  
 Earle of Benauent, who led *Prince Henry* with them, who did not yet descouer himselfe,  
 but onely kept these two parties from fighting, making them in some sort friends, and  
 satisfied at that time one of an other, and then hee returned to Segobia. Whilst that  
 the Admirall and Earle of Benauent were absent in this voiage, hauing left the Kings  
 in Tordeillas, *Pera Aluarez Osorio* of the Bishop of Auila faction, came and presented  
 himselfe before the towne, being accompanied with many souldiars, and did endeavour  
 to enter, but he could not, whereupon he retired.

These things made the King of Nauarre, and the confederates very ielous, that there  
 was some great conspiracy against them, and not able yet to discouer who were the  
 conspirators, to bee the better certified, they sent to intreat the Prince *D. Henry* to  
 come to Tordeillas, that they might aduise what was to bee done for the totall ruine  
 of the Constable, as they had concluded together.

The Prince hauing therein the Bishops aduice, who demanded nothing more,  
 came with an intent to make knowne vnto the King his father the league which hee  
 had newly made, to free him from Government, and to comfort him. Arri-  
 uing at Tordeillas with the Bishop of Auila, *Iohn de Pacheco* and many other No-  
 blemen, they were receiued by the King of Nauarre, with great demonstration  
 of ioy. At that time there was no meanes for to conferre together, nor to treat  
 of any affaires, for they were readie to celebrate a marriage betwixt the King of  
 Nauarre,

Prince Henry,  
 won by the  
 Constables  
 faction.

A Nauarre, and the Admirall *Henriques* daughter, which were preparing with great state,  
 at the tower of Lobaron, whither all men went.

This marriage was accomplished to the great grieve of Don *Charles* Prince of Viana,  
 to whose preiudice the king *D. Iohn* his father, dayned the Realme of Nauar, and wold  
 not leaue it, although it were his inheritance by his mother, which was the cause of great  
 troubles. This Princess *D. Isabe* was of the bloud royall of Castile, for the Admirall Don  
*Fredrick* her father, was sonne to Don *Alphonso Henriques*, and grand-child to Don  
*Fredrick* Master of Saint James, who by the commandement of Don *Pedro* the cruell  
 his brother, was slaine at Seuille. At the same time Don *Fernand* of Auila, Chamber-  
 laine to the Infant *D. Henry*, was sent to bring Donna *Beatriz*, sister to Don *Alphonso*  
*Pimentel*, Earle of Benauent, to Cordoua, being promised to the Infant his master: in  
 which citie that marriage was celebrated, of whom came *D. Henry* of Arragon, called the  
 Infant of Fortune, or the Fortunate, who came to be Duke of Segorbe.

The Court being returned to Tordeillas, they began to treat of matters against the  
 Constable, whereupon the Prince told the king of Nauarre, that it were good all they  
 of the league were together, to determine of matters of so great importance, the which  
 pleased the king of Nauarre, whereupon there were letters and messengers sent to them  
 that were absent to draw them to Court: and for that Tordeillas would not serue to  
 lodge so great an assembly, the towne of Areualo was appointed. The Bishop of Auila  
 was very desirous, that the king and the Prince, father and sonne, might conferre freely  
 together, the which was very difficult: for there were spies set by the king of Nauarre a-  
 bout the kings person in his chamber, and in all other places, who did obserue what hee  
 sayd or did, and yet the king could not helpe it: yet the bishop found meanes to aduise  
 him, that he should faime himselfe to be somewhat sicke, and that vpon this occasion,  
 the Prince, ynder colour to visit him, and to do his duty, might deliuer many things vnto  
 him which might please him. The king kept his bed for a time, whereby the Prince had  
 opportunity to discouer the new league vnto him, and to assure him, that the Constable  
 whom he had chased away, should yet deliuer him from the captiuitie wherein they held  
 him: wherewith the king was so ioyed, as he could not containe himselfe, but hee did out-  
 wardly shew the hope which he had conceiued, which made the gards suspect, that the  
 father and the sonne had had some discourse of great consequence, whereof they did ad-  
 uertise the King of Nauarre, who was very ielous of the bishop. They caused the Ad-  
 mirall to aske the king, what good discourse the Prince his sonne had vied, wherewith he  
 was so ioyed. The king wisely concealing what he knew, answered, that they were tales  
 of the follies of youth.

This busines hauing succeeded wishfully for the Bishop, the Prince tooke his leaue of  
 the two kings, his father and father-in-law, and so returned to Segobia, to attend (sayd  
 he) the time of the assembly at Areualo: but it was the least of his thoughts, for he had a  
 speciall desire to breake it if he could: whereof hauing conferred by the way with the bi-  
 shop of Auila his Councillor, he (who was a cunning polittike man) found this expe-  
 dient: he went to Areualo, being a towne of his Diocesse of Auila, with a great trayne,  
 and finding the lodgings already marked, for the Noblemen that should come thither,  
 he caused some to quarrell with the harbingers, and with such of the traine as were already  
 come, so as he put the towne into a great confusion. Many of those which were already  
 lodged, were forced to depart, and to giue place to my Lord Bishop and his men,  
 and then seeking for other lodging, there grew other contentions among them of the  
 Court, so as the king of Nauarre being aduertised thereof, hee was much discontented,  
 and growing more suspitious, he would not go to that assembly, fearing some practise  
 against him. The Prince hauing what he demanded, he wrote vnto the king of Nauarre,  
 complaining much that he was not come to the assembly at Areualo: wherefore they  
 sent the Admirall Don *Fredrick* vnto him to Saint Mary de Nyeua to draw him to ano-  
 ther assembly, whereunto the Prince pretending some excuses, the Admirall told him,  
 that if he came not, it would seeme, that he meant to withdraw himselfe from the vnion  
 of the king of Nauarre and the confederate Lords.

The Prince pretended many reasons hee had for it, but he dissembled his intent: the  
 Admirall

14  
 Nauarre.  
 Marriage of the  
 king of Nauar  
 with D. Isabe  
 Henriques.

Admirall intreated him for an interview with his father in-law at Olmedo, whereof hee excused himselfe as honestly as he could, and sent backe the Admirall very much discontented: for he spake not but as he was aduised by the Bishop of Auila, who wished him not to enter into Olmedo, nor into any place belonging to the king of Nauarre. The Bishop being vigilant and aduise to do any thing that might giue forme and effect to his enterprise, for the restoring of the Constable to his first fauour and authoritie, posted to Alba de Tormes, whereas he made the Arch-bishop of Toledo, and the Earle of Alba his Nephew good friends and seruants to the Prince Don Henry, aduertising them of all that had bene done, and he gaue order in Alba, that the like aduise should be giuen vnto Don Inigo Lopes of Mendoza, Lord of Hita and Buyrago, and being returned to Segobia, he caused the Prince to write vnto him, and to promise to fauour him in the question he had with the king of Castile for the Asturias of Santillana. During these practises in Castile, the Infant Don Henry hauing seized vpon the citie of Cordoua, he sought to draw the townes of Andalusia into the Confederates power, and had attempted to seaze vpon Seuille; where finding resistance, he layed siege vnto it, and did greatly press it, at such time as the Prince D. Henry did publish his resolution openly in the citie of Auila, which was, to continue vnder the obedience of the king his father, and to secke to free him from them that did oppress him: wherefore they of Seuille, vpon this newes, tooke courage, and did valiantly repulse the Infant. The Earles of Castagneda and Haro, with many other Knights, hearing of this resolution, sent instantly to present their seruice vnto the Prince.

The king of Nauarre seeing this storme approach, fought by all meanes to pacifie the Prince, promising him all that he had formerly demanded, and not obtayned, but it was too late. He that carried this message vnto the Prince for the king of Nauarre, was a wife man, called *Aluaz Garcia* of Saint Mary, who hath written part of the Chronicle of this King of Castile. The king of Nauarre and his confederates seeing the Princes desires, and that they must come to force, they assembled men from all parts, and so did the Prince: for the Constable, the Arch-bishop of Toledo, and the Earle of Alba came presently to him to Auila, whereas they might haue some fiftene hundred horse, not sufficient to beseege Tordesillas where the king was: wherefore they resolved to go towards Burgos, to ioyne with the Earles of Haro, Castagneda, and Plaisance, and with Don Inigo Lopes of Mendoza: whereof the King of Nauarre being aduertised, hauing already leued about two thousand horse, he led the king to Portillo, and hauing there left him in the guard of the Earle of Castro, he marched with his troups towards Burgos, being resolved to fight with the Prince and his men, and he came and camped at Pampliega in the territorie of Burgos. The Prince who was within the citie, and had already about three thousand horse and foure thousand foote, sallied forth, and came and lodged within view of his father in-lawes armie. They expected nothing but a bloudie battell betwixt these two factions: but they retired without any blowes, but only a light skirmish, the which happened, whilest they did capitulate, at the solicitation of some good religious men: at which treatie the king of Nauarre did in a manner yeeld to all that the Prince required, leauing the king of Castile in full libertie to restore his Officers, and to do what he pleased. The king of Nauarre finding no meanes to make an accord being the weaker, he dislodged in the night, without sound of trumpet, and retired to Palenzuela. The king of Castile being ill guarded in Portillo, vnder colour of going a hunting escaped from the Earle of Castro, and came to Villedalir, whither the Bishop of Auila came presently vnto the Princes and the Confederates campe, which was neere vnto Palenzuela. The king shewed the best countenance he could vnto the Bishop, and acknowledging the good seruice he had done him in his deliuerie, he made him infinit promises. The King of Nauarre, the Admirall, the Earle of Benauent, D. Pedro of Quignones, and other heads of their faction, seeing themselves low, and at their enemies mercy, they resolved to retire themselves, euery one to his house, and there to attend the euent: wherefore the King of Nauarre, who for some years had not seen Nauar, went thither to provide men and meanes, to enter speedily with great forces into Castile, against his aduersaries.

Being come into his Realme, he first of all furnished his frontier places, with all things necessary

King of Castile deliuered.

King of Nauarres league dispersed.

15.  
Nauarre.

A necessarie, to resist the king of Castiles attempts: who had no great desire to pursue him into Nauarre, but onely to spoyle him and his, of that which they held in Castile, and first of all he tooke Medina del campo, and Olmedo: then the towne of Pegnassiel was taken by force and sacked, and the castle yeilded by composition, Roa and Aranda of Duero opened their gates vnto the Prince, who with the Constable (hauing nothing that made head in Castile the old) past into Andalusia, against the Infant Don Henry, and forced him to flee into the country of Murcia, where he fortified himselfe in Lorca, vntill that the Prince was retired into Castile, and then he passed into Arragon, and so ioynd with the king of Nauarres brother, who leued men to returne into Castile. In the yeare 1445. dyed the Queenes *Leonsa* of Portugal, and Mary of Castile, sisters to the king of Nauarre, not without suspition of poyson: the Queene of Portugal was carried from Toledo, where she dyed, to the Monasterie of S. Mary of the battell: and Queene Mary dying at Villacastin a burrough of Segobia, was interred in the Monasterie of Guadalupe. Almost at the same time dyed *Lope* of Mendoza, Arch-bishop of Seuille, whose place was giuen to Don *Aluaz* of Osorno, Bishop of Cuenca, and his Bishopricke was conferred to Don *Lopes* of Barriento bishop of Auila, the which was giuen to *Alphonso* of Fonseca, such changes made the Pastors of Spaine, seeking the best reuenues. In the spring-time the king of Nauar entered into Castile by Aiença, with foure hundred horse, and five hundred foot: where at his first entry, he tooke Torrija, Alcala of Henares, Alcala the old, and Saint Torquar, whither the Infant D. Henry his brother came with 500 men at armes.

These newes made the king go from Medina into the Realme of Toledo, where hauing gathered together all the souldiers he could, hee marched that way, where as hee thought to find the King of Nauarre, and comming neere to Alcala of Henares the towne was yeilded to him. There the King of Nauarre presented himselfe to fight, but he of Castile would not accept the battell: wherefore the King of Nauarre, and Don Henry past the port or mount of Tablada, and led their army to Olmedo, where as the gates being shut, and resistance made, they entered by force, and hauing caused informations to be made against them that were culpable, Doctor *Fuente*, and two other Gentlemen were condemned to dye, and were executed. The King of Castile following the king of Nauarre, came and camped at the milles of the Abbey, within a little league of Olmedo, hauing in his army the Prince his sonne, the Constable, the Earle of Alba, D. Inigo Lopes of Mendoza, Don *Lope* of Barrientos, newly made Bishop of Cuenca, and then the Earle of Haro came and ioynd with him. On the other side the Admirall, the Earles of Benauent and Castro, Don *Pedro* of Quignones, D. *John* of Tobar, being sent by the King of Nauarre, entered into Olmedo with a thousand horse, the which being ioynd to them which the king of Nauarre and the Infant had brought, and gathered together, made about fise and twenty hundred horse.

Matters being readie to be decided by an ineuitable battell, the king of Nauarre hauing no will to hazard himselfe, hee demanded a parle of the king of Castile, of some Knights of either part, the which being granted, the Admirall and the Earle of Benauent of the one side, and the Bishop of Cuenca, and the Constable on the other, conferred together many times, the King of Nauarre in a manner demanding no other thing, but that they should restore to him the Infant D. Henry, the Earle of Castro, and others of the league, their lands and estates: but as for the gouernement of the Realme, and quarrels with the Constable, hee made not any mention. The Bishop vying his accustomed policy, prolonged this treaty all he could, knowing that D. *Gustierre* of Soto-major master of Alcantara, should come within few daies to the campe with sixe hundred horse, by which supply the king of Castile being euery way the stronger, he did hope to see his enemies wholly defeated, and forced to yeeld to his and the Constables mercie. The conference being ended without any conclusion, the king of Nauarre, and the confederates, sent *Lope* of Angulo, and the Licentiat *Caellar* his Chancellor, to the campe, to acquaint the king of Castile with the miseries and losses which do follow a battell, whereunto the Constable, respecting only his priuate interest, aspired tyrannously, for the fruits which hee gaped after by the death of the best Knights of Castile: wherefore hee should do

An. 1445.  
D also of two  
Queens  
sister-in-lawes.

EA. 1445.  
B. 1445.

confederates  
sisters in  
lawes.

Demand of the  
confederates of  
the King of  
Castile.



do a thing worthe of himselfe, to chafe away this man, arrogant of the authoritie which A he held vnworthily, and decree that they might bee heard in iustice, in some citie or o- ther place of the Realme, whither they shold come like men of peace, not bringing with them aboue ten men vpon moyles: else they protested, that they would make their com- plaints vnto the Pope, and that the miseries which should follow, should be by his fault. The king answered, that he would take order, requiring to haue this demand in writing.

Prince Henry made to vnto- come away.

Two dayes after Prince Henry going to view Olmedo, with certaine light horse, hee was charged by the enemies who fallyed out of the towne, who made him to flee shamefully to the campe, the which did so much displease the king his father, as instantly refusing to heare any more speech of an accord, he caused his Standard to be displayed, and his men to be put into battell: the Constable leading the foreward with eight hundred men at armes: the Prince the battell with foure hundred men at armes, and the king the reere- ward with sixe hundred men at armes, besides the light horsemen, which were very many and diuided into these ordonances, the which hee made to stand firme aboue an hower, in view of Olmedo, to see if the king of Nauarre would come forth: who being won- derfully incensed at this brauado, although he had not equal forces to his aduersarie, yet like a courageous Prince, he would needs go forth to fight, contrarie to the aduice of many, it being late, opposing his squadron, and that which the Earle of Castro led against Prince Henry, and the Infant his brother, the Admirall, the Earle of Benaunt, Pe- dro of Quignones, and Fernand Lopes of Saldaigne, with the rest of the forces against the

Battel of Ol- medo lost by the king of Nauarre

Constable of Castile: and so began the battell about two houres before Sunne-setting, whereas the king of Nauarre and the confederates, notwithstanding their endeauours, were vanquished: and it was happie for them that approaching night parted them, and kept the victors from pursuing of their enemies: so as notwithstanding that they did fight with great resolution and oblinacie, yet there were but feuen and thirtie slaine vpon the place, and about two hundred dyed after, of such as had bene wounded in the batel. The King of Nauarre and his brother D. Henry (who was fore hurt in the left hand) re- tired to Olmedo: the Earle of Benaunt fled as farre as Pedraza: the Admirall was taken by a Squire called Peter of Carera, who notwithstanding brought him to his owne house, at the tower of Lobaton: many Noblemen and others, in number aboue two hundred were taken. Among which the chiefe were, the Earle of Castro, and a sonne of his called Don Pedro of Sandouall, Alphonso of Alarcon, D. Henry Henriquez, the Admirall brother, Fernand of Quignones, Diego of Londogno sonne to Sancho Roarigo of Aualos, nephew to Don Ray Lopes of Aualos, sometimes Constable of Castile, and Don Pedro of Quignones, but he found meanes to escape. The rest of the confederates armie fled to diuers parts, and was not pursued by reason of the night.

Deaths of Don Henry Infant of Arragon.

The King of Castile much pleased with this victorie, sent commandement through- out his whole Realme, that they should make bon fires in signe of ioy, and hee caused a chappell to be built vpon the place of fight, which he named the holy Ghost of the bat- tell, and hauing the day after sent Gutierrez Sanchez of Aluarado prisoner to Villedor, he caused his head to be cut off. Before midnight the king of Nauarre, and the Infant his brother going out of Olmedo, with such forces as they had, they tooke the way of Por- tillo, and by Fonte Duegna they came to Daroca, and from thence to Calatayub, where as the Infant Don Henry dyed of the wound which he had receiued in the hand, it being inflamed: his bodie was at that time layed in the chappell of D. Iohn de Luna, in that city, and afterwards transported to Poblete, whereas the king Don Fernand his father lyes. He left his wife Donna Beatrice with child, who was afterwards deliuered of a son, who was called Don Henry of Arragon, and by surname the Fortunate Infant. His death was the more grievous to the King of Nauarre, for that it happened in an vnreasonable time, af- ter the losse of a battell: besides, seeing himselfe deuiued of such a brother, it did but in- crease his griefe for the late death of his two sisters, the Queenes of Castile and Pogu- gall, there remaying not any of so many children which the deceased King Fernand his father had left, but onely he and Don Alphonso king of Arragon, who was in a manner continually resident at Naples, and had no lawfull children. By this losse the king of Na- uarre was wholly abandoned by the confederate Lords of Castile, who retired home to their

League of the king of Nauarre wholly dissolued.

A their houles to settle their affaires: but the King of Castile, pursued them with all rigour of iustice, causing them to be proclaymed Rebels, and forfeiting their lands to the crown, without respect of any: yet the Prince D. Henry laboured so, as the Admirall was put out of the route of them that were condemned, but not without difficultie. In the castell of Medina of Rio-secco was Donna Theresa of Quignones, with Donna Joane wife to the King of Nauarre. The king being come thither, he receiued the place, and vied the La- dies graciously. By the Princes intercession, who preferred the Admiralls goods, estates, and family, vpon condition that he should returne to the kings seruice, within foure mo- neths: notwithstanding Queene Joane remayned in the king of Castiles power: and the League against the Constable was so disperfed, as there was not any towne or castle, but was yielded vp into the kings power, nor any man of name that durst oppose himselfe: but some retired into Nauarre, and others into remote places, and little frequented by the Court: The Admirall, the Earle of Benaunt, Don Diego Manrique, Gouvernour of Leon, Don Pedro of Quignones, and Iohn Tobar, went towards Nauarre: by reason wher- of the King fearing some enterprise of that side, came to Burgos. Don Aluaro de Luna, the Constable being freed from so great enemies, grew to be in greater credite then e- uer, and whereas he had bene but administrator of Saint James, he was made Master of that Order, which honours were but baytes of misfortune which did follow him, to plunge him in extreme miserie.

Condemna- tions against the confederates.

Constable resto- red to fauour & made Master of S. James.

C He entertained friendship with the Princes of Portugall as his last refuge: and in the time of this warre had procured for the king of Castile a succour of 1600. horse and two thousand foote, the which Don Pedro the third Constable of Portugal, sonne to the Infant Don Pedro, Regent of the Realme, a young Prince but seuentee years old, brought to Majorga after the battell, where they were receiued and feasted with great ioy: but for that there was no vse for them, they were sent backe payed and well satisfied. In this voyage, the Constable treated with the Portugals, to haue the King his master, (whose Queene was dead five moneths before) to marrie with Donna Isabella daughter to the Infant D. Iohn deceased, who had bene Master of Saint James in Portugall, where- with he had not made the king in any sort acquainted, so much hee presumed of the po- wer he had ouer him. This marriage with some other things, were afterwards the cause that the King did hate him mortally.

Beginning of the kings hatred against the constable.

This Prince D. Henry, and many other knights considering how great a losse it would be, if so many great Lords and worthe men should be estranged from Castile, they delt so with the king (who of himselfe was patient and tractable) as they obtained a general pardon for all such as had carried armes with the King of Nauarre: vnto the which these Articles following were annexed:

That a pardon was granted to the Admirall, who should returne into Castile, when he had leaue from the king, and should retire vnto the tower of Lobaton, in the which, and the limits thereof, he should remaine confined two yeares: The Earle of Benaunt had the sentence to remaine in his house at Benaunt two yeares: and that he should take into his charge and guard Donna Joane Queene of Nauarre, and not suffer her after the two yeares expired, to depart without the kings commandement, and the consent of Prince Henry, and after that the Earle himselfe, and that the Admirall had taken an oath of fealty vnto the king, to serue him against all men, according to the lawes of Castile. These things being thus concluded, the King being at Burgos, he gaue the title of Mar- quis of Santillana, to Don Inigo Lopes of Mendoza, for his good and acceptable seruice: to Don Iohn de Pacheco in fauour of the Prince, the title of Marquis of Villena: the gou- ernement of the citie of Burgos, held till that time by the Earle of Plasencia, was gi- uen to Iohn of Luxan. Not onely the king of Nauarre, but his sonne the Prince Don Charles, yea Don Alphonso of Arragon, Master of Calatrava, lost at this time all they had in Castile. Don Pedro Giron, brother to Don Iohn de Pacheco, was made Master of Calatrava by the king, being at Auila, and Don Alphonso, who was retired into Nauarre with his father, deuiued thereof: yet D. Iohn Ramirez of Guzman great Commander of the Order, tooke vpon him the title of Master, against D. Pedro Giron: which contention was afterwards reconciled by the Princes authority and others.

Pardon gran- ted to the con- federates: fled into Nauarre, and into other places.



and fūe moneths, the rest of his dayes hee passed with the title of Cardinall of Santa A Sabina.

1448.

The reason which drew the king of Castile in such hast to Vailledolit, was, for that hee had bene aduertised there were some knights would stirre vp new troubles: thither came Ambassadors againe to him from Arragon, in the beginning of the yeare, 1448, who hauing treated of many things, in the end they concluded a truce for seuen moneths, betwixt Castile and Nauarre: whereof the garrisons of Nauarre, being not aduertised in time, they continuing their hostility in Castile, they surprized the towne of S. Cruz of Campezo by scalado, it belonging to *Lope* of Rojas, whom they carried away, with his wife and many others. And moreouer, the Gouvernour of Albarazin seized vpon the castell of Huclamo, in the Bishoppricke of Cuenca, the which hauing bene ill guarded by the Castilians, was well worke by these, so as *Iohn Hurtado* of Mendoza, recovered it by the meanes of a Castilian souldier, who was there in gouernement among the Nauarrois.

A combat.

The king of Castile sent into Nauarre to summon Prince *Charles* in consequence of the truce, to deliuer Don *Lope de Rojas*, and the towne of Santa Cruz, the which was done. At that time a knight of Bourgondie called *Lames* of Lalain, did fight a combat, without any cause of quarrell, but onely to make triall of his valour, as it was the manner in those times, against Don *Diego de Guzman*, brother to the Lord of Torrija, at Vailledolit. Don *Diego* was fore wounded in the fore-head with a battell-axe, after which they closed, but the King calling his staffe, parted the combat, and did great honour to the Bourguignon.

Traffikes of the Constable Don Aluaro de Luna.

Ambition and couetousnesse, as they say, haue neither bounds nor bottome: the which shewes it selfe chiefly in such as haue the gouernement of great Estates, whereof at that time Don *Aluaro de Luna*, Constable of Castile was a notable president, who not content with the happinesse to haue scene a dangerous League, conspired to his ruine, by so many Princes, and great Noblemen broken, himselfe restored to the Princes fauour, and to triumph ouer his enemies, but hee would plunge them into the like miserie, as hee had escaped, and wholly gouerne the king and Realme with Don *Iohn de Pacheco* the Princes Minion, and so diuide all the honours, fauours, and greatnesse of Spaine betwixt them. Don *Alphonso* of Fonseca, newly made Bishop of Auila, was an apt Councillor for their desaigne, who was of opinion, that they should cause some of the great ones, who were offensive vnto them, to be committed to prison. Hauing therefore mediated an interview of the king and Prince betwixt Tordeillas and Villaverd, the Court being very great and stately, there were apprehended the Earles of Benauent and Alba, Don *Pedro* and *Suero* of Quignones, and Don *Henry* brother to the Admirall Don *Frederick* (who was also vpon the rowle, but being ill disposed, he came not to this enteruiew) so as hee escaped, and so did Don *Diego Gomes* of Sandoval, Earle of Castro Xeris, who being either aduertised, or doubting of some practise, stayed at home: and afterwards hauing aduice, that the king came to Aguilar del campo, and the Prince to Lerma, to take the Admirall and him, they both left their houses, and retired to Nauarrette, and from thence passed to Tudele, where the King of Nauarre was, whose faction was the accusation and colour of these imprisonments: the Constable saying moreouer, that they had conspired to kill him.

The Admirall and Earle of Castro, were very kindly entertayned by the King of Nauarre, who led them with him to Sarragossa, where it was resolved, that the Admirall should go to Naples to the King of Arragon, to acquaint him with the gouernement of Castile, and to sollicite him to come into Spayne, to ayde them to recouer their ranks, dignities and lands, or else that he would giue them leaue to vse his forces of Arragon. According to this Councill the Admirall embarked at Barcelona, and went to Naples. The king of Castile hauing no great confidence in Don *Diego Manrique*, who had the guard of the frontier of Nauarre, he forced him to leaue the forts of Ocon, Naureret, and Treuigno, and gaue them himselfe in guard to the Earle of Haro his Brother-in-law for one yeare. These things thus done, all the lands of them that were absent were seized on, and put into the kings hands, many Noblemen in Court being much offen-

A offended at these violences: but about all others they found the Earle of Albas imprisonment very strange, who had alwaies shewed himselfe a faithfull seruant to the king, and a partizan to the Constable: and euery man examined his conscience: many being terrified, remembring that they had offended the King, or the Prince in some light matters: so as there were retreates made daily from Court without leaue, with other confusions, which made the king to see from whence the mischief came: besides, throughout all Spaine they spake plainly and boldly, that the Constables ambitious desire to raigne in Spain, had caused this tumult in Court, and so wronged the Noblemen that were prisoners. Don *Alphonso* King of Portugall, sonne to Donna, *Leonora* sister to the king of Nauarre, being dead in Castile, as it was thought, of payson, beganne to apprehend by the Constable: wherewith the king of Castile being moued, hee had a desire to seize vpon the Constable: yet distrusting the inconstancie of the Prince his sonne, he durst not do it.

There were some troupes of horse and foote sent to the frontiers of Nauarre and Granado, especially against the Moores, who spoyle the Countrie of Murcia, King *Mahomet* *Aben-Ozman* being solicited by the King of Nauarre, to do the worst hee could to thie of a Christian Prince, yet vsuall among the Princes of this world, that are at warre, who oftentimes make religion a vaile to couer their couetous, and inordinate passions and affections.

18. Moores of Granada incited by the king of Nauarre against Castile.

### Mahomet Coxo, the 17. king of Granado.

D *His Mahomet* called *Coxo*, being come to the Crowne of Granado, by the violence hee vsed against his vnkle *Mahomet*, maintained himselfe with the like art, wheremany of the Knights of Granado being incontent, they retired themselves to Montefrio, a place which onely reiected the command of this tyrant, being held by *Andaluz*, who had bene high Marshall to King *Mahomet* the left-handed, who enterrayned anemie to King *Coxo*, to dispossesse him of the Crowne, as hee had done his vnkle.

It was the Infant *Aben Ismael*, who hauing followed the warre in the seruice of the King of Castile, had retired himselfe, with his leaue and fauour, to Montefrio, to this Marshall, and there had bene saluted for King, yet weak, and ill provided to make any attempt against Granado, and the Alhambra, the seate royall, which was held by *Coxo*: but God prepared him the meanes, and stirred vp occasions in time. King *Coxo* embracing the confusions and quarrels of Castile, which made them neglect the guard of the frontiers, and animated by the factions of Nauarre, entering into Andalusia, had taken the towne of Banamaruel by force, and carried away *Lahn de Herrera*, who commanded in the place, with many other Christian prisoners, after that hee had slaine many: hee then besieged Bancalema, which was defended by *Aluaro* of Pecellin, the which he forced in like manner, putting all hee found in it to the sword: for which losses the Capitaines were not to bee blamed, for wanting pay they could not keepe the Garrisons of those forts full and compleat: and moreouer, hauing demanded succours from them of Ilaen, Vbeda, and Baeza, they could not obtaine it, by reason of the dissensions and quarrels betwixt the King and the Prince, father and sonne, which could not be so well and conveniently compounded, but vpon euery occasion they brake: so as the time being fauourable for the Moorish King, hee made daily and ordinarie roades into Castile, carrying away infinite spoyles of men, and innumerable multitudes of cattell and other goods, besides the taking and sacking of the Townes of Arcnes, Huescar, Velaz

Exploits of the Moores in Andalusia.





Accord be-  
twixt the  
King of Ca-  
stille and Na-  
uarre.

Howes of  
strength re-  
sists or  
therevained  
in Guispucoa.

22  
Birth of the  
Infanta D.  
Isabella who  
was Queen  
of Castile and  
Arragon.

23  
Nauarre.

some (who was light and inconstant) vniued vnto him, cutting off all occasions of A  
factions and leagues, which might distract him, attending a fit opportunity to make  
the Constable feele his iust indignation: whilst this was working, D. Henry Henriquez,  
the Admirals brother, escaped from his prison of Langa, slipping down by a rope tied  
with many knots. The Ambassadors of the two Kings being met, it was concluded that  
the Admirall and the Earle of Castro should returne into Castile, to whom and to D.  
Henry their goods should be restored; John of Tabor de Luna should bee restored, and  
D. Alphonsus of Arragon put againe in possession of the Maistership of the Calatrava,  
which D. Pedro Giron held, against whom the King and all others would aide and sup-  
port D. Alphonsus, if he would not leaue it. These matters agreed vpon, were partly ef-  
fected, for D. Pedro Giron, being in possession of the places which belonged to the mai-  
stership, and well assisted and followed, was the stronger.

In Guispucoa, they of the towne of Montdragon, being not yet well pleased with D.  
Bertrand of Gueuara, did ruine, by a Conuocation of the Commons, and the Kings  
permission, the tower and strong house of this Knight, which was in a meadow called Cal-  
diyar, which is to say, the valley of horses, whether many theues and bandoliers re-  
tired themselves, whereby the towne was much damnified, and D. Bertrand was condem-  
ned in a thousand florins of gold, for their paines that were there assembled. The like  
was done vnto another house belonging vnto the said Bertrand, neere vnto the towne  
of Salinas, two leagues from Montdragon. Many of Pedro Sarmientos soldiars being  
laid hold on, in diuers parts of Castile, they were executed, yea a Gonner who had shot  
at the herauld, which the King had sent to summon the city of Toledo, who was drawne  
and quartered.

In the yeere 1451. Queene Isabella was deliuered of a daughter at Madrigal, who was  
also named Isabel, shee was Queene by inheritance of Castile and Leon, and wife to D.  
Fernand King of Arragon, a Princeesse indowed with great vertues. The accord made  
betwixt the King of Castile and the Noblemen did not hold long, for the Prince D.  
Henry had his private opinions, supporting D. Pedro Giron, Maister of the Calatrava,  
against D. Alphonsus of Arragon, which made his attempts to returne into the Maister-  
ship vaine. D. Pedro at the instigation of the Toledans, seized vpon Torrijos and Orgas,  
places belonging to D. Alphonsus of Guzman, chiefe Marshal of Seule. The Admirall  
and the Earle of Castro, finding no safety for their persons in Castile, returned into Na-  
uarre, and the rather for that they performed little, of many things which they had pro-  
mised them. The Prince D. Henry caused the Earle of Alba and D. Pedro of Qui-  
gnones to be conducted to the castle of Toledo, commanding they should bee well kept  
for whole deliuey the people of Toledo, being turbulent, made great stirres, but with-  
out effect, yet within few daies hee deliuered D. Pedro of Quignones, making him to  
swear that he would follow him, and serue him well and faithfully: for they prepared to  
make warre against Nauarre, causing him to promise to imploy himselfe, to draw the  
Admirall and the Earle of Benauent to his seruice, who had either of them married a sis-  
ter of D. Pedros. The Court being at Zamora, the King propounded to his Councell,  
in the presence of the great men of Castile, an accusation against Pedro Sarmiento, who  
was, by the aduice of them all, condemned as a rebell and guilty of high treason: which  
sentence being confirmed by the Pope, they did confiscate all his goods, and they did  
seize to the Kings vse vpon Salinas of Agnana, Ocio, Pont Lara, and other places of his  
in Guispucoa, Alaua, Biscay and elsewhere in Castile. From Zamora the King came to  
Toledo (being at it seemed in good termes with the Prince his sonne) to goe and make  
warre against the King of Nauarre, giuing the Government of that city to the Consta-  
ble, who at his departure left D. Lewis de la Cerde, one of his breeding vp there, and  
did accompany the Prince, who marched towards the frontiers of Nauarre.

The Castilian army entred into Nauarre by Viana which they could not force; the  
King of Nauarre hauing well furnished and fortified the places of the frontier, and there-  
fore they past to Torralba, where the garrison making a furious fallie vpon the Casti-  
lans, had almost put them in disorder, and to flight, D. John of Beaumont prior of Saint  
Iohn in the realme of Nauarre, being Gouvernor in Torralba. Finally he defended it so  
well,

A well as they left it, and going through the territory of Berrueca, they went and besieged  
Estella, whereas Lope de Baquedan was Gouverneur for the King of Nauarre. There  
the King of Castile came and ioyned with the Prince his sonne, bringing a great power  
with him.

It is likely that the castle of Buradon was taken and razed at this voyage: whereas  
the Prince D. Charles, who with the royall counsell gouerned the realme in the absence  
of the King his father, was so greued, being the best fort of Nauarre, as hee held the  
whole realme to be lost: and they say, that as one out of hope, hee tooke a deuice of two  
grey-hounds gnawing of a bone, signifying, that the realme of Nauarre, figured by the  
bone, is situated betwixt Castile and France, and that the Kings of these realmes, which  
were the two grey-hounds did either of them deuour of his side. The city of Estella  
being furiously batted and assaulted, the Prince D. Charles was of opinion to goe and  
speake with the King and Prince, in their campe; hauing therefore obtained a passport,  
he was courteously receiued by them, and his well-spoken reasons so fauourably heard,  
as they were in a manner forced by his modesty and good behaviour to raise the siege,  
the which a great army could hardly haue done: so great force hath vertue, which is  
fashioned by good education, in a Noble disposition; and in truth, there was not to bee  
found (according to the report of Authors) in that age, a more generous Prince nor bet-  
ter taught, then D. Charles of Nauar: for besides the naturall gifts of beauty, mildnesse,  
affability to all men, and greatnesse of courage at need, he was learned in the Scriptures,  
which gouerned his manners, hauing also the knowledge of many good & commendable  
sciences, by the which he was admirable in his life time, and famous after his death: Hee  
loued poesie, hee was well read in Histories, and a subtil Philosopher for his young  
yeeres: so as he translated Aristotles Ethikes into the Castilian tongue, turned into Latin  
by Leonard Aretin, who flourished at that time: wherein hee shewed great dexteritee  
and iudgement, treating of that subiect in such fit termes, as without all doubt Aristotle  
hath not written better in Greeke, nor Aretin so well in his traduction in Latin: this book  
was dedicated by him to his vnclie D. Alphonsus of King of Arragon. Moreouer hee did  
write a breuif Chronicle of the Kings of Nauarre his Progenitors, beginning with the  
D most ancient time, vnto King D. Inigo Arista, and from thence hath continued the Hi-  
story vnto the reigne of King Charles his Grandfather, which Chronicle is to bee found  
at this day in written hand, but full of errors, made by them that haue copied it, for it  
was neuer printed. He did also write some verses, imploying the time which he could  
spare in the government of the realme, in these honest exercises: so as this Prince was  
cherished, beloued and blest of euery man, but of his own father, of whom he demanded  
the realme of Nauarre, being his mothers Inheritance, which bred him great troubles,  
and aduersity, wherein he made proofe of his courage and singular patience, the which  
was better knowne and lamented after his death.

The King of Castile and the Prince his sonne hauing raised his siege from before E-  
stella, left Nauarre, without doing any other harme, and returned to Burgos, from  
whence soone after they led an army against Palenquela, whereas D. Alphonsus Henriquez,  
the Constables sonne, had fortified himselfe, and committed infinite spoiles round a-  
bout. The siege being before this place, the Constable going neere the walles, to  
view the situation thereof, a servant of the Admirals, called Fernand Tremigno, sallied  
out of the towne, with thirty men well armed, who came and charged the Constable and  
them that were with him (being vnarmed) so suddenly, as they put them all in danger  
of their liues. It behoued the Constable to shew his resolution, who like a valiant and  
hardy Knight (as in deed hee was) with his rapier and cloake, made head against this  
troupe, and the rest by his example putting themselves also in defence endured the  
charge, vntill that succors came vnto them from the next lodging of the army; which  
made the enemies to turne head; and retire towards the towne with some losse, the  
which yielded afterwards vpon composition. From thence the King went vnto Ma-  
drigal, where hee had newes that the affaires vpon the Moores frontier succeeded ve-  
nie well.

King Mahomet Aben Ozmen, called Coxo, that is to say, the Halting, had made offer to  
the

Deuice of two  
grey-hounds  
gnawing of a  
bone carried  
by the Prince  
of Nauarre.

Vertues of D.  
Charles Prince  
of Nauarre.

VPrintings of  
Prince Charles.

The Constable  
charged and in  
danger so bee  
saue.

Moores,

Moors defeated here unto Arcos.

An. 1452.

Another defeat of the Moors.

24 Nauarre.

An. 1453.

25 Castile.

the King of Nauarre, to fauour his quarrels, promising that when he should inuelt Castile by Nauarre and Arragon he would enter by Andalusia, and assaile the city of Cordoua with all the power of his realme. This Moore hearing afterwards that there had bene some accord made betwixt the Christian Princes, did not forbear to make waie on his part withall violence, sending troupes of horse and foot diuers waies to spoile, whereof a band of six hundred horse and eight hundred foot were encountered nere vnto Arcos, by D. John Ponce de Leon, Earle of Arcos, who made a notable slaughter. This Nobleman being somewhat sickly in Marchena, had bene aduertised of the disorder which these spoilers caused by a Christian renegado, sometimes called *Benedict* of Chinchilla, and then he was named *Manfarres*: wherevpon drawing together about 300. horse and 600. foot, he went that way, being led by his spy, where hauing marcht foureteen leagues that day and night, he came the next day where the Moors were, who expected him not, who hauing put their foot-men before, to recover some place of safety, the horsemen made head against the Christians, and fought long, whilst that their foot-reited: but in the end the Earle of Arcos had the victory, there being aboue four hundred horsemen slaine vpon the place, and five and fifty taken prisoners, with a hundred good horses offeruice. The Moors fainted not for this route, but within a while after, and the same yeere 1452. they entred by Murcia, hoping to haue better successe in that country, being six hundred horse and fiftene hundred foote, who hauing ruined a great part of the country, using all kinds of cruelty, they draue away aboue 40000. head of cattail great and small, and about fifty prisoners: whereof D. *Alphonso Fajardo* being aduertised, hee wrote speedily to D. *Diego* of Ribera, Governour of Murcia, Marshall of the Kings lodging, that he should come forth of the city with all that were fit to beare armes, the which he did presently, and came to Lorca with seuentie horse and fuch hundred foote, whereas D. *Alphonso Fajardo* met him with two hundred horse and 1500. foote, with these forces they went to affront the Moors, and charged them, breaking them three times, but they rallied themselves twice againe together, yet at the third they were victors, with the slaughter of aboue eight hundred of their men, and twelve captaines; and of Christians there were forty slaine vpon the place, and aboue two hundred wounded: by which victory, the booy was rescued. There is no other mention made in our Histories of the deeds of this King *Mahomet Aben Ozmeh* the Lame, but that hee was depriued of his Realme by the Infant *Aben-Ismael*, who kept at Malaga, being assisted and fauored by the King of Castile, but the yeere is not certaine.

D. *Frederic Henriques* Admirall of Castile, being retired againe to his sonne in law the King of Nauarre for that they kept not the promises made in the aboue mentioned accord, did also thinke that it was lawfull for him to say, that for his part hee would not be bound to performe to the King of Castile that which he had sworne and promised: wherefore he led with him Queene *Isabel* his daughter, and deliuered her to the King her husband. This married couple being together, it was not long before the Queene was with child, the remainyng at a place called *Fresne* in Arragon: where King *John* being exceeding glad of these newes, he caused her to goe into Nauarre, there to be deliuered. She made her residence in the towne of *Sanguette*, the remainder of the yeere 1453. and there she applied her selfe, with the Prince Don *Charles*, and the Councell of the Realme, to the government of the State, the King her husband consenting thereto, but it was not very pleasing to many Knights of Nauarre, who were affectionate seruants to the Prince, namely to the family and faction of *Beaumont*: holding that the authority of a mother in law could neither be good nor profitable for the Prince nor Realme.

The time of the Constables punishment did now approach, the measure of his villanies being full, whereof he himselfe did seeke Iustice, by his impudencie, and vnlimited desire of reuenge. He hated D. *Pedro* of Estuniga Earle of Plaisance deadly, and was in like manner hated by him. The Constable laied an ambush for this Earle, to take him prisoner, which was the greatest matter he could doe to be reuenged his mighty enemies; for being once taken, it was easie for him who had the authority and force of the Realme in his power, to finde them guilty.

The

A The Earle being aduertised of this practise, he did impart his designe to the Prince, the Marquis of Santillana, and to the Earles of Benauent and Haro, with others: which was, to loose his life, or to make the Constable loose his. The Prince Don *Henry* made him no answer, as the rest did, who by the negotiation of *Diego de Valera*, laied a plot amongst them, that the Earle of Plaisance and the Marquis of Santillana, should send their eldest sonnes with five hundred Launces, vnder pretext of a quarrell which was betwixt the Earle of Benauent, and D. *Pedro Aluarez Osorio*; and that passing nere vnto Vailledolit, whereas the King and the Constable were, they should finde means to seize vpon a gate, & drawing their men into the town, they should take or kil the Constable, publishing, that it was done by the commandement of Prince *Henry*. But it succeeded not, for the Constable being aduertised hee caused the King to dislodge and led him to Burgos. These things being imparted by the King of Castile to Queene *Isabel*, who was no friend to the Constable, she embraced this occasion, and induced the King to let these Noblemen doe what they had resolved, the which was easie to effect for that the King was already distast of his Constable.

The Queene did not only this good office, but she did sollicit the confederates to make halt, whilst the time was fit; sending the Countesse of Ribadeo vnto them, vnder colour to visit the Earle of Plaisance her vncler, who had forfeited himselfe in Bejar, carrying letters of credit, who did informe them, as shee was commanded, of the time, place, and means they should hold, to seize vpon the Constable, or to dispatch him. This C Ambassage deliuered vnto the Earle, reioycied him much: and for that he was lame himselfe, he presently sent D. *Aluaro* of Estuniga his eldest sonne, with *Diego* of Valera, a Secretary and a Page, to leauy men in Curiel, where they could not for the shortnesse of time assemble aboue seauenty Launces, with the which D. *Aluaro* went towards Burgos; and going before vpon a Mule, with one man that did attend him, hee entred into the Caste of Burgos, commanding his men to follow after, giuing it out in the Country, that they did belong vnto the Constable, but aboue all, that they should so oblerue the time, as their comming into Burgos should bee by night, and that they should not offer to come into the castle, vntill they had newes from him; the which was duly executed, and these seauenty Knights entred into the castle on Monday at night, the first of May in the yeere 1453. whereas D. *Aluaro* had already drawne in the same night two hundred of his friends of the towne well armed.

The day following there was an vncertaine brute, that the Constable should bee apprehended, who had many other prefaces of his ruine, if hee could haue fore-seene it. The King being priuy to all these matters, had a conceit that this apprehension could not be made without great scandale, and therefore he sent commandement to D. *Aluaro*, that hee should returne to Curiel, for that he could not execute that, for the which hee was come, but D. *Aluaro*, a valiant and hardy Knight, made answer, that vpon his life hee would seize vpon the Constable, and deliuer him vnto him, so he would be pleased to giue him a decree, or warrant to apprehend him, the which the King caused to be made in this forme. D. *Aluaro* of Estuniga, my Alguazil Mayor, or Marshall, I command you to apprehend the body of D. *Aluaro* de Luna, Master of Saint James, and if hee offer to defend himselfe, that you kill him. And moreover the King commanded the Reclors and Aldermen of the city to put the people in armes, according to their regiments and bands, and to keepe them in battaile in the Bishops place, at the breake of day. At which time D. *Aluaro* going out of the castle, to inuelt the Constables lodging, and to take him, hee received diuers commandments from the King, that he should not fight, but only belesege him, and fer guards about his lodging, that he might not escape, which did much discontent him. Comming nere the place, his men beganne to cry, *Castile, Castile, for the Kings liberty*: At which noyse the Constable came to the windoe, and his men put themselves in defence, many shot, both with bowes and harguebuses, wherewith there were some slaine, and others hurt. D. *Aluaro* of Estuniga sent often to intreat the King, that hee would giue him leaue to fight, for they flue his men from the windoes of the Constables lodging, but he would neuer grant it. Therevpon arriued D. *Alphonso* of Carthagea Bishop of Burgos, and Ray Diaz de Mendoça Lord Steward, to whom the Constable,

Queene Isabel fauours the Lords against the Constable.

Preface of the Constables and.

Warrant to apprehend the Constable.





Death of D.  
John King of  
Castle.

where the Queene his wife was, leauing the whole government of his Realmes, to the above named Bishop and Prior. His sicknesse increasing, he made his testament, and left to Queene *Isabel* the city of *Soria*, with the townes of *Madrigal* and *Aurelano*, and to his sonne *D. Alonso* the administration of the Maistership of *Saint Iames*, whom he would willingly haue made heire of his crowne, and King of *Castile* and *Leon*; if it had bene lawfull, so much he did mislike Prince *Henry* his eldest son, for his disobedience and lightnesse. To his daughter *D. Isabella*, he gaue the towne of *Cuellar*, with a great quantity of gold for her dowry. He did not long surriue his Constable, but died of the violence of his quartan ague, at *Vailledol*, in Iuly the same yeere 1454, hauing held the Realm 47 yeeres, being 49 yeeres old and five months: his body was for that time lied in the Monastery of *S. Pablo* of *Vailledol*, to be transported to the *Carthusians* of *Miraflores* at *Burgas*, as he had ordained by his testament. The Constables death had reconciled the King of *Nauarre* vnto him, and restored all the other Noblemen to fauour, yea the Admiral *D. Frederic*, who was then tied into *Arragon*; notwithstanding hauing made to much hast to re-enter into *Castile*, without an ample licence from the King, hee had by commandment to goe backe, and not to returne into *Castile*, yelless he were sent for, vpon great penalties. This King had refused to make warre against *D. Alonso* King of *Portugal*, for the deuoureries which he made vpon the *Westerne* coast of *Affrike*, beyond *Cap Verd*, towards *Guinee*, saying these conquests did belong to the crowne of *Castile*, but drew brake of this desaigne, and continued the peace of *Portugal*.

27  
Portugal.

The Estate of which Realme after the death of King *Edward* had bene gouerned by the Infant *D. Pedro*, in quality of a Regent, chosen by the Estates, by reason of King *D. Alphonso* young yeeres. *D. Pedro* had for his greatest Aduersary his brother *D. Alphonso* Earle of Barcellos, and his sonnes, the Earles of Oren and Arroyolos, notwithstanding which contention, King *D. Alphonso* beeing come to the age of fixteene yeeres, married at Saint Iren, with Donna *Isabella*, daughter to the Infant *D. Pedro*, receiving the nuptial blessing from the hand of *D. Fernand* Archbishop of Braga. *D. Alphonso* Earle of Barcellos, sonneto King *Iohn*, had obtained in the yeere, 1448. of his brother *D. Pedro* Regent of the realme, although they were in quarrell, the Estate of Brangance, in title of a Duchie, and the castle of Lotero, by the decease of Don *Goncalo*, who heldall those places.

This good turne was ill requited by the new Duke : for he seeing him make no shew to give over his Regency, notwithstanding that the King had bene declared captable to governe his realme himselfe, and being married, he put a conceit into the Kings head, that the Infant D. Pedro had doe the like to him, that he might seize upon the crowne. For this cause the king did persecute D. Pedro his vncke : so as he forced him to retire to Coimbra, of which hee was Duke. Being much incensed at this injury, hee had certaine practises with them of Lisbon, to give him entry and support in that city, with his partisans and friends, whereof he had many, meaning to rebel against the king his Nephew. These practises being discovered, the king gathered together all the men he could with great secrecy, to surpris D. Pedro upon the point of the execution of his enterprize: and came and encountered him as he was comming to Lisbon, at a place called Aforobeira, where hauing fought with him, vanquished, and flaine him, hee ended those troubles. It may be the Infant was innocent of the death of Queene Leonora: but if it be true that he caused payson to be giuen her, hee was paid with the like money, for hee was flaine with a poisoned arrow. There died many good knights in this battaile, and amongst others D. Alvaro of Almada, Earle of Abranches. Infante Ferdinand in the royall Monastery

They did for a long time refuse to burie the Infants bodie in the royall Monastery of the battraile, an argument of the kings great hatred, and of the Duke of Bragança's against him: yet they had cause to lament him, for they wanted him in the Government; The duke of Bragança loone after demanded the City of Porto, and the towne of Guimaraes of the king, the which hee gaue him: Guimaraes received him, but Porto would not in any sort: for they would maintaine themselves for the king, and so did Portalegre, which the king had giuen vnto the Earle Don

A *Sancho* of Logrogno, brother to *D. Constance*, the Duke of Bragança's second wife, being sister also to *D. Pedro* Archbishop of Lisbon.

In the yeere 1451. Donna *Leonora* the Kings sister was married to the Emperour *Fredrick* the third duke of Austria, and the betrothing was in the city of Lisbon, by the Noblemen that were deputed by him, having full power and authority, who afterwards conducted their Emperesse by sea to Pisa, being accompanied by the Marquis of Valencia, by *D. Lewis Cortes*, Bishop of Coimbra, *D. Lope* of Almada Earle of Abrantes, and other Noblemen of Portugal: whose marriage was celebrated at Siena, the yeere following 1452. In the which King *Alphonso* had a sonne by his wife, called *D. Iohn*, which lived little. That yeere the body of the Infant *D. Pedro*, yncle and father in law to the King, was taken from Alberca where it had been interred, and transported to the castle of Abrantes, or at the least his bones.

The coasts of Affrike, towards the Westerne and South seas, were at that time discovered by the Portugals, who brought gold from Guinny, whereof King D. *Alphonso* caused a certaine coyne to be made, which he called *Croissats*, by reason of the *Croissadoe* granted by Pope *Nicholas* the fifth to make warre against the Infidels. D. *Aluar Gonsalves* Bishop of Lamego, was the bringer of this *Croissadoe* into Portugal. D. *Iohn* the second King of Castile, being growne ieaalous of these nauigations and conquests, as I haue said, sought to hinder them, sending word vnto the King *Alphonso* that they did belong vnto the crowne of Castile, and therefore he did forbid the Portugals to goe thither: any more, else he would make violent warre against him. King *Alphonso* answered his Ambassadors (who were D. *Iohn de Guzman*, and Doct<sup>r</sup> *Fernand Lopez* of Burgos) very mildly, that he had alwaies held that the conquests and decoueries of those coasts did belong vnto the Realme of Portugal: yet he would alwaies, if need were, submit himselfe to iudgement, and would desist, if it were said, that it did belong to any other: and therefore he intreated him that, without good information, hee would not breake the peace betwixt the two realmes: Hereupon the King of Castile died, in the yeere 1454. at which time King *Alphonso* had a daughter borne, called D. *Isaone*, which was a very vertuous and religious Princeffe.

D In the end, the body or bones of the Infant *D. Pedro*, having remained some time in the castle of Arantes, and removed from thence to Saint Eloy at Lisbon, they were buried, at the intercession of the Pope, the Duke of Burgundy, of the Ducheſſe his wife, and of the *Queene D. Iſabella*, and of many Noblemen and Prelats, in the Monaſtery of the battaile : ſo great account they made of a ſmall matter in theſe ceremonies, as the whole world muſt of force bee therein employed. The funeralls were celebrated with great pompe and ſolemnity.

*The end of the nineteenth Booke.*

 $Sff_2$ 

THE

Defeat and  
death of the  
Infant D.<sup>o</sup> Pe-  
dro Duke of  
Coimbr.

Marriage of  
the Emperor  
Frederic the 3  
and D. Leon-  
ora of Portugal

Descouerie, of  
the coast of  
Affrik, by the  
Portugals  
which discontented the  
Castilians,



## THE TWENTETH BOOKE of the Generall History of Spaine.

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Here follow the names of the Princes raigninge  
in Spaine in this twentieth Booke.

CASTIL, and LEON. ARRAGON and NAVARRE.

19. D. Henry the 4. and XL.

18. D. Iohn 2. himselfe.



King Iohn the second being dead, his sonne Henry the fourth of that name succeeded him in the Kingdomes of Castile and Leon: who by diuers was surnamed the liberrall: for he was not onely bountifull, but a great water and prodigall, the which he did inherit from the King his father. The surname of vnhabile was giuen vnto him, by reason of his naturall weakenesse, being in the company of women, the which his Queenes had experience of: and yet those which haue written of his stature and proportion, say, that he was strong and bigge, of a manly aspect, fierce and hairy.

This Prince was light-headed, variable & inconsistent: yet for all that offraie demeanure, curteous and affable to his familiar friends, in so much as he neuer said thou to any one

Surnames of  
liberrall and  
vnhabile.

Qualities and  
manners of the  
King D. Henry  
the fourth.

he did euer maintaine his gravity with Princes: he was a louer of peace and did natural-ly put off from himselfe the managing of matters of State. Hee would at one time be bold and confident, without suspicion, and within a while after contrary to himselfe, solitary, and an enemy of company; most of which qualities he had by inheritance from his father. He did take great pleasure in hunting, in musick, and in buildings of houses of pleasure, and he did likewise erect monasteries with other religious houses: he would oftentimes sit and sing in Churches with singing men: he was a great eater, but he did neuer tast any wine. By his bounty and liberality he raised diuers to great honors and riches who were issued from base and obscure families. Thus King Henry, at the age of one and thirty yeeres was proclaimed King at Valodolite in the presence of D. John of Pacheco Marques of Villena (his most priuate and familiar friend) and his brother D. Pedro Giron Maister of Calatrava, D. Ruy Diaz of Mendoza, great Maister of the houlde to the late King D. John, D. Pedro d' Aguilar, Lord of Priego and of Cagnette, the Marthal D. Diego Fernandes of Cordoua Lord of Baena, and other Noblemen which were then at the Court.

The beginning of his reigne was very plausible, by reason that he did enlarge of his owne accord, without being thereto solicited by any one, D. Garcia Aluarez of Toledo Earle of Alua, and D. Diego Manriques Earle of Treuigno, restoring them to all their former riches honours, and dignities; and hauing made a certaine speech to the Lords that were then about him, they gaue him great and humble thanks, reputing that demonstration of his clemency as an high fauour, and so with all reuerence kissed his hands. He displaced none of all those which were in any office or place of dignity during the life of his father, but receiued them into his seruice in the selfe same quality that they were in before. In regard whereof all men thought the Kingdome happy being fallne into the hands of so good, so courteous and liberall a Prince, and they did yeeld infinite thanks vnto God, the only giuer of so desired and necessary a fauour for the Realmes of Castile and Leon.

Diuers great Lords so soone as they heard of the death of King John, came in all hast to moune with him for the same, to do him reuerence and to take the oth of allegiance due to the new King. The Ecclesiasticall persons were, D. Alphonso Carrillo d' Acuna, Archbishop of Toledo, D. Rodrigo de Luna Archbishop of Saint James, D. Alphonso Fonseca Archbishop of Seuil, D. Alphonso de Cartagena Bishop of Burgos, Friar Lopes de Barriento Bishop of Cuenca, D. Alphonso de Madrigall, called Tostado the most renowned Bishop of Auila, D. Pedro Baca Bishop of Leon, D. Pedro of Castile Bishop of Palenca, D. Goncalo of Illeca Bishop of Cordoua, D. Lewis d' Acuna Bishop of Segobia, D. Inigo Manrique Bishop of Ouidio with diuers other prelates. The secular Lords were D. Fernand de Velasco Earle of Haro, D. Alphonso Pimentell Earle of Benauent, D. Gaston de la Cerde Earle of Medina Celi, D. Diego Manrique Earle of Treuigno, D. John Manrique Earle of Castagneda, D. Rodrigo Manrique Earle of Paredes, D. Gil yuell Manrique Earle of Oforno, D. Aluaro of Estuniga Earle of Plaisance, whose father was newly dead, much about the time of the Conitables decease, another D. Pedro d' Acuna Earle of Transfamar, D. Pedro d' Acuna Earle of Valencia, another D. Pedro d' Acuna Lord of Duegnas and Tariego, brother to the Archbishop D. Alphonso Carrillo, D. John de Sylas Standard-bearer to the King, and many others, who with the deputies of townes and Provinces there assembled, sware to the Kings fealty and homage after the accustomed manner.

Now the King being desirous to suppress all fore-passed quarrels, and to settle a firme peace in his dominions, did at his coming to the crowne send Ambassadors to the King of Nauarre, who greatly complained because of the confiscation of all his goods in Castile, whereupon it was concluded that in recompence of all the wrongs that hee could pretend, he should haue certaine yearly pensions assigned him out of the ordinary revenue of the Kingdome of Castile, in regard of which assignation he should deliver vp into the King of Castiles hands, the townes of Atienca, La Pegna de Alcazar: it was likewise agreed vpon that the Admiral D. Frederic, D. John of Tovar Lord of Berlanga, likewise agreed vpon that the Admiral D. Frederic, D. John of Tovar Lord of Berlanga, likewise agreed vpon that the children of the Earle of Castro lately dead, and all the Knights and others which

The King of  
Nauarre and  
other lords  
perished, re-  
compensed &  
respected by  
the new king  
D. Henry.

A were fled out of the Kingdome by reason of the late warres, should be repealed and restored to all their goods and lands. These things were soone effected, and the Admirall with the rest returned to Valodolite to kiss the Kings hands, who receiued them very graciously, and yet for all that did put them in minde of the faith and obedience due to Kings, to the end they might the better remember it afterward, and so with his free pardon dismissed them. And besides all this, the better to confirme his peace on all sides with Christian Princes, he sent Ambassadors into Italy to Alphonso King of Arragon, to the end to renew the leagues and ancient alliances betwixt the crownes of Castile and Arragon, who were receiued and entertained with great honour; a notable argument whereof was, that as the Ambassadors of Castile and the Commissioners of Arragon stood vpon termes who should be first named in the instruments and writings, the King D. Alphonso decreed that the precedence should be giuen to Castile, in regard that he himselfe reigning ouer the Arragonois was a Prince issued from the stocke of Castile, an ancient race of the Kings of Gothes: so that in all the writings which did concerne the league and alliance, the King of Castile was first named, the which his Ambassadors at their returne certified to him and his counsell to their exceeding ioy and contentment.

But notwithstanding these good beginnings, if the reigne of the late King John was turbulent and troublesome, and if euer Spaine was seene to be shaken with furious tempests, it was now most of all by the miserable government of his sonne King Henry, whose clemency and careless gentleness was the onely cause thereof, making him to forget the other part of the duty of a Prince which is iustice, by means whereof he fell into the contempt of the great ones of his Court, and namely of his most priuate ministers, so that both hee and his Kingdome fell into very dangerous streights. At the beginning he and his affaires were gouerned by D. John de Pacheco Marques of Villena, a wise, rich, and discrete person, and one well seene in the managing of state-affaires, likewise by the Archbishop of Seuil, D. Alphonso de Fonseca, a prelate of an excellent wit, but lesse graue then belcomed the place and ranke he held; by whom for certaine yeeres space the Kingdome was well gouerned to the contentment of all men.

D The first martiall enterprife attempted in the reigne of King Henry was against the Moores of Granado, ouer whom reigned Ismael, the same who had taken the crowne from Mahumet the Lame: for the execution whereof King Henry assembled the Estates of his kingdome in the city of Cuellar, vnto whom hauing propounded what he ment to doe, D. Inigo Lopes de Mendoza, Marques of Santillana in the name of them all, answered him in such eloquent and discrete termes, as did highly please and content him. The warre being resolued and decreed in that assembly, eury man went home to his houlde to make preparation, and in the beginning of the yere 1455. they began to march towards the frontiers of Andalusia. The King parting from Segobia ordained viceroys in Castile and Leon for matters of iustice, D. Alphonso Carrillo Archbishop of Toledo and D. Pedro Fernandes de Velasco Earle of Haro, who should keepe their residence at Valodolite. The army being in a redinesse entred into the Moores country, being in number fife thousand horsemen, and a great company of footmen making great spoile euen to the wallles of the city of Granado, notwithstanding that Ismael had bene established King by the helpe and fauour of the King of Castile D. John deceased. On the fourth day the Christian army returned to Eccia, and some few daies after went towards Malaga, burning and spoiling as before, albeit that a great company of Moorish horsemen did oftentimes present them the combate, which the King by the wife and discrete counsell of his captaines did euer more refuse, and brought backe his army in safety to Cordoua laden with all manner of spoiles.

F This yere the sute (begunne many moneths past betwene King Henry of Castile and Ladie Blanche of Nauarre his wife) was ended before Pope Nicholas the fift, of whom he entreated to be diuorced from her, and to take another wife, because, as he said, she was barren. The Pope granting his request, separated them, albeit it was very well knowne that the fault was in himselfe, and not in the Ladie, who with great griefe returned home into Nauarre, hauing lost the title and dignity of Queene of Castile: but King Henry, not

Castile put to  
before Arra-  
gon.

3  
The gentleness  
of a Prince, not  
accompanied  
with iustice &  
authority, is but  
a weakish talism  
stone, and his  
ruine.

4  
Matters and  
Castile.

5  
Castile.

Second marriage of the King of Castile.

not being contented with the experience which he had made of himselfe with this Ladie, would needs make proofe of anothe, and by D. *Fernand* his great Chaplaine caused a marriage to be treated of betwene him and the Infanta Donna *Leone* of Portugall, sister to king Don *Alphonso*, and daughter to the late king Don *Edward*, a Prince of great beauty, who was betrothed vnto him, notwithstanding she had sufficient notice of the kings infidelity, yet she consented thereunto, being tickled with a desire to bee Queene of Castile. The king Don *Henry* without receiuing any thing with her, didendow her with an hundred and twenty thousand florens, to be leuyed vpon cite Real, Olmedo, and their lands, and for her ordinarie expences, a million, and 500000. marauedis then current. It was also agreed, that the Infanta his next wife might bring with her 8 douzin Ladies of noble parentage, vnto whom the King would giue husbands fitting their degrees, and of these the Ladie *Beatrice de Noroño* should be gouernesse, who for her part had leaue to bring with her foure yong Gentlewomen, with like hope. All these things promised and confirmed by the king, Don *John de Guzman* the first Duke of Medina Sidonia, and Earle of Niebla, was sent to meet the Infanta, who brought her to Cordoua where the marriage was solemnized with great magnificence: the Arch-bishop of Tours being then Ambassadour in the Court of Spaine for the French king *Charles* the 7. performed the ceremony. All manner of pompes, shewes, and pastimes accustomed at such feasts were there performed, saving that in the opinion of all men, the Bride remained the next day as pure a virgin as she was borne of her mother. Both King *Henries* Queenes were his cousin germanes once removed, daughters, the one to the king of Nauarre, the other of Lady *Leonor* of Arragon his sister, cousin-germaines to his father.

About this time Pope *Nicholas*, by his death, gaue place to a Spaniard borne in Xativa, a towne in the kingdome of Valencia, called Don *Alphonso Borgia*, Cardinal of the title of S. *Sixtus*, who was named *Calixtus* the 3. a man of 77. yeares of age, who had bene a Counsellor to *Alphonso* K. of Arragon. By him was made Cardinall a nephew of his named *Rodrigo Borgia*, yet he was not of the family of Borgia, but of the Lançoles, a noble family in the kingdome of Valencia, sonne to Don *Jeffrey Lançol*, Lord of Canales, and to a sister of Pope *Calixtus*, he did intitle him Cardinall of S. *Nicholas in carceri* *italiano*, who afterward attayned the Papacie.

Anticipation of the Town of Portugall.

Whilest that the marriage lasted at Cordoua, great numbers of souldiers were drawne from all parts of Castile into Andalusia, the number of them amounting to about fourteene thousand horse, and therefore thousand foot, whose chiefe Commanders were the Admirall *Frederic*, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the Marquis of Santillana, hee of Villena, the Earles of Alba de Tormes, Benauent, Arcos, S. *Estephan*, Alba de Lista, Valence, Cabra, Castagneda, Oforno and Paredes, and the Arch-bishop of Seuille, besides others of lesser note: with these forces the king entred into the Moores country, and with out dis-banding his army, or giuing aduantage, or hope to the enemy to come to battell, hee made roades vp and downe for 20. dayes space, so as it was thought, that the Moores would not be able in many yeates to gather any profit or fruit in their country, the which the king thought to be the surest and easiest way vtterly to ruine & ouercome them. Hauing brought backe his army to Eccia laden with spoiles, not long after, he discharged the greatest number of them, and dismissed the Marquis of Santillana, the Earles of Benauent, Alba, Plaisance and others home to their houses, he himselfe remaining in Andalusia with the people of the country, and the town garriisons did make continuall roades vpon the Moores all that Sommer, at the latter end whereof he returned to Auila and Segobia, to giue order for the war of the yeare following.

War against the Moors.

*Alphonso* king of Portugall hauing by the marriage of his sister confirmed the peace and ancient alliances with the Crowne of Castile, determined with himselfe to vex the Moores in Africa: the same yeare in the city of Lisbon was born vnto him a sonne, who at his christening was named Don *John*: the baptisme was solemnized by Don *Fernand* Arch-bishop of Braga, the Infant was carried by Don *Fernand* his vnckle, his Godfathers were the Earles of Arroyolos, of Don *Vasco* of Atzaydo, Prior of S. *Johns*, and D. *Payo Correa*: the godmothers, the Infanta D. *Catherine* the Kings sister, and the Ladie *Beatrice de Meneses* one of the Queenes chiefe Ladies.

In

A In these times began the troubles and calamities in Nauarre, occasioned by the factions in that kingdome, after this manner. The Prince of Viana Don *Charles* was in his flourishing age, and in the absence of his father had very virtuously, with great iustice, and to the liking of all men, gouerned the Realme of Nauarre, by the good counsell of the Lords of the countrey: and namely by the Lord *Lewis* of Beaumont: now the king his father hauing married to his second wife the Ladie *Joane Henriques*, daughter to the Admirall of Castile, would haue made her a partaker in the gouernment, the which was distast by many, who did stirre vp the Prince, being lawfull heire of the Kingdome, not to suffer his mother-in-law to thrust her selfe into the command of his possessions. The desire of rule which tickled all great and magnanimous natures: did so farre possesse the Prince Don *Charles*, hitherto obedient to his father, as hee declared vnto him the purpose that he had to enioy alone the right of his mothers inheritance, in which his mother-in-law had no part, and thereupon made preparation to send her forth of the countrey, and to resist the king his father, if he opposed himselfe against his determination, and in conclusion to haue by way of armes that which he purposed. From this pernicious quarrell, which proved so successeles to the sonne against the father, did spring the two factions of those of Beaumont and Grammont, which for many yeares did infect the kingdome of Nauarre, names taken from two mighty families, to wit, that of Beaumont beyond the Pirenean hills, and that of Grammont on the hither side neere vnto France, albeit that the house of Beaumont had his original from Normandy, and was first of all called *Lufa*; neuertheless both of them of old issued from the bloud royall of Nauarre, the which the armies of both those houses do witness, and namely, the chiefe of the faction of Grammont, who are the Marshalls of the kingdome, the Marques of Cortes, do not intitle themselves of Grammont but of Nauarre. Now the Lord *Lewis* of Beaumont Constable of Nauarre, being chiefe of his house, he and all his followed the Princes: on the contrarye, the house of Grammont and their adherents, did maintain the Kings quarrell against his sonne, and of this house were chiefe, the Lord *Peter* of Peralta, who by reason of these tumults was made Constable, and the Marshall Don *Pedro* of Nauarre. The sonnes reasons were, that being sonne and lawfull heire to Lady *Blanche* the right Queene and heire of Nauarre, he ought to gouerne; seeing that the king his father had made a second marriage, which barred him from any pretence of right or claime. On the contrarye the king sayd, that by agreement of his first marriage, it was concluded, that whether he had any children or no by his wife Queene *Blanche*, that he should raigne during his life: to the which article the Lords and States of the kingdome were sworn, and therefore it ought to take place.

The Prince disputed against this poynt, as being made to his prejudice, not good in law, and therefore of no force: for as by the lawes of the Realme, two being married, the suruiuer enioyeth the goods of the partie deceased, so long as they continue in widow-hood, but so soone as they marrie againe, they lose that right. Now the question was, whether the condition agreed vpon in the contract of marriage, in the behalfe of K. *John*, made against the lawes of Nauarre, and to the prejudice of the Prince his sonne, were good or no: but how iust so euer it was, they fell to armes. Queene *Joane* remaining in Elcella, being aduertised of Prince *Charles* his conspiracie, gaue forth with notice thereof to the king her husband, who came out of Arragon into Nauarre with a great company of men at armes, vnto whom those of Grammont ioynded themselves. First of all he tryed by messages and ambassadors, if hee could diuert the Prince his sonne from this dishonorable pursuit, whereby (as he sayd) he did blemish the shining luster of the races of Nauarre, Castile, Arragon, and France, from whence he was descended: the question betwixt the father and sonne was brought to very good termes, by the reasons alleged by King *Johns* Ambassadors, had not the counsell of the chiefe of the part of Beaumont hindered it, who kept the Prince in his first resolution, to haue the absolute rule of his kingdome without any exception: and those of Grammont did incite the king against his sonne, both parts thinking (as it is very likely) to increase their honours, riches, and dignities rather by these troubles, then by the peace of the kingdome.

All treaties and negotiations of peace ceasing, the Prince assembled his forces, as well Knights

Nauarre. Don Charles cannot endure his mother-in-law partaker with him in the regencie.

The desire of rule, an effect of a magnanimous nature.

Factions of Beaumont and Grammont in Nauarre.

The house of Beaumont called of old, Lufa.

An. 1456. Knights as the common people of his partie, and carried himself as king the year 1456, A giuing gifts, priuiledges, and liberties, with other royall acts, the letters and writings whereof were found in these times in the citie of Toralba, and other places of the country: he called also from Castile diuers of his friends, of whom certain troupes entering by Logroño into Nauarre were ouerthrowne neere to Viana, by the King Don *John*, who like a wife and a discrete Captaine went and met them, not suffering all his forces to ioyne together, before that he had fought with them: after which exploit these were diuers encounters betwixt them with doubtfull victorie, neere to Estella, Pampelona, Oñate, and Lombier: so as the last battell of this first ciuill warre, was fought neere to the citie of Ayuar, in the which, by the prowess and valour of *Peter* of Peralta, and *Lopes* of Castillo, and others of the faction of Grammont, those of Beaumont were vanquished, and Prince *Charles* taken prisoner, who was carried to Tafalla by the commandement of the king, who came thither soone after, and did labour to bring him to some agreement of peace, the which the sonne (being ill aduised) did contemne: and that which was worse, he going about to incite his neighbour kings to take in hand the defence of his cause, a packet of letters was taken which he sent to king *Alphonso* of Portugal, wherein diuers matters were discovered, by reason whereof hee was shut vp in the castle of Mont Roy. Hereupon the factions were so flied one against the other, as through all the cities of the kingdom, betwixt neighbors and townsmen, whole families did so bandie themselves, that infinite cruelties, murders, burning of houses, and other insolencies and impieties of ciuill warres were committed. The imprisonment of the Prince was so irksome to the Lord *Lewis* of Beaumont, Earle of Lerin, as he did not cease by all means, and assurances that he offered, till that he had obtained his deliuerie of the King, for the which he himselfe (so dearly did he loue him) gaue his owne person in hostage, hee ranne to armes, and entered the field the second time, and then the factions of Beaumont and Grammont, returned euery one to his side, and made more cruell and barbarous warre then before, which the Earle did seele many yeares after. The end D was, the Prince was againe defeated neere to Estella, and his people dispersed, but hee escaped by the swiftnesse of his horse, and hauing resolved neuer more to pursue this warre, he went to Naples to the king *Alphonso* his Vnkle, leauing his friends in Nauarre in great trouble and danger, where the seede of discord betwixt the two factions did encrease and spring vp diuers times afterward.

The Prince Don *Charles* passing thorow France and Italy, was euery where receiued with great honor, and namely at Rome by Pope *Calixtus* a Spaniard: but chiefly his vnkle D. *Alphonso* did feast and welome him, admiring his graue wisdom and kingly qualities, answerable in euery point to the report that had beene made of him: and being desirous to see him reconciled to the King Don *John* his father, hee laboured very much E therein, performing thereby all the Offices of a louing kinsman and Christian Prince: for he did daily put him in mind of the duty of children towards their fathers, wherunto Princes are more bound than other men, in regard that their subjects do commonly fashion themselves after their examples: and on the other side, hee did write to the King D. *John*, alledging all reasons that might be auaylable to induce him to loue and desire the presence of his sonne: but this good and vertuous king had not the meanes to accomplish so holy and laudable a work, being preuented by death, which seized on him in the new castle of Naples, the year 1458. hauing reigned two and fortie yeares and two moneths in Arragon, and foure and twenty yeares in Naples, in the 65. year of his age.

This Prince, after that *Renee* of Aniou had retired himself into France the yere 1443, finding himselfe master of the whole kingdom of Naples, had contention with the Venetians, in the behalfe of *Philip Maria* Duke of Milan, then against his sonne in lawe *Francis Sforza*, who was duke of Milan, and last of all against the Venetians, Geneuois, and Florentines in league together, in which wars he alwaies maintained the reputation of

The great loue  
of the Earle of  
Lerin to the  
Prince Don  
Charles.

Arragon.

A of a great and excellent Captaine. And againe, in the year 1453, he had some likelihood of a future warre about his kingdom of Naples, against *Renee* of Aniou, who had repassed the mountaines, and was come downe into Lombardy accompanied with *Lewis* the Dauphin of France, with two thousand men at armes, hoping by the fauour of the duke *Francis Sforza*, and the Florentines to be able to re-enter into his lost kingdom, and to driue *Alphonso* out of it, but that iourney proued vaine: then the King D. *Alphonso* being at king in peace, purchased the friendship of the Duke *Francis Sforza*, and contracting alliance with him, he caused D. *Alphonso*, sonne to his son D. *Fernand* of Arragon, duke of Calabria, to marry with *Hippolita Maria* daughter to the Duke *Sforza*: and hee did betroth D. *Leonora*, daughter to his son *Fernand*, to *Sforza Maria* son to the same Duke *Sforza*, notwithstanding that his second marriage took no effect, for D. *Leonora* was afterwards married to *Hercules de Este*, the second Duke of Ferrara. The king D. *Alphonso* being in league and friendship with the most part of the Potentates of Italy, Pope *Calixtus* a Spaniard borne in Xatua, his subiect, and one that had bene of his counsell, did euer carry a particular hatred against him, the which hee declared by the answer which hee made to the kings Ambassadors at Rome, at such time as they came to congratulate his assumption to the papall dignity: for they asking him in their masters name, how they should carry themselves one toward another: the Pope sayd; Let him gouerne his kingdom, and let me alone with my Popedom. And he did more openly manifest it after the death of D. *Alphonso*: for he did as much as in him lay, to minister all hinderances to D. *Fernand* his son and successor in the kingdom of Naples, disputing with him about his right therein, saying, that D. *Alphonso* his father could not appoint a king in the kingdom of Naples, which held of the Church, and that it was in the Popes power to inuest therein whome he pleased: and the king D. *Fernand* could neuer haue other remedie of him, who afterward was confirmed and established by Pope *Pius* his successor. Now D. *Alphonso* had bene absent halfe the time of his reigne out of his kingdom of Arragon, leauing his wife D. *Maria* of Castile Gouernor in his Realmes and Dominions in Spain, a vertuous and chaste Princess, assisted by his brother D. *John* of Nauarre. By this Lady hee had no children, and he parted from her the second time in great anger, by reason of her heauy heart wherewith she was greatly possessed, the which made her to commit an act inhumane, cruell, and in no sort royall: for shee vnderstanding that the king her husband made loue to one of her Ladies, named D. *Margaret* of Xar, she caused her one night to be strangled in her bed, being with child in the citie of Valencia, the king being at that time for his pleasure abroad on hunting, which was a speciall cause that hee cared neuer after to liue with her. By other wives he had D. *Fernand*, who succeeded him in the kingdom of Naples, D. *Maria* of Arragon married to the Marquis of Ferrara, D. *Leonora* of Arragon, Princessse of Rossano wife to *Martin Marzan*. At his death hee left for heire in his kingdoms of Arragon, Valencia, Sardynia, Majorca, Minorca, and Sicill, his brother the King D. *John* of Nauarre.

E The gifts and qualities of this Prince comprehended in few words, although they deserue a great volume, were these: concerning the bodie, he was of meane stature, active and well proportioned, of colour somewhat pale, quick-fighted, and gracious, he had a hawk nose, a signe of an haughtie nature: hee was briefe and succinct in his speech, but neate and eloquent, sweet and amiable in his answers, and oftentimes quick and pleasant: few kings had their minds more disposed to goodnesse then he: the Religion according to those times, and the ceremonies belonging thereunto hee had in singular recommendation, so that it is reported of him, that being on a time at Masse, by meanes of a great Earth-quake the church wherein he was, was so shaken, as the people fearing to be slaine by the fall thereof, fledde out at the doores, hee onely remayned vnmooued and fearelesse. And seeing the priest which sung Masse readie to runne away for compaignie, hee stayed him and enforced him to make an end of his seruice. He was liberal to all men, and magnificent in gifts, especially to Princes and their Ambassadors: Hee was a louer of iustice, and yet neuertheless mercifull, full of commiseration, and slow to condemne any man to death, the which he could temper so well, as his clemencie profited, and redounded to the benefite of diuers: yet offenders were punished and corrected, in such

Ingratitude of  
Pope Calixtus.

a cruell act.

Genealogie of  
Arragon.

Disposition of  
King D. *Alphonso* of  
Arragon the 5.

such sort, as his Realmes were neuer since his time so well governed, and cleasned from A all manner of violence and outrage. When hee had overcome his enemies, hee did al- waies shew himselfe meeke and gentle, hee tooke delight in all excellent things, vsing alwaies great modestie therein: hee was sumptuous in moueables, in gold and silver plate, iewels, and other ornaments of rare esteeme, except about his owne royall person, which was euer apparelled according to the common vse and fashion of his Gentlemen, not delighting in rich and costly stufes, nor new fashions: hee was stately and magnifi- cent in martiall playes and shewes, which were frequent in his Court, and no lesse in bul- dings, whereof the royall pallas, the bridge, and great Hospitall of Sarragossa doe make mention.

The new castle at Naples, brought into the forme which now it is, is a worke of hishe made the fortresse of the Egge habitable and commodious: hee caused the marshes a- bout the cittie to be dried vp: hee builded shippes of no meane greatnesse, which see- bout like castles vpon the sea, hee enterdayned a great number of huntmen: but his chief delight and pleasure was in hawking. And being a warlike Prince, hee made two enter- prises into Barbarie, the one to Zerba, anciently called the Isle of the Lotophages, the which hee tooke, and defeated in battell *Butifer* king of Tunis, who came to drue him thence with about an hundred thousand Moores: the other against the towne properly called Affrica, the situation whereof hee very well viewed, hauing a purpose to retume thither, where he burned all the shippes and vessels that he found in the haue: when hee C was at peace in the kingdome of Naples, he gaue ayde and succour to the Despotto of Acarnania assailed by the Turkes, and to *Seanderbeg* Prince of Albania warring vpon the same nation, where his souldiers gaue sufficient proofe of braue warriors, which did greatly redound to the Kings honour. A man would scarce beleue what honour and respect hee did beare to learning and learned men, being oftentimes wont to say, *Thus a King without learning, was like a crowned Ass*, the which sentence hee had read in the pre- face before the Spanish Translation of *Saint Austens* booke *Of the Cittie of God*, and therefore hee employed part of his time in the study of letters, although hee were of good yeares before hee beganne: and hee did neuer neglect the reading of Bookes, nor his con- ference and disputations with learned men, how great affaires of State or warre soeuer hee had.

Being well stricken in yeares, hee euer had in his company an old Grammarian cal- led Master *Martin*, with whome hee delighted greatly to discourse both abroad and at home, and hee did so profit at his studie, that hee did translate *Seneca's* Epistles, a worke very hard, intreating of morall Philosophie, into the Spanish tongue: hee tooke such pleasure in reading the holy Scriptures, as hee would often vaunt, that hee had read the old and new Testament fourteene times ouer. To shew the singular affection hee did beare to learning and learned men, hee gaue for his Deuice in armorie an open booke, and hee would say, that Bookes were Princes best Councillors, with protestation, that hee had receiued best counsell of the dead, meaning of his bookes.

In the deuastations and spoyles of Citties during his warres, hee reserved for his part of the spoyle, bookes, which were carefully sought for and brought vnto him, hee would reade with great delight *Titus Linius*, and *Cassars* Commentaries, so that besides the sundry reparations of Schooles and Auditories, where hee assigned pensions to the Doctours, Regents, and Schoollers, his Court was daily frequented with the learnedst men of his time, so wit, *Bartholomew Facio*, *George* of Trebiçonde, *Laurentius Valla*, *John Aris- to*, *Antonio* of Palermo, and others. Hee did honour the great Captaines and worthie men in the Art militarie, of what nation soeuer they were, likewise Grauers, Architects, excellent Engineers, skillfull Mariners, and generally any man of worth and desert in what art or science soeuer: so that hee left behind him the eternall and euer-during me- morie of a Prince truly vertuous, valiant, bountifull, and esteeming vertue as it rightly deserued.

Now King Don *Alphonso* being dead, and his sonne Don *Fernand* being in trou- ble at his first comming to the Crowne, diuers cities, and some great Lords of the king- dome of Naples, did moue and stirre vp the Prince Don *Charles* of Nauarre to take to

Learning and  
learned men  
beloued of King  
Don Alphonso.  
Sentence of D.  
Alphonso.

Learned men  
beloued to King  
Alphonso.

A to himselfe the same Crowne which they offered vnto him: but he made them such an answer, as they perceiued thereby, that hee had learned to be modest, to follow equity and right, and not rashly to cast himselfe into another mans possession. And for that hee would not giue any euill suspicion of himselfe, hee went into Sicillia Kingdome fallen by the death of Don *Alphonso* to the King his father, with those of Arragon, Sardinia, Ma- jorca, Minorca, Valencia, and the Principalltie of Cattelogne, in the which by right be- longing to the eldest sonnes of the Kings of Arragon, hee obtrayned in esse the principa- lities of Girona, and the right of succession in all these Kingdomes afterwards: He remai- ned and continued a while in Sicill, greatly honoured and beloued of the Sicillians, dur- ing which time hee was amorously familiar with a very fayre and beautifull Gentlewo- man of a meane of spring and parentage, named *Capa*, on whome hee begate two chil- dren, the one named Don *Philp* of Nauarre and Arragon, who was Master of the Order of Monteca, and dyed in the warre of Granada in the seruice of the King Don *Fernand* his Vncle: the other was called Don *John*, who was Bishoppe of Huelca. Hee had also a daughter named *Donna Isabele* of Nauarre and Arragon, who was Dutchesse of Medina Celi, and wife to Don *Lewis de la Cerda*: but it is vn certaine whether these was borne of this mother.

As the aboue-named tumults and dissentions continued in Nauarre, the Prouinces of Guipulcoia and Biscay being neere-bordering neighbours, and wrapped vp in one selfe same ayre, entred into ciuill or rather vnciuill dissentions, hauing likewise their fa- ctions of the Gamboines and Ognazines, who could not bee repressed by any forme of iustice. Therefore the King Don *Henry* was aduised to goe thither in person, the which hee did, and there by the aduice of his Councell, and vpon information made of those tro- bles and outrages, he razed and ouerthrew diuers towers, and strong houses belonging to the chiefs of the Façions, which serued for places of retreat and harbour for murine- rers and euill-disposed persons, who committed infinite insolencies and outrages in the Countrey. In which number were the tower of Ollopo in the iurisdiction and confines of Elgoiuar, the house of Lelcano, the house of *Inigo de Saldibia* in the Cktie of Tholosa, that of *Fernand D'Alagarrivia* in the towne of Guetaria, and others in the Countrey of Anduayn, in the towne of Vergara, and else-where, as well in Guipulcoia, as in Biscay, in which journey hee tooke into his seruice in the Cittie of Durango, the sonne of an Inne-keeper, named *Perucho* of Munfara, who afterward became a man of great re- pute and estimation.

So soone as hee came to Victoria, hee called before him out of every towne of Biscay and Guipulcoia, two or three men deputed, with whome hee inreated about the gouernement and iurisdiction of the same countrey, hee confirmed diuers and fundrie Liberties and Priuiledges graunted by the Kings his Predecessours, and left there for Gouernour and Commander *John Hurtado* of Mendoza, one of his priuie Councill. Notwithstanding all these demolishments, with that of the strong and inexpugnable Castle of Montdragon, the murders, thefts, deuastations, façions, and rebellions in Biscay and Guipulcoia did continue, countries in all times infamous, because of these matters, vntill the raigne of the King Don *Fernand* the sixth, and Queene *Isabel*, who rooted out the façions of Gamboines and Ognazines by means whereof iustice began to take place there.

At the Kings departure from Victoria, hee came by great journeyes to Cordoua, ha- uing a great desire to the warres of Granada, into the which Kingdome he made a sur- ious entrie, finding often resistance by the Moores who kept his armie close, nor suffe- ring them to straggle, who vpon a day did surprize certaine Castilian troupses, where a- mongst other of note, *Garcilaso de la Pega*, a valiant Knight, and welbeloued of the king, was slaine: by reason whereof he commanded, that all the vines, olive trees, and all o- ther kind of trees bearing fruite throughout the whole territorie of Granada should bee cutdorne. Hee beleaged and tooke the towne and strong castle of Ximena, and did such hurt, that King *Ismael* was constrained, not being able to resist, to begge a truce, and to submit himselfe to such tribute, taxation, and other conditions as should best please him.

Genealogie of  
Nauarre and  
Arragon.

8.  
Castile.

Strong houses  
in Biscay and  
Guipulcoia  
ouerthrowed.

9  
Moores.

Truce between  
Granada and  
Castile.



It was then agreed vpon that the Moore King should pay to King Henry twelve thousand A doubions of gold for tribute, and should become his vassall: that hee should giue him yearly during the time of the truce sixe hundred Christian prisoners, and where they were wanting as many slave-Moores to be deliuered at Cordoua at a day appointed: And that the waire should continue open on the side of Iacn: In regard of which things, and the present payment of the first yeares tribute, the Christian army dilloged out of the territories of Granada. The King returned to Cordoua leaving the discharged the residew of his army. Albeit he vsed great diligence in these warres against the Moores, yet it was not of so great importance as the wars made by his predecessors, or whether it were through the Kings negligence, who was soone weary of businesse, or through any other occasion, so as he began to fall into the contempt of his owne people, The Earle of Castagneda left vpon the frontiers, to repress the inuasion of the Moores, was a Lord as catelasse, and negligent as his maister, and there-withall couetous, by the reason whereof, within a while he found himselfe very meanely accompanied which they craftily Moores vnderstanding they laid a strong ambush for him, into the which they craftily drew him, hauing sent some to forrage the fields, who being pursued by the Earle, hee perceaued himselfe, to be heere'd in on euery side, and so with great losse of his people he himselfe was taken prisoner, whereof the King being aduertised sent in his place another Captayne called *Michel Lucas de Franch*, with commission and charge to change the truce made with King *Jsmell*, into a peace, prouided the payment of the tribute-mony agreed vpon by the truce, the which did greatly please the Moore King: and so ended the warres of Granada, the Earle of Castagneda being redeemed with a great summe of mony.

A sword blessed by the Pope on Christmas, Euen.

The King commended by his subjects.

Gifts giuen by King Henry the first.

Pope *Calixtus* taking pleasure in these warres against the Moores, did about that time send to the King *Don Henry* a Hatte and a Sword, which they vse to blesse vpon Christmas, at night, laying them vpon the Altar where they say Masse, which they terme Mass of the Cocke: and hee did write vnto him, exhorting and animating him to pursue holly a waire. About this time died *Don Alonso* of Castagena, Bishoppe of Burgos a Prelar highly esteemed of the Spaniards, who wrote an History of Spaine D intitled *Anacephaleosis* with other workes.

Now the small estimation of the King was manifest ouer all Spaine and came vnto his owne eares, which made him become suspitious, and hee began against his nature to distrust the great ones, to counterpoise whome, hee advanced diuers of his seruants to base and meane degree to great honours, and authority. Hee made *Gomes de Caeres* and *Solis*, Maister of Alcantara, and gaue the City of Cordia to a brother of his: he made *Berrand de la Cueva*, Sonne to *Diego de la Cueva* of Vbeda, great Maister of his house and Viscount of Huelma, who hauing bene his page, and carried his lance, became one to so ready in his fauour, as no man so much. The office of Constable was giuen to *Michael Lucas* of Franch borne in Beaumont, a meane gentleman, and with that the towne of Agreda, the Castles of Verato and Volmedian, with the Captainehip of Iacn, the towne of Andujar, with other rents and possessions: and to one of his brothers the commandery of Montizon, and that of Orjia to another; which are the best places belonging to the order of Saint James: he gaue the Priory of Saint John, to *John de Valencuela*, the Bishoppe-ricke of Iacn to *Alonso de Peleas*, and that of Auala to *Martin de Vilches*, euery one of these places to bee surrendered so soone as they should be voyde.

The Marques of Santillana *Don Inigo lopes de Mendoza* being dead, who was also Count de Real de Mançanares, his Sonne *Don Diego Hurtado* was confirmed by the King in his Fathers dignities, but hee was compelled to come and stay at the Court, and to bring thither his brethren, *Don Pedro Gonzales de Mendoza*, Bishoppe of Calaoira, who was since the Arch-Bishoppe of Toledo, and Cardinal. *Don Inigo Lopez de Mendoza*, *Don Lorenzo Suarez*, *Don John Hurtado*, who hauing kissed the kings hand, were with the Marquis commaunded not to flirre from the Court.

Being

A Being at Madrid the yeare, one thousand, foure hundred, fifty eight, where hee celebrated with great cost and royall magnificence, the Funerals of the King *Don Alphonso* of Aragon, dead at Naples, hee committed an act in the behalfe of the Marquis of Villena, scarce well digested. This Marquis in regard of the affaires and gouernement of the kingdom had the same power, and almost equall boldnesse which the Constable *Aluaro de Luna* had in the time of the King *Don John*, and hee would let nothing fall to ground which was profitable or commodious for him or his: Now hee had a great desire to make a marriage betwene his eldest sonne *Don Diego Lopes de Pacheco* with the Countesse of Saint *Stephen de Gormas*, daughter and heire to *Don John de Luna*, and Grand-child to the Constable *Don Aluaro*, who at that time was in the gouernement of an vncle of his named also *Don John de Luna*, Nephew to the Constable, who was Captaine of Soria, and the Marquis did not onely practise the marriage of his eldest sonne with his Neece, but also to dispossesse him of his Captainehip of Soria, with other lands which he held: For the obtaining whereof, hee caused the King to haue him in suspicion, saying, That hee was one of the conspirators which were ioyned in league and confederacie against his seruice.

The King did easily and willingly beleue this report made by the Marquis, and feigning to ride on hunting, hee came to Aillon where *Don John de Luna* kept his residence, who did receiue and feast both him and his traine very sumptuously, and with great magnificence, who riding amongst the rest of the companie, hee was no sooner entred into the fields, but hee was arrested as prisoner, without knowing any cause or reason thereof. In the end hee was enioyned to dispossesse himselfe of Soria, and other fortresses and places of strength, and to receiue into them such garisons as should please the king: whereunto hee must needs obey, on paine of losing his head, so as hee did not onely yield vp Soria, but all that which did belong to the Countesse his Neece, and her person also: and so the Marquis had that which he desired.

The contempt of this Prince encreasing daily, *Don Alphonso Fajardo*, the chiefeft Knight of Murcia, holding a long time Carthagena, Lorca, and other places against the Kings will, and the chiefe that ruled and gouerned him, had likewise in a manner taken D himselfe by force, the Master-shippe of Saint James, and the Marquisate of Villena, committing many outrages and insolencies vpon the lands and reuenues belonging to the King and Marquis, being ayded and releued sometimes by the Moores of Granada. Against him *Gonzalo de Sabañedra* was sent with sixe hundred horse, by whose care and diligence, *Don Alphonso* lost all that which he held of his owne and other mens, and so became a poore and miserable Knight, hauing nothing left him but onely his sword and his cloake, accounting and esteeming it for a great fauour and extraordinarie kindnesse to haue his life saued.

This man had his deserts, and the King continued in his carelesnesse, so as he was no more feared. About all the townes of his Kingdome, the abode at Segobia and Madrid pleated him best, because hee louing hunting better then affaires of consequence, this Countrey being woody was very fit for it, as also abounding in victuals and provision for his Court, which was very great: for he did daily carrie about with him, a guard of horse-mento the number of three thousand and sixe hundred Lances, with an incredible expence, wherewith his reuenues was charged to the vttermost: the which his chiefe Treasurer *Don Diego Arias*, like an honest and faithfull seruant, put him in mind of on a time, beseeching him to cut off so superfluous an expence: you speake (quoth he) like *Diego Arias*, but I will line like a King, and that was all the answer hee could receiue. By his bounty and liberalitie hee was well serued and attended on by diuers, and in those dayes thofe of his Councell, Chancerie, and Iudges, did discharge their duties very faithfully. In Arcualo one of his Secretaries named *Pedro de Tieda* was put to death, and others of his complices, for counterfeiting the Kings letters, and selling them for great summes of money. Being in the citie of Leon, hee caused certaine Gentlemen to bee brought out of Galicia which had dispossessed a Knight of his house, hauing commanded their proceesse to be made, they were there for the same put to death. Such iust executions were sometimes done, but hee did greatly fail in other matters.

T t t 2

The

An. 1458.

Violent marriage of the Countesse of S. Stephen de Gormas, and Don Diego Lopes Pacheco.

Don Alphonso Fajardo, a countess rebel chieffly.

The Kings Guard borne stentime and superfluous, an answer of K. Henry the first judgement.

At the end of the yeare 1458. Queene *Joane* made hir magnificent and royall entrie into A the Citie of Leon: then they came to keepe Christmasse at Eſcalona, where the Kings the chiefe delight and recreation was in hunting, and ſinging in the Church, where he himſelfe in his owne chappell would beare a part, which in thoſe dayes was the beſt ſun- ſhed with cunning and experienced Muſicians of any one particular place in the whole world.

Portugal.

The ſame yeare Don *Alphonſo* King of Portugal led his armie into Affricke, where he tooke the towne of Alcaſar, diſtant fixe miles from Ceura, his Vncle Don *Henry*, and his brother Don *Fernand* Duke of Viſco accompanying him in that expedition. Alcaſar was taken by meanes of certaine honeſt conditions, and Don *Edward de Menefes* baſtard ſonne to Don *Pedro de Menefes*, Earle of Viana, who ſucceeded his father in the Earle- dome, was left there as Gouvernour. After the kings returne into Portugal, the Moores did indeavour, but in vaine, to recover the place: for the repaying and fortifying where- of, the King cauſed a great quantitie of ground, betweene the towne and the ſea, to be enclowed with a great and ſtrong wall, defended and guarded with towers, the ſtone, lime, and other prouitions neceſſarie for ſuch a worke of worth, was by him brought from Portugal.

Caſtile.

An. 1459.

The yeare 1459. the King Don *Henry* of Caſtile, ſent Don *Inigo Lopes de Mendez*, ſonne to Don *Inigo*, and brother to the Marquis of Santillana, Ambaſſadour to the Councell held at Mantua by Pope *Pius* the ſecond, before times called *Aeneas Syluſtus* C *Piscolomini*, who had newly ſucceeded *Calixtus* the third. There with great deliberation and hope, the warres againſt the Turkes was debated, which in the end came to nothing, and Don *Inigo* returned into Caſtile, carrying home onely a Iubile of full remiſſion of finnes, the collections whereof were ſo great and inſtimable, as hee therewith builded and erected the Monafterie of Saint *Anne de la Pegna*, in his towne of Tendilla, of the Order of Saint *Ierome*. The King being returned to Madrid, entertayned himſelfe there a long time with feaſts, playes, and ſhewes, where the Arch-biſhop of Seuille Don *Al- phonſo de Foſſeſ*, hauing feaſted the King, Queene, and the Ladies, among other ſing- larities, there was ſerued in after dinner for the banquet, two plates filled with rings of gold, ſet with rich and pretious ſtones for the Ladies, amongſt whom Donna *Guiomar* D gold, ſet with rich and pretious ſtones for the Ladies, amongſt whom Donna *Guiomar* was held, next the Queene, to be the fayreſt and moſt beautifull Ladie of Spaine with- out compare: to her the king ſhewed many amorous fauours at this feaſt, which the Queene perceiving, grew very iealous, and euer after viſed the Ladie vnkindly and rigo- rously, by reaſon whereof the King ſhewed himſelfe ſtrange to her, and appoynted her a Court and trayne aparr, not ſuffering her to come neere his Court by two leagues: Whereunto the Arch-biſhop of Seuille, who was well ſeene and experienced in ſuch bu- ſineſſes, did willingly employ his beſt endeauours in the behaile of *Guiomar*: for what- ſoeuer the king did, was but fayned and imaginarie ſhewes, who was ſo farre from be- coming offended and diſpleaſed with his friends in ſuch affaires, as hee was content to ſpare them his owne wife: for the common rumor was, that not being able to endure that E men ſhould eſteeme him vnapt for venereall acts, which hee reputed a great and ignomi- nious diſgrace, hee dealt with the Queene his wife to receiue Don *Bertrand de la Cueva* into her bed, (his baſe and degenerate mind deſiring and conſenting that this Knight ſhould lye with her, to the end hee might prouee with child by him, and ſo by that means ſuppoſe an heire to the kingdom in his owne name, though vnlawfully bego- ten by another.)

12.  
The laſt and vanities of D.  
Henry the vn-  
able king of  
Caſtile.

It was credibly reported, that at the firſt the Queene would by no poſſible meanes bee drawne to agree and giue her conſent to ſo vile, deteſtable, and diſhonorable a deede, but yet afterwards, ſhee had more neede to haue beene curbed in with raines and bridle, then of ſpurres. Now Don *Bertrand de la Cueva*, was a gallant and moſt accompliſhed Knight in all points belonging to an excellent Courtier, and ſo eſteemed and beloued of the King, as for his ſake, becauſe he ſo valiantly, and with ſuch an vndaunted cou- rage, defended a paſſage at the arriual of an Ambaſſadour of Brittain: hee builded a Monafterie on the high way from Madrid to Pard, which for him was named, the Mona- ſterie of Paſ.

The

A The King the better to couer. his owne naturall weakneſſe, made ſhew of loue to di- uers Gentlewomen in ſundry places: for before he made loue to Ladie *Guiomar*, he had profeſſed himſelfe ſeruant to another Ladie, named *Catherina de San dauall*, whom he had oftentimes entertained priuately, but the moſt contented with his vaine embraces, and being deſirous to ſuſtaine her ſelfe with a more able Knight, ſhee grew familiarly ac- quainted with a young Gentleman named *Alphonſo de Cordova*, whom ſhe kept compa- nie with a long time ſecretly, which turned to his deſtruction: for the King hauing notice thereof, commanded *Alphonſo* to be beheaded at Medina del campo. In this ſort did this King behaue himſelfe in his moſt priuate affaires, giuing occaſion to all men to ſpeake euill and vncharitably of him, which being reported vnto him, hee entred into diſtruit and hatred againſt the great perſons of his realme, and oftentimes for ſlight occaſions he would rayſe great troubles.

And not being pleaſed, that Don *Diego Hurtado de Mendoza* Marquis of Santillana ſhould hold the citie of Guadabajara, where hee did not onely command the towne and caſtle, as Gouvernour both in matters of State and warre; but alſo had authoritie and preheminance to beſtow publike Offices, hee cauſed him to bee taken by the Com- mander *John Fernandes Galindo*, who entred into the towne with fixe hundred men at armes, by meanes of intelligence that he had with one of the Marquis his Captaines, called *Alphonſo de Guano*, who was corrupted with money, and the Marquis was com- pelled to leaue that Governement to the Kings diſpoſe, hauing giuen him no juſt nor lawfull cauſe of offence or iniurie, and ſo hee retired and with-drew himſelfe to Hita. Soone after, the King and the Queene came thither, and left *Alphonſo de Guano* Gouer- nour there.

### Don Iohn the ſecond of that name, and the eighteenth King of Arragon.

D W Hileſt theſe affaires continued in Caſtile, the King Don *Iohn* of Nauarre took quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Arragon, fallen vnto him by the death of his brother: vnto whom came Ambaſſadours from the Prince Don *Charles* his ſonne, to beſeech him that all faults paſt might be forgotten, and that it might pleaſe him to receiue him into grace and fauour: the which requeſt the father eaſily graunted, for he was very kind and gentle to his children, but eſpecially to the Prince Don *Charles*, who being daily ſollicited by thoſe of the faction of Beaumont, who continued and maintayned the warres in certaine forts and ſtrong holds in Nauarre, not being able without him to bring their buſineſſe to effect, hee deſired to returne into Spayne, either to helpe them to make their peace, or to defend them by force of armes.

13  
Nauarre,  
and  
Arragon.

E Hauing then had a pleaſing anſwer from the King his father, hee departed that yeare 1459. from Sicill, being accompanied with a great number of Sicillian Lords and Gentle- men, and landed at Barcelona, where being welcommed and receiued with great pompe, magnificence, and honour, by the Barcelonies, hee dealt ſo wiſely, that for his like the King pardoned thoſe of Beaumont, and declared that his pleaſure was, that all former matters of what kind ſoeuer, ſhould be buried in perpetual obliuion: thoſe of Catalogna being ſureties for the ſonnes faith and obedience to his father, and for the fathers loue and good-will to his ſonne.

Agreement  
betwene the  
King D. Iohn  
of Arragon, &  
his ſonne D.  
Charles.

This reconciliation being made to the great ioy and contentment of the whole kingdom, the King D. *Iohn* knowing himſelfe to be a mightie Prince, thought vpon fir and conuenient meanes how to recover his lands which were conſiſcate in Caſtile: for the effecting whereof, hee entred into league and confederacie with Don *Alphonſo* King of Portugal, and agreed vpon a marriage betwene the Prince his ſonne, and the Ladie *Catherine* of Portugal, ſiſter to King *Alphonſo*, and to Donna *Joane* Queene of Caſtile: into the which league entred Don *Alphonſo Carrillo*, Arch-biſhop of Toledo,

New deſignes  
to ſubdue Caſtile.

the Admirall Don *Frederic* father-in-law to King *John*, Don *Pedro Giron* Master of Calatrava, and all the *Manriques* of Castile; with others, whereof when the King of Castile Don *Henry* had notice, by the advertisement of *Dionysio de Fonseca*, Arch-bishop of Seville, he was advised by his counsell; to send the bishop of Cité Rodrigo, and *Diego de Ribera* Ambassadors into Arragon, vnder pretence of congratulating in his name the welcome home of Prince *Charles*, and his reconciliation with the king his father: but they had commission to deale vnder-hand secretly with Prince *Charles*, to offer him all friendship, and to treat of a marriage betweene him, and Donna *Isabella* of Castile, the Kings sister.

The Ambassadors hauing cunningly executed their commission, possessed the mind of Prince *Charles* with new thoughts, and made him hope to bee able by meanes of his marriage with Castile, and friendship that he should gaine thereby, to obtaine his kingdom of Nauarre. Therefore hee did forsake the Infanta of Portugall, who for griefe thereof retired her selfe into the Nunneerie of *S. Clare* at Lisbent, where shee spent her time in Virginitie, dying soone after, when as shee was betrothed to *Edward* the fourth, King of England. Altho this other marriage came to no effect, by reason of the thornes of Prince *Charles* his life, God hauing ordaind that Princesse to be wife to his younger brother.

The desire of rule an vniuersal lord.

14. Castille.

Prince *Charles* vpon hope of ayde from Castile, began againe to encourage those of the faction of Beaumont, and to sollicite certaine of Catallogna to begin new troubles in Nauarre and Arragon: for the mind of man being once bewitched with the desire of rule, cannot be contained in any bounds. In these times the Cardinall *Besforius* learned man, a Greeke by nation, was perpetuall administrator of the church of Pampelona, by the death of the Bishop of *D. Martin* of Peralta.

The King Don *Henry* of Castile, hauing with wife counsell and discretion broken the league of Portugall, determined to persecute those of his kingdom which had any hand therein. And because hee was assured, that the Master of Calatrava was of the number, hee shewed very bad countenance to his brother the Marquis of Villena, but hee was so wife and cunning, as he soone excused himselfe to the King, and wiped out of his mind all suspicion conceived against him. That was the occasion why the two brethren, the Marquis, and the Master of Calatrava did conceiue such mortal hatred against the Arch-bishop of Seuille, who about that time obtained for a nephew of his named also *Alphonso Fonseca*, Deane of Seuille, the Arch-bishoppricke of Saint Iames: but vnderstanding that Don *Lewis Osorio*, sonne to the Earle of Translamara, had intruded himselfe into the same, with the fauour and support of the whole Countreie of Galicia, he made a feigned bargain with his Nephew, and resigned to him the Arch-bishoppricke of Seuille, taking that of Saint Iames for himselfe, with this condition, that matters beeing pacified, they would each of them returne to their former dignities: for the vnkle thought that by meanes of his great credite and authoritie hee should be best able to deale with Don *Lewis Osorio*.

1460. An importunate manner of reforming Nunnes in Castille.

15 Nauarre, and Arragon. The K. of Nauarre & Arragon desired of all the enterprizes of Prince Charles.

The yeare 1460. the King Don *Henry* did expell the Abbess of Saint *Peter* de *Las Dueñas* out of Toledo, named Donna *Marquesada de Guzman*, a Ladie of a religious and holy life, saying, That he did it to reforme the Nunnes of that place, who had the report to liue dissolutely, and he gaue them for their Abbess and Gouernesse, the Ladie *Catherine de Samdual* his quondam Mistress, wherewith the Arch-bishop and the whole Clergie beeing offended, the house was interdicted, and diuers of the Clergie degraded and banished, but the King made an end of the matter.

This yeare running on, King *John* of Nauarre and Arragon did assemble the Estates of the principalltie of Catallogna at Lerida, and assigned those of Arragon to meete at Fraga. At the assembly at Lerida, the Prince Don *Charles* arrived, where whilst they consulted of the affaires, a Gentleman named *John Carrillo*, presented letters of credit to the King, from the Admirall of Castile Don *Frederic* his father-in-law, and he was by him aduertised of all that which had passed betweene the Prince his sonne, and the King Don *Henry*: adding thereunto, that those of the faction of Beaumont, incited and stirred vp by the Prince Don *Charles*, did prepare to armes, and addresse themselves for

A for the warres, vnto whom the Castellans ioyned themselves, the which did greatly trouble the King who hauing had therevpon the aduice of his most priuate and faithfull counsellors, he caused the Prince to be called into a Chamber a part, and there hauing declared vnto him what he knew of his dealings and practices, he did sharply reprehend him, saying, that he thought that he had begotten a fury, who did torment and trouble his Kingdomes, falling so often into rebellion, and abusing his fatherly pittie and meeknesse, but that now the time was come, wherein it behooued him to vie fit remedies to repress his madnesse, and to punish him in such sort, as the vnhappy example of a father, liuing in continuall feare and suspicion of his sonnes treacheries, should now cease in his family: wherevnto the Prince would haue replied, but he could not bee heard; and by the appointment of the King his father, being arrested, he was condemned to close prison in the castle of Mirauet: Neuertheless at the earnest request of diuers great Lords, vnto whom it seemed ouer rigorous, hee was committed vnder sure keeping to a more easie prison in the Aljaferia of the city of Saragossa, to the great discontentment of the Realmes of Nauarre and Arragon, and likewise of the King of Castile, who being in the towne of Madrid was soone after aduertised of the durance of Prince *Charles*. With him was likewise imprisoned Don *John* of Beaumont, brother to the Constable Don *Lewis*.

Imprisonment of Prince Charles.

The Castellans who were sureties for the reconciliation made betweene the father and the sonne at Barcelona, hearing those newes, sent speedily fiftene men of great authority in Ambassage to the King, to know of him the reason of the Princes captivity, because it seemed to them that the King therein had infringed the assurance which they had giuen for him, and that his promise was to intreat him lovingly like a father. Hauing heard by the King that it was for conspiracy and intelligences with his enemies, against his Estate and person, being the third time that he had fallen into open rebellion, they vsed many prayers and intreaties for the behoofe and deliuerie of the Prince: but seeing it to be in vaine, they returned with the Kings answer to them that sent them. Then the Castellans being very much moued, added to these fiftene Ambassadors, three score more, and sent them backe to Lerida to the King, vnto whom the Abbot of Agen (being chiefe) hauing shewed with great liberty how grievously the Castellans did

The Castellans intercede in vaine for the Prince.

A free remembrance of the Castellans to their King.

take the imprisonment of his sonne the Prince of Viana and Girona, who expected to haue bene well and kindly intreated by him, vpon the promises and surety which they had giuen for him, and did hope thereby to haue bene sufficiently defended against the slanderous and malicious attempts of his Adversaries, chiefly of the Admirall *D. Frederic*, who openly and by all meanes did labour to extirpe the eldest sonne and lawfull heire of the Realmes of Nauarre, Arragon and other Dominions annexed to the same crowne, to the end to raise and aduance to those dignities his daughters children against all right and piety, and he protested that the whole state of the principalltie of Catallogna would employ their goods, liues, meanes, and friends (which he knew to be very great in that Prouince) to defend Prince *Charles* from wrong, and to deliuer him from so vniuult a captivity: wherefore he besought him to consider thereof with a fatherly affection, and at their requests to set him at liberty, and to heare how he could iustifie himselfe, and not to trust so much to his owne opinion in affaires of so great importance onely to please the Queene his wife and her father, and to prevent by wife and good counsell the great troubles and miseries which might thereby ensue. To this rough discourse, full of threats, the King answered with great grauity and moderation, concluding, that hee knew how to doe Iustice, and that hee was not determined to giue over his purpose in punishing his rebellious sonne, who had so often abused his clemency, for any passionate or importunate soliciting of his subiects.

The King of Nauarre and Arragon his answer to his subiects of Catallogna.

F The Ambassadors hauing written and sent backe this answer, there followed forth with a manifest revolt of the Castellans, who hauing leaued a great company of men of warre, and obtained by their Ambassadors, sent to Segobia, aide from King *Henry* of Castile, of fiftene hundred horse, vnder the conduct of the Commander *Gonsalo de Saucedra*, they aduanced their forces towards Lerida, with intent to seaze vpon the kings person, and to put to death all those of his priuy counsell. And for the more easie execution

execution of their enterprife, they had fecret intelligence with diuerfe courtiers, the A  
chiefe of whom were *Francis de Elpla, Gerard Ceruillon, and Iohn Agullen* : but God pre-  
feru'd the King and his from fo iurious a confpiracy, difcouer'd at the inftant when he  
fhould haue bene executed, and yet fo happily as the King leaue'd to get away  
through the gate of the preaching friers, notwithstanding that *D. Pedro d' Yrrea* Arch-  
bifhop of Tarragona, one of the Ambaffadors of Catalogna had counsell'd him not to  
leau'e the towne of Lerida, but there to make head againft his enemies, whole aduife was  
approved by all the other Lords: there afsembled. The King was no fooner gon, but  
the confpirators entred the pallace with intent to haue committed their purpofed ma-  
facre, but to their great difcontent they found it empty. The King retir'd himfelf to B  
Fraga, whether the Ambaffadors determin'd to haue follow'd him, and to try once a-  
gaine if they could induce him to forgiue his fonne, hoping that the taft and new begin-  
ning of the troubles, which he had feene, would make him more mild : but they altering  
their purpofe return'd home into Catalogna. The rebels forces march'd towards  
Fraga where the King was, who from thence went to Saragoſſa, and left them the fpoile  
of that place.

in that place.

In the meane time thofe of Barcelona tooke their Gouvernor D. *Lewis de Requesens* prifoner, thofe of Valencia, Arragon, Sicill and Majorca, affilting them, and ioyning with them for the Princes deliuey. But aboue the reft, the faction of Beaumont in Nauarre fhewed themfelves violent in the pufure of their enemies of Grammont which held the Kings party, caufing fuch ruines and calamities in the Kingdome as can hardly be expreffed, the mindes of the multitude of each fide being fo inflamed againft their contrary faction, as they knew not vpon what termes, nor for what occafion, they had taken arms: for if one fhould haue demanded of thofe of Beaumont or Grammont, wherefore they were fo animated one againft the other: they could make no other anfwer, but that they did it becaufe their neighbours, friends and kinf-folkes did the fame. The ruines and defolations increasing on euery fide King *Iohn* feeling himfelfe touched in confcience, as if fuch troubles had falne vpon him by the iudgement of God, who would haue him to rafte and free in his owne Kingdomes, that which he the yceeres before had caufed the Realme of Caftile to endure, he did thereforearken, to the admonitions which were newly made to him by diuerfe wifemen, namely by a Charterhouse Monke of the Monaftery of Scala Dei in Catalogna, held at that time for a Prophet, whose name is fuppreft or forgotten by the Authors, and through their perfauation he difrefolue to fet the Prince at liberty, and to giue him to the Catalans who did fo earnestly defire it: He was then taken from the Aljferia of Saragoſſa by his mother in law Queene *Iane*, who by the commandement of the King went with him into Catalogna, and in the City of Villa-franca deliuered him vnto them: The common and conſtant report was, that from the time the Prince came forth of priſon, he neuer had one daies health, but his life did daily confume and decay, and diuerſe did impure the cauſe thereof to Queene *Iane*, who (as they ſay) poiſoned him, to the end to aduance and raiſe her ſonne D. *Fernand* Duke of Mombianche, to the ſucceſſion of the Kingdome of France and dependences of the ſame, a certaine ſtranger phyſitian being actor of ſo impious a deed, and the ſickenſſe wherewith the Queene was looſe after afflited, being an vncleuous canker ouer her whole body was attributed to the iuſt iudgement of God, who did puniſh her for committing ſo execrable an act: others, reiect this accuſation as falſe, and counterfeited by thofe of the faction of Beaumont, who notwithſtanding the Princes deliuey, continued in armes againſt thofe of Grammont, namely in the towne of Lombier, which by *Charles d'Artieda*, in the name of Prince *Charles*, was taken: againſt whom this King ſent his ſonne D. *Alphonſo* of Arragon Duke of Villa Hermola with a great number of ſouldiers, who beſieged the towne, and loone after the King came thither in perſon, with thofe of Sanqueſſa and other townes of the faction of Grammont. *Charles* of Artieda perceiving himſelfe to be ouerlaid with numbers, demanded aide of the Caſtilians, who forthwith marched thither, to meet the troups of the Commander *Gonzalo de Sahuacura*, and thofe of Rodrigo de Marchena, who raiſed the ſiege. The King D. *Iohn* hauing put garriſons into Pampelona, Lerin, and other places belonging

Don Charles  
Prince of Vi-  
na, delivered  
out of prison,  
but poisoned  
by his step-  
mother.

Queen Iane  
punished by  
the hand of  
God.

A to them which he distrusted, came to the Estates at Catalajub; leaving the government of Navarre to his children *D. John*, and *Alphonso* of Arragon, fearing and foreseeing the warre against Castile.

During theſe ſtirres in Nauatie and Arragon, the country of Andeluzia was aſſailed by *Mulei Abbeſcan*, or as ſome others termed him *Hali Muley Haſen* eldeſt ſonne to *Iſmael* King of Granada, contrary to the peace betwixt the Realmes of Caſtile and Granada, which his father King *Iſmael* deſired ſincerely and inuolubly to obſerue and keepe. This young Prince impatient of reſt, with fifteene thouſand footemen, and two thouſand five hundred horſemen came into Caſtile ouer-running and burning the country of Eſtepa, from whence he led away many Chriſtian priſoners, and a great number of cattale: to reſtreſſe whoſe ſpoile and robberies *D. Roderigo Ponce* of Leon, eldeſt ſonne to the Earle of Arcos, and *Lenis de PERA* captaine of Oliſno, came in all haſte to Eſtepa, with about two hundred and threeſcore horſe, and fix hundred choſen footmen onely; drogno, who hauing diſcouered this ſmal Chriſtian troupe, they ſent out two thouſand three hundred horſe in three Squadrons to make head againſt the commanding the reſt of their people to goe on their iourney with the priſoners and ſpoile: the Chriſtians at the fiſt were amazed at their enemies forces; but being incouraged by the captaines, they marched brauely againſt them, and charged them ſo valiantly as they brake them and put them to a ſhamefull flight, with an incredible ſlaughter: for the dead bodies being viewed, there was found ſlaine on the Moores part fourteene hundred, and of the Chriſtians onely thirty horſemen and a hundred and fifty footmen. The little victorious army of the Chriſtians hauing reſted and rallied their troups, at the fontaine of ſtone, perceiued the herds of cattale as they returned toward the places of their accuſtomed pature, being forſaken by the flying Moores; the which they tooke and brought backe, with their booties and ſpoiles, which were great and rich: and ſo they returned home to their garriſons and houſes, bearing along with them in great ioy and triumph, the colours, trumpets, and drums of the Moores: for the which victory, publiſh & general proceſſions were made ouerall Spaine: King *Iſmael* on the other ſide was much grieved for the great loſſe of his raſh and vneſperienſed ſonne: but moſt of all for the breach of the peace betwixt him and the King of Caſtile, which was the occaſion of the total ruine of the ſtate of the Moores in Granada, as ſhalbe hereafter declared.

D. Henry King of Castile did graunt this yeere to diuers vallicies and places of Guipuzcoa, the rights and customes of the towne of Saint Sebastian of the same Province, correcting and reforming those which they had of olde times, as the royall privilege of the yeere 1461. dated at Segobia doth testifie, signed by Garcia Mendez, secretary to the King. I from Segovia the Court remoued to Sepulueda, where the King restored D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza Marquis of Santillana, to the rights which he claimed in Guadaluara, as he had enioyed them in times past, with this condition, that his brother D. Pedro Gonsales de Mendoza Bishop of Calaaror, with the eldest sonne of the Marquis D. Iohn de Mendoza, should follow the court: which things were prazitized and brought to passe by the Archbishop of Siuil, D. Alphonso de Fonseca, and by D. Iohn de Pacheco Marquis of Villena. These two were the principal persons about the King, by whose counsell the whole Kingdome was ruled; and yet for all that they were enemies, and extremely zealous of the name of the other, as it is ordinary among great men in courtinas also for the reasons, which we haue heretofore mentioned. Now the Marquis being desirous to driue the Archbishop, his coriall from the Court, the better to manage his affaires alone, he solicited the king his maiesty to make warre vpon King Iohn of Nauarre and Arragon, seeming therein to agree with the Archbishop, who had counselled the same euer since the imprisonment of Prince Charles, which was by reason of the league which hee had with Castile. For the effecting whereof, it behoued him to take some assistance of the Admirall D. Frederic, and the Archbishop of Toledo, D. Alphonso Carrillo de Acuna, who remained together at Yefes, making shew to fauour the King of Nauarre and to be of other party.

*The Mobres  
defeated at  
Madrigue.*

17  
Castille

D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza restored to his right in Guadaluara.



The Infanta  
D. Juana, being  
borne, sworne  
and declared  
heir of the  
kingdome.

all men: and being a noble and bountifull Knight, he kept open Court for certaine daies A with great feasting and pompous shewes. The Infanta being scarce two moneths old, the Kings pleasure was that he should be sworne and declared Princeesse, and inheritrix of his Realmes in the assembly of the generall states assembled at Madrid for the same purpose; the Infants *D. Alphonso* and *Donna Isabella* his sister, being the first that did swear in this solemnity: there grew a contention at this parliament about the precedence of the cities, who should first swear: but the Kings pleasure was that Segobia should swear first before any of the rest, without prejudice to their rights and pre-rogatives. The Court remained certaine months at Madrid and Segobia, the King taking great delight to hunt in those woody countries: from thence he went to Alfaro, to treat of the affaires of Navarre and Arragon, and hee left the Queene at Segobia three moneths gone with child, but she miscarried soone after the Kings departure, being B flighted with a strange fire kindled in her haire by a beame of the Sunne, as the late in her chamber, which burnt part of her lockes, a rare thing, but yet proceeding from certaine ointments apt to kindle, wherewith she used to die and colour her haire, a thing odious amongst amorous Ladies, whose only care and study is, to correct and amend the natural forme of their bodies, with artificiall receipts, so make them seeme the more lovely: this abortive child was a sonne.

Fire kindled in  
Queene Isabells  
haire by the  
Sunne beames.

Navarre,  
and  
Arragon.

Peace be-  
tweene Castile  
and Arragon.

20  
Sedition in  
Catallogna.

Queene Isabell  
besieged in  
Girona.

King *Henry* being at Alfaro, the Archbishop of Toledo, and the Admirall *D. Frederic* began to mediate a peace betweene the two Kings of Castile and Arragon: and for that purpose King *John* came to Tudela, vnto whom the Marquis of Villena was sent, the King of Castile having first taken *D. John* of Arragon as ostage for him. At Tudela di- versie meanes were propounded for this conclusion of the peace, which taking no effect, it was thought fit that the Marquis should goe with King *John* and the Queene his wife to Saragossa to consult more amply of those affaires. The Marquis made lumme stay there, but King *John* had occasion to goe in all hast into Catallogna: in the meantime the Queene did entertaime him very sumptuously, and among other favours, she caused him to eate at her owne table, which as then was served onely with Ladies and gentle- women without any men at all. At the Kings returne to Saragossa, the peace was con- cluded, vpon the deliuey of ostages and certaine places for assurance on each side, to wit La Gardo, Saint Vincent, Arcos and Larraga by the King of Arragon, and on the part of Castile, Lorca in the Kingdome of Murcia, and Comago in the territory of Sorja. The Nauarrois were discontented that King *John* should give any places of the Realme of Navarre in pawne, rather then those of the Kingdome of Arragon: but of necessity it behoued them to bee content therewith. The Cattelans also were reconciled to the King, and they did acknowledge by oth the Infant *D. Fernand* being then nine yeeres old, for heire and lawfull successor to the crowne of Arragon, who from thenceforth was intituled Prince of Girona.

This peace, betwene King *John* and his subiects lasted not long, whether it were be- cause they were certified of the Princes vntimely death whom their did so deereely love, and which they desired to reuenge, or for any other occasion: but it fell so out that in the country of Rosillon, Ampurdan and other places of Catallogna, there arose great tumults and mutinies, the Earle of Pallars being chiefe of that rebellion: there was a rumor spread abroad, that Prince *Charles* his ghost did nightly complain in the streets of Barcelona, craving vengeance on Queene *Isabell* his step-mother, who by poison had par- ted his soule from his body.

The Queene to resist those disorders came to Girona, where she was forthwith be- sieged by the Earle of Pallars, and constrained, with the Prince *D. Fernand* her sonne, to fortifie her selfe with great danger of their liues in the tower of the Cathedral Church of the same city. At the same time the Barcelonois did drue al the Kings officers forth of their city, and as many as did loue and affect him, resolving neuer more to obey him, but to become subiects to the King of Castile. The Inhabitants of Girona did greatly fauour the beleaged Queene, who vnder the conduct of *Du Puy* master of the order of Monaca made great resistance, but the Earle of Pallars entred the city by force, and did furiously assault and batter the strong tower, desirous to take the Queene and the Prince her sonne: but

A but they one her side vsed such diligence as the Earle was beaten out of the towne with great losse of his people.

The King being much troubled with the reuolt of the Cattelans, and other places also of his Kingdomes, sent into France, to intreate of King *Lewis* aide of men and mo- ney, vnto whom he engaged, for the summe of three hundred thousand crownes of gold for the payment of his souldiars, the Earldome of Rosillon and Cerdagne. He ob- launces furnished, of which forces, *Gaston* Earle of Foix, and Lord of Bearn, sonne in law to King *John* was Generall. In this warre, which was long and troublefome, diuers B Knights of the faction of Grammont did good seruice to the King, the chiefe of whom were Don *Peter* de Peralta, Constable of Navarre, *Sanches* of Londogno sonne to the Marshall of Navarre, *Fernand* of Angulo *Stephen* of Garro, *Roerigo* of Puellas, the Vic- count *Bertrand* of Armendaris, *John Henriques* of Lacarra, and *Gyles* de Aualos, *James Dias* of Armendaris Lord of Cadreira, *Pedro* of Ansa, *John* de Aquerra, and *Sanche* of Er- bini furnished the obstinate, who did beare for his motto or deuile, *Sequitur* no: glorying in that he was contentious: by reason whereof, this Knight had in his time many quar- rels to maintaine. The comming of the French, caused the Earle of Pallars to raise his siege from before Girona. So the Queene being freed, ioyned with the army of the Earle of Foix, and pursued the Rebelles, causing diuerse of them to craue pardon.

The King hauing leauied men at armes, sent them vnder the command of his sonne C Don *Alphonso* of Arragon to ioine likewise with the Earle of Foix his forces: hee him- selfe following after, staid a while in the City of Bellaguer to appease the tumultuary Inhabitants, into the which towne he entred in armes, and there receiued newes of the yeelding vp of Tarraga, whether he forthwith went, but soone after he was constrained to dislodge from thence, being aduertized that Don *John* de Agullon with certaine Re- giments came thitherward to surpris him, and so he returned to Bellaguer. Those of Barcelona, moued with extreame hatred against their King, did by publike proclama- D tion declare him enemy of their country, saying that they did iustly withdraw themselves from his obedience, he being the murderer of his own son, an oppressor of his subiects, breaker of his faith and promise, and one that did violate their rights, priuiledges, and ancient liberties: and they sent the acts and formal proceedings thereof to Rome to the Pope then reigning, who was called *Pius* the second, a Siennois of the family of Picolo- mini. And by a decree of the three Estates of the country, they sent an Ambassage to the King of Castile, to the end they might be receiued, maintained and defended, by him against the power of King *John*.

The Ambassador was a Gentleman very learned, named *Copus*, who in disguised ha- bit past into Castile, and found the King Don *Henry* at Atienza, who came thither to re- create himselfe, after the marriage made by him of the youngest daughter of the Mar- quis of Santillana, with his Minion. *Bertrand* de la Cueva Earle of Ledesma and one of his priuy councill. The Ambassador spake with the King, and declared vnto him the cause of his comming, which was to give him notice of the title which hee had to the principallity of Catallogna as also to the crowne of Arragon, the which was much bet- ter then King *Johns*, because hee was issued from the eldest sonne of Donns *Leonora* of Arragon, Queene of Castile, whereas King *John* and his brother King *Alphonso*, came of the younger sonne, and that he had now a fit occasion offered him for the recovery there- of, by the meanes of the Cattelans, iustly prouoked by the wrongs and tyrannies of the King *D. John*. The King hauing heard these things, referred the Ambassador to his coun- sel at Segobia, whither he shortly came, and propounding there in the open assembly of the great Lords, and of his counsell, that which the Ambassador of Catallogna had decla- F red vnto him, their opinions were diuers. In the end the Ambassador was called, and being asked wherefore he came, hee told them that hee was sent to request two things, to wit, that it might please the King of Castile to receiue the Cattelans for his subiects, and to aide them with certaine number of souldiars to defend them from their enemies, shewing the charge and commandment which he had from the three Estates to take the oth of obedience to him in their names.

John de Ar-  
agon pawns  
Rosillon to  
Lewis the  
seuenth.

D. John de-  
clared enemy  
by the Castel-  
lans and de-  
clared his  
right in that  
principality.

Castile.





Gallies, then with very easie conditions they yielded to the King, who left *Roderigo* of A Rebollo for their Gouvernor, he himselfe going backe to Ballaguer.

The Catalans thus distressed, sent new Ambassadors into Castile, one of them was the Archdeacon of Girona, who being ioynted to the Ambassador resident with King *Henry*, made new offers of submission and full obedience vnto him, beseeching him to intitule himselfe King of Arragon and Earle of Barcelona, seeing that hee was assured that those dominions did by all diuine and humane right belong vnto him, and that now the voluntary consent of the people did inuite him thereto, requesting moreouer aide of fouldiars. The King of Castile, beside this publique Ambassage, was solicited thereto by sundry Lords, and other cities of Valencia and Arragon; and to speake truly, hee did greatly incline to their demands: but the Archbishop of Toledo and the Marquis of Villena, the Kings chiefe counsellors, after whose appetite the whole affaires of the Kingdome were governed, were of a contrary opinion, and peraduenture they had intelligence with King *John* of Arragon, but it was not certainly knowne whether it were so or no; wherefore the businesse being debated on by the counsell, the Ambassadors receiued this answer, that if they ment to haue any aide of fouldiars, it did then behoue them to bring store of money with them, and as for the title to the crowne of Arragon, and countie of Barcelona, King *Henry* would consider thereon with more mature deliberation.

The Ambassadors replied, that if it would please the King to take their cause in hand, and to shew himselfe openly in their defence as his subiects, they would venture their heads, if within the nexte daies after, they did not bring into the Kings coffers the summe of seuen hundred thousand florins of gold. This seemed a dreame to the Archbishop and the Marquis, for the summe was exceeding great for those times; and they two hauing an other purpose, wrought so well, as King *Henry* not onely refused their offers, but withdrew himselfe wholly from the warre of Arragon: giuing them to vnderstand, that he had rather with the helpe of the French King, mediate a good peace for them.

Now the Marquis and the Archbishop did purpose, and hope to deale in such sort, as the Realme of Nauarre, or a great part thereof, should by the treaty of peace fall to the crowne of Castile: To giue a certaine forme wherevnto, they sent word to King *John* and to the Earle of Foix, to send vnto them certaine French captaines, of those which were in Catalogna, to conferre about meanes of agreement with the King of Castile; and they vied other practizes to giue the French a distast of that warre, seeking their owne profit, vnder colour of making an agreement betweene the King of Arragon and his subiects: whilst the broiles continued in Catalogna, the Earle of Pallars, and the Lord of Cruillas, with a great number of fouldiars, hauing againe besetted Girona, were ouerthrowne and put to flight by *Peter* of Roquabertin Gouvernor of the City, and they lost many of their people with their baggage. The French marching towards Morella, brought diuers places on the coast of Virgel vnder the Kings obedience, but meeting neere Ixar with the Castilians, hauing good meanes to charge them, it is said that they gaue them to vnderstand, that in regard of the friendship and perpetuall confederacy betweene the Kings of France and Castile, they would couch their Launces against the Castilian standard, and thereof they excused themselves to the King of Arragon, saying that they were so commaunded to doe, and therefore besought him to take in good part, if they went about to appease the differences betwixt them.

The King of Arragon fashioning himselfe to their aduice, and hauing great hope in the good iudgement of the French king in those busineses, hee did consent that one of the French captaines should passe into Castile to the towne of Mountagu, where King *Henry* should meete to conferre with him about fit meanes to compose all those differences: the Archbishop of Toledo, and the Marquis of Villena brought the king thither vnder colour of hunting; and it was agreed vpon, that the French king should be entreated, to send an Ambassador into Castile, to cause the warre to cease. The captaine being returned, related to the king of Arragon and to his sonne in law the

The King of Castile attempts to decrease the Barcellona, and King John himselfe.

The French refused to fight with the castilians

A Earle of Foix, what hee had concluded with the King of Castile; and at their entreaty the French King *Lewis* the eleuenth, sent an Ambassadour to the King of Castile, who found the Court at Almagar; and hauing had audience, a day was taken for the enterview of the three Kings of France, Castile, and Arragon, vpon the frontiers betweene Fontarabie, and Saint *Iohn de Luz*: and in the meane time there was a cessation from armes on all sides; the Cattellans were excluded from this accord remaying doubtfull betwixt hope and feare, attending the issue of that enterview.

The King *Don John* allowing all these things, came to Saragossa, with intent to meet at the day appointed for the Kings enterview. The Earle of Foix, the presumptiue heire of Nauarre in the right of his wife went thither, being very honourably receiued, especially of the Beaumonts faction.

Now the time of the enterview being come, the King of Arragon, for diuers reasons, could not, or would not appeare, relying in the Archbishop of Toledo, and the Marquis of Villena, with the King of Castile, and vpon his sonne in law *Gaston* of Foix, who knew very well how to maintaine his honour and to increase his profit with the French King. About the end of March in the yeere 1463, the King *Don Henry* arrived at Saint Sebastians in the Prouince of Guipuscoa, and King *Lewis* came the same time to Bayonne, vnto whom were sent as Ambassadors from the king of Castile, the Archbishop of Toledo and the Marquis of Villena, with *Aluar Gomes* of Ciudad-reall, his principall secretary (they hauing so counselled him) to the end to treat with him about the agreement and pacification of the troubles betweene the kings of Castile and Arragon, the vncle and Nephew, and betweene the king of Arragon and the Catalans his subiects. It is reported, that the Marquis of Villena made an agreement with the French king, being by him recompensed with a yeerely pension of twelue thousand crownes.

Matters being then thus handled by them, King *Lewis* as Iudge and arbitrator betweene both parties, set downe his sentence in this manner: That King *Henry* of Castile should wholly abstaine from meddling in the businesse of the Cattellans; that within twenty daies hee should call all his fouldiars out of Catalogna and that for the expences which hee had bene at in the same warre the King of Arragon should giue vnto him the towne of Estella with all the demaines belonging thereto, which is one of the five members of the Kingdome of Nauarre, with a certaine summe of doubloons of gold, all which he should be bound to performe within fixe monthes, in which meane time, Queene *Iane* of Arragon should be held as ostage in the towne of Larraga vnder the safe keeping of the Archbishop of Toledo: That the Cattellans should become obedient to their King, vnto whom a generall pardon should be graunted of all that was past; for assurance whereof King *John* should giue them sufficient ostages. This sentence, hurtfull to the Kingdome of Nauarre, odious to the Cattellans, and little to the King of Castiles honour, was allowed of and receiued by the three Ambassadors aboue named, who wrote to King *Henry*, aduising him to set forward with his Court and traine to Fontaraby, and at that instant the Marquis of Villena arrived, bringing along with him the Earle of Comminges Admirall of France, who came from the King his Maister to entreate the King of Castile that they might keepe one another vpon French ground; the which they had before concluded vpon at Bayonne.

King *Lewis* being come to Saint Iohn de Luz, the two Kings met at the tiuer of Vidado, which in that place parteth both the Kingdomes: the which tiuer (as the Spaniards say) which all that which the flowing of the sea couers, belongs to Spaine. King *Henry* with diuerse great Lords and Knights being in diuerse boates did passe the tiuer, amongst whom were *Don Pedro Gonfalez* of Mendoza Bishop of Caloorra, *Don Iohn* de Pacheco Marquis of Villena, *Don Gomes* of Caceres Maister of Alcantara, *Don Iohn* de Valençuela Prior of Saint Iohns, *Don Lewis* de Acugna Bishop of Burgos, *Don Bertrand* de la Cueva Earle of Ledesma, with others verie brauely and richlie appointed; The French King and his Courtiers being meanly clothed, were by the Spaniards derided and scorned. These two great Princes hauing

The Marquis of Villena, being somewhat pertinacious to the King.

Enterview of King Lewis the eleventh and King Henry the fourth of Castile, at Bayonne.



27  
An outrage of  
a Moore com-  
mitted in Sevil  
against the King.

the vulgar sort in generall held with the Nephew, and had seized vpon the great church A  
and other strong places of the citie, holding it against the Gentlemen, and the Clergie,  
who fauoured the old Arch-bishoppe, and the rascall multitude had well-neere gained  
the haue with the Gallies that lay there, intending to fight both by sea and land, had  
not the King speedily prevented it, who hauing made inquirie of the matter, apprehend-  
ed sundry of the Rebels, who were seuerely punished: the Nephew Arch-bishop was  
committed to prison in his owne house, and within fixe dayes after, the old Arch-bishop  
was restored to his former Sea, and diuers of the offenders were hanged out at the win-  
dowes of their owne houses, and some others sent to receiue punishment at Madrid. An  
other outrage was there committed at the same time, which did incite and stirre vp di-  
uers against the king: for his Court being greatly frequented with Noblemen Moores,  
whome he did highly fauour, one of them named *Mosarras*, (who did lodge in the house  
of an honourable Citizen called *Diego Sanchez* of Oriuela) was so farre transported  
with a libidinous appetite, as his host and hostesse being absent, hee rauished and car-  
ried away with him into Granada a very beautifull daughter of theirs, keeping her with  
him so long as he pleased. The sorrowfull father and mother at their returne home find-  
ing their house disurnished of their best ornament, accompanied with diuers of the  
best Citizens, went to make their complaint to the king, who told them that the fault  
was their owne, in leauing their daughter behind them, and so put them off with this  
impertinent answer: whereunto the parties grieved did reply, crauing iustice, but the  
King being displeased with their importunate exclamations, commaunded that they  
should be thrust out of his gates, set vpon asses, and publicly whipped vpp and downe  
the Citie: this vniust sentence should haue beene executed, had not the Earle D. *Gon-  
sal* of Guzman, gone to the King and asked him, what reason the Officer should giue to  
the multitude for the whipping of those innocent people: then the King finding his  
owne error, was ashamed thereof, and went into his chamber, making him no answer  
at all, the Moores fault remayning unpunished, to the great scandall not onely of that  
Citie, but of the whole kingdom.

Not long after, the King made a journey to Gibraltar, newly conquered and sacked,  
where he gaue another prooffe and testimonie of a mind little fauouring of equitie, for  
he tooke away the gouernement thereof from *Pedro de Porras*, whome hee had placed  
there at the request of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who had taken the same citie, and  
did giue and appropriate it to Don *Bertrand de la Cueva*, Earle of Ledesma, who placed  
there for Gouernour *Stephano de Villareyes*, who had married an Aunt of his: the which  
the Duke tooke very impatiently, and so it continued all the time of the troubles of  
the kingdom, vntill he had brought it againe vnder his owne power and iurisdiction, and  
ioyned it to the other possessions belonging to the house of Medina Sidonia, who hath  
alwaies enjoyed it, till the entire conquest of the kingdom of Granada: at which time it  
was for euer annexed to the Crowne.

The same time the King Don *Alphonso* of Portugall making warre vpon the Moores E  
of Affricke, came from Ceuta to Gibraltar at the intreatie and perswasion of King *Hen-  
ry*, where these two Princes remayned and continued together the space of eight dayes,  
eating at one table, and shewing great tokens of loue and brotherly friendshippe one  
to the other.

28  
Portugal.

This yeare 1463, the Infant Don *Henry* of the house of Portugall, the kings Vnde,  
Master of the Order commonly called of Christ, of the age of three-score and seven  
yeares, dyed in the citie of *Sagres* in Algarbe, who was buried in the Church of *Battayle*,  
and afterwards translated and carried away from thence to the Abbey of *Battayle*,  
built by his father king *Iohn* the first, and they report in Portugall, that this Prince dyed  
a virgin: he out-liued all his breethren that were legitimate, to wit, Don *Iohn* Master  
of Saint James, Don *Fernand* Master of Auiz, and Don *Pedro* Duke of Coimbra: their  
elder bastard-brother Don *Alphonso* Duke of Bragança dyed also not long before,  
leauing behind him for his successours in the Dutchie, his sonnes Don *Fernand*, Earle  
of Arrojos, and the Marquis of Villa-viciosa, who was (by lawfull succession, and by  
the right of inheritance) the second Duke of Bragança, begotten on Donna *Beatrice*,  
daughter

House of Bra-  
gança.

A daughter to Don *Nugno Aluares Pereyra* Earle of Barcellos, and first Constable of Por-  
tugall: Now the losse of these great personages was very grievous to the King Don *Al-  
phonso*, who at that time by reason of his warres against the Moores, had great need of  
their helpe and Councell: hee had conducted a great army into Affricke against the city  
of Tanger, being followed by all the Nobility of Portugall, namely, by his brother the  
Infant Don *Fernand* Duke of Visco, his brother-in-law Don *Pedro* the third Constable  
of Portugall, sonne to the Infant Don *Pedro*, Duke of Coimbra aboue-mentioned, D.  
*Edward de Meneses* Earle of Viana, Don *Gonçal* the first Earle of Marialua, the  
Earle of Villa-reall, and other great Lords: but Don *Pedro* the third, Constable of Por-  
tugall, was at that time solicited by the Caballeros to name himselfe King of Arragon, for  
the reasons heretofore declared, who consented thereunto, and went with the Ambassa-  
dors of Cattalonia to the citie of Barcelona, where he was proclaymed King of Arra-  
gon, and Earle of Barcelona, vnto whom the Estates were sworne: but hee had to deale  
with a boylerous aduersarie, passing ouer his dayes in difficult warres, and finishing  
them by payson (as it was thought) as shall be hereafter more at large declared. After  
the departure of the Constable Don *Pedro*, the King Don *Alphonso* came to Gibraltar,  
and in his absence his people receiued an ouerthrow as they went about to scale the  
towne of Tanger, where diuers men of worth were slaine and taken. Among the priso-  
ners were the Earle of Marialua, and *Gomes Freyra*, who were afterward redeemed for  
great ranfomes.

C After his returne from Gibraltar into Affricke, hee entred in person into Penaea, a  
mountainous and woddie countrey, from whence hee was constrained to retire to his  
great losse, where he left behind him D. *Edward de Meneses* Earle of Viana, who to saue  
the kings life being in great danger, lost his own. The Earle of Villa-reall did at that time,  
by his valour, saue the army, fighting brauely in the re-re-ward, defending it against an in-  
finite multitude of Moores: in so much as the king being desirous to acknowledge his  
prowesse, did publicly prayse him, and gaue him the honor of being the shield and de-  
fender of the faith the same day: or to speake more properly, Gods instrument for the  
deliuerie and helpe of the Portugals. These aduerser fortunes caused King *Alphonso* to re-  
turne into Portugall with small honor, where he applied himselfe to vowes and pilgrim-  
ages, thinking hereby to appeale the Saints, patrons and conductors (as he thought)  
of his vnhappy and disastrous enterprises.

D King *Henry* of Castile at his departure from Gibraltar, came to Eccia, where he gather-  
ed together all the cauallerie of the garrisons and countrey neere about, ioyning them  
to his great armie, which he commonly carried about with him, wherewith he entred in-  
to the territories of Granada, where the Ambassadors of king *Ismael* the Moore met  
with him, and presented vnto him the tribute, with sundrie other gifts, so that he passed  
on no further, but dismissed his forces, and came to Iacn, whose Gouernor was the Con-  
stable Don *Michael Lucas d'Irangu*. At Iacn remayned Don *Pedro Giron*, Master of Cala-  
trava, who being desirous to offend the Earle of Ledesma, and to set him at variance  
E with the Constable Don *Michel Lucas*, he told the King that he heard say, that he meant  
to bestow the Mastership of S. James, (which the Infant Don *Alphonso* held onely in  
name) vpon the Earle of Ledesma: and thereupon shewed him diuers reasons to per-  
suade him to giue that dignitie rather to the Constable, who was a valiant Knight, and  
one greatly affected to his seruice: but the King seemed to giue no eare to his speech,  
knowing very well whereunto it tended. Don *Pedro* perceiued by many other reasons,  
that he was not very welcome to the King, who (as he supposed) did suspect him to bee  
of the league with the Marquis of Villena his brother, and the Arch-bishop of Toledo:  
wherefore he returned thence, and then began they to treat of great leagues and con-  
federacies, to the preiudice of the estate of Castile, prefiged by great tempests of wind,  
F which at Seville did ouerthrow a great quantitie of the city walls, and did blow away a  
great bell out of the Church of *S. Angustine*, aboue a bowes shot from the place where  
it did hang, tooke vp into the ayre a payre of Oxen yoked together at the plough, and  
plucked vppe by the rootes diuers sorts of trees, scattering them here and there in very  
fearefull manner: In the ayre was scene the proportion of armed men fighting, and three  
Eagles

Expedition in-  
to Affricke a-  
gainst the city  
of Tanger.

King Alphonso  
for misfortunes  
in his expedi-  
tion into Aff-  
ricke.

29  
Castile.

Prodigious  
winds and o-  
ther tokens of  
future calamities.

Eagles striuing together, with great furie fell downe dead to the ground. Matters standing in these termes, the King returned to Madrid, where he continued still carelesse of that which concerned the good of the Realme: there was no audience nor admittance for petitioners, nor any administration of iustice: he permitted his porters, and those of his guard to offer indignities to such as he did not loue and to those that did sue vnto him, and he would winke at them when as many times they would shut the gates against the Arch-bishoppe, and the Marquis of Villena, who were oftentimes sent from thence with many iniurious speeches. These things with other of greater importance would he giue ayne to, so as he willingly made a readie way to the greatest miseries and calamities that could be imagined. And hearing that the king Don *Alphonso* of Portugall was entered into Castile to visit, for deuotion sake, the Monasterie of Guadalupe, he departed from Madrid with the Queene his wife, and the Infants his brother and sister, and went to meet him at a place called the Arch-bishoppes bridge, not making the Marquis of Villena, nor the Arch-bishop of Toledo acquainted with any thing to bee treated of in that interview.

Interview of  
the king of Ca-  
stile and Por-  
tugall at Gua-  
dalupa.

There were newly strengthened and confirmed the auncient leagues and allyances betwene the two kingdomes, by the agreement of future marriages with the king Don *Alphonso* who was a widower, and Donna *Isabella* sister to the king of Castile, and betwene the Infant Don *Iohn* of Portugall, eldest sonne and heire to that Crowne, of the age of eight yeares, and the Queene of Castiles daughter, who was tearmed the Princess *Isane*. These things promised and agreed vpon, the king of Portugall returned to Guadalupe to finish and performe his vow, and from thence into his owne country. In the meane time the Arch-bishop and the Marquis being forewarned by the tokens of disgrace, which they well perceyued, and by their own consciences, absented themselves from the Court, fearing to bee taken and punished, and with drew themselves to Alcalá de Henares, where they solicited their friends, and strengthened their league into the which, by the meanes of the Arch-bishop, entred very secretly the Admirall Don *Fredrick*, the Earle of Benauent, Don *Alphonso Pimentell* sonne-in-law to the Marquis, Don *Roderigo Manrique* Earle of Paredes, Don *Inigo Manrique* Bishop of Coria, with all his breethren: on the other side the Marquis of Villena went in person to draw into their league Don *Garcia Aluarez* of Toledo, Earle of Alua de Tormes, and Don *Aluaro* of Estuniga, Earle of Plaisance, whom he drew into the number. In like manner the Master of Calatraua played his part thorough the whole countrie of Andalusia, with great secrecie: for their desseigne was to get the Infants, Don *Alphonso*, and Donna *Isabella* from the Court into their power, to serue for a colour to their proceedings, not caring at all for Donna *Isane*, who was tearmed the Princess of Castile, whom they all held to be begotten in adulterie by Don *Bertrand de la Cueva* of the Queene. The king wanted no aduertisement and information of the progression of these matters, but he was negligent and carelesse.

D. Isane borne  
in adulterie,  
the subject of  
all the stirrs in  
Castile.

At his returne to Madrid hearing of the Arch-bishoppes and the Marqueses retreat, hee beganne to thinke vpon their dangerous practises, and sent to command them to come to the Court, to vnderstand what hee had agreed vpon and concluded with the king of Portugall, but they excused themselves, and desired to talke with the king in a place and companie not suspected. The King and the Marquis did see one another, and talked and conferred together betwene Madrid and Alcalá de Henares, without any conclusion.

Soone after it was decreed, that the Marquis of Santillana, and the Earle of Haros shoulde be giuen as hostages to the Arch-bishoppe of Toledo for the Marquis of Villena his safe-comming to the Court, who gaue the king to vnderstand, that he would not come, vnlesse hee would commit the Arch-bishop of Seuille Don *Alphonso* of Fonseca to prison, for the reasons which hee had shewed vnto him: endeavoring by his persecution, to keepe the rest of the kings seruants in suspition, the which came to passe: for the King who did already distrust the Arch-bishoppe of Seuille, sent *Iohn Fernandes Galindo*, Gouvernour to the Queene to take him, who being aduertised thereof by the Marquis himselfe, who played with both hands, escaped, wherewith all the Lords of the

Councill,

A Councill, and others which were employed and negotiated in matters of State, were greatly offended: and then the violences and tyrannies which did afflicke the kingdome during this kings life, began to appeare.

After this trick the Marquis came to Court, and with him the Earles of Benauent and Paredes, and Don *Alphonso Henriques*, eldest sonne to the Admirall, euery one of them well accompanied with their acquaintance, friends, and seruants, with intent and purpose to seize vpon the persons of the King, the Earle of Ledesma, and the Infants. The King, as ill aduised as he was, did distrust them, and therefore caused the Infants to be shut vp in the tower of homage, with sufficient guard: and as hee was doing hereof, the confederates, who shoulde execute that enterprise, came hastily to the Pallace, and violently breaking open the gates, entred into the hall: then the King fearing and distrustful what might happen, withdrew himselfe by a priue way, with the Earle of Ledesma, hauing made the Infants safe. The Marquis who was wife and subtil, perceiuing their proiect and purpose to faile, with a stedfast and assured countenance, as though he had had no hand therein, presented himselfe to the King, and was one of those that did sollicite him rigorously to punish such an offence, which the King might easily haue done in himselfe, if he had bene possessed with an heroicke spirit: but all that hee sayd vnto him, was: How now Marquis, do you thinke that this which is attempted in my house, is well done? assure your selfe that I will be now no longer patient. The Marquis who was thoroughly acquainted with his humour, found meanes to appease him, and so returned to his lodging. But this senselesse King thought that he shoulde be sufficiently reuenged if hee shoulde giue sharper spurs to those who were already to much gauledd with enuie and emulation to see the Earle of Ledesma so honored, aduanced, and enriched.

His determination then was, in deliight of all his enemies, to honour him with the Mastership of Saint Iames, which was kept, since the death of the Constable Don *Aluaro de Luna*, by the King Don *Iohn*, and by this King Don *Henry* his sonne, as an appendix to the Crowne, with the dispensation of the Popes *Nicholas* the fifth, and *Calixtus* the third, vntill that time. And for to obtaine the consent and Bull of Pope *Pius* the second, he dispatched one of his Chaplaynes called *Suero de Solis* to Rome, who caried with him foureene thousand golden *Henryes*, to get expedition. Before this Chaplayne returned, the Secretarie *Aluar Gomez*, who had written the Kings letters to the Pope, went and revealed it to the Marquis, whose familiar friend and partisan he was, the which did the more enflame the confederates to the ruine of the King, his Minion, and the whole kingdome.

The Marquis who was very expert in all points belonging to a cunning Courtier, perswaded the King to remooue to Segobia, saying, that there the affaires in hand might bee better managed then at Madrid: but the truth was, hee did it of purpose to haue him neerer vnto the countreies of the Confederates; if the matter shoulde happen to come to strokes. And he dealt in such sort, making fo great a shew of distrust, as the Bishoppe of Palencia, brother to the Earle of Ledesma, was giuen in hostage to the Master of Calatraua, and kept in the towne of Pegnasel. When they were all come to Segobia, the Marquis failed to beare a great grudge to the Earles of Plaisance, Alua, and others: in which meane space arriued the messenger from Rome, bringing with him the Popes Bull for the Master-shippe of Saint Iames for the Earle of Ledesma, wherewith the king greatly reioyced, and told the Marquis that now he must needs allow and tolerate the Popes graunt to the Earle: who answered, that hee was well contented so to do: neuertheless hee shewed vnto him diuers reasons of the manifest and apparent wrong done therein to the Infant Don *Alphonso*, the which the King slightly passed ouer, and did not regard: and the day following hee did inuest the Earle in that place and dignitie, giuing and willingly surrendering vnto him the Ensignes and Ornaments thereunto belonging.

This deed did so highly displease the Marquis, as from thenceforth hee did sollicite the Confederates to arme themselves, and to practise how they might take the king, Queene, her daughter, together with the Infants Don *Alphonso*, and Donna *Isabella*, and

conspiracie  
against the K.  
Queene, her  
daughter, and  
D. Bertrand,  
de la Cueva.



Ar-istels agreed  
upon for the  
pacification of  
the troubles.

who should be acknowledged for Prince and heire of the kingdome of Castile, and oath A made vnto him in that nature at the same instant according to the custome of Spaine, by the Lords and Deputies of the townes and Prouinces that should be there present: and that the Lords and Knights should promise, that the Infant Don *Alphonso*, who was then eleven years old, should marrie Donna *Joane* the Queenes daughter, so soone as shee should come to age: againe, that the Earle of Ledesma should giue over the Mastership of Saint Iames, the which should be restored to the Infant Don *Alphonso*: That for the gouernment of the affaires of State, and other great busineses of the kingdome, two Knights of each side should be chosen, Don *Alphonso* of Oropeça Generall of the Ieronimites should be as vmpire betweene the two parties: on the Kings part for the assistance of the deliuerie of the Infant, should be giuen in hostage for the kings fidelity, the Master of Saint Iames, and the Earle of Benauent for that of the confederates.

These things being agreed vpon, the King came to Segobia, in the castle of which citie, the Queene and the Infants lay, and he caused the Infant Don *Alphonso* to depart thence to be deliuered to the Lords of the League, albeit it was fore-told him, that the Infant should be declared King of Castile: but the Secretarie *Aluar Gomes*, who was wholly at the Marquis his deuotion, assured him of the contrarie: vnto whome the charge to conduct the Infant to Segulueda was committed, where he deliuered him into the hands of the confederate Lords. The King returned to Valiodolite, from whence the next day, he returned to Cabeçon. The confederates on the other side, brought the Infant into the fields, where he was sworne vpon, and acknowledged Prince and heire of those kingdomes, being eleven yeares of age.

The Prelates and Knights of the league which were present at this ceremony, were D. *Alphonso Carrillo* of Acuña, Arch-bishop of Toledo, Don *Alphonso* of Fonseca Arch-bishop of Seule, Don *Inigo Manrique* Bishop of Coria, Don *Frederick Henriquez* great Admirall of Castile, Don *Aluaro* of Estuniga Earle of Plaisance, Don *Garcia Aluaro* of Toledo Earle of Alua, Don *Rodrigo Manriquez* Earle of Paredes, the Earles of Saint Marta and Ribadeo with others, who promised that the marriage betweene the Infant, and Donna *Joane* should be accomplished. And on the Kings side to consult vpon the administration of the affaires was chosen, Don *Pedro* of Velasco, eldest son to the Earle D of Haro, Don *Pedro Fernandes* of Velasco, and *Gonsal* of Sahauedra: the Confederates appointed the Marquis of Villena, and the Earle of Plaisance: and for a third person Friar *Alphonso* of Oropeça was named.

The King being come backe to Valiodolite, did handle the matter so with the Earle Don *Bertrand de la Cuenca*, as he for quietnesse sake renounced the Master-shippe of Saint Iames, and yeelded it vp into the Popes hands: For which deed of his, the King vsing his accustomed bountie, gaue him in recompence the towne of Albuquerque, with the title of Duke, with the townes of Cuellar, Roa, Molina, Atienza, la Pegna d'Alcaçar, and besides all this, three millions and five hundred thousand Marauidis of yearly rent, to be leuied vpon Vbeda, Baega, and other places of Andalusia: we will therefore hereafter call him Duke of Albuquerque, and Earle of Ledesma.

Those things being accomplished, the king went to Olmeda, and the Iudges or arbitrators which were chosen to Medina del campo, where whilst they conferred and disputed about the affaires, the Confederates had inuented new meanes to continue the troubles. The Arch-bishop of Toledo, and the Admirall Don *Frederick* made shew to be displeased with the Marquis, and made a craftie reconciliation with the King, making him beleue, that they had both will and meanes to ruine the Marquis: the King receyued them very fauourably, and for ioy thereof sent to Don *Gomes* of Caceres, Master of Alcantara, and to Don *Pedro Puerto Carrero* Earle of Medellin, whom hee very much trusted, to come to him with as many souldiers as they could leaue. Thereupon hee was aduertised, that the arbitrators had giuen vp their sentence, by the which there remayned nothing to him but the name of King onely: for the Marquis being a main very wife, eloquent, and well experienced, did so handle the other Deputies, as he made them to consend to whatsoever he pleased, hauing the Secretarie *Aluar Gomes* wholly at his deuotion, by whose meanes he drew *Gonsal* of Sahauedra to his party.

The

A The King being greatly troubled therewith, sent for *Aluaro* and *Gonsal* to come and speake with him: but they being kept backe with shame, and their owne euil conscience, durst not appeare in his presence, but secretly tooke an other way, where by chance they met with the maister of Alcantara and the Earle of Medellin who were going to the King with a thousand horse, whom these two run-aways made beleue, that the King had giuen charge to take them, and that he did greatly distrust them; and therefore aduised them not to shew them-selues vp in a place from whence they could not escape at their pleasures.

The King be-  
trayed on all  
sides.

B They knowing the king, by many like examples, to be apt enough to do such a matter, did easily beleue what the Secretary and *Gonsal* had told them, and at their intreaty they went altogether and ioyned them-selues with their confederates, the which did wonderfully trouble the King, who had great cause to complaine of the ingratitude of *Aluar Gomes* de Cité Reall about the rest, because hee had trusted him with his greatest secrets, and had highly aduanced him, hauing giuen him the Lordshippe of Maqueda, and enabled him, by meanes of his fauour, honours and offices, to purchase Saint *Sinclair* and *Torrejón* de Velasco, and other waies aduanced him: although hee were of no Noble parentage: Apprehending then this treason of *Aluaro*, hee confiscated all his goods, and gaue the towne of Torrejon de Velasco, to *Pedro Arfado* de Auija, sonne to *Diego* of Segobia, his high treasurer. And afterward made an edict, whereby hee declared the deputies and arbitrators, assembled at Medina del Campo, suspect, and enemies to his crowne; reuoking, and declaring their sentence to be of no force. After that, hee came to Segouia; and the confederates went to Playfantia, carrying with them the Prince Don *Alfonso*.

*Aluar Gomes*  
perfidious and  
disloyall to his  
King.

The King dis-  
trusts the ar-  
bitrators, sen-  
tence for the  
peace.

Matters being broken of, the Maister of Calatrava went into Andaloza to drawe the Lords of that country into the league. In the meane time the Arch-Bishoppe of Toledo and the Admirall, the better to assure the king of their fidelity, remayned in their houses, making no shew of cleauing to any side in those latter troubles, and they sayd, that they stayd there expecting when the King would fend for them: Now the King, the better to oblige them to his seruice, had promised to giue vnto the D Arch-bishop la mora of Medina del campo, and the City of Auila, and to the Admirall the Captenship of Valiodolite, and of Val de nebro, with a certaine summe of Henries of gold to pay their souldiers, to weete the Arch-Bishoppe fourteene hundred Launces, and the Admirall eight hundred, the which they obtained within few daies after: The king hauing left in Segobia, with a good and sure guard, the Queene his wife, with her daughter, and the Infanta Donna *Isabell*, hee went to Madrid whether the Arch-Bishop came as it were flying, because, (as hee sayd) the *Marchiones* of Villena had caused him to be pursued by the commandement of her husband, and the other confederates: being receaued and welcommed by the whole Courte, the King, the day following, held a counsell, wherein hee complained of the disobedience and rebellion of the Marquis and his confederates, who had made fundry attempts against his person, & the welfare & quiet of his realmes, which was wholly diuided in armes, & was so troubled, that without a fit and speedy remedy, both he himselfe, who was King, & the Lords, Citties, and other estates, should be exposed to the appetite of such as gaped after their liuings, places, and dignities: wherefore hee craued aduice what was to be done in a time so troublesome, wherein hee himselfe, with his faithfull friends, and counsellors, were ready to fall into extreame daunger.

King Henry ill  
advised guests  
his enemies  
meanes to war  
upon him.

E The Arch-Bishop as a Prelate of greatest authority, & who was the mouth of the rest, answered, and gaue the King counsell to demand the Prince Don *Alfonso* of the confederate Lords, saying that hee should liue better according to his dignity, being with him than in their company, seeing that the troubles were encreased by meanes of his deliuey vnto them, were as peace and quietnesse was expected: and if that they should refuse to fend him, that then the King should proceed against them by rigor of armes, as rebels and guilty of treason.

This counsell was receyued and allowed of them all: and therefore the King went to-  
wards

XXX







as much as his short stay would giue him leaue: from thence he went into Soria, and lea-  
ued souldiers there, for the defence of the same place. Alfaro being beseege and sin-  
uously battered by the Earle, did hold out, notwithstanding that it is situated betwene  
Calaoorra and Tudela, wherein were great garrisons of French-men and Nauarrois, so  
as within the space of twelue daies, the succors of Castile appeared, consisting of one  
thousand three hundred horse, and five thousand footmen, conducted by *Alphonso* de  
Arellano Lord de los Cameros: by reason whereof the Earle raised his seige, and  
brought backe his people to Tudela: and soone after he receiued newes that the Inha-  
bitants of Calaoorra had massacred the French Garrison there, and returned to the ob-  
edience of their Prince King *Henry*. These disorders did greatly displease the Earle, the  
Constable Lord *Peter* of Peralta, and others, who laide the whole fault vpon the Bishop  
of Pampelona who was the cause that the townes of La Garda, Saint Vincent and  
Arcos, which of old times belonged to Nauarre, haue euer since remained in the power  
of Castile.

King *John* after the victory, which his sonne had obtained at Poblín, receiued diuerse  
Inhabitants of the Province of Ampurdan, which yielded to him, some willingly, others  
for feare. And desiring straightly to beseege Ceruera, a strong place by nature, hee  
sent thither the troupes of *D. Alphonso*, and those which the Queene held before Valde-  
cona, a towne seated within a mile of Tortosa: but *D. Alphonso*, before he marched to the  
campe, vnderstanding that the Inhabitants of Igualada were at dissention among them-  
selves, some of them cleauing to the new King *D. Pedro*, the others to King *John*: hee  
drew nere to it, and found meanes to take it whilst they were at variance: Having got-  
ten in, he shed them kindly that held with King *John*, the others hee seuerely punished:  
then he went to Ceruera, which was so speedily battered and assailed, as in the end it yel-  
ded vpon composition to haue their liues and goods saued, and their priuileges entire-  
ly maintained: the which was graunted. The government of that place was giuen to *John*  
de Carraxona, then they went to Pratas, where the new King *D. Pedro* had left a garrison,  
he himselfe being retired to Barcelona: Pratas was yielded, and Rodona likewise vpon  
conditions, and the army passed on to Tortosa, the Prince *D. Fernando* conducting the  
formost troupes, who beganne to encampe before Amposta, hauing with great diffi-  
culty passed the riuer Ebro, which was greatly swelled and risen. The seige of Ampo-  
sta was long and difficult, winter drawing neere, which proued that yere so exceeding  
cold, beyond the custome of the country, as it is reported that wolues came into the sol-  
diars tents and cabanes as though they had beene tame: and great numbers of sundry  
sorts of snakes were found in the fields, which did no hurt at all, which did greatly amaze  
the souldiers who held those things for strang prognostications: so as King *John* was  
constrained to comfort and animate his people with orations and friendly speeches,  
wherein a Sicillian Gentleman named *Scipio Patello*, who was wise and eloquent, did him  
good seruice. By the great labour of the souldiers, and extreme diligence of the  
captaines, Amposta was taken by force, where the King executed some of the principall  
Inhabitants, and pardoned others, as namely the Gouvernor who with diuers others had  
taken the castle.

After this they beseege Tortosa which the King greatly desired, who sent thither *D.*  
*Alphonso* his son, to shut in the Inhabitants, and to prepare things in readinesse to bat-  
ter it. The townes-men perceiving it was in good earnest, sent forty of their Citizens  
to the King, to perswade him to desist from that enterprize, and to assure him that Tor-  
tosa would not rebel against him, if the other townes of Catalonia would compound  
and yield: therefore they entreated him to go to some other place, and to leaue them in  
peace; other-wise, he should thinke, that if the taking of Amposta cost him so deere, that  
Tortosa, which was much stronger, and greater, would stand him in no lesse. The King  
knowing that the Tortosans were none of the valiantest, answered them, that if they did  
not submit themselves to his obedience, he would seuerely punish them: which they re-  
fusing, the warre beganne to be very sharpe in euery place about the City, with the day-  
ly losse of many on either side: the towne was battered with great fury on all parts,  
and the beseege made diuerse braue sallies vpon the enemies. *D. Pedro* who named  
himselfe

The Bishop of  
Pampelona  
causeth the  
townes of La  
Garda, Saint  
Vincent and  
Arcos, to re-  
maine vnder  
the power of  
Castile.

Igualada fur-  
rised by  
meanes of the  
discord of the  
Inhabitants.

A cold winter.

Snakes among  
the army in  
the dead of  
winter.

Amposta taken  
by King John.

A himselfe King, did desire to succor Tortosa; but being with his forces on the way, he  
died by poison (as it is reported) in the City of Granol, five miles distant from Barcelo-  
na. King *John* being aduertized of the death of his enemy, did not dissemble the ioy  
that he felt, nor the Barcelonois their griefe and sorrow: but those of Tortosa were e-  
specially grieved for the hope of succor which they expected from him: so as being out  
of hope of helpe, and extremely beaten euery day, they yielded vpon reasonable  
termes.

These things were done in Catalonia, at the same time that the Prince *Alphonso* was  
proclaimed King of Castile at Auila, and King *Henry* degraded by the confederate  
Lords, vnto whose seruice and readuancement, from sundry parts of the Realme diuers  
Noblemen resorted: but Don *Garcia Aluarez* de Toledo Earle of Alua de Torres was  
hethat shewed the greatest loue and affection towards him, for he brought to his aide  
one thousand footmen, three hundred men at armes, and two hundred light horse or  
genets: he dwelt nere to Salamanca. The King sent the Earle of Alua and his troupes to  
Zamora with *John Bermudes Galindo*, who had command of the residew of the army:  
he himselfe with the Queene, and the Infanta *Isabella*, went to Ledesma; where he was  
sumptuously entertained and feasted by the Duke of Albuquerque for the space of eight  
daies: from whence hauing assembled three hundred men at armes and two hundred  
genets, they accompanied the King to Zamora. The Queene and the Infanta *Isabel*  
went into Portugall to request aide of the King, whereof there was great need, but their  
labour was in vaine. At Zamora daily arriued great numbers of souldiers for the Kings  
seruice. The Earle of Trantamara brought thither two hundred men at armes, and  
two hundred genets, the Earle of Valencia, a hundred men at armes; and two hundred  
genets, others brought more or lesse according to their abilities. The King sent three  
hundred Launces to Segobia, to accompany the Lady *Joane* his supposed daughter to  
Zamora, where with great pompe hee entred the City vnder a canopy and in a King-  
ly habit.

In the meane time the Maister of Calatraua, stirred vp all Andalusia for the contrary  
part, and drew some by perfections, guifts and promises, & others by threatnings, force  
and violence. Hauing done his best (but in vaine) to enduce *D. John* de Valencuela to  
ioyne himselfe with the confederate Lords, he tooke him prisoner and would not re-  
lease him, till he had snatched diuers fortresses from him, with the which not being satis-  
fied, he tooke from him all the places belonging to the priory of Saint John, and gaue  
them to *D. Aluaro* de Estuniga third sonne to the Earle of Playfance; He dispossessed  
also the Bishop of Iaca, the Kings faithfull seruant, from all that he held, notwithstanding  
that he shed his goods and houses, boldly and familiarly as his guest. The Constable  
of Castile *D. Michael Lucas* de Franço, *D. Pedro* de Cordoua Earle of Cabra and his  
children, the Marshall of Castile *D. Diego*, the Commandor de Estepa *D. Martin*, and  
*Martin Alphonso* Lord of Alcaudete, did oppose themselves against the Maister of Ca-  
lataua. The intent of the confederate Lords was to goe and beseege Simancas, and  
being gone from Valiodolit for the same purpose with great store of men and munition,  
by the way they tooke Pegnafeur: where whilst they were buied, the King caused *John*  
*Bermudes Galindo* to enter into Simancas with three hundred horse: and not long af-  
ter the towne beeing inuested by the enemy, it was a hard matter to say, whether the be-  
seegers or the beseege were in most feare.

In the meane space whilst they lay before that towne, the knauish boies and lackies  
which were within the same did gather themselves together vpon a day, and in derision  
of the league, they made an image representing the Archbishop of Toledo, which they  
named the new *D. Opas* the Apostata, in the daies of Count *Julian*, who brought the  
Moors into Spain against King *Rodericke*: then they made one amongst them a  
Iudge, who sitting in a seate, commanded the image should be imprisoned: and after-  
ward pronounced sentence, which was, that *Alphonso Carrillo* Archbishop of To-  
ledo, following the steps of the old Bishop *Opas*, the ruine of Spain, for that he had be-  
trayed the King his naturall Lord, rebelling against him, and detayning his money,  
townes and fortresses which he had committed to him, was condemned to be drawne vp  
and

*D. Pedro* of  
Portugal, say-  
ing.

Tortosa yield-  
ed to King  
John.

33  
Castile.

*D. Pedro* Gõ-  
ron, Maister  
of Calatraua,  
turns An-  
dalu against  
the King.

The Arch-  
Bishop of Toledo  
chief of the  
rebels divided.

and downe the streets, and publike places of Simancas, a trumpet going before, who A should proclaime, that the King did command this iustice to bee done to the traitor O. pas, as a recompence due for his treacheries and treasons, and that then it should be burned. This sentence being pronounced aloud, the image was carried forth of the towne, accompanied with more then three hundred boies and lacquies, and burned nere to the confederats army and in their sight. The Lords of the league perceiving that they could not take Simancas, did raise their seege and brought their forces backe to Valiodelite.

The Kings army which was assembled at Toro did daily encrease, to the which their joyned the Earle of Medina Celi, with five hundred Launces, the Marquis of Santillana B with seven hundred, D. Pedro de Mendoza, Lord of Almazan, with two hundred, and a great number of footmen; diuers others also came thither, so that there were reckoned to be foure score thousand footmen and foure cene thousand horse, as well men at armes as light horse: who were all of them very desirous to fight and to doe the King good service, who by the aduice of the Lords and captaines of his army, caused the campe to dislodge, and to aduance towards the enemies, the Earle of Alua de Tormes leading the vanguard, and the battaile was conducted by D. Pedro Gonçales de Mendoza Bishop of Calaozza.

The army marching nere to Tordesillas, a captaine of the Vanguard, named C *Garcia Mendes* of Badajoz, disbanding with about two hundred horse, met nere to Valiodelite with *John Carillo*, a Knight of the Admiralls, leading a band of fifty horse, whom he fought with, vanquished, and tooke *John Carillo* prisoner, being grievously hurt, who was brought into a Chappel thereby, where hee entreated to speake with the King before he died, for he felt himselfe wounded to the death. The King at the intreaty of his friends came to visit the prisoner, whose end drew nere: he craved pardon of the King for bearing armes against him, and told him that he was come from Valiodelite the same day, by the commandement of those that had power ouer him, to finde means to kill him; and he did moreover reueale to the King sundry other vild practices; the King said, that he pardoned him with all his heart, and prayed God to pardon him likewise, and he enquired further of him, who those were which fought his life, and which D set him a worke; he entreated the King to send away them that stood by, and then in great secrecy he told their names, which could neuer after be knowne, for the King neuer told it to any man liuing: the next day after *John Carillo* died of his hurts. The King being at Simancas, his great and mighty army stretched it selfe euento the gates of Valiodelite, where the confederats did remaine; neuertheless the affaires were drawne out at length, without any matter of note. Thither came the Queene Donna *Isabella*, with the Infant Donna *Isabella*, who were returned from Portugall, where they had obtained nothing at all for the good of Castile: for notwithstanding that they had endeauored for to renew the treatie of marriage mentioned at the enterview of the Kings at the Archbishops bridge, neuertheless the King Don *Alphonso* did abhorre E to marry his sonne to Donna *Isabella*, whoe was begotten in adultery, of the Queene of Castile his cosin, by the Duke of Albuquerque Don *Bertrand* de la Cueva.

These things standing at a stay, the King and the Marquis of Villena did see one an other, and by the aduice of Don *Diego Hurtado* de Mendoza Marquis of Santillana, and of Don *Aluaro* de Estuniga, chiefe Iustice of Castile, called and cholen on both parts, it was concluded, that euery man should lay by his armes and returne to his owne house: and that during the truce, which should continue for the space of some five monthes following, they should treat of a peace, and of the means how to giue content to all men; but chiefly, to cause the Prince Don *Alphonso* to renounce his royalty. This was proclaimed through the campe, nere to Montejo F in the territory of Arealo, signed and sealed by the King, the Archbishop of Toledo, and the Marquis of Villena, and vnderneath by the secretrary *Garcia* de Arcarefo de Montdragon.

The King had small reason to yeeld to these things, having an army of a hundred thousand fighting men; whereas his enemies were very weak in respect of him, and vnprouided

The King  
hauing not  
time to profit  
himselfe by his  
great forces,

A vnprouided of money, victuals, munition and other things necessary for such an enterprise, but God would haue it so. The King being come backe to Simancas, dismissed his souldiars with liberall payment; then at Medina del Campo, whether hee came soone after, he recompensed the Lords after this manner: He gaue to D. *Pero Gonçales* de Mendoza Bishop of Calaozza the thirds of Guadalajara with the reuenue thereof to his brother D. *Diego Hurtado* de Mendoza Marquis of Santillana, he gaue the towne of Saint Andrew, leyning to the lands of his Marquisat, with a yeerely pension of seven hundred thousand Marauedis: to the other brother D. *Ignacio* de Mendoza, and to Don *Lorenzo* de Suarez Vicont of Torreja, and to D. *John Hurtado* de Mendoza, pensions according to their degrees, to D. *Lewis de la Cerda* Earle of Medina Celi, the City of A B greda with the territory: to D. *Garcia Aluarez* de Toledo Earle of Alua, Carpia, with sundry places nere to Salamanca: to D. *Aluaro Peres Osorio* Lord of Villalobos and Earle of Trasmara, the City of Astorga with the title of Marquis, to D. *John de Acugna* Earle of Valencia, the Earldome of Pravia and Gijon, with the title of Duke of Valencia: to D. *Pedro* de Mendoza, Lord of Almazan, a yeerely pension of 300000. Marauedis, assigned him, on the hill of Mountagu: to D. *Aluaro* de Mendoza, captaine of his men at armes, the City of Requena, with the reuenue and profit of the port and hauen thereof. Other gifts and recompences did the King make to his Knights, the which, or at least the most part of them, haue euer since remained in their families.

Recompences  
made by the  
King to the  
Lords that  
followed him

*The end of the twentieth Booke.*

THE



# THE ONE AND TWENTYTH BOOKE OF THE GENERALL HISTORY OF SPAIN.

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- 34 Roderigo Borgia Cardinal and legat in Spaine.
- 35 New Christians massacred at Cordoua and Iacn, where the Constable of Castile Don Michael Lucas of France was murdered: The same dignity giuen to the house of Velsco.
- D 36 Enterprise of the Maistr of Saint Iames against D. Andrea de Cabrera: D. Pedro Gonçal de Menoça made Cardinall.
- 37 Parliament at Madrid, determinations thereof. Outrage and insolency of the Maistr of Saint Iames: Enteruiew of King Henry of Castile, and of the Princeesse Donna Isabel his sister, and likewise of Prince Fernando her houseband. Prinitledge of the Earle of Ribadeo. Suspicious banquet.
- 38 Death of Earle Gaston de Foix husband to Princeesse Leonora of Nauarre: her titles: hard suspicions of her chastity: the Bishop of Pampelona murdered.
- 39 King Iohn of Arragon and Lewis the eleuenth the French King, quarrel about the Earle-dome of Rossillon.
- E 40 Quarrels betwixt the houses of Menoça, and Pimentel.
- 41 Death of D. Iohn de Pacheco Maistr of Saint Iames: Three maistrs of the same Order contend together at one time. Last acts of King Henry of Castile.

Yyy

THE



The one and twentieth Booke of the History  
of Spaine.



Orwithstanding the agreement made at Montejo, the Kingdome of Castile was neuer the more at quiet: for the Infant Don *Alphonso* called himselfe King neuerthelesse; and in his writings and letters patentes (diuers of which are to be seene in Spaine at this day, as namely at Valiolidit and Arcualo) he named himself King of Castile, Leon, Toledo, Galicia, Siuil, Cordoua, Murcia, Iacn, Algarua, Algezire, and Gibraltar, and Lord of Biscay and Molina: neither did the confederate Lords lay downe their armes, according as they had sworne and promised: perceiuing very well that all King *Henries* great forces and meanes would come to nothing through his negligence and carelesnesse: by meanes whereof the Realme of Spaine grew infamous though the robberies and oppressions which the fouldiars did daily commit in euery place without any punishment at all.

It happened on a day as the confederates went out of Valiolidit to Alfaro, they were no sooner out of the towne but the Inhabitants shut their gates against them, putting themselves againe vnder King *Henries* obedience, and did driue all those out of their city which had any correspondence with the league. The King being aduertized thereof, came sodainly thither, where hee was receiued with great ioy. In recompence of the losse of Valiolidit, the confederates made an enterprife vpon Simanca, thinking to haue taken it by escalado, but they themselves were taken, and diuers of them sent backe to Valiolidit, where they were cut in quarters. The King did for all this haiken to the agreement which had bin resolved among them, and did bend his care to whatsoeuer was propounded by the Marquis, whose onely drift was to take him, if hee could haue but drawne him into any place fit for the purpose: but the King hearing thereof, stood still vpon his garde, and when at any time there was any occasion of meeting to conferre, he alwaies sent the Bishop of Calaoarra and *John Fernandes Galindo* vnto them. They concluded vpon nothing, so that many Lords which followed the Court, tooke their leaues, and returned to their owne houses. There remained continually with the King the Bishop of Calaoarra the Marquis of Santillana and his bretheren; the Earles of Haro, Valence, and Cabra, the new Marquis of Astorga, the Constable *D. Michael Lucas* de Iranqu, and the Duke of Albuquerque.

The King hauing left a good garrison in Valiolidit, returned to Segobia: at the same time the affaires of the confederates, were in bad termes, and if the King or they which were neere about him had truly vnderstood themselves, he might very easily haue dissolved that league, for the Marquis through want of meanes, was very badly and vnsuilingly followed by those which were about him.

The Prince Don *Alphonso* distrusting the end of their enterprises, would willingly haue made an attonement with the King his brother: but they held him very short, and threatened him, that if hee made but the least shew to bend that way, to present him with a cuppe of poison: therevpon by meanes of the Archbishop of Siuil, a very vnseemly agreement was made, to the which neuerthelesse the King gaue eare willingly: which was, to marry the Infanta Donna *Isabella* his sister to Don *Pedro Giron* Maister of Calatraua vpon condition that hee should promise to cause Prince *Alphonso* to giue ouer the title of King, and to furnish a certaine summe of money with

The Prince  
Don *Alphonso*  
chosen King, in  
miserable ex-  
pectation of the  
kinges of the  
castles rates.

An other a-  
greement was  
swept digested.

A with three thousand launces for the Kings seruice: besides this, it was concluded that the Bishop of Calaoarra and the Duke of Albuquerque should leaue the Court, who forthwith without any contradiction did so. The Infanta Donna *Isabella* was wonderfully afflicted with griefe when she vnderstood these newes, considering the inequality of the marriage, and the indignity offered her by the King her brother, and like a noble and couragious Princeesse, she determined rather to kill her selfe then euer to yeeld vnto it: but first of all, shee thought it fit to trie all possible meanes how to ridde this new husband of his life: shee had a very trusty Gentlewoman named *Beatrice* of Boadilla, who offered with the help of her husband *Andrew* de Cabrera, to kill the Maister vpon the wedding night, as soone as hee should offer to lie downe by the Princeesse: this Lady was by the Infanta at her conmiing to the crowne of Castile created Marquesse of Moya.

These things being thus plotted; it happened that as the Maister *D. Pedro Giron* was on his way to the Court to sollemnize his marriage, bringing with him great numbers of horsemen, he was taken with a greivous sicknesse, whereof hee died at Villa-rubia, hauing held the Maistership of Calatraua one and twenty yeeres: whether this happened accidentally, or otherwaies, it remains doubtfull, but his death was very displeasing to the King, who thought by meanes of this marriage to giue an end to all the miseries and troubles of his Kingdome, and to re-enter into his former authority and quiet. In this place, his sonne Don *Roderigo Telles Giron* was chosen Maister of Calatraua, by verue of a grant which he obtained from Rome, who was the last Maister of that order sauing one: a brother of his called Don *Alphonso Telles Giron* succeeded in the Lordship and Earldome of Vruena, both of them remaining vnder the gouernment and protection of their vncl D. *John de Pacheca*, Marquis of Villena. These things happened in the year 1466. at which time there were seene in Castile such huge numbers of Storks, as they did darken and hinder the light of the Sunne, the which did greatly afright the people, who did interpret it for a signe of misery and mishap to the kingdome.

In these times liued *D. Roderigo Sanchez* of Arcualo, who was very familiar with Pope *Paul* the second, and by him made captaine of the castle of Saint Angelo, where he wrote an History of Spaine, which at this day is common with euery man, and is called the Palentine History, because a Bishop of Palencia was author thereof, and it was dedicated to this King *Henry*. The city of Victoria, for that it had, during all the troubles, remained faithfull to the King, did obtaine this yeere a free market, once euery weeke vpon the Thursday, whose priuiledge was despatched by the Secretary *Pedro Arias*: it is one of the most frequented markets in the whole country.

After the Maister of Calatraua's death: the troubles were a little calmed, by reason that no man was resolved what to doe: the Earle of Benauent acknowledging the offence which hee had committed against the King, did secretly withdraw himselfe from the league, and returned to his seruice: the King to recompence him, gaue him the towne of Portillo, which hee had taken a little before his reconciliation. About the same time, the Prince Don *Alphonso*, who was termed King, accompanied with the Archbishop of Toledo, and many other Knights, came to Portillo, where being receiued, hee was lodged in the castle, and the others in the towne: on the morrow as the Archbishop and the other Lords came to waite vpon the Prince at his rising, they found the gates shut against them, and they were willing to get them thence, for that Don *Alphonso* did no longer regard their company, whereat the Archbishop was greatly troubled, and from that time did conceiue an extreame hatred against the Earle, who had put that trick vpon him, the better thereby to insinuate himselfe into the Kings fauour: yet for all that the Marquis of Villena, who was very wise and subtil, did desire for to maintaine the league vnited, vied diuerse meanes to reconcile them, and to applie a plaister to that wound, which in some sort did heale outwardly.

The Earle in recompence of the good seruice which hee had done to the King, demanded of him the Maistership of Saint Iames, at that time vacant, the which was granted to him: but perswading himselfe to make vse of the Marquis of Villena's fauour,

Y y y 2 who

Magnanimity  
of the Infanta  
D. Isabel.

Death of Don  
Pedro Giron  
Maister of  
Calatraua.

An. 1466.  
A prodige.

who was his father in law, whom he made beleue that he was still of his side, he inwardly found the contrary.

The continual robberies and outrages committed ouer all Spaine by these Lords and their followers, not onely suffred in the country, but euen in townes and houses, by reason the warres did constrain the Inhabitants of the townes and cities to make societies, and fellowships, to oppose themselves against these tyrants and robbers; and the better to bring it to passe, they drew certaine chiefe points and Articles, and chose places to meet at, at daies appointed, the King backing and assisting them therein, notwithstanding that sundry of his followers, as well as of the league, did goe about to hinder so profitable an enterprise, whereby the Realme was defended from many evils; it being Gods pleasure that the King should persist in his determination to maintain his communalities, and to doe Justice, which beganne to be sincerely administrated. The conclusions of these societies was made in the City of Tordeillas, where the Deputies of all the Prouinces were assembled, where that of Guipulcoa, most of all shaken and troubled by the factions of the Gamboins and Ognaxins, did recieue the greatest benefit. They did establish captaines and gouernors ouer each of them: these are the Hermandades or brotherhoods (as they call them) who in some sort may be likened to the Prouincial prouost Marshalls in sundry places of France; but that they execute their duties with greater care.

During the assembly at Tordeillas, the King remained at Coca, a towne belonging to the Archbishop of Siuill, conferring with the confederates vnder the Bishops safe-conduct: but there was nothing of worth concluded on; so as the King returned to Segobia, and the league to Arevalo. An other assembly, at the request of diuers, was assigned at Madrid, the same towne being for sixe monthes giuen to the Archbishop of Siuill, to the end that euery man might come thither in safety and without suspicion: The King Henry, the Marquis of Villena, and the chiefe Lords of either faction did meet: The Prince D. Alphonso remained in the meane time at Ocagna, whether the Archbishop of Toledo (who was reconciled to him) had brought him: his other conference was as fruitlesse as the former. The Lady Leonora Pimentell Countesse of Playfancia came to Madrid, being called thither by both sides to mediate the peace: this Lady was held to be greatly affected to King Henries seruice. The Lords being busied about these affaires, the Marquis being desirous to entertaine the troubles and to extract discord from discord, went about to corrupt Pedro Arias de Auila the Kings good seruant: finding him firme and constant, he handled the matter so, as the Archbishop of Siuill for slanderous and false reports, did excite the credulous King in such sort against him, as he committed him to prison being fore hurt, and caused him to be shut vp in the base court of the castle of Madrid. And not contented therewith, the King went expressly to Segobia, thinking there to surpris the Bishop of the same City, called Don Iohn de Arias, brother to Don Pedro, but the Bishop hauing notice of what was done to his brother, retired himselfe thence: wherefore the King seeing that he was escaped, dissembled his intent; neuertheless all honest people were greatly offended to see the King without discretion to oppress his faithfull seruants, and not dare to lay hand vpon rebels.

The Deputies of the townes, and the captaines of the communalities made meanes for Don Pedro's deliuerance, which the King granted, all men being pleased therewith, except the confederates, who neuer left practicing with the King till they drew him to condescend to goe along with them to Playfance, there to conferre with more ease and better commoditie: which being allowed of by diuers of his counsell, hee would needs depart thence with the Queene his wife, the Infanta Donna Isabell, and Donna Joane his supposed daughter, vpon the safe-conduct of the Earle of Playfance. This Joane his supposed daughter by others of the Kings faithfull seruants, which were not resolution being vnderstood by others of the Kings faithfull seruants, where it was resolved, that seeing that the King would needs goe on to his destruction, the lower Colonells or Captaines of the communalities, with foure other of his owne seruants should bee sent vnto him, to aduertize him of the danger of such a conference, at the place

Hermandades, or brotherhoods of the Prouinces and communalities holding together for the administration of justice.

Assembly at Madrid.

King Henry opposeth his trusty seruants, and dares not touch their belts.

Tumult at Madrid.

A place whether he ment to goe and if he would persist in his determination, then to protest, that they would hinder his journey by armes. The King tooke this message in good part, and feigning to consent thereto, debated againe with those which did allow of that journey: wherefore holding his purpose, there arose such a tumult in the City as the Archbishop of Siuill and the Countesse of Playfance, fearing that the people would fall vpon them, in all hast ranne out of the towne, and waited for the King on the other side of the riuer, right ouer against the castle, accompanied with three hundred horse: the King being ready to come forth, the mutiny did so encrease, as the people and those of the Court who were discontented with that journey, running to arme themselves, went out of the towne, crying out, kill those traitors that lead away the King, whom they compassed about and withheld by force. The Archbishop and the Countesse being in great feare, fled to Illeca, where the Infante Don Alphonso lay, with whom they passed ouer the mountaine, and retired to Arevalo. King Henry being brought backe to his lodging, received a garde to prevent the practices of the confederates. The Court soone after remooued to Segobia, whether Pedro of Montibero was sent, by the league, hauing in charge to trie if hee could draw Pedro Arias de Auila to their party, but he lost his labour: and where force could not preuaile, treasons and deceits were set on foote of all sides, for Pedro de Silua captaine of Olmedo deliuered vp that place to the confederates, who presently lodged therein: by reason whereof the King sent to will the Marquis of Santillana to lie with sixe hundred horse at Saint Christoffers, a Bourrough halfe a mile distant from Segobia. The King at the request of the Marquis, committed Donna Joane, whom he maintained for his daughter, to the keeping of D. Inigo Lopes de Mendoza Earle of Tendilla his brother, who vnder good garde, placed her in the castle of Buyrago: the Marquis of Santillana, the Earle of Tendilla and the Bishop of Calaoorra brethren, were at that time of the counsell of State and did rule the Kingdome.

Those of Medina del Campo, being continually vexed by the garrisons of the confederats which held La Mote; demanded aide; wherefore the King in their behalfe drew neere to Cuellar. Thither came secretly D. Pedro de Velasco, eldest sonne to the Earle of Haro, by the commandement (as hee said) of his father, who craued pardon of the King for offending him, protesting euer afterwards to become his faithfull seruant, and to bring seuen hundred horse to his seruice, three hundred of which should bee gentlemen; and a certaine number of footmen for the succour of Medina. The King, who of his owne nature was but to milde, and at that time had need of men, did freely pardon him, and sent him backe for those men which hee offered. Other Noblemen were also sent for by the King, namely the Earle of Alua who made no great haste.

Don Pedro de Velasco being returned with the seauen hundred horse, all the forces came to Cuellar. It is reported, that Don Pedro vsed these speeches to the King, Sir, she Earle my father hath commanded mee to present this writing vnto you (it was a gift for the tenets at sea) beseeching you to signe and grant it, and to receaue from him this ayde of horse and foote: and if you shall refuse him this grant, hee hath put it to my choyce to doe as I shall thinke good. The King did very easily yeeld to his request, considering what great need hee had of his seruice. By this time the Kings Armie was very strong, and diuised of the great Lords of the Kings Councell, being tired with such toyles which were to no purpose, and would neuer bee ended, vnlesse some violent proceedings might be vsed, were of opinion to seeke meanes to come to blowes, and therefore they drew neere to Olmedo, prouoking the confederates (who had there assembled their forces) to battaile: the which was resolved and determined, albeit the King withheld.

As the army marched to Olmedo, there arrived in the Kings campe a King at armes, sent by the Archbishop of Siuill to D. Bartrand de la Cueva Duke of Albuquerque, to giue him to vnderstand that there were forty Knights of the confederates of Prince Alphonso's traine, that had vowed vpon the daie of battaile to seeke him out in the middle of the ranks, and to kill him: wherefore hee wished him to fight that day in disguised armor.

The king will be lay by force and left them the more pieces of it to seele whereinto hee heading ran.

The house of Mendoza at this time, as we see the Kingdome of Castile.





deceyued him : for that did belong onely to him, and to the other great Lords of the A  
same cuntry.

appeale from  
the Pope to the  
next generall  
Councell.

Infolencie as  
gainst the Le-  
gates.

At this meeting, nor yet at another which was made nere to Montejo de la Veja, was  
there any thing concluded on: Wherefore hee beganne to proceed against the Confe-  
derates by Ecclesiasticall censures; but the Lords of the League did appeale to the first  
generall Councell, the Licentiate *John d'Alcantara*, and the Doctor *Alphonso* of Madrigal  
throwing in their appeales. The Legate perceiving his labour to bee lost, would have  
gone backe to Medina, but diuers of the Rebels followed after him, crying out, *Wee ap-  
peale, we appeale*, and with great outrages brought him backe to Olmedo: the Arch-bi-  
shoppe of Toledo, and the Master of Saint Iames seeming to bee discontented there. B  
With, tooke vpon them to defend him: Whilest the Legate was thus handled, the Con-  
federates practised how to draw to their side *Pedro Arias* of Auila, and the Bishop Don  
*John* of Segobia his brother, who beeing already offended with the wrong, which the  
King had offered them, (whereof wee haue spoken heretofore) were easily perswaded  
thereunto: the chiefe doers in this businesse were *Lewis de Mesa*, *Pedro Arias* his familiar  
friend, *Perucho* of Munfaras Captaine of the Castle of Segobia, *Fryar Rodrigo* of Mesa  
Abbot of Parral, and brother to *Lewis*, with other Monkes and Church-men, who did  
lay a plotte to deliuer the citie of Segobia to the Confederate Lords.

The city of Seg-  
obia deliuered  
to the confeder-  
ate Lords.

Queene *Joane*, Donna *Isabella*, with other Ladies and Gentlewomen of great place, C  
were lodged in the pallace of the same Citie, where they had notice of this practise, some  
of them with great feare beganne to dislodge: the Queene withdrew her selfe into the  
Cathedrall Church, where thinking her selfe not safe enough, shee entreated to be recey-  
ued into the Castle, with the Dutchesse of Albuquerque and other Ladies: but the  
Infanta Donna *Isabella* had no will to remouee: for beeing incensed against king *Henry*  
her brother, shee had intelligence with the Prince Don *Alphonso*, and did wholly adhere  
to the Confederates, who entred into the Citie in armes, through a false port of the  
Bishoppes lodgings, and made themselves master thereof without any resistance, to the  
great grieue of the Inhabitants.

The King for-  
saken of his  
people.

The Lords of the League went directly to the pallace to salute the Infanta, who com- D  
mitted her selfe wholly into their hands. The king hauing notice hereof, departed very  
melancholy from Medina, with such troupes as hee could get about him, and marched  
towards Cuellar, where in the mid way, the Castle of Ilicat was assailed (at the intreatie  
of the Earle of Treuigno) in which Castle the Earle of Plaisance kept the Earle of Tre-  
uigno's mother in dishonest manner: the place beeing taken, the Countesse was sent a-  
way prisoner by her sonne into his cuntry. The losse of Segobia did much grieue the  
the King: for his abode there pleased him aboue all other, as well because hee was  
brought vp there from his infancie, as for the wood of Balsain, and other places there-  
abouts fitt for hunting, and also in regard of his treasure which lay in the castle thereof:  
and the grieue and feeling of his aduersities, did so oppress him, as beeing desperate and  
almost besides himselfe; he was contented to be drawne by the deuices of the Master of  
Saint Iames to the towne of Coca, vnder the promise and assurance of the Arch-  
bishoppe of Seuille, not telling, or making it knowne to any of the Lords or Knights of  
his trayne, and taking but a very few of his household seruants with him.

Wherefore all men beeing discontented with these courtes, which did manifestly  
tend to the ruine of the King, and of those which did him seruice, they with-drew them-  
selves discontented to their owne houses. The Kings Officers and household seruants (see-  
ing themselves forsaken and left in so pitifull and miserable estate, were ashamed to tell  
vnto whom they did belong, when they came to any place.

Diego Henri-  
ques King Hen-  
ries Chronicler

The Licentiate *Diego Henriquez*, the Kings Chronicler, hauing obtained a safe con- F  
duct, came to Segobia, where hee had a house, wherein were diuers goods and papers  
of great consequence: but neuertheless he was taken, and ilk treated, his goods sto-  
len, and his writings scattered abroad, to the great danger of his person, if God had  
not drawne him out of their hands: for the Rebels were greatly moued against him, be-  
cause that in his written memories and chronicles hee had set downe the truth of their  
proceedings.

The

A The king beeing come to Coca, they changed the place, and their opinion was to  
conferre at Segobia, in the castle of which citie hee was lodged and entertained by the  
Earle of Alua, and the Master of Alcantara, albeit that *Perucho de Munfaras*, Captaine  
of the place, was not well contented therewith.

Other agree-  
ment betwixt  
the king and  
the rebels.

The King and the Master of Saint Iames meeting afterward in the great Church, after  
diuers reasons on either side, it was agreed, that the king should consent, that the fort  
of Segobia should remayne vnder the command of the Master of Saint Iames, the kings  
treasures and moueables to be kept safe and restored to him, who should send them to  
the castle of Madrid, the Captaine-ship of which, with the keeping of those things, the  
King should graunt to *Perucho de Munfaras*: Moreouer, that the Queene should be gi-  
uen in hostage and left in trust with the Arch-bishop of Seuille for fixe moneths, within  
which time the King should be restored to all his former honour and dignitie. These ar-  
ticles were afterward performed, the treasures transported to Madrid, and Queene *Joane*  
was sent to the castle of Alaejos, where holding on the course of life which the King had  
taught her, shee fell in loue with a certaine young man, by whom hee had two chil-  
dren, which was the cause of many vnworthie outrages, as shall bee hereafter declared.  
After this treatie, the King beeing in as lamentable an estate as before, went vppe and  
done his kingdome, no otherwise than if hee had beene a poore Gentleman. In this  
meane equiage, he arriued in the territories of Don *Aluaro* of Eftuniga, Earle of Plai-  
fance, who with the Countesse his wife did intertaine him very honorably, according to  
C his degree, much compassionating his miseries and aduersities, wherewith beeing moo-  
ued, they comforted him as much as lay in their power: but it stood him in no stead  
against the power and obstinacie of the Master of Saint Iames.

Will life of  
Queene Joane  
of Castile.

This yeare 1468. died Don *Fernand* of Buxan, Bishop of Siguenza: the Deane of the  
same Church, named Don *John* of Madrid, seized both vpon the goods of the partie  
deceased, and vpon the Citie likewise, and hauing learned that a good Bishoppricke  
is a thing worthe to be desired, hee caused himselfe to be chosen Bishoppe by the  
Chapter, strengthening himselfe with the partie of Don *Alphonso*, and the Confederates:  
but Pope *Paul* the second reiected this election, and gaue the Bishoppricke to the Car-  
dinall Don *John de Mella* Bishoppe of Zamorra, who pursuing the possession thereof  
by armes, (the Deane not obeying, and appealing from the Pope to a Councell) dyed.  
Then the Pope bestowed it vpon Don *Pero Gonzales* of Mendoza, Bishop of Calaoorra,  
the kings loyall and faithfull seruant, and excommunicated the Deane and his Chanons,  
granting their benefices and Prebendships to others. For all this the Deane would  
not yeeld, but made greater resistance than before, notwithstanding that the King offer-  
red him, if he would leaue the Bishoppricke of Siguenza, to giue him that of Calaoorra  
with the Abbey of La Huerta to boot.

An. 1468.

7  
Concession for  
the Bishoppricke  
of Siguenza.

Now seeing that neither right, force, threatnings, nor kind and louing proffers  
would preuaile with this Deane, a pollicke deuise was thought vpon for they practi-  
sed with an household seruant of the Deanes named *Goncal Brans*, who on a night shold  
E find meanes for *Pedro d'Almazan*, Captaine of the Castle of Atienza, to scale the fort  
of Siguenza, where the Deane and his brother were taken and brought to Atienza. The  
Bishop Don *Pero Gonzales* hauing notice hereof, posted thither in all hast, and made  
himselfe Master of the citie and fort: the King confirmed to *Pedro* of Almazan the Cap-  
taine-shippe of Atienza, and the Pope gaue him a good Channorie in the Church of  
Siguenza in recompence of the good seruice which hee had done to the king and the  
Apostolike see of Rome.

In the meane space that these Ecclesiasticall busineses were mannged with such vio-  
lence, the Earle of Plaisance had oftentimes treated with the Marquis and the Confe-  
F derates in the Kings behalfe, that the matters agreed vpon at Coca and Segobia might  
be performed, but they had no desire thereunto: Wherefore hee sent vnto them a gen-  
tleman of his, named *Pedro d'Ontiveros* to draw them to some conclusion, beeing then  
at Arzeuall with the Prince Don *Alphonso*. This Gentleman brought backe no answer:  
for after that hee had negotiated with the confederate Lords, as hee returned towards  
Plaisance, hee was vpon the way assailed and slaine by *Gyles* of Biuro, the quarrell  
beeing

*Garcia Mendez de Badajoz is slain in Burgos.*

being about their wives, and at the same time *Garcia Mendez* of Badajos, one of the Kings Captaines, was slayne at Burgos by the people, for as he had made warre vpon the inhabitants, who held the part of the League, his friend *Pedro de Maguelo* drew him into the towne to conferre together about the peace: his death did greatly displease his friends, and other good men, but the rude and tumultuous people could not be contained within any bounds.

Pope *Paul* hauing notice of the small respect which the Confederates in Castile had made of his Legate *Don Antonio de Perier*, Bishoppe of Leon, was highly displeased therewith: but hee wrote neuerthelesse to King *Henry*, aduising him to pardon his rebels if they did acknowledge their faults, and returne to his obedience, comforting him besides, concerning his aduersities, by examples drawne from the holy Scriptures to the same purpose: he sent likewise a briefe to the Confederates, enioyning them, vpon paine of his curie, no longer to call *Don Alphonso* King, but to acknowledge King *Henry* for their naturall and lawfull Prince, and to craue his pardon: The Confederates sent the Abbot of Paraces, and the commander *Fernand d'Arze*, the Infants Secretarie to the Pope, to giue him reason for what they had done, and to informe him of the iudice of their cause: but for certayne dayes space, the Pope would not suffer them to enter into the Cittie of Rome. At the last, vpon their great and earnest intreaties to haue audience, they were permitted to enter, vpon this condition, that they should haue especiall care, in any of their speeches, not once to name *Don Alphonso* King. Hauing deliuered their message, they were by the Pope sharply reprehended, who threatened them and the Confederates more bitterly than hee had done by his briefe, and it is reported, that in a Prophetical spirit, hee declared the death of the Infant *Don Alphonso* to be neere, after which hee told them, they would find themselves greatly perplexed: with such like speeches the Ambassadors returned into Spayne.

The Cittie of Toledo taking part with the League, the Secretarie *Aluar Gomes* of Cité reall commanded therein, who stood excommunicate, by reason that hee was one of the chiefe of the League: it happened vpon a day, that he came into the great Church, at such time as the Priests sang diuine seruice, who perceyuing him, presently left off their singing: but hee sent vnto them, and commanded them to go on, which they refused, sending a certaine Clarke to him, who vied many proud words, wherewith a souldiar of *Don Aluars* trayne, being moued, drew his sword, and thrust him thorough the bodie, so as hee fell downe dead in the place: whereupon arose such tumults and seditions in the Cittie, as after diuers murders, burnings, and other execrable outrages, the Clergie and their partakers remayned masters of the cittie, chasing away and banishing the opposites. Then they sent the Licenciate *Don Fernand Calderon* with a message to the Infant *Don Alphonso*, to intreate him to allow of that which they had done, and to request him to graunt vnto them the goods which they had seized on, and taken from those which were slayne in the tumult.

The Prince hauing heard the demands of those of Toledo, albeit hee was but very young, made them a noble and iust answer: First he shewed the Licenciate, that it did very ill become him, who was a learned man, and therefore ought to be wise, to be employed in such a message: then detesting the outrages of the Toledains, he told him freely, that hee would neuer authorize their wickednesse, nor giue away other mens goods so vauisly: the Licenciate replied, and told him, that hee vnderooke that message with a desire to do him seruice, and for to acquaint him with the good affection which those of Toledo did beare vnto him, who would not fayle to resolue from his obedience to the King his brother, if hee graunted not their request: Whereunto hee answered, that therein they might do as they pleased, for he was resolu'd neuer to commit so vnreasonable and dishonest an act, hauefull to God and man, and that they ought to bee satisfied and contented, that their offences were winked at and not punished, which perchappes time would bring to passe.

Wee haue shewed heretofore, how that *Don Alphonso Pimentell* Earle of Benauent, had bene disappointed of the Master shippe of Saint James, whereunto he layd claime by his father-in-law *Don Iohn de Pacheco*, Marquis of Villena: from thence arose deadly

*8*  
*Sedition in Toledo.*

*Magnanimity and iustice of Don Alphonso.*

*The Infants persecutes in being iust.*

*9*  
*Desire to be rich, takes away all natural and ciuill respect.*

A hatred against them, which prouoked and stirred vp the Earle to lay diuers traynes to take away his life: and this year, the Earle missed very narrowly of his purpose and determination, in the Infant *Don Alphonso's* house at Areualo, but the Marquis hauing intelligence thereof, did euer after stand vpon his guard, and went abroad secretly, and well accompanied.

The Earle neuerthelesse dissembled, and spake kindly to his father-in-law, as though he had no such intent at all, still wayting for a fit time and place to dispatch him: then departing from Areualo, hee came to Plaisance, where King *Henry* did lye, and was there well and kindly entertaigned both by the King, the Earle *Don Aluaro*, together with the Countesse his wife. There the Arch-bishoppe of Seuille, the Earles of Plaisance, Benauent and Miranda held a councill: for they had discouered how that the Marquis of Villena, Master of Saint James, sought by all means to deceive the King, and namely, that hee practised with *Pernucho* of Munfarras, who was Captaine and Keeper of the Kings Treasures in the Castle of Madrid, to deliuer vp the place and treasure into his hands. In this Councill it was concluded, that they would all go thither, and carrie the King along with them, to disappoynt the Marquis of his desseigne. The Captaine who had some doubt, that they meant to bee ridde of him, stood vpon his guard, and would let the King come but feldome, and with a small company attending vpon him into the fortress.

In the meane time, the Clergie of Toledo and their Faction, bearing no affection to *Don Alphonso*, because he was too iust, and did looke for greater modestie in them, then there was, practised among themselves to deliuer vpp the Cittie to King *Henry*. Wherefore they gaue order to *Don Pedro de Silua*, Bishoppe of Badajos, who dwelt amongst them, to trie if hee could winne or induce *Don Pero Lopes d'Ayala*, Gouverneur of the towne, who had married *Donna Maria de Silua* his sister, to lend a helping hand to their proceedings.

The Bishop hauing sundrie times, with great policie, conferred with his sister thereupon, and shee being wholly gouerned and ruled by his councill, they two sent *Fernand de Riudadeneyra* to King *Henry* (not acquainting *Don Pero Lopes* of Ayala with any matter) to aduertise him what they had determined for his seruice, and to aduise him for the better effecting of their purpose, to come secretly to Toledo. Now their intent and determination was, to bring the King secretly into the towne into the Bishoppes house, and then vnder colour of other businesse, to send for *Don Pero Lopes* of Ayala, and to cause him to come suddenly into the Kings presence, thinking by that means to make him easily to graunt whatsoever the King would demand: The King leauing the Arch-bishoppe of Seuille, the Earles of Plaisance and Benauent in Madrid to looke vnto his Castle and treasure, came to Toledo, where hee entred by night disguised, by the gate called Cambrom: but as hee went toward the Bishoppe of Badajos house, who dwelt in the Monasterie of Saint *Pedro Martyr*, of the Order of the Fryars Preachers, a seruant

of the Marshall *Payo de Ribera*, who was greatly affectionate to the seruice of *Don Alphonso*, knew him, and went and told his master of it. The Marshall went instantly to find out *Don Pero* of Ayala, and gaue an alarme thorough the towne: the people put on armes, and came running in a confused manner to enuiron the house and Monasterie, where the King did lye, who was in great danger, and without all doubt hee had bene taken by the mutinous people, had not *Fernand de Riudadeneyra* employed his best inducements for his safetie and deliuerie: Then the Gouverneur sent his two sonnes, *Pero* of Ayala, and *Alphonso de Silua*, with *Peralfan* of Ribera, sonne to the Marshall *Payo*, to intreat the King to depart the Cittie, and to auoyd the present danger, assuring him that shortly matters would bee brought to better passe, and the Cittie restored vnto him: Whereunto the king yeelding most willingly, they found meanes about mid-night to put him out of the towne; and those three Knights kept him companie awhile vpon the high way to Madrid.

Now before hee came forth of his lodging, the King who had ridden sixteen miles that day vpon his owne horse, intreated *Peralfan de Ribera* to lend him that which hee rode vpon, and to take his which was wearie, but hee like an vnciuill and discourteous Knight,

*A practise against his father of Saint James.*

*10*  
*The Clergie of Toledo deliver the city to King Henry.*

*Meanes deuised by the Bishop of Badajoz and his sister, to que the king into Toledo.*

*Indiscretion of King Henry.*

*VV'solome of the Gouverneur Don Pero Ayala.*

*Vnmercifulness of Peralfan de Ribera.*

Knight, refused it, which the two breethren of Ayala vnderstanding, lighted on foote, and besought the King to take both their horses, one for his owne person, and the other for his Page, the which he thankfully accepted of: then these two brothers went with him out of the towne on foote, with *Fernand de Riadeneyra*, who would not go with him to Madrid, but told him that he would tarrie at Toledo, where he would liue and dye for his seruice.

*Countesse fully recompensed.*

As soone as he was come backe into the citie, the Gouvernour *Don Pero Lopez* of Ayala, committed him prisoner in the castle, and commanded the Bishop of Badajos to depart out of the citie within an howers space: by these diligent meanes, hee like a wife and discreet person did appeale the tumultuous Toledans. Not long after the king sent a graunt to the two brothers of Ayala, who had giuen him their horses, of a perpetuall pension of three-score thousand Marauidis, in recompence of their loue and loyalty towards him.

*The Gouvernour D. Pero of Ayala putteth Toledo in the kings power.*

When all men had layd downe their weapons, and the citie at quiet, the Gouvernour returned home to his house, where he found his wife almost besides her selfe with griefe, for that the King, hauing come to Toledo by her perswasion, had bene so vnreuerently vsed and receyued, and constrained to flie away by night: but like a discrete woman shee gathered her spirits together, and did in such sort put her husband in mind of his dutie, as shee perswaded him to inuent some fitter meanes to reduce that Citie vnder the obedience of *King Henry*, their true and lawfull Prince: which *Don Pedro* much affecting, after that hee had vnderstood the minds of the Sheriffes and Iurates of the Citie, the first day after the Kings departure, hee commaunded the Marshall *Payo de Ribera* and his sonne, to get them home to their owne houses: Whereunto they yielded without any delay, and forth-with the whole Citie beganne to cry, *God save king Henry*, and let the Rebels bee destroyed, so much power hath the presence and authoritie of one onely man to appeale or stirre vp a multitude. The castle gates, bridges, and other strong places, being seized vpon by the Gouvernour, and furnished with people at his deuotion for the Kings seruice, *Fernand* of Riadeneyra being likewise let at libertie, the morrow after, the king came to Toledo, and was lodged in the Gouvernour *Don Pero*'s house, where he gaue *Donna Maria* of Silua great thanks for the good seruice which shee had done him, and called backe the Bishop of Badajos, who was principall author of that enterprife. After dinner, sundry mechanically tumultuous fellows, two thousand in number, came before the kings lodging, craving confirmation of the cities priuiledges, and to be freed from the tribute called *Alcauales*: the king desirous to be ridde of this insolent crew, graunted their petition.

The next day, the selfe same raskally companie returned, asking other confirmations of writings, gifts, graunts, and liberties: wherewith the king being moued, the Gouvernour who had assembled men at armes, by reason of the former dayes tumult, ioyued them with the officers of iustice, and ranne vpon the multitude, who after they had hurt and ouerthrowne diuers of them, and put the rest to flight, certaine of the principall were committed to prison, and afterward vpon enquire of the matter, according to their deserts, some of them were hanged, and the residue lost their eares, and were whipped. This tumult being appeased, there remayned yet in the tower or steeple of the great Church, the Abbot of Medina, and other Channons, who tooke the part of the Arch-bishoppe *Don Alphonso Carrillo* of Acugna, who were besegged by the Gouvernour, and enforced by famine to yield themselues, their liues being saued.

All troubles being ended, the King confirmed *Don Pero Lopez* in his gouernement, enioyning the Toledans to obey him as his owne person, and so returned to Madrid, where hee beganne to thinke anew vpon the castle and his treasures, which were in the power of Captaine *Perucho* of Munfara, whome hee did not greatly trust, and not without cause: for the Master of Saint Iames, and the Arch-bishoppe of Toledo, had wonne him to deliuer vp that place into their hands: But the king vpon a time finding meanes to enter into the castle, being well accompanied, *Perucho* was constrained to giue place, who notwithstanding that he had slayne the Porter, and begunne to raise a mutinie, was neuertheless taken, and forced to begge pardon: the which, the king being

A being mild and gentle, graunted vnto him, and gaue him leaue morouer to carry away what he would, and bestowed summes of money vpon him, sending him home to his owne house. These newes did greatly trouble the Infant *Don Alphonso*, who was termed King: but about all, the losse of Toledo did amaze the Marquis, and the Arch-bishoppe with their Confederates: Wherefore they departed from Arealo, and tooke the ready way to Auila, giuing out that they went to beseege Toledo. The Infant *Alphonso* being arrived at Cardenosa, a towne neere to Auila, hee was stricken with the plague which infected the whole country, whereof hee dyed the fifth day after, which was vpon the first of Iuly, in the year 1468. hauing bene declared King three yeares before, hee dyed not without suspicion of poyson, the which was prodigiously published and beleued thorough the whole Realme three dayes before it was true: indeed, by this accident Pope *Pavles* Prophecie was verified: for the Confederates at that time found themselues in great perplexity, and wonderfully destitute of counsell: his bodie for that time was kept in Arealo in the Monasterie of Saint Francis, and since transported to Burgos to the Abbey of Mireflore, where his father King *Iohn* was buried.

*II  
D. Alphonso  
Infant: Don Alphonso*

The confederate Lords consulting vpon what was best to bee done, now that they had lost the Prince *Alphonso*, all of them in a manner were of opinion, that King *Henry* was to be resisted, and that *Donna Izabella* his sister, was to bee proclaimed and crowned Queene of Castile in her dead brothers stead: the Arch bishop of Toledo being deputed in all their names to go vnto her to exhort her, to receiue this honour and dignitie, who in a well-composed Oration, hauing propounded vnto her the aduice of all the Lords of the League: the Infanta, who was endowed with great iudgement and singular pietie, made him this answer, that shee could not entertaine in her heart any desire of rule which might preiudice her brother King *Henry*, vnto whome both by diuine and humane lawes the Kingdome did appertaine: the which God had manifestly declared, confirming him therein, as well by the victorie of Olmedo, as by the death of the Infant *D. Alphonso*: neuertheless, shee did greatly thank them for their loues, which shee could feele with more profite, and lesse labour, if it would please them, by agreeing with the King his brother, to procure him to declare her heire to his Kingdome after his decesse, and to commaund, that oath should bee made vnto her to the same effect, according to the custome of Spayne: the which shee propounded vnto them, not so much for any desire that shee had to raigne, as by that meanes to keepe the kingdome of Castile from falling into the hands of strangers, and into any other blood then that of Castile, meaning thereby *Donna Ioane*, who was borne in adulterie.

*D. Febeilles  
wifely answer  
to the  
League, and  
peace of Castile.*

This wise and vertuous answer, was of so great waight and consequence, and so admired by all the Lords of the League, as changing their minds, they resolved to follow the Infantes aduice, and to trye if they could winne the King to condescend thereunto, the Master of Saint Iames taking vpon him the managing of their businesse, and presuming to bring it to passe: for (quoth he) I know the kings nature, who doth easily forget things that are past, and I doubt not but he will accept of this condition, for to liue in peace, and to recouer his former dignitie, and will graunt a generall pardon for all that is past.

Vpon the newes of the Infant *Don Alphonso*'s death, the Arch-bishop of Seuille, the Earles of Plaisance, Benauent, and Miranda, with others which were neere the kings person at Madrid, did make a new oath of allegiance vnto him, and messengers were dispatched to the Lords of the League, to admonish them to desist from their wicked practices, and to submit themselues to the Kings obedience: the confederates answered, that they would send some man of authoritie to the king, and soon after they did write to the Arch-bishop of Seuil, intreating him to come to Auila, to treat vpon the meanes of agreement, who with the Kings good liking went vnto them. In the meane season the citie of Burgos, by the meanes of *Pedro* of Velasco, returned to the Kings obedience. It was concluded in Arealo, that the Confederates should intreat the king, that the Infanta *Izabella* might be sworne vnto, and acknowledged Princeesse and heire of his kingdomes, all other oathes made to the contrary notwithstanding: Which being done, euery of them would willingly obey him: these things being related at Madrid by the

*The city of  
Burgos yields  
to the king.*

Arch-bishop of Siuill, the King called a Councell thereupon, where the opinions A were diuers, some affecting Donna *Isabelle*, whom the King still called his daughter: but the Lord Steward *Andreu de Cabrera*, could so well ioyne reason to his opinion, as it was refused to graunt what the Confederates requested: then did they set downe these Articles:

That the Infanta Donna *Isabella* should bee declared Princeesse of the Asturias, and sworne vnto, as eldest heire to the Kingdomes of Castile and Leon: That pardon should bee graunted to the Master of Saint Iames, and to the other Lords his Confederates, for whatsoever they had committed against his royall Maiestie, and free and safe access should be giuen them to come to Court, with restitution of all that had been taken from them: That the King within foure moneths after should send backe his wife Queen *Isabel*, and Donna *Isabel* his daughter into Portugall, and to be diuorced from her by the Popes authoritie: and that the cities of Auila, Vbeda, with the townes of Medina del campo, Olmedo, and Escalona, and the Lord-shipp of Molina, should be giuen to the Princeesse Donna *Isabella*, who might not marrie with any one without the consent of King *Henry* her brother, whereunto the did swear. Into this councell were not admitted the Marquys of Santillana, nor his brother the Bishoppe of Sigüenza, who were come to court to kisse the Kings hand, vpon the newes of the death of the Infant Don *Alphonso*, for they fauoured and much respected Donna *Isabel*, who was resident in the Castle of Buyrago vnder the keeping of the Marquis: therefore they returned male-content to Guadajara.

The Queene remaying in the Castle of Alacios vnder the power of the Arch-bishop of Seuille, (as hath beene sayd before) became enamoured on a young man, who had charge to keepe her, and as some say, hee was the Bishoppes nephew, called *Pedro*, by whom in time shee had two children, namely, Don *Fernand*, and Don *Alphonso*, who were brought vp in the Cittie of Toledo, in the Monasterie of Saint *Dominick* the royal, by the Abbess of the house, who was Aunt to their father Don *Pedro*: and it is reported that the King hauing notice thereof, caused Don *Pedro* to be taken, to the end to punish him as he had deserued, but that the Queene shed so many teares, as shee saued his life, and begged him of the king, who in those matters was the most careless person D liuing.

Now these Lords of the house of Mendoza beeing departed discontented from the Court, thinking themselves to be disgraced, and on the other side, fauouring Donna *Isabel*, it happened that the Queene, hauing secret intelligence with certaine of her guard within and without, with Don *Lewis Hurtado* of Mendoza, sonne to *Ruy Diaz*, escaped from the Castle of Alacios, causing hir selfe to bee let downe in a basket from the Castle walles: but the rope beeing too short, and those which let her downe, thinking that shee had beene neere to the ground, did let her fall a good height, so as shee hurt her face and one of her feete, indangering also her life: neuertheless Don *Lewis*, who was at the foote of the wall,ooke her vp, and layed her in a litter, standing there readier for the same purpose, and so brought her away, the next day, to the Castle of Buyrago, where her daughter remayned, who was called all ouer Spayne, *La Bertrameja*, because shee was reputed and supposed to bee the daughter of *Bertrand de la Cueva*, Duke of Albuquerque.

The Arch-bishoppe of Seuille thought himselfe highly wronged by the violent and fraudulent deliuerie of the Queene, therefore hee hastily perswaded and procured the agreement to the Articles aboue-mentioned, and there was a place appointed and determined, where the parties should meete, betwene Zebreros and Cadahallo, a place called *La venta du Tor de Guisando*, neere to a Monasterie of Saint Hierome, the Arch-bishoppe beeing much displeased and discontented with the Queene. There met at Cadahallo vpon the day appointed and set downe, the King, the Arch-bishop of Seuille, the Earles of Playfance, Benauent, and Miranda, together with others of the Councell on the one side: and the Infanta Donna *Isabella*, with the Confederates, mette at Zebreros, the chiefe of whome were, Don *Alphonso Carrillo* Arch-bishoppe of Toledo, Don *Lewis* of Acugna Bishoppe of Burgos, Don *Inigo Manrique* Bishop of

A of Coria, and the Master of Saint Iames, Don *Iohn de Pacheco*, every one of these, on the nineteenth day of September, the same yeare, one thousand, foure hundred, sixtie eight, in the presence of the Popes Legate *Antonio de Veneris*, who afterward was Cardinall, with great solemnitie in the place aboue-mentioned, tooke the oath of allegiance and obedience to the King, and then they did swear to, and declare, the Infanta Donna *Isabella*, Princeesse of the Asturias, and eldest lawfull heire to the kingdomes of Castile and Leon, with all the dependances, reuenues, and lands annexed and ioyned therunto, the Legate Apostolicke dispensing and absolving all contrarie oathes, which had bene made in that nature before, and confirming the present.

B Great numbers and multitudes of people came running ioyfully, and with wonderfull applause, from all parts of the Country to this solemnitie, hoping that peace and quietnesse should be established and planted in Spayne, and that all factions and oppositions of outrageous and ciuill warres ceasing, Iustice should euery where flourish. That beeing done and finished, the king with the Princeesse his sister, and the reconciled Lords came to Cadahallo, the Arch-bishoppe of Toledo excepted, whose mind beeing not at quiet, returned to Zebrero, with the Bishoppes of Burgos and Coria. The King passing on, left his sister the Princeesse, and the whole Court at Casa Rubias, and went with the Master of Saint Iames to Pard, and to Ra'castia; beeing come thither, hee caused *Pedro Arrias* of Auila, together with the bishoppe his brother, to leaue the cittie of Segouia, which greatly mooued and discontented them, the gouernement whereof was giuen and made ouer to his Steward *Andreu de Cabrera*, one newly come into Castile, and borne at Barcelona, sonne to *Iohn Fernandes*, and Grand child to *Andreu de Cabrera*:

C Neuertheless for that time, hee commaunded no where but in the towne, for the fort remayned in the power of the Master of Saint Iames, and because the plague was very hott within the Cittie of Segouia, the King, nor the Master would not come into the towne, but retired and went backe to Casa Rubias, whither came Don *Lewis* of Mendoza, with a procuration from Queene *Isabel*, as Protectresse of her daughter, in whose name hee protested, that the oath made to the Princeesse *Isabella* was of no force nor efficacy, and appealed to the Pope from the dispensations made by the Legate, but small D account was made thereof.

Now did the Master of Saint Iames consider with himselfe, that the discontentment of the Marquis of Santillana, and the other Lords of the house of Mendoza, with *Pedro de Velasco*, might produce and bring forth some bad effects: Hee who seemed to bee borne to command,ooke in hand to appease and qualifie them, and did inuite them to meete at Villarejo, belonging to the Order of Saint Iames, there to consult and determine about the affaires of State with the Kings Commissioners. Thither came Don *Pera Gonzalez* of Mendoza, Bishoppe of Sigüenza, and Don *Pedro Velasco* on the one side, and the Arch-bishoppe of Seuille, the Master of Saint Iames, and the Earle of Playfance on the other: They did conclude, that the Princeesse *Isabella* should marrie with

E *Alphonso* King of Portugall who was a widower: and Donna *Isabel* with his eldest sonne, called Don *Iohn* heire to the Kingdom, and her cousin-germaine: with condition, that if the Princeesse *Isabella* by this marriage should haue no children, that then the issue of Donna *Isabel* should succeed in the Kingdom of Castile: for the conclusion and confirmation of which marriages, there should be an interview of the King and Queene of Castile, and the King of Portugall. This agreement did not please the Ladies: for the Princeesse *Isabella* had no desire to marrie with a widower, and the Queen feared, that vnder color of this meeting shee should be cast off, and sent home to Portugall, according to the treatie at *La Venta du Tor de Guisando*: wherefore both of them resisted this determination with all their power, by reason whereof the Lords of Mendoza and Velasco were very angry with the Queene and her daughter. The Master of S. Iames solicited *K. Henry* to send Ambassadors into Portugal, to request the king to meet, thinking by his coming to win the Princeesse to condescend thereunto. And not long after, the bishop of Sigüenza, and Don *Pedro de Velasco* beeing with the king, perswaded him, notwithstanding the Queenes obstinacy, vnder hand to fauour D *Isabel*, not acquainting the Arch-bishop of Seuille, nor the Princeesse *Isabella* therewith.

Articles of  
peace agreed  
vpon

The family of  
Mendoza was  
called to the  
council of  
peace.

13  
Queene Isabella  
displeased life.

Donna Isabella  
was called Prin-  
cess and heire  
of Castile.

New treaties  
of marriage  
set a foot by the  
Master of S.  
James.

These busineses beeing managed with such inconstancie, there arrived daily messengers at Court, who complained, for that the King had caused this new oath to be made to his sister, which most men thought to be a beginning of greater troubles than before, and also because that diuers other great Lords of the Kingdome were not called to determine vpon a matter of so great consequence. And indeed all those which were discontented therewith, did ioyne themselves in league with the Arch-bishoppe of Toledo, who thought himselfe to bee ill dealt with, for that he had not the Princess *Izabella* in his keeping, as in time before.

In the meane time, disorders were still committed in diuers Prouinces, especially in Andalusia, where this year *Don Iohn de Guzman*, Duke of Medina Sidonia, and Earle of Niebla dyed, in whose goods, lands, and dignities *Don Henry de Guzman* his bastard sonne succeeded. It hapned at the same time neere to Toledo, that as an husband-man of the countrie called *Pero Moro*, did reape a corne-field, at the very first stroke which hee gaue with his sickle, great quantitie of bloud issued forth of the stalkes, the which his sons perceyuing, who were at worke in the same field, came running vnto him, thinking that he had hurt himselfe, but seeing he had no harme, they returned to their labour, and cut downe the corne in the same place where their father wrought, and at euery stroke they fetched, great store of bloud issued, which they signified to the Lord of the place, who caused it to be recorded for a strange prodigie.

13  
Arragon,  
and  
Nauarre.

Reue of An-  
ion made king  
of Arragon.

Whilest the affaires of Castile stood vpon these rearmes, King *Iohn* of Arragon being ridde of his enemy *Don Pedro* of Portugall, did labour by all means, after the taking of Tortosa, to reduce the Barcelonoi to their duties: but they, like obstinate enemies to their Prince, would not hearken thereunto. Great were the alterations which they had among themselves after the death of this Portugois: Some were of opinion to bring their state into the forme of a Common-wealth, like Genoa, Venice, and other places of Italy, and others counselled to returne to the obedience of King *Iohn*. Each of these opinions being reiected, they elected for their King *Rene* of Aniou, Duke of Lorraine, and Earle of Prouence, a Prince of the royall blood of France, who being already old and decrepite, yet neuertheless desirous of the title of King, did accept the offer, and hauing (with the consent of King *Lewis* the eleuenth) leauied souldiers in France, sent his sonne *Iohn* Duke of Calabria or Lorraine into Spaine, who at Manreca ioynd with the Cattelans: and hauing drawne diuers of the County of Rossillon to his deuotion, he went and beleegged Girona, where *Peter* of Rocabertin was Gouvernour, who forthwith aduertised King *Iohn* thereof, who by reason of his indisposition and blindness, could not come thither in person to ayde them, but sent his son Prince *Fernand*, accompanied with diuers Lords and Knights, vnto whom, about all other things, hee recommended the Princes person: being on his way from Tortosa towards Girona, *Queene Iane* his mother, who loued him dearly, followed him the next day after: vpon the newes of the Princes coming, the Duke of Calabria rayfed his seege, and retired himselfe to Denjat, from whence he went to Barcelona, and then returned with succors in great secrecie, and no lesse danger. The Prince *D. Fernand*, desirous to looke vpon the enemy, being come neere to the place, and prouoking the French-men to battell, they, being fortified with a great number of men at armes which *K. Lewis* had sent them vnder the conduct of the Earle of Armignac, came forth into the fields, and fought and vanquished the Arragonois, the Prince *Don Fernand* narrowly escaping from being taken, who had good meanes offered to saue himselfe, thorough the indeauours of *Rodrigo* of Rebollo, who was taken in his stead, and brought to Barcelona, and afterwards redeemed for tenne thousand Florens. The King *Don Iohn* hauing notice of this defeat, came by sea with a great army alongst the coast of Ampurias, blind as he was, who no sooner set foote on land, but miraculously he receiued his sight. Having ioynd his forces with those of the Prince his son, he marched courageously against the French which were in the towne of Denjat, who putting no great trust in the place, nor yet to the inhabitants thereof, they dislodged, and withdrew themselves to Perpignan, which by reason of engagement, was at that time in the possession of King *Lewis*, where the Duke of Calabria hauing left his army, returned into France to make new leauiers.

The Arrago-  
nois defeated  
by the French.

A The King of Arragon lodged his armie round about Figuera, and there wintered. These things were done in Arragon, at the same time that the battayle of Olmedo was fought betwixt King *Henry* of Castile, and the Lords of the League aboue-mentioned. The Duke of Calabria being afterward returned to Perpignan with a fresh supply often thousand men, obtaigned from King *Lewis* the eleuenth, marched forth with his forces to assaile the enemies.

King *Iohn* on the other side departed from Figuera, and presented himselfe in order of battaille within two miles neere to the French: but it is not knowne vpon what occasion he departed thence, to beseege the towne of Peralta, where hauing begunne a furious batterie, and already made a large and sufficient breach to assaile it, the Duke of Calabria came suddenly, and vnlooked for, vpon him in the night, not being heard nor perceyued by the Sentinels which slept, who cut in peeces the first court of guard that he mette with, and entering furiously into the quarters and lodgings of the beseegers, he did strike such a terrour amongst them, as euery man leauing all that hee had behind him, they all betooke themselves to flight in great disorder. The King escaped bare-headed, galloping apace towards Figuera: neuertheless there were some which put themselves in defence, by whose valour the artilerie and munition was saued, and the French-men being retired, they held a forme of a seege, vntill that the King with greater forces was returned to Peralta, the which in the end he tooke. The Authors do greatly prayse the valour of a certaine Knight of Guipuscoa named *Don Iohn de Gamboa* in this nightly skirmish, who with his own hand slue three French-men at armes, who hauing his horse slayne vnder him in the presse, did yet notwithstanding saue himselfe, hauing receyued eleven wounds. *Lewis* of Mudar, a Castilian Knight, is likewise remembered for his valor in this fight, where *Scipio Patella* the Sicilian, mentioned heretofore, being a wife and valiant Knight, was slayne, fighting courageously. The French being victorious, not caring for Peralta, returned to the seege of Girona, which without any difficulty they tooke. After this, Duke *Iohn* of Calabria being come to Barcelona to take order for the affaires of the warres, was tormented with a burning pestilentiall feauer, whereof hee dyed this year 1468. to the great griefe of those of Barcelona, and extreame trouble of their affaires.

Arragonis for  
pressed by the  
French.

An. 1468.

Castile

Now let vs returne to Castile, where the Princess *Izabella* being discontented with the marriage which was treated of betwixt her and the King of Portugall, solicited hereunto by the Arch-bishoppe of Toledo, shee came to speake with him at Yepes: where by the perswasion of her master-Pantler named *Don Gutierre de Cardena*, hee contented, that shee should marry *Don Fernand*, Prince of Girona, the eldest sonne of Arragon, and heire to the same Crowne, who was by the King his father, in fauour of that marriage, entitled King of Sicill, much about the time of the Duke of Calabria's death, whereby the affaires of King *Iohn* beganne to prosper the better: for the French hauing lost their head, retired themselves to Perpignan, by means whereof the armie of Arragon had leysure to scoure the coast of Ampurias, the Castle of which towne, with other places yielded themselves: so did Girona and *Don Iohn Ferrir* Bishoppe thereof, with the Vicount of Cabrera, *Martorella*, and soone after Saint *Felix*, *Palamos*, and *Vergues*, with diuers Lords and Prelates, who demanded and obtaigned pardon for their rebellion. Whilest King *Iohn* was in the same countrey, *Don Alphonso* of Arragon, his Bastard sonne, did greatly molest the Barcelonoi, foraging their territorie with a thousand horse, and fise thousand foot-men.

At this time the Estate of Nauarre was not very quiet: for the factions of Grammont and Beaumont raiging in the countrey, the Earle *Gaston* of Foix, husband to Donna *Leonora* heire of the kingdome, who did gouerne it, perswaded himselfe, that hee ought to enioy the kingly title, with all other rights and preheminences of the same, wherefore strengthening himselfe with the Beaumontois faction, whilst his father-in-law King *Iohn* was busied in the wars of Castile, he posselt himselfe of diuers strong places of Nauar, and newly beleegged Tudela, whereof *K. Iohn* being aduertised, vpon the good hap of his affaires in Castile, he brought his army thither, which was well exercised in the former wars, to succor those which took his part, but before he came thither, *Don Lewis*

Treaty of marriage betwixt  
Donna Isabella  
and Don Fernand.

722 3 seized

feized vpon the Cittie of Pampelona, the Inhabitants whereof were for the most part A followers of those of Beaumont.

Diuers histories, of small authoritie, make mention, that this Earle of Lerin made sharp warre not onely vpon the Nauarrais of the other Faction, but also vpon the Arragonois, running on euen to Iaca and Exea belonging to the Knights: hauing for companion in his counsell and enterprises, *Charles of Artieda*, hee tooke from the Constable Don *Pedro* of Peralta, the towne of Andosilla, and from Don *Jaigo* of Estuniga, Earle of Nieuia, that of Mendaui: then hee tooke Artaxona and Olito, with many other places, and did many other great exploits, by reason that hee held the cittie of Pampelona, disposing of it, as if hee had beene Lord and master. At the same time also there was mention made of a famous theefe called *Sancho Rota*, whose retreat was in a mountaine neere to Tudela, called *las verdinas del Rey*, who with thirtie horse that hee kept, ranne into the country of Arragon, bringing from thence great store of pillage, vntill all such well as hee tooke prisoners. To suppress the insolencies done as well by him, as by the Earle of Lerin, the people of Iaca, and the Nobility thereabouts, made shew of entring into Nauarre: but the Earle of Lerin sent a great number of souldiers to meete with them, conducted by *Charles of Artieda*, *Machin de Gongorra* Lord of Ciordia, *Iohn d' Ayane*, and *Fernand d' Ayane*, who meeting with the Arragonois neere to Sanguella, at a certaine bridge vpon the riuier of Arragon, they lighted from their horses, thinking to fight with greater aduantage on foote: and comming to handy-strokes, they did C der the Arragonois passage, and constrayned them to returne into their owne territories. Now King *Iohns* comming with his army, being knowne in Nauarre, encouraged those of Grammont, and did greatly amaze the Beaumontois, who knew very well that they should not be able to resist such great forces: wherefore taking counsell about the affaires with the Earle of Foix, they aduised him to make an agreement with the King his father-in-law, who had already refused, after his death, to leaue the kingdom to his daughter Donna *Leonora*, and to permit him to enioy it awhile, who by reason of his extreme age could not hold out long, therefore he should be content to haue patience, and to suffer the King to enioy the title of King of Nauarre, the small time hee should liue. D The Earle was easily drawne thereto, for hee saw no hope of victorie, if hee should haue persisted in his rash enterprise by armes: then they began to capitulate, setting downe articles, which shall bee hereafter mentioned. Before the final conclusion whereof, King *Iohn* being already returned to Tarragona, to view his forces, and to take order for the warre of Barcelona, his wife *Queene Ioane*, being a long time tormented with a canker, which consumed her, drew neere her end. It is reported, that when shee knew shee must needs dye, fetching diuers sighs and grones, remembring her son Prince *Fernand*, shee said, *O my son, thou hast cost me deare*: and it is constantly affirmed, that shee did confesse to haue procured and hastened the death of Prince *Charles*: wherewith the king was so highly offended with her, as he would neuer afterward looke vpon her yet neuer thelesse her ambition gaue her this content, to see before her death, her son Prince *Fernand* made King E of Sicill: her body according to her will, was buried in the Monasterie of Poblet: about this time in the year 1469. hapned the lamentable death of *Gaston* of Foix the younger, eldest son to the Earle *Gaston*, and to the Princessse *Leonora*, who should haue succeeded them in the kingdom of Nauarre. There was a great assembly of Princes & Knights at Liborne neere to Bourdeaux, who there met to honor & accompany *Charles* of France, brother to *Lewis* the 11. newly reconciled to him, and promoted to the Duchy of Guyenne after the ciuill war: this young Knight *Gaston*, running at tilt, which was performed in most costly and sumptuous manner, was run with the splinter of a lance into the brayes, wherof hee dyed, to the great griefe of as many as knew him, but especially of Duke *Charles* whose sister hee had married, whose name was *Magdalen*, she being likewise sister to *Lewis* whose father hee had two children, to wit, *Francis Phabus*, who was king of Naur, and Earle of Foix, and *Catherine* his sister, who succeeded her brother dying without heires. Happily, it shall not be amisse to set downe here the succession of the house of Foix, which hath inherited the kingdom of Naur, fetching it as far as Histories make mention thereof, to the which (as we haue sayd) the Segneury of Bearn was vniued, about the year 1286. Wc

*Sancho Rota,*  
a famous thief  
the death of  
Iohn of Arra-  
gon.

*Queen Ioane*  
her last confes-  
sion.

Death of the  
younger  
Earle of Foix at Li-  
borne.

An. 1469.

A Wee finde that the countrey of Foix was erected into an Earldome about the year 1462. by *Raymond*, Earle of Tholoufa, who inuested therewith *Bernard*, yongest sonne to *Roger* Earle of Carcaffone, and to *Adela* his wife: of this *Bernard*, and of *Beatrice*, daughter to the Earle of Beziers, was borne *Roger*, who was second Earle of Foix, who began another *Roger* his successor in the Countie of Foix, second of that name, father to *Roger* the third, whom hee had by *Eximena* his second wife, hauing first of all married a Lady of Prouence called *Espinetta*. Of *Roger* the third, and of *Cicely*, daughter to Earle *Raymond* of Barcelona, was borne *Raymond Roger*, who married a Lady called *Phillip*, by whom hee had a sonne called *Roger Bernard*, who succeeded him in the Earldome of Foix, and a daughter called *Estermonde*, married to the King of Majorca. This *Raymond Roger* caused his lawfull wife to suffer many indignities, at the request of a Concubine, who was of the religion of the Albigeois. *Roger Bernard* was then Earle of Foix after his father, the sixt in number, about the year 1223. and was furnished the great. Hee married *Brunixenda* daughter to the Earle of Castellbon, by whom hee had *Roger* called *Rosfer* Earle of Foix after him, *Estermonde* wife to the Vicount of Cardona, and *Cicely*, wife to the Earle of Virgell. *Roger Rosfer* seauenth Earle of Foix, and sixt of the name, married *Brunixenda*, daughter to the Vicount, on whom hee begat *Roger Bernard*, the sixt of that name, and eight Earle of Foix: of him, and of *Manigarda* of Narbonne, were borne another *Roger Bernard*, who succeeded in the Earldome, *Agnes* who was C wife to *Elquibus* Earle of Bigorre, and *Phillip* married to *Arnold* of Spaine, Vicount of Conserans. *Roger Bernard*, seauenth of the name, and ninth Earle of Foix, came to the Earldome after the decease of his father, about the year 1262. who married *Marguerit*, daughter to *Gaston* de *Moncada* Lord of Bearne, and of *Martha* de Foix, by whose meanes he came to vniue the Lordship of Bearne to the Earldome of Foix, by the consent of the estates of Bearne, to the preiudice of the Earle of Armagnac, who had married the elder daughter of *Marguerite*, whom *Gaston* disinherited, in disdain that her husband the Earle of Armagnac did not helpe him in certaine warres that hee made, as well as his other sonne in lawe the Earle of Foix. Now *Roger Bernard* had by his wife *Marguerite* of Bearne foure children, to wit, *Gaston* the elder, who was Earle of Foix after his D father, the tenth in number, and the first of that house, who enioyed the Lordship of Bearne, *Brunixenda* wife to *Helie* of Perigot, *Constance* married to *Antonie* de *Lewis*, Lord of Mirepoix, and *Ioane* who married *Peter*, sonne to King *James* of Arragon. *Gaston* then the first of that name, Earle of Foix, and Lord of Bearne, married *Ioane*, daughter to *Lewis* of France Earle of Eureux, and of *Marguerite* of Artois, from whom issued *Gaston* heire to the Earldome, *Roger Bernard* Vicount of Castellbon, father of *Mathew*, and of *Isabelle* of Castellbon, who succeeded one after another in the Earldome of Foix, and Robert Bishop of Vaur. He had also a bastard sonne named the *Wolfe*, Lord of Aruath, who begat *Blanche* wife to *Iohn* de *Gaulth*, or *Grailhij* Capdau de *Buch*. *Gaston* the second, the eleuenth Earle of Foix, and second Lord of Bearne, of this family, had by his wife *Elenor*, daughter to the Earle of Comming, *Gaston Phabus*, who succeeded his father, in the year 1344. the fourth of that name, and hauing married *Agnes*, daughter to King *Philip* of Nauarre, had by her one onely sonne, whose mother hee was, hauing found about him a box of poison, which his Vncle King *Charles* of Nauarre had giuen him to kill the Earle his father, with whom he was offended, the child being in no fault at all, for he knew not what drugges it was: wherfore at his death, hee left behind him no lawfull children, but diuers bastards, as *Iobbaun* who was one of those which were burnt at the Mummy of King *Charles* the sixt, at the banquet of Saint *Marceau*, and *Gratian*, and possibly that *Bernard* of Foix, who was married into Spaine to Lady *Isabel* de la *Cerde*, a Princessse of the blood royall of Castile, the stem of the house of the Dukes of Medina F Celij, if he were not sonne to *Gaston* the second, this mans predecessor. Then the succession of the Earldome of Foix and Lordship of Bearne, fel to *Mathew* of Castellbon about named, who had no children by his wife *Ioane*, daughter to the King of Arragon, wherfore his sister *Isabel* inherited his Lordships, who was wife to *Archambald* de *Grailly* Capdau de *Buch*, from which marriage issued *Iohn* the elder, the fiftene Earle of Foix, *Gaston Capdau de Buch*, from whom descended the Lords of *Capolat* and *Candale*, Arch-

Original and  
continuance of  
the house of  
Foix.





Rodrigo de Robollo, *Gomes Suarez* of Figueroa, and *Iohn Payes* the Kings Vicechancellor. After that, the Princeffe, having ample procuracion from her husband, dated at the Bathes of Caudes Aigues in the valley of Dosán, sworn in his name to the Bishop of Oleron to obferue the aboue named couenants, in the prefence of the captain of the castle of Ampoña, *Iohn Payes* the Vicechancellor, and D. *Fernand* of Baquedán vicar general of the Church of Pamplona. All these capitulations were not of force to cease the troubles of Nauarre, which continued all time after.

18  
Castile.

As concerning the affaires of Castile, *King Henry*, after resolution taken about the marriages of the Princeesse his sister, and of *Donna Leane* in Portugall, being delirious that to set downe some good forme of government in his Kingdome, called a Parliament to the city of Ocagna, where the deputies of the townes and communalities did meete, except thole of Andaluzia, the great Lords of which Province were not well pleased with the dealings of the Maister of Saint Iames, whereat the King was much mouued, but most of al, whē he vnderstood of the marriag which was intended, against his wi, betwixt the Princeesse his sister, and the new King of Sicil, *Fernand* of Arragon, which made him now more then before desirous to aduance *Donna Leane*, whom hee fitly aduised for his daughter, notwithstanding he hated the Queene her mother, by reason of her bad life, which he himselfe had taught her: wherefore with his owne hand he wrote a letter to the Pope, intreating him not confirm the succcession of the Kingdome of Castile, to the Pope, intreating him not to grant it to *Donna Leane*: Hee wrote also to his s, sworne to the Princeesse *Isabell*, but to grant it to *Donna Leane*: Hee wrote also to his s, algent at Rome, Doctōr *Roderigo* de Vergara, borne in Logrona, and likewise to King *D. phan*so of Portugal, to the end that he should make the like request to the Pope: this was not done so secretly, but that the Archbishop of Siuill had notice thereof, who had willingly haue dashed that matter. The King leaving Ocagna came to madrid, where hee found *Iohn Fernandes Galindo*, capitaine and gouernor of the fort of Madrid, and keeper of his treasures sicke to death, at whose entreaty, hee gaue the charge of the fort, and of that which was in it to *Andrew* of Cabrera his Steward, whom hee did daily aduance, and made partaker of his greatest secrets. The city of Leon, about that time, had like to haue bene surprisid by *Diego Fernand* de Quignones, Earle of Luna; but the practise being discouered, *Aluaz Garcia*, Citizen of the same towne, with whom the Earle had intelligence, was taken and beheaded as a traitor. At the intreaty of the Maister of Saint Iames, the King returned to Ocagna, where hee gaue the title of Marquis of Villena to *Diego Lopes Pacheco* his eldest sonne, a brave knight, who soone after Married the Countesse of Saint Stephen de Gormas, daughter to Don *Iohn* de Luna, Earle of Saint Stephen, and grand-child to the Constatible *Aluaz* de Luna, who was in the keeping of the Maister of Saint Iames, who was at the same time confirmed in his Maistership by the Pope and possessed more riches than any Lord of Spaine. The King of Portugall solicited by *King Henry* about the marriage of the Princeesse *Donna Isabella*, sent his Ambassadors, the Archbishop of Lisbonne, and two other Lords, who were at the Court more then twenty daies without concluding any thing by reason that the Princeesse had placced her affection vpon Prince *Fernand*, and so returned home, leaving the King highly displeased with his sister, who dissolued the Parliament at Ocagna, not suffering the peeres to sweare to his filters succcession in the kingdome.

The affably at Ocagna being broken vppre, the king being very desirous to pacifie the Countrey of Andaluzia, which was full of diffinitions, hee went thither in person, leauing for Viceroyes in Validoitol, the Earle of Benauent and Don *Pedro de Velasco*, with the President and Chauncery; the Princeesse Donna *Isabella* remaying at Ocagna, who promised not to dispole of her marriage till the returne of the King and the Councell.

There went with the king, the Mr. of St. James, the Archbishop of Saut, the Bishop of Signuque and others of the council, but the Archbishop remained sick at Ciudad-real: the king came to Iaca, where hee was received & entertained by the Constable *Michael Lucas* d' Iranquo, who protested to him that he would not suffer any one of the rebels in his train to come into the city: wherefore, the Mr. of St. James (fearing to be accounted one of

A the number, staid at Olina; but *Roderigo* of Villosa, being more foolish hardy then the rest, received the disgrace to be rudely repulst by the Constable, who couched his lance against his brest sending him thence with many bitter speeches: this Constable was very faithfull to the King his Maister, and was a liberrall and generous Knight. To Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza Bishop of Sigüenza, and to the whole house of Mendoza, who entered with the king, the Constable gave openly a singular testimony of their fidelity with a loud voice as they passed thorow the gate. The King and the Lords of his traine, were for the space of three daies feasted at Iaca, from whence he went to Castro del Rio, where Don Pedro of Cordova Earle of Cabra met him with a thousand horse, bringing with him his children, and Martin Alphonso Lord of Alcaudete his sonne in law, who were all of them faithfull and good servants to the King: With this company the King went to Cordova, wherein remained Alphonso de Aguilar, one of the faction of the Maister of Saint James, the city gates were opened to him, and Alphonso in recompence receiued certaine pensions: betwixt whom and the Earle of Cabra had bene old grudges, but the King went about to make them friends: the Government of Cordova, which in times past did belong to the Earle of Cabraes predecessors, was given unto him, and the office likewise of Maister. Vpon a seditious petition presented by those of Cordova, mentioning that Peter Earle of Cabra, and Martin Alphonso his sonne-in-law, and Alphonso de Aguilar, should deliuer vp certaine places belonging to the city and community of Cordova held by them during the troubles, it was determined that they should give caution for the deliuey of them by a certaine day: this was a trick of Don Alphonso de Aguilar, who stirred vp the people to constrain the Earle, and his sonne-in-law, to restore that which they had vsurped, hee himselfe perceiving, that he could no longer hold the places, which hee had taken during the trouble, the which did greatly nourish and increase the hatred which the Earle and his sonne-in-law did beare vnto him.

While the King lay at Cordoua, there arrived Ambassadors from the French King *Lewis* the eleventh, the Cardinal of Albj, being the chiefe : the effect of his meſſage was, to breake the league betwixt the King of Caſtile and the Engliſh, which was very prejudiciall to King *Lewis* his Maiſter : After audience, he obtained what he demanded, the Maiſter of Saint James working the matter, who perhaps was a faithfuller ſervant to the French King, then to his Maiſter the King of Caſtile. This yeare 1469. died Friar *Lopes* of Barjentos Biſhop of Cuenca, the Biſhopricke of Leon being likewiſe void, *Anthony* de Veneris the Popes Legat had that of Cuenca, and that of Leon was giuento Doctor *Rodriges* de Vergara, the Kings agent at Rome.

The Princeesse Donna *Isabella*, during the Kings stay in Andalusia was ruled by the advice of the Admirall and the Archbishop of Toledo, and forgetting the promise which shee had made to the King her brother, shee inuented meanes to surprize the towne of Auevalo, held in the name of the Earle of Playfance by *Aluaro* de Beacamont, with whom shee was praezitized: but shee was disappointed of her purpose, which was discouered by the Earle, who preuented the Princeesse, and committed the captaine to prison. The Earle posselt this place, as a pawne, engaged vnto him for a certaine summe of money, when the Infant *Alphonso* was chosen King. The Princeesse being deceiued in her hope, came to Madrigall, and from thence to Vallidoluit, vnto whom the King sent the Cardinal of Albi the French Kings Ambassador, and the Archbishop of Siuill, to possesse her with a dowrie of *Fernand* King of Scill, which marriage did highly displease him, fearing that by reason of the warres of Cartallonia, and former matters betwixt him and King *Iohn* of Arragon his father, some great losse might happen to Castile by that match.

F The Cardinall, and the Archbishop did their best, and made offer of a marriage between her and *Charles* Duke of Guyenne, brother to the French King, but shee made no account thereof, persisting in her first resolution, wherefore they returned back without effecting that which they went about: the king journeying thorough Andalusia, was continually solicited by the Maister of Saint James (vnto whom he could deny nothing) to remove and displace the caballines, gouernours & other officers of towns and castles,

*Dirge Lopes de  
Pacheco sonne  
to the Minister  
of Saint James,  
made Marquis  
of Villaça.*

19  
The King of  
Castile's voyage  
into Andalusia  
1171.

This matter  
of Saint Iames  
goes out to  
displace the  
captains of  
the Castiles  
in such way  
as Antonio de  
Narbaez, &c.  
were to be  
deposed.

to the end to place therein such as were of his owne faction, which was granted to him at Eccia, where hee displaced *Martin* of Cordoua and put in *Doctur Garcia Lopes* of Madrid, one of his council, and *Frederick Manrique*, and to recompence *Martin*, he assigned him certaine pensions hard to be recouered. And thinking to doe the like to *Hernandez* of Narbaez, the old Gouvernor of Antiquera, he found himselfe deceived, for the Gouvernor would not suffer the King to enter into his Fort with aboue fiftene men, and the rest of his traine were constrained to take vp their lodging in the country villages thereabouts.

These things did not displease the King, who albeit he knew very well, that it was an vnjust thing to displace the captaines that had bene faithfull vnto him, at a traitors motion, yet he had not the courage to reiect the importunities of the Maister, who would haue had his friend *Alphonso de Aguilar* to haue commanded in Antiquera. The King being come to Archidouna had conference with a Moore of Malaga called *Alquizez*, an enemy to the King of Granada, who presented him with certaine Barbary hostes and other Moorish presents, vnto whom the King promised fauour and assistance against the King of Granada, as to his vassall. From thence he came to Carmona, where he remained a space: In the same towne there was three castles, two of which were at the commandement of the Maister of Saint Iames, but the third was held by *Gomes Mendes* Sotomajor, a Knight wholly leagued with those of Siuill, whom the Maister had a great desire to dispossesse, and did greatly importune the King to consent therevnto, and hee did promise *Gomes Mendes* a large recompence, the which hee refused, saying, that hee could not leaue that place without the consent of the Knights of Siuill, vnto whom hee had declared the wrong that the King would haue done to him (onely to satisfie the Maister of Saint Iames) the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and *Roderigo Ponce* of Leon, *Pedro de Estuniga*, &c. *Alphonso Henriquez* Gouvernor of the frontiers, sent to aduertize the King, that they could not consent to so vnreasonable a matter, hurtfull to the crowne, as to alienate from the same, the town of Carmona; which the King at that time tooke in good part, but afterward hee was ouer-ruled by the Maister of Saint Iames, and would haue constrained *Gomes Mendes* to haue left the same place: wherefore the Duke of Medina, and the other Knights with the Inhabitants of Siuill, armed themselves, and assailed the castle of Triana, from whence hauing driuen *Hernandez Arias* of Sahaedra, they placed therein an other captaine, then, their power increasinge, they came into the field, giuing the King and the Maister of Saint Iames new matter to thinke on, who with the whole Court left Carmona and came to Aleala of Guadaira, and from thence the King sent to command the Duke to disarme himselfe and to send away his people: who answered, that hee had taken armes for his seruice, as also to defend himselfe from his enemy the Maister of Saint Iames: The Maister fearing that this fire would kinde to his owne hurt, sought meanes to conferre with the Duke, which the other Lords and Knights, with those of Siuill would not agree vnto, saying that the Maister was a crafty wicked man, and that their talke would come to no good effect, and so sent backe to the King, intreating him not to alienat Carmona from the crowne, and to confirme *Gomes Mendes* in his captainehip. The King, to auoide farther mischiefs, made means himselfe, that the Duke and the Maister might talke together betweene Siuill and Cantillana. At this meeting it was onely determined, that the King should enter into Siuill; and that the Maister should stay at Cantillana, where they should agree vpon those things.

The King being received with great ioy into the city of Siuill, whilest hee remains there, about the appealing of those differences, the Princeesse *Isabella* his sister, being continually solicited by her Maister *Panzer Gutierrez* of Cardagna to harken to the marriage of *Fernand* Prince of Girona, the heire of Arragon, and to reiect that of Portugal, and Duke *Charles* of France, with the King of Englands brother who was an other tutor, at the last she gaue her full consent therevnto: wherefore the Archbishop of Toledo and the Admirall *D. Frederike*, wholly addicted to the seruice of this Princeesse, and likewise to Prince *Fernand* King of Sicill, thinking that this marriage was most contentent and profitable for the affaires of the Kingdome, did consent and conclude thereupon, causing the Bridegroom in a disguised habit to come into Castile, whether hee was

A conducted by *D. Pedro Manriques* Earle of Treuigno, who afterwards was Duke of Nagera, and others, who brought him to Validolir. Where being presented before the Princeesse amongst others, very few (nor yet she her selfe) did know him: but her faithfull seruant *Gutierre de Cardagna* shewed her him, saying in his Spanish tongue, *Effe es*. This is he: to whom the Princeesse readily replied and *Effe* shall be thine armes: for this cause, the house and posterity of this Knight, beareth yet to this day, amidst there blazons and deuises an *SS*: The royall aspect and graue countenance of Prince *Fernand* did soone certifie the Princeesse that it was he, therefore without any more delay, the marriage was solemnized and accomplished at Validolir, the eighteenth of October 1469. B In the house of *Iohn de Bizarro*, where at this day the Kings Chancery is kept, King *Henry* not knowing thereof, who would rather haue hindred it then otherwise, for the small good which he wished to King *Iohn* of Arragon his father.

These newes were presently carried to the Maister of Saint Iames, who wrote to the King that he should forthwith without delay come to Cantillana, the which hee did, not knowing the cause why he was so hastily sent forth, to his great grieue, hee vnderstood of his sisters marriage: wherefore vpon the instant hee departed out of Andalusia, leaving those of Siuill some-what moued, vntill they knew the cause: and taking the ready way to Trugillo, hee was there staied, by the refusal of *Garcia de Sese* captaine of the fort of that city, who would not yeeld the same place vp vnto him, the which hee ment to haue bestowed vpon the Earle of Playfance, in recompence of the good seruice which hee had done vnto him. This captaine had agreed with the townes-men (who had foreseene the Kings intent) to hold out and not to permit the same to bee alienated from the crowne, and giuen to a priuate Lord. The King perceiving that hee could not gratifie the Earle with Trugillo, confirmed vnto him, and left for Inheritance to him and his heires for euer the towne of Arevalo, which was pawn'd vnto him, with title of Duke, doing thereby manyfold wrong to the widow Queene *Isabella*, vnto whom that towne did belong.

Being at Trugillo, *Gomes de Caceres* Maister of Alcantara came vnto him, and craved pardon for his offences, the which hee freely obtained: and besides that hee D was confirmed in the gouernment of *Badajos*, and *Caceres*, which hee had vsurped during the reuolts: and at his intreaty, and of the Maister of Saint Iames, hee gaue to his brother *Gutierre de Caceres* the city of Coria, with the title of Earle. To *Alphonso Manroy*, who had bene faithfull vnto him, and followed the warres at his owne charges, hee gaue many great gifts: so this King did good both to his friends and enemies. At the same place of Trugillo, hee receiued letters from the Princeesse his sister, by the which shee gaue him reason for her marriage with Prince *Fernand*, and for her refusal of the others, intreating him to beleuee that it was done, for the good quiet and commodity of the Kingdome of Castile in time to come, and to assure him both of her good will and her husbands, who would for euer remaine his affectionate seruants, without inclining to any thing that should displease him; beseeching him to consider with what hearty affection shee loued and honoured him, seeing that when it was in her power to take vpon her the regall dignitie, which was offered her, by the decease of Prince *Don Alphonso*, shee had refused it, and exhorted the confederate Lords to serue and honour him as their King: complayning besides of many other greuous wrongs offered as well vnto her selfe, as to the widow Queene *Isabella* her mother yet liuing. The letter being read before the councill, the messenger receiued this answer, that the King would be shortly at Segobia, where all matters should be debated on with reason and equity, and in deed the Court remooued thither presently after, where the Ambassadors of the Princes *Fernand* and *Donna Isabella* did arrive, who were *Don Pedro de Baca*, and *Diego de Ribera*, who had brought vp the Infant *Don Alphonso* deceased: and on the Archbishop of Toledos part, *Lewis* of Antecana, who besought the King to approue the marriage, and to excuse the Princes, for that they had not acquainted all the great Lords of the Kingdome therewith, who by reason that they were deuised into diuers factions, could not chioose thereby but nourish greater occasions of discord: As for themselves, they

A a a a

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wished nothing more, then to be obedient vnto him, and for such to be reputed, desiring A  
to imploy themselves for the maintenance of the peace of the Kingdome, and admini-  
stration of Iustice, which in a manner was chased away, in steed whereof al manner of out-  
rages, extortions and confusions did reigne. Lastly they entreated him to appoint some  
place where the Princes might come and visit him, to the end to certifie him in person  
of their sincere affection and desire to doe him seruice.

Besides these demands, they declared vnto the King the Articles and Couenants,  
wherevpon this marriage was contracted, which were these.

1 First of all, Prince *Fernand* King of Sicill did promise to be a deuout and obedient  
sonne to the Sea of Rome, and to honour and well intreat the Ecclesiasticall Persons and B  
Ministers of the same.

2 That hee should honour and acknowledge King *Henry* for his King (if it plea-  
sed him to accept thereof) and should imploy his person and meanes to cause all his  
subiects to doe the like.

3 That he should likewise honor the widdow Queene *Isabella*, mother to the Princeesse.

4 That he should cause Iustice to be established, and should assist the King therein, ob-  
seruing the lawes and good customes of the Kingdome.

5 That he should endeavour, with his vttermost power, to maintaine the peace betwixt  
the King, Himselfe and the Princeesse.

6 That hee should not depart out of the Kingdome of Castile, nor carry away the C  
Princeesse, nor the children that God should send them, especially the Prince his heire,  
without expresse deliberation and consent of the counsell.

7 That in the letters and royall charters, the Prince and the Princeesse should bee na-  
med both together, as well in those which concerned Castile and Leon, as those in the  
Kingdomes and Lands which the Prince now possesseth, or may enjoy hereafter.

8 That the naturall borne of the Kingdome should be admitted into the council and  
offices of either of them, with consent of the Princeesse.

9 That the Princeesse should receiue the othes of homage and fidelity, and should  
haue power to place officers, capitaines and guards, in the cities, castles and fortresses of  
the Kingdome, as well by her presently possessed, as in others, which might hereafter fall D  
vnto her, placing therein persons borne in the Kingdome of Castile, and appurtenances  
thereof and none others.

10 That all gifts and pensions granted by the Princeesse, should bee approued and  
confirmed by Prince *Fernand*.

11 That he should not procure the hurt of any one of the Kingdomes of Castile and  
Leon for the occasion of the warres, quarrels, and outrages past, betwixt Castile and  
Arragon.

12 That he should not enterprife, nor make warre, league, nor confederacy, with any  
neighbour King, Lord or Knight of this Kingdome, without the consent of the Prin-  
cesse, and her counsell.

13 That for the increase of the Princeesse dowry, he should giue to her Borja and Ma-  
gallon in the Kingdome of Arragon: and in that of Valencia, Elche and Euillen: and in  
Sicill, Siracusa and Caranea, according as those places had beene assigned and giuen  
from time to time to the Queenes of Arragon.

14. Besides, that the Princeesse should euery yeere, during her life, receiue the rents &  
reuenues of one towne in the said Kingdoms which she should best like of, provided that  
it were not a capitall or chiefe towne of the Kingdome, or principallity, the gouernors  
and officers whereof should neuertheless be natives of the same country.

15 And if the Prince should happen to die first, the Princeesse should neuertheless, du-  
ring her life, enjoy those places; after whose decease they should returne to the crowne, F  
and to the heires thereof.

16 And if it should be found, that greater dowries, profits, lands, authority & preemi-  
nence had bin giuen to Queene *Joane* of Arragon the Princes mother, or to Queene *Mary*  
wife to King *Alphonso*, daughter to King *Henry* the Princeesse grand-father, that the  
Prince should supply that defect within two monthes after.

17 That

Matrimoniall  
Articles be-  
twixt Fer-  
nand of Ar-  
ragon, and Is-  
belle of Castile.

A 17 That within the terme of foure monthes he should giue to the Princeesse in ready  
money a hundred thousand florins of the coyne of Arragon for hir expences, and to be-  
stow as she pleased.

18 That if any warre or strife should arise in the Kingdome, the Prince did oblige  
himselfe to serue in person with foure thousand Launces til the war were ended, and if he  
should not furnish so many launces, that he should then pay with his owne money, such  
forces as should serue vnder him.

King *Henry* hauing heard the Ambassadors, answered, that the businesse being of  
great consequence, it was requisite to aduise thereon with mature deliberation, and that  
B after he had consulted with the great Lords of his Court and counsell, hee would then  
answer their message, and so sent them backe.

In the meane space a notable Insolency was committed in Andaluzia, which caused  
great stirres: for albeit that through the Kings meanes and authority it seemed that the  
Bishop of Siguença, had made an agreement and pacified *Alphonso* de Aguilar with the  
Earle of Cabra and his children, neuertheless their hatred slept not in their hearts, so as  
*Alphonso* vpon a time hauing invited to a banquet in the towne-houle of Cordoua cal-  
led *Calá del Cabildo*, *D. Diego* the Marshall of Cordoua, eldest sonne to the Earle, who  
held the place of *Alguazil* Major of the same city, hee kept him there prisoner, and sent  
him away with great indignity, with a sure guard, to his fort of *Cagnete*, he tooke also  
C his brother *Sancho*, and kept him prisoner likewise, hauing the Magistrates of the city at  
his deuotion: whereof complaints being made to the King, he did write in great choller  
to *Alphonso*, commanding him without delay to release the brethren, otherwise hee  
would come in person into Andaluzia and enforce him to doe it, punishing him as a  
rebellious person: wherefore the Marshall was released and sent to Baena, who resent-  
ing this iniury, wrote a letter to the King full of accusations, craving leaue of him to  
defie his enemy, and to prouoke him to single fight, thereby to constrain him to re-  
paire and satisfie his honour and reputation: The King hauing heard the messenger  
and read the letter, would by no meanes allow of the combat, because sundry disor-  
ders arise thereof; as also for that those matters of Duell or single combat, are contra-  
D ry both to diuine and humane lawes, especially betwixt subiects belonging to one and  
the selfe same Prince, who hath hath power and authority, to bring them to reason by  
way of Iustice: herevpon the Marshall published infamous libels and declarations, a-  
gainst *Alphonso*, and he obtained free liberty of the King of Granada to enter the com-  
bate in his country, assigning *Alphonso* to meet in the plaine of Granada, and sending  
him a safe-conduct from the Moore King: The day appointed for the fight being  
come *Alphonso* would not appeare: wherefore after that the Marshall had made the acts  
and protestations which are accustomed in in such cases, about the setting of the Sun,  
he tooke a picture representing *Alphonso* de Aguilar, and hauing tied it to his horse taile  
with the face to the ground, he gallopt vp and downe the plaine, dragging it after him;  
E crying aloud: This is the traitor *Alphonso* de Aguilar, who durst not meet me in single  
fight, nor venture his body against mine: Then the King of Granada aduised him a  
victor, and condemned *Alphonso*: diuerse draughts of that picture were afterward sent  
to sundry Lords and Knights of Spaine to *Alphonso*'s great disgrace.

The city of Simancas, with the castle thereof, were in this meane time surprised a-  
gainst the Kings authority, by the Admirall, wherewith the King was greatly troubled, in  
regard that the Maister of Saint Lames was very sicke, without whom he was not able to  
negotiate or resolute vpon any matter of importance: This yeere King *Lewis* the  
eleuenth, demanded Donna *Joane* in marriage for his brother *Charles* Duke of Guy-  
enne, whose Ambassadors were put in good hope that it should bee accomplished.

F An other Ambassage was sent to King *Henry* from the same King *Lewis*, to induce him  
to ioyne with him about calling of a counsell against Pope *Paul* the second: but his  
counsell was of opinion that the King should not medle in a matter so displeasing to the  
Pope, by whom, and by the Sea of Rome his progenitors had bene alwaies fauored,  
wherefore the Ambassadors were answered in this manner, that the King would not har-  
ken to their request, and that hee did with King *Lewis* to desist from his purpose, and to

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Arshest of  
Alphonso de  
Aguilar, as  
gainst the  
children of the  
Earl of Cabra.

swello granted  
by the King of  
Granada to  
Diego de Cava-  
do against  
Alphonso de  
Aguilar.

The Admirall  
of Castile sur-  
prised Siman-  
cas.

affure him that all the meanes of Spaine should be employed for Gods vickar, vnto whom A King *Henry*, besides the dignity which hee held, was particularly obliged, for that he had aided and comforted him in his troubles. At the same time the Knights of Alcantara, conducted by the treasurer *Alphonso de Mont Roy*, rose in mutiny against their Maister *D. Gomes de Caceres*, and pursued him to death: so as after they had taken from him *Baldos*, Alcantara, and Valence of Alcantara, they fought with him and ouercame him in battaile, so as hee could neuer after raise himselfe againe: his brother *Gutiérrez* Earle of Coria, hauing for his succor demanded fouldiars of the Earle of *Alua D. Garci Aluarez* of Toledo his father in law, engaged to him the city of Coria for money to pay them, who being gathered together in great numbers, their passage was hindered at the riuer of Taio by the diligence of *Alphonso de Mont Roy*, and the other Knights his aduersaries, who brake all the bridges, and sunke all the boates, so as they could not passe: wherefore they returned without doing any thing, and Coria remained to the Earle of *Alua*. By this euill hap, the Maister wholly ruined and in dispaire, died soone after in great poeury and misery: the Maistership whereof was begged of the Pope, by Donna *Leonora Pimentel*, Countesse of Playfance, for her sonne *D. John de Estuniga*. The King did willingly consent to the pursute of the Countesse, whom he honored aboue all others, and allowed and confirmed the Popes Bul. And albeit that the treasurer, *Alphonso* of Montroy, and the Knights did oppose themselves against such an irregular election, the Countesse who had more then a womans heart, tooke Alcantara with other places by force, and deli- C in such manner, as her sonne posselt the Maistership: and was the last that had the title of Maister of that Order.

*Dona Leonora Pimentel Countesse of Playfance a woman of manly courage.*

22  
*Spanish superstitions.*

*The people of Ognate superstitious.*

*Roderigo* Bishop of Zamora at that time florished in Spaine for his learning: but whilest the Prelats and Gouernours of the Church gaue themselves ouer to worldly greatnesse, and to nourish and sow discord and diuisions, Religion it selfe was managed according to euery mans deuotion. There is in the Prouince of Guipuscoa in the mountaine of Aloya, in the territory of Ognate a Couent of Friars, the originall, whereof began about this time: for it is reported that a certaine headfman called *Roderigo Balatagui* who dwelt in Vribarri, keeping his goates vpon that mountaine, went down the lame hil into a rocky place, which was nere to no high-way, where he found by chance an I D mage of the Virgin *Mary* vpon a green thorn. This seemed vnto him a wonderful matter because of the desertnesse of the place: therefore he fell to saying his *Aue Marias*, and o- ther such like praiers as he had beene taught: then night drawing on hee couered the I- mage with boughes and other things, and went home to his village, and told this great wonder: The rumor thereof being spread thorow the towne of Ognate, the Ministers of Iustice, the Clergy, and the common people, being guided by the shepheard, went to the same place, where they found in a hedge a very little Image of the Virgin *Mary*, holding her Sonne in her armes, before which they all kneeled downe and beganne to sing ma- ny songs and hymnes, thanking God that had sent them so pretious a ieuell, thinking it a great miracle to haue found it in so desert and remote a place: wherefore they consul- E ted together about building a Chappell there, and whilest prouision was made for the manner and matter of that building, they resolved to enclose it with boords, notwith- standing it was feared very dicommodiously, they not daring to vndertake to transport it from thence, nor to build an house for it in any other place then where it first ap- peared, and they named it the hermitage of our Lady of Arancapu, which is to say, of the thorne; the which in short time was held for a very religious place, beeing visited, and indowed by diuerse deuour people. Wherefore those of Ognate and Mondragon, which are the neerest places to it, seeing that great numbers of pilgrims came thither, they beganne to make the waies plaine; and to cut the rocke to make the passage thither more easie. Vpon this beginning, grounded vpon the simple credulity of a sort of rude F people, it came to passe that this Image beeing famous and greatly visited, certaine of the religious of La Merced were greatly desirous to build a Couent there, wherein one of them named *Frier Peter* of Ariaran did greatly imploy himselfe, whose mother was so superstitious, as shee dedicated her whole life to the seruice of this Couent: but these fa- thers being kept there a certaine time, as well by the almes of the good people of the country

A country thereabouts as also by the bounty of the pilgrims, in the end by reason of the extreme cold of the winter, and barrennes of the place, they grew weary and left it: in whole roomes came certaine religious people of the third Order of Saint Francis, or Tercerones (as they call them) who did enlarge the Couent begonne by the Friars of La Merced, who were by the Popes prouided of diuerse pardons and indulgences for those which should visit it, and doe them any good: now, in the reigne of the Catholike King and Queene *Fernand* and *Isabella*, vpon the occasion of reforming the religions of Spaine, these Friars Tercerons were admonished by this Obseruantines to turne to their rule: which is, say they, the true rule of Saint Francis, which they refused, and being vrg- B ed therevnto by way of Iustice; these fathers resolved to giue ouer their first religion, and did put on the habit of the Iacobins, or Friars Prechers of Saint Dominike: then there arose an other strife betwixt the Friars of Saint Francis, and the Dominicans, about the possession of this Couent, the Friars saying that it belonged vnto them, and to none others, seeing that the brethren of their Order had held it so long a time without contradiction of those of La Merced: Therefore they beganne by ordinary and extra- ordinary meanes to contend about this possession, and at the last fell to blowes: but the Dominicans being vpheld by the Inhabitants of Ognate, the friars withdrew themselves, not attempting it any more by such meanes, then they beganne their sute about it at Rome, whether they sent for their solicitor, a friar called *Martin Garibay*, who vied such C diligence, as the right was iudged to the brethren of his order, and the Couent resto- red to the Obseruant friars: So at the returne of *frar Martin* into Spaine, who brought with him the execution of that sentence, the Dominicans came forth, and left the pos- session to their aduersaries, who at this present doe enioy it, and haue greatly augmented it with building; and it is said, that it is an harbour and retreat for many afflicted people specially of Marriners, who come thither to pay their vows: to the great commodity of the friars: these exerceizes of religion are greatly vied in Spaine: but in the yeere 1552. vpon the sixth of December, the whole Cloister, with the lodgings and other buildings were burnt downe to the ground by casualty: but the fire touched not the Church which they account for a great miracle.

*Friars trans- med to Iaco- bins.*

*Religious deeds of Pedro Fernan- des de Velasco, Earle of Haro.*

D This yeere 1469. died Don *Pedro Fernandes* de Velasco Earle of Haro who was repu- ted to bee a Knight that led the most Christian life of any other of his time, in testi- mony whereof the Spaniards write that hee did build the Monastery of Pomar, where hee made three of his daughters Nunnas, with an hospitall where twelue Gentle- men, false into poeury, should be honorably entertained, and a Chappell for the bu- riall of him and his: liuing afterward very retiredly in Medina de Pomar, eschewing the daungers and troubles of this world: these religious workes are practized in Spaine, by the great Lords that are rich, when they are become old and haue many children. Now his sonne Don *Pedro* de Velasco, oftentimes named in this History, succeeded in the Earledome.

E But returning to the History of King *Henry*, who beeing come to Segobia, the ab- sence of the Maister of Saint Iames, who was extremely sicke of a quartan feuer, did greatly trouble him, for without him hee could doe nothing: therefore it was thought fit, that for their better conferring together, the King should come to Madrid, whe- ther the Maister beeing very weake was brought, the King and the whole Court going forth to meet him, not without the wonder of diuerse, which thought it a strange matter to see this Prince, so much to abate himselfe to *Iohn de Pacheco*, who notwithstanding that hee was sicke, yet all matters passed thorough his hands, and nothing was concluded on without him. About the same time died Don *Lewis de la Cerde*, who had held Escalona all the time of the troubles, and appointed at his death, F that his people should yeeld it vp to the King: the Maister of Saint Iames, demanded this place and obtained it: and because the fouldiars of the deceased, did say that they would not deliuer it to any other but to the King himselfe, hee came thither in per- son, and receiued the towne, and gaue it forthwith to the maister of Saint Iames: so as all that which had beene taken from *Aluar de Luna*, Maister of Saint Iames, fell to this man.

23

*Contempt of Iustice in these dauidian castles.*





the terme of ninety dayes to make his personall appearance at Rome. And hee appoynted that the Lords of the Kings Councell, should cause the Arch-bishop to be summoned and exhorted by foure Channons, according to the forme of law, to returne to the obedience due vnto the king, which if he should refuse to do, they should then thunder out his proceffe, and send it to Rome, that the Pope might see it, to the end to proceede against him, and chastise him as a rebellious Prelate. The Popes Briefe beeing declared in the Chapter-houfe of Toledo, there came to the Court at Madrid, *Fernand Peres* of Ayala, bastard-brother to *Pero Lopes* of Ayala, who had beene Earle of Fuenfaldia, *Diego del Gaudio*, *Marco Dias*, and *Don Francisco* of Palencia, Prior of Arrochio, Chanons of the same church, who hauing shewed to the King, how highly their Prelates disobedience did displease not onely them, but the whole Chapter, they offered themselves to performe whatsoever the Kings Councell should thinke fit to be done for his seruice, and for reducing the Arch-bishop to his duty by his royall Maiestie. Now, because the King and his trayne were at that time in the Dioceffe of Toledo, and fearing the Arch-bishops censures and interdictions, they defended themselves with an appeale, putting themselves vnder the protection of the Sea Apostolicke: and then a Knight and a Doctor was sent to giue the Arch-bishop notice of the Briefe, and to commaund him to returne to the Kings seruice, and to abandon the Princes, whom the King desired to chase out of the Realme. The Arch-bishop excused himselfe, and answered, that heretofore by the Kings commaundement he had sworne to the Princeesse *Donna Leabella*, as to the eldest heire of the Crowne, therefore he could not acknowledge any other but her: and he besought the king to deale no farther in that businesse, because such was his determinate will and purpose. The King vnderstanding this answer, commanded to proceed against the Arch-bishop with all rigour: but the Master of Saint Iames, who managed the affaires with more cunning, was of a contrarie opinion: he aduised the King to send the Licentiate *Diego Henriquez* vnto him, to offer him, if he would adhere to the Kings partie, and forsake the Princeesse, three thousand tennants, and two forts for his two sons *Trilo Carrillo* of Acugna, and *Lope Pasques* of Acugna.

The Arch-bishop reiected these temptations, and would by no means forsake the Princeesse seruice. This notwithstanding, the Master caused all proceedings against her to cease, and the foure Channons were sent backe to Toledo discontented enough, three of them were taken by the way, and brought to Torrejon de Velasco, by *Pero Arias* of Auila, who by the Arch-bishops commaundement lay in ambush to surprise them. *Fernand Peres* of Ayala, onely saved himselfe in Canales. The King beeing very much displeased herewith, sent diuers horse-men to field, who tooke diuers friends and seruants of the Arch-bishops, and among others, *Don Diego* of Gueuara, a Channon of Toledo, in exchange of whome the three Chanons were deliuered. And so the matter passed on betwixt the King and the Arch-bishop for that time.

In the meane time, the Master of Saint Iames intending his owne profite, and being assured of his credit and power, had taken the citie of Alcaraz, which imported him very much, beeing neere to his Marquisat of Villena, and was easily confirmed in the possession and reueneue of the same by the King, which discontented diuers: for by his example, the Earle of Benaunt, seized vpon Villalua, and deposing *Pero Nugno* from his office of Merin major of the citie of Vallidolit, he gaue it to his brother *Don Pedro Pimentel*. It was then an ordinarie trick in Spain, for those that were able to seize vpon any place to do it, without caring for robberies, murders, and other hainous crimes, which they by such attempts afforded matter and occasion too, beeing assured that if they had any little fauour in Court, to possesse their booties without controule. It happened euen so to the Earle of Arcos, *Don Rodrigo Ponce* of Leon, who hauing taken, during the furies of the League, the citie of Cales, he obayne the same in full proprietie, with title of Marquis therof, by the means and furtherance of the Master of Saint Iames his father-in-law.

If two Lords were at strife, without any respect of the Royall Maiestie, they would strike vp the drumme, and raise forces to ruine one another, as if they had beene Soueraigne Princes, which had held of none but of God and the sword (as they say.) Vpon these

Disorders in  
the gouernance  
mens of castile

A these tearmes stood *Don Manuel Ponce* of Leon, brother to the Earle of Arcos, and *Don Fernand* of Velasco, brother to the Earle of Siruela, who were in the field, accompanied with great number of horse-men ready to come to battaile betwixt Madrid and Alcala, neere enough to the Court: wherefore the King to hinder them, sent thither his great Master *Andrew Cabrera* with sufficient forces. *Cabrera* vñg great diligence, and gallowing space in a dustie high way, his horse raising a great cloud of dust, hee was not perceived by those which followed him, but was ouerthrowne, and so troden vnder the horsefeete, that beeing well-neere bruised to death, hee was brought backe speechlesse to Madrid, where after he had beene well visited by the Chirurgions and Phisitions, hee recovered at leysure.

There was a quarrell betwixt the Earles of Haro and Treuigno, about certaine words of contempt vttered by the Countesse of Haro, the Earle of Treuigno strengthened himselfe with *Pedro Abendago*, and *Iohn Alphonso* of Muxica, chiefe of the Mutins of Biscay and Guipuscoa, who were banished not long before by the Earle of Haro, committed by the King for the ordering and pacifying of those Prouinces. The Earle of Treuigno then hauing giuen them entrance into the countrey, against the Kings leaue, and contrarie to the sentence: and beeing confederated together, they ioyned to their league *Don Pedro Lopes* of Padilla, Gouernour and Capitaine of the frontiers of Castile, riding vp and downe, and commaunding in the Countrey without any feare at all: wherefore the Earle of Haro, by the Kings commaundement, came to Burgos, and there leauied certaine forces in hast as well hee, as the Earle of Salines *Don Lewis*, and *Don Sancho* of Velasco his brethren, and brought them to Biscay, beeing most of them horse-men.

The Earle of Treuigno and the Gouernour, did the like on their parts, vnto whome were ioyned with great numbers of foot-men leuyed in Biscay and Guipuscoa, the heads of the faction aboue named, to encourage whome the Earle of Treuigno vsed a policy. My companions in armes (quoth he) is it possible that you can indure, that this Earle *Pedro* of Velasco, with his credite and fauour gotten by flatterie, should henceforth command ouer you as your Lord, and separate you from the Crowne of Castile, into the which your Predecessours were incorporated with so great affection? Will you againe subiect your selues to follow those priuate passions, which haue so often troubled the generall state of the Kingdome, and exposed the subiects to extreame miseries, whereof you haue so many recent examples before your eyes? I do not thinke that the ancient valour of the Biscans is so farre degenerate, as euer to consent to submit themselves to any subalterne iurisdiction, especially when at this instant, an occasion presents it selfe to be reuenged vpon him, who is the oppressour of your liberties: For if wee do not fight valiantly, and cut this Earle of Haro in peeces, assure you that hee will become your Lord: For hee hath without all doubt obayne of the King (who respects not the worthinesse or vnworthinesse of those hee doth good vnto) the Lordshippe of Biscay, and hath Letters patentes thereof, the which I haue seene and read: Wherefore it remaines then in your prowes and valour, to set free your selues from this inconuenience.

The Biscains animated by this speech, beeing come to blowes, neere the towne of Magnia, in streight places and aduantageous for foote-men, as they were, against horse-men, did fight so furiously, as they put them to flight, with great slaughter, & taking of diuerse persons of worth, among whom were ledde away the Earle of Salines, and *Don Lewis* of Velasco. The King hauing notice that these Lords were in armes, was come as farre as Burgos to hinder their fight, but hee came not soone enough. Wherefore hee went to Odugna, and from thence sent commaundement to the two Earles to lay downe their armes, and to retire themselves to their owne houses, enioyning the Earle of Treuigno, vpon paine of his indignation, to deliuer the prisoners: then hee caused them to make truce, the better to reconcile them, and make them friends. In this encounter, the valour of one *Iohn de Leyna* was noted on the Earle of Treuigno's partie. On the other side *Don Pedro Manrique* lonne to the Earle of Parades, beeing accompanied with certaine base fellows, surprized the City of Alcarraz, and enforced *Iohn de Haro*, who was Gouernour

28  
Quarrell betwixt the  
Earles of Haro  
and Treuigno,



Gouernour thereof for the Master of Saint Iames, to saue himselfe within the Castle, A where hee beleeged him: but the Gouernour valiantly defended himselfe, and aduertized the Master of his distresse, who vpon this occasion beinge come to Ocagna, and hauing speedily gathered together eight hundred horse, hee with his sonne Don *Diego Lopes de Pacheco* came to Alcartas, and caused Don *Pedro Manriques* to dislodge, who at the bare report of his comming did rayse his seige, being not strong enough to attend him.

During these stirres, the Kingdome of Castile was like a Forrest, where freely, and without controule, all sorts of mischiefs were committed, the head that had power to redresse them, not regarding it: Wherefore the townes and communalities were enforced to set downe some remedie for it, to the end they might liue in better safetie, for as they were more assured from the violence of theues in their owne houses, then in the fields: they established in euery corner honest men, who went vp and downe well accompanied, preventing those outrages the best they could, punishing the offenders, as often as they could lay hands on them, leaving the wayes in some sort assured by that meanes: the King beinge contented there-with, and letting them alone, albeit the Facinorians were greatly displeased there-with, and namely, the Master of Saint Iames, who sayd it was not well done, to put base people in authoritie, and to keepe the Nobilitie vnder.

Now the Court beinge returned to Segobia, in the Castle of the which Cittie, the King had caused his Treasures, Jewels, and other rich stuffe to be transported from Madrid, hee determined to leaue an armie, beinge resolu'd to chase the Prince Don *Fernand*, and Donna *Isabel* out of the kingdome of Castile, for they were beames in his eyes, which did hinder him (as hee sayd) from providing for the present calamities and miseries of his kingdome. The Master of Saint Iames, who euer held the euent of battell doubtful and suspitious, was of opinion to vse meanes more cunning, and lesse dangerous. The King beinge come to Coca with this purpose and determination, leaving at Segobia the Earle of *Vruegna*, and *Andrew de Cabrera*, with the Queene, and Donna *Isabel*, whom hee called Princesse, and the Master, who made vse of the Arch-bishop of *Toledo*, whom hee called Princesse, and the Master, who made vse of the Arch-bishop of *Toledo*, caused him to counsell him not to proceede against the Seulle at his owne pleasure, but to trie other meanes to draw them to his will. The King perswaded thereunto, dissolued his armie. These things passed in the yeare 1470, of which time the Princesse Donna *Isabella* was deliuered of hir first child, in the Citie of *Dueñas*, the first day of October, to wit, of a daughter called *Elizabeth*, or *Isabella* like the mother.

Then the Moores of Granado, proude, because of their fore-passed prosperities, forraged the Countrey belonging to the Master-shippe of Alcantara, against whom was sent the new Marquis of Cales, Don *Rodrigo Ponce de Leon*, Earle of Arcos, who reprehended these runnagates, and tooke from them the Cittie of Cardela, the which soone after was taken againe by the Moores: neuertheless hee carried away with him great spoyle, and many Moores prisoners. In the meane space the Duke of Alua came to the Court at Medina del Campo, who was kindly receyued and welcommed by the King.

Now the marriage of Donna *Isabel* beinge dashed, by reason of the Duke of Guiens death, who departed this life at Bourdeaux, the King by the aduise of the Master of Saint Iames, sent Ambassadors to King Don *Alphonso* of Portugall, to treat with him about a marriage betwixt him and her. This King had no desire thereunto, because of the common report, which was, that there was borne in adulterie betwixt Don *Bertrand de la Cueva*, and the Queene of Castile: and therefore he had wholly reiected it, at such time as she should haue bene married to the Prince Don *John* his sonne, whom hee married about that time to Donna *Leonora*, daughter to the Infant Don *Fernand* Duke of *Viseo*, and of Donna *Beatrice*, daughter to the Infant Don *John*, who had bene in the former time Master of Saint Iames, and the second Constable of Portugall: of which Don *Fernand*, and *Beatrice* were borne, Don *Domingo* who was Duke of *Viseo* after his father, and Don *Manuell* who reigned in Portugall, after this Don *John* his brother

Hermendades  
of Castile.

An. 1470.  
Genealogie of  
Castile.

Moores.

29  
Castile.

Genealogie of  
Portugall.

A brother in law. Donna *Beatrice* had builded the Monastery of Nunnes, called the conception of *Veja*, where shee with her husband Don *Fernand* lye buried. Now King *Alphonso* at such time as this Ambassage was making ready, was busied with good successe about the Affrican expedition: for hauing in person transported beyond the sea a very mighty armie, being followed by the Prince Don *John* his sonne, and by many great Lords, and experimented Captaines of his kingdome, amongst whom the most renowned were Don *John Coutin* Earle of Marialua, Don *Aluaro de Castro* Earle of Montefanto, and his sonne Don *John de Castro*, Don *Henry de Meneses* Earle of Valencia, *Ruy de Merlo* Captaine of his guardes, who afterward was Earle of Oliuencia, and Don *Alphonso Vasconcello*, who was Earle of Penela, hee tooke by force Arzilla, and did so terrifie them of Tanger, as they forsooke the Cittie, and left it empty to the enemy, so as King Don *Alphonso* hauing amply enlarged his Empire, beyond the sea, the Kings of Portugall haue since intituled themselves, Kings on this side and beyond the Sea. The Earles of Montefanto and Marialua dyed at the taking of Arzilla.

The gouernment of Tanger was giuen to *Ruy de Merlo* with a good garrison: and the King and the Armie beinge returned to Lisbon, Don *Alphonso Vasconcello* was made Earle of Penela, and then was the marriage of the Prince celebrated, beinge seuentene yeares of age, with Donna *Leonora* his cousin germaine, with dispensation made since by Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, who succeeded *Paul* the second in the Sea of Rome. The Ambassadors of Castile agreed vpon an interview of the two Kings, betwixt the townes of Badajos and Yelues: but they departed one from another discontented, without any conclusion of the marriage, the principall impediment was, the small trust which the King of Portugall reposed in the Master of Saint Iames, whose inconstancie hee merueilously suspected; together with the disordered life of the Queene, who was detested of all men. This marriage afterwards was thought vpon to bee renewed, as shall bee hereafter declared.

The King of Castile wanted no troubles and discontents in this Iourney, by meanes of the infolency, wherein the Lords, Prelates, and Knights his subiects were nourished, the one taking euill example from the other. First of all the Bishop of *Sigüenza* refused to accompany the King, and notwithstanding any entreaty, he would not stirre forth of Guadaluara, whether hee had with-drawne himselfe, being highly displeased that hee had bene disappointed of a Cardinals Hatte, whereunto by the kings fauour hee had earnestly aspyred, the Maister of Saint Iames hauing supplanted him, who procured and obtained it for Don *Lewis d'Acugna* Bishop of Burgos his nephew, the Bishop of *Sigüenza* beinge neuer satisfied with speaking euill of Donna *Isabel* and the Queene her mother. The king with his traine beinge come to Badajos, hee was constrained to lodge in the suburbs, and villages thereabouts: for the Earle of *Feria* shutteth the gates against him, saying, that hee was certaine that hee would vpon his entry giue the same towne to the Maister of Saint Iames, to whom hee durst deny nothing: for hee went about not long before to snatch the towne of *Sepulueda* by force as it were from the king, which was neere to the Earledome of Saint *Seuens*, the which notwithstanding the request, admonishment, and resistance of the inhabitants, who could not endure to bee alienated from the Crowne, the king was constrained to grant vnto him by reason of his importunity: but the townsmen not resolu'd to obey the Maister, gaue themselves ouer to the Princesse, who with Prince *Fernand* her husband came thither, and remained for a certaine time in those quarters, and in the territories of the Archbishop of *Toledo*, who was alwayes their faithfull seruant. At *Siuill* the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and the Marquis of Cales were at great strife, and ioyned battaile the one against the other, by meanes whereof the Marquis was driuen forth of the city, and withdrew himselfe to *Xeres*, where beinge fauoured by the knights of Saint Iames, and those of *Calatrava*, and the Duke by those of the City, they made cruell warres one vpon another, the Maister of Saint Iames vpholding the Marquis his sonne in law.

Bbbb

In

Arzilla and  
Tanger in A.  
which taken by  
the King of  
Portugall.

Marriage of the  
Prince Don  
of Portugall  
with Donna  
Leonora of  
Viseo.

30  
Castile.

Infolency of  
the Maister of  
Saint Iames.

In an encounter made betwixt Seuille and Alcalá de Guadaira, two bastard sonnes of A the Duke of Medina were slayne, and other disorders followed thereupon: for the redressing whereof, the King sent Don *Luís López de Mendoza*, Earle of Tendilla, to Seuille, who by his diligence and good counsell, caused them to lay downe their armes, and made those two Lords friends, and the Duke had his towne of Medina Sidonia, and the fortresse of the same restored vnto him.

At Toledo *Pero López de Ayala* newly made Earle of Fuenfaldá, was solicited by the brother of his deceased wife Donna *Maria de Silva*, to wit, the Bishop of Badajoz, who was desirous to bring againe the Earle of Cifuentes, and his Vncle Don *John de Ribera* into Toledo, to giue his eldest daughter Donna *Leonora* in marriage to the Earle of Cifuentes, seeking by that meanes to reconcile and make them friends, which the Master of Saint James did likewise procure, building some desseignes vpon the same city: but the king being aduertized thereof, sent forth with the Licentiate *Diego Henriquez* to aduertise the Earle of Fuenfaldá by no meanes to make that marriage, and not to suffer the Earle of Cifuentes nor Don *John de Ribera* to enter into Toledo, because he was assured, that as soone as they should set foot within the citie, they would driue him thence.

The Earle giuing more credit to the Bishoppe, then to the King, was very willing to agree vpon the marriage, by reason whereof the Earle of Cifuentes, and Don *John de Ribera*, were no sooner entred into the citie, but contrarie to their oath and promise, which was not to attempt any inuolution, nor stirre vp any troubles, they put themselves in armes, and banded themselves in such fort, as there was nothing to bee feared but daily and continuall skirmishes, fights, murders, robberies, and other miseries, vsual in diuided Citties, the common people of this towne being more mutinous and apt to enter into factions and leagues, then any other Citie of Spaine: Wherefore the King, the better to redresse these inconueniences, being at Madrid, sent the Bishoppe of Burgos, together with the Licentiate *Diego Henriquez*, who for a time caused those insolencies to cease.

The King comming afterwards thither, tooke away, against all reason, the gouernment of the citie from the Earle of Fuenfaldá, and put it against his will, into the hands of Doctor *Garcy López* of Madrid, with charge of an assistant, and with great authoritie, D only to please and content the Master of Saint James. The dispossessed Earle went home to his owne house, and the Earle of Cifuentes afterward had no desire to accomplish the marriage with Donna *Leonora*, alleading certaine lets and hinderances, by reason of their neere consanguinitie, and so soone after married else-where. The Earle of Cifuentes, and Don *John de Ribera*, tooke Doctor *Garcy López*, committed him to prison, and made themselves masters of the Citie gates, and other strong places, and beleaged the Castle, the which they had taken, with the absolute command ouer the whole Citie, had not certaine Channons resisted them, who fortifying themselves in the great Church, held out till such time as the Marshalls *Fernand de Riadenebra*, and *Perañ de Ribera* were come to their ayde, who caused the Earle and his people to withdraw themselves.

The Master of Saint James, who was at that time in the territorie of Leon, making his progresse vp and downe about the ordering of the affaires of that Prouince, being aduertized of that which had befallen *Garcy López*, came in great hast to Toledo, from whence hauing driuen the Earle of Cifuentes, Don *John de Ribera*, *Lope de Estuñiga*, with *Arias de Silva*, and other of their complices, hee left the Citie in quiet. The King not long after came to the Monasterie of Silla, halfe a league distant from the Citie, but hee did in no sort touch any of the seditious, because all the mischief had bene procured by the Master. As hee thought to returne to Segobia, hee found the Citie in a mutinie, and reuolted from the *Corregidor* or Gouernour of the same, by the meanes of F certaine Gentlemen, who were taken, and sent with yrons vpon their legges to the Castle of Madrid, where they remayned a long time after.

Now if temporall matters were so ill gouerned, it is to bee supposed, that spirituall affaires were farre worse: for what good could happen to the people, whose Pastors, neglecting their ecclesiasticall functions, had no other care but to heape vp worldly riches and

People of Toledo  
do mutinies.

A and honours, making themselves heads of Factions, and by their couetousnesse and ambition, did themselves most of all trouble and disquiet all Kingdomes and Commonwealths.

Whilest these miseries troubled the Realme of Castile, King *John* of Arragon did still endeavour to reduce the Rebels of Catalonia to his obedience, and after that hee had ended the question betwixt himselfe and his sonne-in-law *Alphonso* of Foix about the kingdom of Nauarre, hee did send his sonne Don *Alphonso* of Arragon, with the Earle of Prades, who was returned to his seruice, into the confines of Barcelona, who encamped themselves alongst the riuer of Beson, and made courtesie to the Citie gates, but they went to batter a strong castle seated vpon the riuer, which the Barcelonnois being desirous to succour, *James Galliot*, Gouernour of the citie, came into the field with a great number of horse-men, and foure thousand foot, bringing with him Don *Denis* of Portugall, and *Gratian* of Aguirre, who presenting themselves before the enemy, with intent to fight, were so rudely receyued, as within awhile they were defeated, with many of their people slayne, hurt, and taken prisoners, in the number of whom were *James Galliot*, and *Denis* of Portugall: part of those which fled, came backe to the citie, and the rest retired themselves into the woods and mountaines. This losse did so daunt the courage of those of Barcelona, as despayring of their affaires, they all began to hearken vnto peace, whereunto they were the rather incited by the Kings comming, who ioyned himselfe soone after with the forces of his sonne *Alphonso*, taking the towne of Valdonzella, hee made shew as if he would beseege the Citie both by sea and land, the which being filled with great feare, and yet neuertheless trusting to the Kings clemencie, they sent Commissioners vnto him, to craue his pardon, and to offer him the keyes of the Citie, submitting themselves to his mercie.

These men being come into the kings presence, did by the mouth of *Lewis Setentia* a Florentine, confesse the Citizens fault, and did implore his mercie, presenting him the keyes, the which the King holding in his hands, redeliuered forth-with to the Commissioners, contrarie to the expectation of all his followers, who thought, that in regard hee had bene so many yeares troubled and disquieted with the obstinate and cruell warres of the Barcelonnois, hee would haue executed seuerer vengeance vpon them: but hee on the contrarie, with a singular mildnesse, did not onely pardon them, and their Confederates, for whatsoever they had committed against him, but confirmed them in their goods, liberties, priuiledges, exemptions, and auncient rights. The next day following the Citizens had prepared a triumphant chariot for him, that he might make his entrie with great pompe and magnificence, the which he would not accept, but was contented to enter into the Citie riding vpon a white Courser, by Saint Anthonies gate of the same citie, which hee found vnprovided of all manner of victuals, where-with hee caused them presently to bee furnished; so as without the aboue-named defeat, E necessity would haue enforced them to haue yielded.

By this peace which happened so opportunely the miseries of Cattalonia were ended, which had troubled the whole State of Arragon for the space of tenne yeares. Hee which shewed most prowesse, and performed the notablest exploits in this warre, was Don *Alphonso* of Arragon, Duke of Villahermosa, a Prince worthy of great prayle, and high commendation, who dyed afterwards in the seruice of his brother King *Fernand* reigning in Castile, at a place called Linares, leauing his sonne Don *Alphonso* of Arragon, heire to his Durchie of Villa-hermosa, who was Knight of the Order of Saint James, and a Daughter called Donna *Maria* of Arragon, who was married to the Prince of Salerne. Hee had out of wedlocke Don *John* of Arragon, Earle of Luna, F Captain of the Castle of Amposta, Don *Alphonso* of Arragon, who was Bishop of Tortosa, and afterward Arch-bishoppe of Tarragone, Don *Fernand* of Arragon, Prior of Saint Iohns of Cattalonia, together with Donna *Leonora* of Arragon, wife to the Earle of Albayda.

This peace was no sooner concluded, but the King had newes of a new rumole, raised in Nauarre, whereinto the Princeesse his daughter voluntarily had runne herselfe with great

31  
Arragon.

The Barcelonnois defeated.

The city of Barcelona yielded to the mercie of the King.

King John clemency.

Don Alphonso of Arragon his successor.

32  
Nauarre.  
great



the Princes Don *Ferdinand* and Donna *Isabella*, did not appeare at this assembly, in the number of whom was Don *Inigo Manrique* Bishop of Coria, who requested the legate to come to Valadolid, saying, that they were to conferre with him about matters touching the succession of the kingdomes; but the King perswaded him to the contrary, accusing the Princes and their followers of many matters. The Legate neuertheless went to Alcala to visit the Princes, who remained there with the Archbishop of Toledo, by whom he was sumptuously receiued and with great pompe, as also in Guadajara, the Marquis of Santillanas house, where hee remained a certaine space, with the Marquis and the Earles his bretheren.

33  
Enamoured sine  
cause those  
newly conuer-  
ted to Iudaisme,

Misfactions of  
the new Chris-  
tians.

The Constable  
Don Michael  
Lucas de trans-  
sa, murdered by  
the people.

D. Pedro de  
Vilafco made  
Constable of  
Castile.

Bride binders  
the Infant Don  
Henry from his  
preference in  
Cathol.

The impieties, superstitions, thefts, rapines, and other insolencies vsed at that time among the Christians in Spaine, namely the Prelates and Church-men, were so scandalous to all men, as diuerse newe Christians, who were conuerted from Iudaisme to the profession of Christianity, being constrained more by the rigor of the lawes, then perswaded by wholesome doctrine, and good examples, began to returne to Iudaisme, not being able to beleuee by humane reason, that the religion professed by such detestable people, could bee the true. The remedy applied to this mischiefe was the same which arrogant men and such as hate correction, and are desirous to liue in their errors and corruptions, doe commonly vse, namely the sword, massacres, and all manner of excesses. For in the City of Cordoua, instead of bringing back these straies by meeknesse, holinesse of life, and such like examples, which is the duty of the ministers of the Church, they did let loose the bridle to the rash mutinous people, who made a cruell slaughter of them, and spoiled their goods.

Those of laen followed this example, against whom the Constable *Michaell Lucas de transsa* opposing himself, was most inhumanly murdered in the Cathedral Church by the enraged multitude. The like cruelties and robberies were committed in Andujar and other places of Andalusia, wherewith King *Henry* was extremely discontented, but being faint-hearted and of no courage in these matters, hee did no more punish the murderers, then the Pastors were diligent in seeking out six Christian meanes to bring back these Apostata's into the right way. The office of Constable was giuent to Don *Pedro Velasco* Earle of Haro the Kings great Chamberlaine, at the intercession of the Maister of Saint *James* his Sonne in law, the which dignity hath euer since, euen till our time, continued in that family: The King like-wife gaue the seales of his Chancery, to the Bishop of Siguença.

The King finding that Donna *Joane* his supposed daughter, had very ill successe in her treaties of marriage, resolved to bestow her vpon Don *Henry*, Sonne to the Infant Don *Henry* who was Maister of *S. James*, & brother to Don *Ferdinand* Infant of Castile, which was King of Arragon, who at the same time, remayned in the City of Barcelona, from whence hee caused him to come secretly into Castile. This Prince, who by the commandement of King *John* his vnckle, was called in his dominions, the Infant of Arragon, and by some others the fortunate Infant, was very proud, the which hee shewed in Castile before his time, which did greatly hinder his aduancement, in that Kingdome. Hee with his mother Donna *Beatrice Pimentell*, Aunt to the Earle of Benauent, arrived at Requegna, from whence afterward, (the King hauing furnished them with all things necessary for their calling, and place which they held) the Maister of Saint *James* caused them to come to the Castle of Garcy Nugnos, sending two of his Gentlemen to accompany them thither. During the time that this Don *Henry* remayned there, sundry Lords and Knights came to visit him, diuers of whom because they would be reputed ciuill and courteous, offered to kisse his hand, thinking that hee would not haue suffered it, but hee keeping a great grauity presented his hand freely vnto them: but one amongst the rest taking him by the hand, sayd to him in derision, my Lord you haue a very faire hand, and so without kissing it let goe his hold, whereat D. *Henry* was much offended.

The Maister of Saint *James* remayned at that time in Madrill, being discontented with an accident hapned at Segobia: Hee had sundry times solicited the king to commit the Castle and gates of the city to his keeping, alledging that in that place Queene

Joane

A *Joane* and her daughter, might lodge more safely then any where else, and that he should by no means giue the charge thereof to *Andrew de Cabrera*, because he was assured that *Beatrice* of Bouadilla his wife, was drawne to the Princeesse party, and besides, that he being a Cattelán, was an affectionate seruant to Prince *Fernand*, all which was very true. The King yeelded to the Maisters request; But *Andrew de Cabrera* refused to disposse himselfe of the castle: whereat the Maister being highly offended, praictised his ruine, and thought to effect it by this practise: He caused *Diego Tapia* and certaine other Gentlemen to come into the city, giuing them charge to stirre vp the people, whom he knew to be desirous to fall vpon the new conuerted Christians, and to spoile them of their goods, as they of Cordoua and other places of Andalusia had lately done; and they appointed that during the tumult, some band of souldiers should force the Kings house and take both him and *Andrew de Cabrera*, his Steward, to make him deliuer vp the castle: *Diego de Tapia* needed not to vse much labour to stirre vp the people who were ouermuch addicted to mischiefe: wherefore it was concluded that at the ringing of a larum bell in the Church of Saint Peter de los Picos, they should assaile the city in fure sundry places, on a Sunday after dinner, namely in the quarter of Saint Olalla, in that of Saint Colomba, Saint Martin, Saint John, and that of Saint Michael, appointing a Squadron to goe vp and downe, and to discouer in euery place of the city. But it was the will of God, that this plot came to the knowledge of the Legat, who lay then at Guadaluja

Enterprise of  
the Maister of  
Saint James against  
Andrew de Cabrera  
captaine of the  
castle of Segobia.

C, who forth-with reuealed it to the King, the King sent word thereof to *Andrew de Cabrera*, captaine of the fort, to the end he should stand vpon his gard, & preuent this danger in the city; *Cabrera* hauing secretly armed many souldiers, and all the Conuers which were fit to beare arms, did so preuent his enemies, as he slew and defeated most of them, and *Diego Tapia* was shot through the body with an arrow. The Maister hauing failed in his enterprise, and fearing least some euill might betide him, departed the same night from Segobia, and came to the Monastery of Parral, to goe from thence to Madrid: the King took the paines to come and visit him in the Monastery, and vsed all the entreaties that he could to bring him backe: but the Maister said vnto him, that he had no confidence in *Andrew de Cabrera* nor his wife, and that hee would neuer set foote in

The Maister of  
Saint James  
failes of his  
purpose.

D Segobia vntill such time as hee were posselt of the castle: wherefore the King returned to Segobia to pacifie and appeale the tumult. It is most certaine that the enterprises of the Maister, being preiudiciall to an other, were very dangerous to himselfe: for his sonne-in-law the Earle of Benauent, still bearing in minde how hee had preuented him of the Maisterhip of Saint James, did keepe armed men in his house, who were appointed to haue slaine him in that tumult, wherefore hee did wisely to goe to Madrid, whither neuertheless, all matters being appeased, the King and the whole Court came, and namely the Earle of Benauent: and thither were also brought the Queene, and D. *Joane* her daughter. At Madrid there arrived a messenger from the Pope, who aduertized the King that D. *Pero Gonçal de Mendoza*, Bishop of Siguença, was created Cardinal of the title of holy Croffe, the which did greatly please the King, who commanded him to be called the Cardinal of Spaine, the which title hee vsed during his life, and received many honors of King *Henry*.

D. Pero Gon-  
sal de Men-  
doza Cardinal  
of Spaine.

In these times beganne the Order of the Religious of Saint Francis of Paul, who was a Calabrian borne at a place called Paul, who was drawne into France by King *Lewis* the eleuenth, and died at Tours; his Order called the Minims of Saint Francis, was approved by Pope *Sixtus* this yeere 1473. and afterwards at the request of King *Francis* the first, of Queene *Claude* his wife, and of Donna *Louise* of Sauoy his mother, the Author was canonized by Pope *Leo* the tenth, in the yeere 1529. of this Religious Order there are many Monasteries in Spaine, diuided into two Prouinces.

An. 1473.  
Order of Saint  
Francis of  
Paul.

F King *Henry* being desirous to consummate the marriage, betwixt Donna *Joane* and his cousin the Infant Don *Henry*, tooke counsell therevpon of the Bishop of Siguença chosen Cardinal, and of others of his counsell, and caused the Infant with his mother to come to Xerax, betwixt which place and Madrid, hee did see them, and would willingly haue brought them to Madrid, but the Maister of Saint James, who did not allow of this marriage, delt in such sort as they came not thither: afterward, the king hauing

founded

Marriage of D.  
Isabel, supposed  
daughter of  
Henry of Ar-  
ragon, broken  
by the Maister  
of S. James.

founded the maister concerning this match, hee did openly diswade him from it, saying, A that he ought not to marry his daughter to any other then to a King or a mighty Prince: and that if he were determined to give her to Don Henry, it behoued him then to leaue men of warre, and to appoint for their pay, more then twenty millions of Marauedis; the King (who had treasures in the Castle of Segobia) said, that hee would not want money; and therefore, hee sent the Maister, and the new elected Cardinall to Segobia, to take out of the Castle such summes as hee appointed: but the Captaine *Andrew de Cabrera*, delayed them many dayes, saying, that hee would cause the money to be told out, but yet they did it not; for indeed hee was seruant to the Princes, and wholly contrary to the Kings will, as concerning *Donna Ioanes* marriage; and besides that hee would haue nothing to doe with the Maister, whom hee deadly hated, fearing that all that hee went about tended to no other end but to dispossesse him of his Governement. In the meane time the Earle of Benauent (who was cousin Germaine to Don Henry,) perceiuing that chiefly by the praictises of the Maister, the marriage was delayed, and incensed with an old hatred against him, about the Maister'ship of Saint James, had bitter words with him, telling him that hee should better haue considered of matters, and not to haue procured the Infant Don Henry to haue come into Spaine, in a manner to deride him, and vnder colour of lyes to abuse the King, the Realme, and the great Lords, with many other bitter words, which the Maister endured with patience.

37

The death of Don *Alphonso* of Fonseca, Archbishoppe of Siuill, did promote *Pero Goncales* of Mendoza Bishop of Siguença to that dignity, vnto whom almost at the same time that his Bulls were dispatcht from Rome, was the Cardinals Haute presented. And the King being solicited to prouide for the troubles and miseries of his kingdom, hee did the same year one thousand, foure hundreded, seuentie and three, call the Estates to Saint *Mary de Nieua*, whether came the Deputies of the Communalities and cities of Castile, and Regions annexed to the same. There were sundry exactions abolished, which had beene leuiud vpon the poore people by the Kings officers, and by subalterne Lords following his example, as payments for the Portes, bridges, taxes, watching and warding, and other such like impositions, leuiud vnder any lawfull cause, vpon wayfaring men, passengers, and the inhabitants of places. There was also granted to the King a certaine Subsidie of money: At this parliament the Infant Don Henry, and his mother *Donna Beatrice Pimentell* were present. And then the Maister of Saint James bethinking himselfe of another policy, by meanes whereof hee might get the city of Segobia into his hands, hee counselled the King to remooue the assembly of the estates to Segobia, where more commodiously the affaires of the kingdom might be managed, and *Donna Ioanes* marriage concluded vpon: the which assembly should be there in safety, vnder the faith and safeguare of the Marquis of Santillana, whom hee perswaded to demand, for the same purpose, the Keyes of the gates of Saint *Iohn* and Saint *Martin*, of the same city, of *Andrew de Cabrera*: but *Cabrera* perceiuing very well wherevnto it tended, and being resolu'd courageously to oppose himselfe against the Maister of Saint James, found many probable excuses, and delayed the matter, till some other determination was taken, wherein hee was supported and fauoured by the new Archbishop of Siuill, and Cardinall of Spaine, who had secretly vnited himselfe to the Princes, and was wholly against *Donna Ioanes*. In this manner the Maister was disappointed of his purposes to his great greefe, who in like manner sought to surpris the castle of Toledo, and raised such a tumult there, as the King was faine to goe thither in person to appease it: but hee caused no enquiretie to be made for the ring-leaders to that mischief, to punish them according to their deserts: by reason whereof euery man almost committed what mischief hee pleased, without any feare of the lawes.

Whilst the king remained at Toledo, the Marquis of Villena, sonne to the Maister of Saint James, came to doe him reuerence, whom hee receiued with extraordinary kindnesse, the Maister being then at Pignasiell with his wife the Dutchesse

Taxes leuiud  
by imposition  
vpon the poore  
people abolished.

The Maister of  
S. James his  
cunningly  
entrued.

Impunity, the  
cause of all  
disorders.

A of Escalona. And when the King returned to Segobia, the Marquis of Villena followed him, but he lodged without the city at the Monastery of Parrall, because of the quarrels betwixt his father and *Andrew de Cabrera*: the King went often to heare mass at this Monastery, and to visit the Marquis.

As these matters passed, the Princeesse D. *Isabella* hauing intelligence with the Inhabitants of *Aranda de Duero*, tooke that place which belonged to the Queene, whereat the King mercifully storming, *Andrew de Cabrera* put him in minde of the great tyrannies of the Maister of Saint James, and of his insatiable couetousnesse in getting of townes and cities; and how hee had continually, without any respect, hurried and tired his royall person, as hee himselfe very well knew: and therefore hee perswaded him to be pleased, that the Princeesse his sister might safely come to the castle of Segobia, where they might see one another, and conferre together, which could not choise but be exceeding profitable for the Kingdome and for all good men. The King, who was tender hearted, and easie to be carried away, was pleased therewith, and after that hee had heard the opinion of the Cardinall of Spaine, and of the Earle of Benauent, hee was more desirous of it; and *Donna Beatrice* of Bouadilla, wife to *Andrew de Cabrera*, disguised in the habit of a country-man, and riding vpon an asse, went her selfe to *Aranda* to cause the Princeesse to come to the castle of Segobia, who being accompanied with the Archbishop of Toledo, and others, came thither, and entred the castle in a morning before day, where she was courteously entertained. Her coming was on the *Yodaine*, the King being absent at that time from Segobia, hunting in the Forrest of Balsain, who was hastened by *Cabrera*, who did greatly suspect the stay of the Marquis of Villena at the Monastery of Parrall, fearing that hee remained there to make some practise vpon him. Now as soon as the Marquis of Villena knew that the Princeesse was come to the castle of Segobia, hee dislodged in all hast, and neuer left galloping till hee was arrived at Aillon, fearing to be taken.

The Earle of Benauent, and *Cabrera*, rode forthwith to the Forrest to give the King notice that his sister was come, who returned to Segobia, and after that hee had dined, he came to the castle to see the Princeesse, to whom hee vied all signes of loue and friendship: and sitting downe, one neere to another, they talked a long while together, and at last the King tooke his leaue of her with many courteous ceremonies, seeming to be highly pleased. The Maister of Saint James hauing intelligence of all these matters, thought to prouide for his owne safety whatsoever should happen, and therefore hee went to Cuellar to talke with D. *Bertrand de la Cueva* Duke of Albuquerque, whether, at his intreaty, came the new Constable Don *Pedro de Velasco* Earle of Haro his father in law, and there they made a league and confederacy together: afterward they began to sollicite the King, to put the Princeesse his sister forth of Segobia; wherevnto (being bewitched by the Maister) hee consented, but his counsell therein was diuided. The Princeesse, the better to order her affaires, was of opinion to cause the Prince her husband to come to the castle of Segobia, thinking by his presence the King would be sooner brought to reason, and all matters concluded with more facility. The Prince being come, the King saw him, and receiued him with a cheerefull countenance, and they rode together on horse-backe thorough the city, to the great contentment of the people, and likewise of the Courtiers, though not of all. The great Maister *Andrew de Cabrera* made them a Royall banquet in the Bishops house, at which the Earle of Ribadeo, by priuiledge from his ancestors, did eate at the King and the Princes table. The feast being ended, with store of musike and other delights, the King grew sicke and complained of his side, and was carried into his lodging, where after a while, hee recovered, but not without hauing certaine reliques of rheume, fluxes of bloud by vrine, with vomittings, and other such like mortall accidents: The Princes did hourly visit him, and caused others to sollicite him to declare the Princeesse his sister heire to the Kingdomes, wherevpon there passed diuerse strang and bitter words betwixt those which managed this businesse on either side: but nothing being concluded, the Princeesse refused not to leaue Segobia. The Maister of Saint James was aduertized of all that passed, by the King himselfe, who went about on a night to put certaine companies of souldiers into the city, who should

Interview of  
King Henry  
and the Prince-  
esse, Isabella  
his sister.

Prince Per-  
nand comes to  
Segobia.

Priuiledge of  
the Earles of  
Ribadeo.

seize

38  
Nauarre,  
and  
Arragon.  
Died of Gas-  
ton de Foix.

Titles of D.  
Leonora of Na-  
uarre.

Suspicion of  
love between  
the Princess  
D. Leonora,  
and the Bishop  
of Pampelona.

The Bishop of  
Pampelona  
slaine by the  
Castille.

seize vpon certaine Townes, Churches and Houses, to the end to giue entrance to him A  
and other greater troupes, with which forces he would take the Princes, and *Andreo de  
Cabrera* prisoners. The Maister had as bad successe in this plot as in the former: for God  
who had predestinated the Princes *Fernand* and *Isabella* to reigne in Spaine, suffered this  
pradize to be discouered, by meanes whereof the daunger was preuented, the Princess  
stood vpon her gard, and the Prince retired himself in time, and went into Arragon, whe-  
ther he was called by warres and troubles which there happened.

King *Iohn* of Arragon, his father, was in his old age oppressed with crosses, as well in  
Nauarre, by the seditions of his subiects, as on the frontiers of France and Countie of  
Rossillon. In Nauarre, soone after that the Princess *Donna Leonora* failed in heren-  
terprise of taking Pampelona, her husband the Earle *Gaston* of Foix, returning out of  
France into Nauarre, fell sicke and died at a place called Roncevaux, in the yeere 1472.  
leauing heire of his Lands and Lordships of Bearn and Foix his sonnes sonne, *Francis  
Phabus* a child of the age of five yerres, who remaying vnder the gouernment of his  
mother *Donna Magdalen* of France, and of the Princess *Donna Leonora* his grand-mo-  
ther, was likewise, after her death, heire to the Kingdome of Nauarre. *Donna Leonora*  
was likewise, after her death, heire of Nauarre, Infanta of Arragon and Sicill,  
and Lieutenant General for the King her Lord and father in the said Kingdome of  
Nauarre.

After the decease of *Gaston* Earle of Foix, this Princess making her abode in the C  
city of Tafalla, called there a Parliament, to the which the great Lords came, and espe-  
cially the chiefe of the faction of Grammont and Beaumont, who inflamed with enuy  
were still desirous to ruine one another. It happened (as it is easie amongst those that  
are of troublefome and enuious dispositions) that diuerse bitter speeches passed betwixt  
the Earle of Lerin and the Constable of Nauarre *Pedro de Peralta*, which caused great  
contention: into the which quarrell *Nicholas* de Echaurri, Bishop of Pampelona, did  
so farre enter, as the Constable thinking himselfe greatly injured by him, threatened him  
that it should cost him his life.

This Bishop was suspected to bee more familiar with the Princess *Donna Leonora*  
then honesty required, which caused him to be hated of diuerse men, who were zealous D  
of their Princess honour, taking it more heinously at his hands, who was a prelat  
and ought to giue good example, then if it had beene any other. The Bishop, after  
this threatening, being fearefull, would by no meanes come forth of his house.  
The Princess, either desirous to pacifie this quarrell, or else not able to endure him  
long out of her sight, sent diuerse messengers to him, to bring him vnto her to the  
Monastery of Saint Sebastian of the Order of Saint Francis at Tafalla, where shee  
accomplished a nine daies vowes which shee had made, for shee vsed great deuotion  
to those fathers, and bestowed many benefits vpon them: but the Bishop still fear-  
ing to bee met with by the way, prayed her for to excuse him. At the last shee sent  
vnto him one of her familiar friends called *Fernand* de Baquedan with an other E  
Knight named *Sir Haghe*, who promised to conduct him safely thither, wherevpon  
hee mounted on his Mule, and rode in their company towards Tafalla, where-  
on the Constable being aduertized, hee was so farre transported with rage, as leap-  
ing on horse-backe, hee met with the Bishop on the way, and slew him hard by the  
gates of Tafalla, not respecting or regarding the Princesses word, nor yet his Epit-  
copall dignity, for the which inhumane fact he remained diuerse monthes together ex-  
communicate.

This mans death did greatly offend diuerse both in Nauarre and in King *Iohn* of Ar-  
ragons Court, but especially the Princess. Don *Alphonso Carrillo* a Spaniard, was pro-  
moted to that dignity in his stead, being in number the forth Bishop of that Sea.

On the other side, King *Iohn* being then threescore and tenne yerres of age, was in-  
gaged in a tedious quarrell with the French, vpon this occasion: The Earledome  
of Rossillon was engaged vnto King *Lewis* the eleuenth for the summe of three hundred  
thousand crownes, who kept therein Gouernors and Officers which did oppresse  
the people, and committed diuerse insupportable outrages, where the inhabitants daily  
com-

A complained, requesting their King to protect them, wherewith the Frenchmen were dis-  
pleased: in regard whereof King *Lewis* sent Ambassadors to King *Iohn*, who summoned  
him to make payment of the three hundred thousand crownes, and to receive his Earle-  
dome, or else to appropriat it vnto him for the same summe, or if hee were not pleased  
with these two motions: that then hee should giue him suerties in France, for the pay-  
ment of the money at a certaine time. This did greatly trouble King *Iohn*, neuerthe-  
lesse, with great modesty hee made answer, that hee would request King *Lewis* not to  
vrge him at so vnseasonable a time, after his long and chargeable warres made against  
his subiects, to repay the said summe, which as then was impossible for him to doe, much-  
B lesse to sell the Earledome vnto him, and wholly to alienate that which did belong to the  
crown of Arragon: And as for the suerties which he demanded; hee did not thinke  
it a reasonable request, nor yet becoming him, who had (God be thanked) wherewith to  
pay his debts in time: with this answer the Ambassadors were not satisfied, as also by  
reason that those of Perpignan, impatient of the French yoke, beganne manifestly to  
rebell against them: wherefore King *Lewis* sent forces into the countie of Rossillon, to  
chastise those of Perpignan, who had constrained the Frenchmen dwelling amongst  
them, to retire themselves into the castle, from whence they shot into the towne with the  
Canon, doing great harme therevnto. King *Iohn* came thither in hast to appease this  
flure, and endeauored by all meanes to perswade the people to obey the French, promi-  
C sing them shortly to deliuer them from that trouble: but they answered him boldly, that  
they had rather suffer death then returne to the subiection of such Lords.

During these disputations King *Iohn* was on a sodaine besieged in the towne  
by the French army, which the Spanish Authors number to bee forty thousand,  
who hauing enuironed it on euery side, beganne to batter it without, and within to at-  
taile it from the castle, so as it behooued the besieged to bee courageous, and valiantly to  
defend themselves, the Kings presence seruing them greatly to that purpose. The sege  
continued foure monthes: in the end, at the report of Prince *Fernand*s coming, who  
vpon the newes of the French mens arriual, had leauied souldiars both in Castile, Ar-  
ragon and Catalonia, they raised their sege and retired themselves into France. King  
D *Iohn* and the towne being deliuered from this danger, all men went out to meete the  
Prince, and the father and the sonne embraced one another with great ioy, who came  
together into Perpignan. The King did againe entreat the Inhabitants to obey the  
French for a short time, till he could otherwise dispose of his affaires, assuring them that  
he would pay the French King his money, and take them againe to himselfe. They be-  
ing obstinate refused it, and requested him, to giue King *Lewis* other pledges, or else to  
suffer them to depart thence, for they would willingly giue ouer their houses, goods, yea  
and their owne liues, rather then to submit themselves to the vildage of the French.  
King *Iohn* seeing them so resolu'd, left D. *Lewis* de Requefens for the gouernor, and with  
the Prince his sonne returned to Barcelona.

E Before the Princes departure out of Castile, there arose a great quarrel betwixt the  
Marquis of Santillana, and the Earle of Benaunt, because that the Earle (possessing the  
towne of Carrion, by the Kings permission, the which hee had held during the former  
troubles, had vildely and iniuriouly intreated certaine Gentlemen which dwelt in the  
same towne, who were neere in blood and parentage to the Marquis, who hauing no-  
tice thereof sent vnto him, and desired him in regard that those Gentlemen did belong  
vnto him, that hee would for reuerence due to the boanes of his ancestors spare and re-  
spect them: the Earle made him a proude answer and said, that hee would cause his an-  
cesters bones to be taken vp, and send them vnto him in baskets, to the end he might be-  
flow them safer with himselfe at Guadalajara amongst the rest of his progenitors. The  
F Marquis being iustly moued hereat, conspired with the Earle of Treuigno, and others  
his friends and kinsfolkes, to take that place from the Earle, who had builded a new fort  
there: the Earle of Treuigno hauing intelligence with the wronged Gentlemen (his  
lands lying neere to Carrion) he entred the towne with souldiars, and besieged the fort  
and soone after the Marquis arriued with troupes of horse and foote, as well of his owne  
tenants as those of the Constable *Pedro* de Velasco, the duke of Albuquerque and others, who

The Earle-  
dome of Rossil-  
lon, origina-  
l of all the wars  
between  
France and  
Spaine in our  
daies.

40  
Castile.  
Quarrel be-  
twixt the Mar-  
quis of Santilla-  
na, and Pimen-  
tel.

The Marquis  
of Santillana  
survived the  
towne of Carrion.



who supported him in this quarrell. The Earle of Benauent having notice of what the A Marquis had done, and ment to doe, came in speedily to Valiodolir, and gathered his friends together, so as with the helpe of the Maister of Saint Iames his father in law, who in this tooke his part, hee found himselfe able to offer battaile to his aduersary; but the King being accompanied with the Cardinall of Spaine brother to the Marquis, and with the Maister, father in law to the Earle, did put himselfe betwixt them, and handled the matter in such sort by the Cardinalls meanes, as he hindred them from ioyning battaile: and it was agreed, that the towne of Carion should returne to the crowne, and the Earle should haue the towne of Magaua in recompence, which belonged to the B Cardinall, who to make them friends was content to dispossesse himselfe thereof, and received other recompences for the same. Prince *Fernand* when this quarrell beganne, was ready to depart into Arragon, and had leauied certaine companies of souldiers, the which with his owne person hee offered to the Marquis who gaue him humble thanks, saying that he was strong enough to encounter a greater Lord then the Earle of Benauent: and therefore hee besought him to preferue his person in safety, that hee might in time to come reigne in Spaine, and not to hazard it now when there was no need.

The Marquis afterwards returned to Guadajajara, and went to Saint Christoferto visit the Princesse Donna *Isabella*, who went forth to meete him: hee offered her seruice, and all aide and assistance for the obtaining of her right, after the King her brothers death. The Earle of Benauent returned into his owne possessions, the King with the Cardinall to Segobia, and the Maister to Cuellar: but soone after, the King with the whole Court, and the Maister likewise, came to Madrid, where by the Maister his Council it was thought fit that the Cardinall should returne to Segobia to treat with the Princesse, and the Maister brought the King to Trugillo, to cause the fort of the same city to be deliuered vnto him, which hee had so importunately a long time begged: but the Gouernour of that place whose name was *Gratian de Sese* would not consent therevnto, nor obey the Kings commandment; yet neuerthelesse hee haue bene solicited by the Maister with promise of great recompences hee beganne to negotiate about the deliuey thereof: but the matter being delayed, the King, who since his last sicknesse decayed in his health, was constrained to returne to Madrid, there to take his rest: In the same place remained Donna *Isabel* in the keeping of the Marquis of Villena: as for the Queene, she was else where, and lead a pleasant life without any shame at all. In the meane time the Maister of Saint Iames, who remained at Santa Cruz de la Sierra, delt in such sort as capitaine *Gratian* of Sese deliuered him the fort of Trugillo, being recompenced with the Lordship of Saint Helice delos Gallegos, where shortly after he was cruelly murdered and stoned to death by his owne tenants. About the same time the Maister of Saint Iames D. *Iohn de Pacheco* fell sicke of an Impostume in his throat, which caused him to void great quantity of putrified blood at his mouth, which in the end strangled him, he died in the threecore and fourth yere of his age, hauing more credit and authority in Spaine, then any Lord in his time: his death was kept secret by his seruants, vntill the fort of Trugillo was yielded vp, which was forthwith done, and then it was openly declared to all men: his body was carried to Parral neere Segobia, a Monastery of Saint Ierome, founded by King *Henry* then reigning for his place of buriall, all, and the Maister was buried in the chiefe chappell with great pompe and solemnity. Great was the Kings sorrow for the Maisters death, to whose sonne and heire Don *Diego Lopes de Pacheco* Marquis of Villena, he did not only confirme the gifts of the townes, cities and castles, granted to his father, but bestowed likewise vpon him the Maistership of Saint Iames, and sent a messenger to the Pope to obtaine the confirmation thereof, not respecting the Knights of the same Order, who began to murmur and strongly to oppose themselves against it, and they did not onely bandy themselves against the Marquis of Villena, who was not chosen according to the rules of the Order, but they likewise fell at variance amongst themselves: for D. *Roderigo Manrique* Earle of Paredes Commander of Segura, said, that the election of the new Maister ought to be made in the Couent of Vcles, according to the ancient custome: On the other side, D. *Alphonso* de

Death of D.  
Iohn de Pacheco  
Maister  
of Saint  
Iames.

A de Cardega great Commander of Leon, affirmed, that it stood with great reason that the election should be made in Saint Marks of Leon, in regard the deceased Maister died in the confines of Leon: wherefore each of them standing firme in their allegations, and hauing their factions and parties, those two were chosen and saluted for Maisters; in such sort as the Order of Saint Iames, had at that time three heads, like vnto *Carbetus*, the three headed dogge in hell: The Marquis of Villena, besides the Kings fauour, did hope that the Earle of Osorno, great Commander of Castile, would take his part; because he had the keeping of Donna *Isabel*, the Kings supposed daughter; it made the King more bound vnto him, and aduerted by reason thereof the King did greatly ad- B uance him: the which gained blunts seruants to the Princesse Donna *Isabella*, who were jealous to see his sonne who had idone them so much mischief in so great credit and authority.

The Cardinall of Spaine hauing bene a certaine tinte at Segobia with the Princesse, came backe to Madrid to the King; with the Constable Don *Pedro de Melasco*, who ioyntly spake to the King with great boldnes touching the succession of the Kingdome, beseeching him to take in good part, that which they should say vnto him vpon their consciences, which was, that he ought to maintain the Princesse *Isabel* right, because he knew better then any that this Donna *Isabel* was not his daughter: and they C oppresse his Kingdome after his decaie, if hee should dissemble in that behalfe, but to speake the truth, for his peoples sake, in declaring his sister the Princesse his true and lawfull heire: wherevnto the King without any trouble made answere, that Order should be taken for them both; neuerthelesse hee delaied all hee could from meddling in that businesse. In the meane space the Marquis of Villena, who promised to him selfe the Maistership of Saint Iames, thinking to praize with the Knights of Castile, and chiefly with the Earle of Osorno, the great Commander, came to Villarejo, in which place the enterview of him and the Earle was agreed vpon: but the Earle feigning himselfe sicke, sent thither his wife, well accompanied with men at armes, by whom the Marquis, at his lighting from his horse was seized vpon, and carried away prisoner into the D castle of Fuente Duegna.

The King being aduertized hereof, did presently take horse, notwithstanding he was very sicke, and came to the Earle of Osorno, who shewed himselfe sterne and obstinate, without respect or reuerence, wherefore the King returned highly displeased to Madrid. By the way he met with the Archbishop of Toledo at Villa Verde, who offered him his seruice, and therevpon, to please him hee beseeged out of hand the castle of Fuente Duegna, whether the King likewise came in person. The seege lasting long, *Lopes Vafques* de Acugna, brother to the Archbishop, making shew of ending this strife as a friend, found meanes to bring the Countesse of Osorno to a parley, who coming abroad with a sonne of hers, was deceived in the same manner as she had beguiled the E Marquis, and the mother and the sonne were brought prisoners into the castle of Hueta.

This policy did highly please the King and the Archbishop, and was the cause that the Marquis was deliuered: the Cardinall and the Countable made an end of the matter, and the prisoners were set at liberty on either side: the Archbishop of Toledo returned to Alcalá, and the King, being much afflicted and weake, to Madrid, where Catarres, vomitings, and other mortall accidents brought him to his last houre. The physicians hauing told the Cardinall of Spaine, the Constable, the Marquis of Villena, the Earle of Benauent and other Lords of his Council there present, that his sicknesse was mortall, they caused Frier *Peter Maçuelo*, prior of Saint Ierome of Madrid, his confessor, to put him in minde of matters belonging to his soules health, and the peace of his Kingdome. Hee had long discourse with the prior in confession; then hee made his will, appointing the Cardinall, the Duke de Azeualo, the Marquis of Villena, and the Earle of Benauent for his executors; and hee commaunded that his seruants should bee paid and well recompenced with his treasure and iewells, and declared Donna *Isabel* to bee his lawfull daughter, and true heire to his Kingdomes; the Cccc which

King Henry  
takes more  
for the suc-  
cession of his  
Kingdome.

The Marquis  
of Villena  
taken prisoner  
by his complicity.

The Countesse  
of Osorno, and  
her sonne taken  
by the Mar-  
quis of Villena  
set at liberty.





- 18 Enter view of the Kings D. Iohn of Arragon, and D. Fernand of Castile father and sonne, A  
at Victoria. Cutting off certaine cities of the Realm of Navarre in fauour of Castile.  
19 Navigations and conquests of the Spaniards in the Ocean Sea.  
20 Institution of the ordinary inquisition of Spaine against the Lewes and Moores.  
21 Troubles raised by the Archbishop of Toledo.  
22 Seditious prelates, and other petty tyrants punished.  
23 Exploits of warre on the frontiers of Extremadura, and at sea betwixt the Portugals and Spaniards.  
24 Treaty of peace betwixt Spaine and Portugall propounded by D. Beatrice, Dutcheffe of Visco.  
25 Union of Castile and Arragon in D. Fernand the second, the nineteenth King of Arragon.  
26 D. Leonora of Navarre the faire and shittish, in the order of the Kings of Navarre, succeedeth King Iohn her father: but shee dieth almost as soone as he; her children and posterity.  
27 D. Francis Phæbus, first of that name, the foure and thirtieth King of Navarre, seditions at his commings to the crowne by the factions of Beaumont and Grammont.  
28 Estates of Castile assembled at Toledo: their decrees and ordonances.  
29 Affaires of Navarre. Estates assembled at Tudela. Feigned reconciliation of the twofamilies of Beaumont and Grammont. Impieties, preasons, murders.  
30 Execution of the decrees of the Estates of Toledo.  
31 Spanish army in Sicill.  
32 Rigours of the Spanish inquisition: iurisdiccions and tribunalls thereof.  
33 A great quarrel betwixt D. Ramir Nuges de Guzman, and D. Frederike Henriques, in the Court of Castile.  
34 D. Iohn second of that name, and thirteenth King of Portugall.  
35 Contentions betwixt the Pope, and the Kings of Castile, for the election to benefices: agreements betwixt the Pope, King Fernand and Queene Isabella.  
36 King Francis Phæbus enters into Navarre: pronounces and orders for the quiet of that Kingdome.



Order and continuance of the Kings reigning  
in Spaine, written in this two and twentieth Booke.

CASTILE. LEON. ARRAGON. PORTVGAL. NAVARRE.

20. D. Fernand the 5. and Queene Isabella the 1. 19. the same Ferd 2. 13. D. Leonora the 1.  
34. D. Francis Phæbus 1.

D. Fernand the 5. King 30. of Castile and 41. of Leon, and Donna Isabella the 4. a woman which inherited the Kingdome of Castile, and the 5. which inherited in Leon.

A



T such time as the Princes D. Fernand, and Donna Isabella came to the crowne of Castile, and Leon, by the decease of King Henry the fourth, then did iustice and peace beginne to smile vpon Spaine. And it seemed that for the quier, honour and exaltation of the Spanish nation, God had chosen and defended them, in the midst of so many straits and difficulties, wherein they were oftentimes plunged, as well during the reigne of the Lord King Henry, as afterward: adorning each of them for that purpose with royall qualities, and heroike vertues, both of body and minde. For, as well Don Fernand as Queene Isabella, were of meane stature and proportion, yet well composed, faire and pleasant aspect, gracious in their speeches and of such Maiesty in the gesture and motion of their bodies, as was requisite for such great Princes: they were sober and moderate in their diet, and all other their actions, deuout and religious, as they had beene instructed, but yet for all that a little to much courtesie of glory and honour which made them oftentimes stumble, and transported them out of the right way of equity, especially D. Fernand. To loue, and desire honour and glory, is in deed an affection befitting great persons, and without the which they can hardly giue themselves to the greatest vices: They were also maintainers of iustice in Spaine, the which they executed in such sort, as their severity did not deprive them of the praise which they deserved by their mildnesse and clemency. The plaies and pastimes which King Fernand vsed in his youth, were Cardes and Chess, but afterward he became inclined to hunting and hawking, to the exercise of armes, and he did prouoe excellent in all kinds of horfemanhip: he loued learned men: but his euil hap was, not to be instructed therein in his youth, which was thorough his fathers negligence, who was also himself in a manner wholly vnclearned: King Fernand did greatly delight to heare learned men talke, and to vnderstand of the laudable actions of great men, but especially of his ancestors.

Queene Isabella, for her part, tooke great pleasure in learning the Latin tongue, and professed so well therein, as in lesse then a yeere, she was able to vnderstand what her selfe did reade, or what was spoken vnto her in the same language: her continency and chastity was rare, and it did appeere in all her actions, speeches, attire and countenance. Shee kept ordinarily in her house young men and women of noble parentage, whom shee brought vp, and also Ladies of great place, who were honoured for their vertue and honesty: She would willingly haue had the King her husband like her selfe, of whom shee was extremely ielous, and if at any time shee perceiued him familiar with any of her Ladies or Gentlewomen, she presently sought means to quench those vnlawfull fires yet without scandall, either by marrying them, sending them away, or admonishing them, or by some other honest and discreet meanes, desiring that the Ladies of her traine should be rather vertuous then faire.

It is noted of her, that in her trauaile of child, what paine soeuer she indured, shee did neuer fetch one sigh or groane, and at that time she would cause her face to be covered. Charms and enchantments shee abhorred as became a Christian: shee did greatly loue learned men, who were of good conuersation; especially prelates of an holy and religious life, doing more good vnto such, and sooner preferring them to liuings and dignities, then others of greater houses, who made more shew of the fame and glory of their ancestors then of their owne vertues.

These Princes being thus qualified, obtained the crowne of Castile and afterwards, that of Arragon, not without paine, trauaile and great oppositions (as hereafter shall appeare) which being by them surmounted and passed ouer, they established iustice, gaue peace to the Spaniards, quenching all forepassed ciuill warres, and did zealously labour about the ordering of religion, wherein they wanted good helpe: this at the leastwise redounded to their honour, that they did roote the Moores out of Spaine, and made conquests in Affrica, they did quicken vpon the Spaniards spirits, and incited them to al excellent artes and sciences, ordaining great stipends to learned men, namely

benefices and Ecclesiasticall reuenues: they made diuerse good and profitable lawes, A  
and by their authoritie and meanes, the inhabitants of a new world came to the know-  
ledge of those Regions, the which hath for all that in diuerse sorts redounded to the  
hurt of man-kinde: not by these Princes occasion, but by the couetousnesse and cruelty  
of those which came after them.

The Princeesse *Isabell* (as hath bene already said) was at Segobia, at the time her  
brother King *Henry* died, whither the Princes and Lords, which tooke his part, did come,  
after the Kings obsequies were finished, which lasted nine dayes, and there they saluted  
her as Queene of Castile and Leon, taking the oath of fealty, and dooing her homage  
after the accustomed manner. There were present when this was done Don *Alphonso* B  
after the accustomed manner. There were present when this was done Don *Alphonso* B  
of *Castile & Aduena* Archbishop of Toledo, D. *Pero Gonçall* of *Mendoza* Archbishop  
Siull, called Cardinal of Spaine, and the Bishop of *Siguencia*, Don *Pedro de Velasco*,  
Constable of Castile, Don *Alphonso Henriquez* Admirall of Castile, by the death of his  
father Don *Frederick*, newly deceased, and Vnckle by the mothers side to the new King,  
Don *Garcy Aluarez* of Toledo, Duke of *Alua*, Don *Bertrand de la Cuenca* Duke of *Alba*,  
querque, Don *Diego Hurtado de Mendoza* Marquis of *Santillana*, Don *Roderigo Alphonso*  
*Pimentel* Earle of *Benauent*, Don *Pedro Manrique* Earle of *Treuigno*, and others, some  
of whom were already with the Princeesse before the Kings death.

Prince *Ferdinand* was at the same time in *Cattalonia* with his father King *John*, who  
beeing advertised of that which hapned, came speedily to Segobia, where hee in like C  
manner was received and acknowledged as King, to the great ioy and contentment, not  
to onely of the City but of the whole kingdom, who sent their Deputies vnto him, to  
doe him homage and seruice, as to their lawfull Lord and King, in the right of his  
wife: it beeing a matter out of all question, that Donna *Isabe* was a bastard, borne in  
adultery, and not capable of any right to the Crowne. Other Lords, which were ab-  
sent, did in like manner send their deputies to make their submissions, and to take the  
oathes due to the new King. But the Marquis of *Villena*, who had Donna *Isabe* in keep-  
ing, and Don *Aluaro d'Espuniga* Duke of *Arcualo*, Don *Roderigo Tellez Giron*, Maister  
of *Calatrava*, and Don *John Giron* Earle of *Vregna*, cousins to the Marquis of *Villena*,  
with others their confederates and adherents, were of another opinion, and did not D  
only fauour Donna *Isabe*, who called her selfe Queene of Castile, but craued many  
things for their owne particular profit. The Marquis would haue the Maistership of  
Saint James, and the places belonging therevnto, which Don *John de Pacheco* his father  
had enioyed: The Duke of *Arcualo* would haue his Dutche confirmed to him, and the  
Maistership of *Alcantara* for Don *John d'Espuniga* his sonne; other men demanded  
other matters. Now the first thing that was thought vpon by the King and Queenes  
Councell, was, about the ordering of their treasures, and administration of iustice, the  
managing and execution whereof, was to be committed to fit persons, and capable of  
such affaires: wherefore Don *Gutierre de Cardena*, the Queenes Chamberlaine, and  
Don *Gonzalo Chacon*, were created chiefe Treasurers, and with them *Roderigo de Villos* E  
was sent Ambassadors to *Lewis* the eleventh the French King, to aduer-  
tise him of King *Henries* death, of their promotion, and to request him to continue,  
and confirme the ancient alliance with the house of Spaine. The Ambassadors had  
likewise commission and instructions, for the restitution of the Earldome of *Rossillon*  
to the King of *Aragon*. King *Lewis* made a shew of sorrow for King *Henries* death, and  
seemed to reioyce that they had succeeded him: but touching the restoring of the  
County of *Rossillon*, hee would by no meanes hearken therevnto, but sent a learned  
Lawyer to King *Ferdinand* and Queene *Isabell* to shew his reasons for the contrary,  
who came to *Validolite* with the Ambassadors, his coming beeing to no  
purpose.

The city of *Perpignan* beeing succoured (as heretofore hath bene said) by Prince  
*Ferdinand*, was after his returne into Castile againe besieged by the French. King *Lewis*  
was willing and commanding his Captaynes, who had shamefully raised their siege, and were  
retired into the countrie and territory of *Narbona*, on paine of being punished as trai-  
tors to their king and country, to returne and assaile the towne, and not to stirre from  
thence

Lords holding  
the party of the  
Princes *Ferdin-  
and & Isabell*.

Lords, contrary  
to the Princes,  
taking Donna  
*Isabe* part.

Iustice, and  
treasures the  
principall mem-  
bers of a state.

2  
*Aragon*.

A thence till they had taken it, although it should cost all their liues: whervpon, they came  
backe, and by the helpe of the Castle, did for eight moneths space, so presse the besie-  
ged, as they brought them to the extreamest poynt of necessitie: for besides the continu-  
all toyle, watchings, fights, and daily reparations of the breaches, whereunto they were  
constrained, the want of victuals was so great in the towne, as they were not onely en-  
forced to eat dogges, cattes, and all other sorts of vnclane meates, but also the very  
bodies of men, friends or enemies, which were slayne in the assault, yea, mothers did de-  
voure their owne children: such was the obstinacie of those people, who would not yeeld  
to an enemy, whome they had despised and offended, and from whome they did expect

B no mercie: but in the end, extreame necessitie, and inexorable famine brought them to  
that poynt which they sought most to auoide, and they found more mercie then they  
hoped for: for they were taken by composition, their offences pardoned, and the *Garriso*  
permitted to depart with their armour and weapons: so as King *Lewis*, by the taking  
thereof, pretended now more interest to it then before. This was the last quarrell which  
King *John* of *Aragon* had with the French, or any other: for the gouernment, his yeares, and  
other discommodities of old age, perswaded him to spend the remainder of his dayes in  
rest and quiet in the city of *Barcelona*, leauing the gouernement of the Kingdome of  
*Nauarre* to his daughter, who was heire thereunto, and his other dominions to the rest  
of his children and Lieutenants.

C This yeare 1457. there grew a contention betwixt King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella*  
about the gouernement of Castile, disputing which of them two had most right to the  
succession thereof: she, as daughter to King *John* of Castile the second: and hee, as sonne  
to King *John* of *Aragon*, who descended in direct masculine line from King *John* the  
first, in the third degree. Some, who tooke the Kings part, did say, that it was a thing a-  
gainst nature and all good order, that the regiment of so great a State should be in a wo-  
mans power, and that so many great Lords and braue Knights should be vnder the com-  
mand of that sexe, weake both in body and mind, without experience, wisdom, or  
knowledge of what was profitable or hurtfull to a kingdom, vnlesse it were by heare-  
say, beeing oftentimes deceyued by ignorance, and which did follow their owne passions,  
D and those of them that they fauoured, who for the most part were chosen amongst the  
worst sort of people.

That all kingdomes, Iurisdictions, and well-gouerned Common-wealths, as well  
auncient as moderne, had wholly reiecte a womans empire, and if at any time they had  
submitted themselves thereunto, their ruine and desolation had soone after ensued: alled-  
ging for example the *Sallicke* law of France, which is a good old custome, alwaies pro-  
hibitable when it was obserued, either in the total gouernement, or parts thereof. On the  
contrarie part, others who held with Queene *Isabella*, did say, that euery one ought to  
be maintayned in their right, and that there was nothing more consonant to nature, then  
that children should succeed their fathers and nearest kinsfolke: that diuers women had  
E bene profitable to Kingdomes and Common-wealths, as well in old times, as of fresh  
memorie, namely, that there were fundrie recent examples thereof in the Monarchie of  
Castile. And as for Queene *Isabella*, her constancie, iudgement, and wisdom was suf-  
ficiently knowne, and that all men were assured of her good gouernement, and that there  
was not the first woman which had inherited that kingdom.

This last opinion was followed and allowed of, whereat King *Fernand* seemed to be  
highly displeased: but the Queene, who did dearly loue him, and would not willingly  
haue him discontented, told him, that her intent was not in matters concerning the af-  
faires of Castile and Leon to bee more obeyed than himselfe, and requested him to con-  
sider, that whatsoeuer was decreed in that poynt, was for the good and benefite of their  
F onely daughter Donna *Isabella*: if so bee that they should happen to haue no issue male,  
who otherwise should bee wholly depriued of that honour and royall dignity, if what  
hee had pourfused and alledged, should take place, by these probable reasons the king  
was satisfied with that which the great Lords had decreed.

Yet neuerthelesse it was concluded and determined, that all letters missiue, writ-  
tings, and other expeditions, should bee made in both their names, and vnder the scale  
of

Famine in *Per-  
pignan*.

*Perpignan* yet  
ded to the  
French.

3  
Castile.

Contentions be-  
twixt King *Fer-  
nand* and *Isabella*.

4  
The Marquis  
of Villena his  
demands.

of the two kingdomes of Castile and Arragon, and that all coyne shold be likewise stamped with both their armes quartered therein.

The Marquis of Villena moued the King and Queene, that by their fauour he might be confirmed in the Master-shippe of Saint Iames, and that a husband might be promised for Donna *Isabel*, with a dowrie besitting her estate: which beeing performed, hee promised to become their faithfull and obediens seruant: hee was one of the brassest Knights, and best men at armes in all Spaine: the King and Queene sent him word, that concerning the Master-shippe, hee should haue all their fauours and assistance, as well to the Pope, as to the Knights of the same Order, notwithstanding that Don *Alphonso* of Cardega, and Don *Roderigo Manrique* had diuided it betwixt themselves, and were in possession thereof, and that as for Donna *Isabel*, they would intreate her kindly and honourably, and prouide her a husband, but in any case it behooued him to deliuer her into their hands.

A scilicet Per  
late.

The Marquis who had bad counsell, and was still accompanied with seditious persons, refused to deliuer the Ladie, and that which was worse, at the perswasion of Don *Antoine Nomes* of Cite Rodrigo, hee beganne to broach new practises with Don *Alphonso* King of Portugall, for to procure him to marrie Donna *Isabel*, promising to make him King of Castile. On the other side the Arch-bishop of Toledo, a man of turbulent spirit, and a louer of Innouations, complayned, that the King and Queene, did not accomplish that which he had hoped for and deserued, nor yet what they had promised him before their comming to the Crowne, seeking all meanes and occasions to free himselfe from their seruice. But enuie was it that vexed him, to see the Cardinall of Spaine (whome he hated) to be in so great credit and authoritie by their meanes: for these respects hee left the Court, being accompanied by *Hernando Alarcon* his familiar Councellour, the great and renowned Alcauist of those dayes.

Hernando  
Alarcon.

The king and Queene beeing come to Vailladolid, by the way of Medina del Campo, the more or furt whereof they left in the keeping of the Duke of Alua, they were visited by diuers Deputies of Townes and Citties, who came to do them homage, and to offer them all dutie and obedience. In the meane time, the Marquis of Villena importuned the king of Portugall to marrie Donna *Isabel*, with the kingdome for her dowrie, or else to defend her as an Vnkle, assuring him that hee should find readie to do him seruice, himselfe, the Master of Calatraua, the Earle of Vregna, the Marquis of Cales his brother-in-law, Don *Alphonso* of Aguilar, the Earle of Benauent, and also the Dukes of Auevalo and Albuquerque, and the Arch-bishoppe of Toledo, together with fourteene of the chiefe Citties of Castile, who wanted but a head, who at his first arrival would furnish him with fise thousand Lances, with other forces and meanes. And among these bargaines, hee demanded of King Don *Alphonso* diuers great gifts and aduancements both for himselfe and for others.

Præfides of  
the Marquis  
of Villena in  
Portugal.

The king of Portugall hauing consulted with his Councell about this businesse, notwithstanding that their opinions were diuers and contrarious, yet hee sent Commissioners to treat of this marriage with Donna *Isabel* his Niece, and by Ray de Sepa his Ambassadour, hee willed king Don *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella*, to giue ouer freely vnto him the kingdomes of Castile and Leon, the which they did vniuilly possesse and inherit, in regard they did belong and appertaine to D. *Isabel*, whome the Ambassadour called Queene, saying, that if they had any right or interest in those Realmes, they should submit themselves to the tryall of lawe, and that hee would lay downe his armes, so as they would dispossesse themselves, and leaue the kingdomes in the hands of a third person: and if they should refuse so to do, hee then tooke God for witnesse and iudge, that he was not the author of those miseries which should ensue.

Vntill that time, king Don *Alphonso* had liued and reigned in great credit, magnificence, and reputation, and with good and happie successe in his affaires concerning his State: but the couetous and greedie desire hee had to raigne in Spayne, by the meanes of Donna *Isabel*, whome hee had oftentimes reiected and refused, as beeing assured, and confidently resolu'd, that shee was not lawfull daughter to the late king *Henry*, did cast him head-long into a gulph of miseries, by the vnluckie and intestine warres, which

A which hee tooke in hand by her meanes against the Kings *Fernand* and *Isabella*: who by the aduice of their Councell, did wisely answer his demands, shewing him, that there was no reason in that which hee went about, and that hee ought to call to mind the cause why hee had refused Donna *Isabel* in King *Henrys* life time, whose daughter hee very well knew shee was not, and that therefore they did greatly meruaile at that which hee now beganne to attempt: and they did likewise protest not to bee guilke of any miseries which follow warre, beeing determined by all meanes to defend and protect their kingdomes.

The King and Queene finding hereby, that warre would follow, they did seeke by all means to giue contentment to the Marquis, the Arch-bishoppe of Toledo and others, on whome those affaires depended, but their labour was in vaine. The Arch-bishoppe shewed himselfe most obstinate, who among other furious speeches, sayd, that hee would teach the King and Queene what it was to offend the Arch-bishoppe of Toledo: and no perswasions nor intreatie of Don *Pedro* of Acugna, Earle of Buendia his brother, nor of other graue and religious persons, could alter his determination, but hee did still with great obstinacie persist in that which *Hernando Alarcon* had suggested: Therefore on either side great preparations of warre were made, and the Kingdome was in such sort diuided, as diuers, who seemed to be desirous of quiet, gaue occasion to haue their loyaltie called in question: souldiers were leauied euery where, and diligent watch was kept in all the Citties, Townes, and Castles, some taking the Kings and Queenes part, others adhering to the King of Portugall, who aduertised his Partisans, that hee would shortly come into the Countrey with a great army.

Andalus  
speech: the  
Archb.

The King Don *Fernand*, and Queene *Isabella* diuided betwixt them the charge of the defence of the Kingdomes, so as King *Fernand* should haue a care of that part which was toward the North, that is to say, old Castile, Leon, and the countieys next adjacent, and Queene *Isabella* should looke to those Regions and Prouinces which are beyond the mountains, namely, Toledo, Andalusia, and Murcia: shee was accompanied by Don *Pedro de Velasco* the Constable, Don *Diego Hurtado* of Mendoza, who was created Duke of Infantalcho, and by Don *Garcia Aluarez* of Toledo Duke of Alua: by the way shee caused the Arch-bishoppe to be founded once againe, who lay at Alcalá, sending the Constable vnto him, who was a wife and discret Knight, who did so well handle the matter, as the Arch-bishop had condiscended to the Queenes demands, had not *Hernando Alarcon* and his associates perswaded him to the contrarie.

Died is of Jan  
Janisga.

King *Ferdinand* beeing desirous to haue the Citties of Salamanca and Zamora to take a new oath of allegiance, went thither, and would willingly haue exacted the like from them of Toro, but hee would not hazard his person in going thither, albeit that *Roderigo de Villos* his chiefe Treasurer, had the Castle in his power: for not long before, his eldest brother *John de Villos*, had made himselfe Master of the Cittie, whither he had drawne diuers leude persons, who fearing punishment, for their many heinous crimes, did shadow themselves vnder his protection: who for his owne part did greatly tyrannize in the city and had newly caused the Licenciate *Roderigo* of Valdiuiesco to bee hanged forth at the windowes of his owne house, and had moreover receyued money of the king of Portugall, at whose seruice and deuotion he kept the same place.

The Cardinall of Spaine did at the same time write to King Don *Alphonso*, alledging many reasons to diuert him from a warre so dangerous and vncertaine, but the King in his answer wanted no contrarie reasons. Queen *Isabella* in the meane time furnished Toledo with Garrisons, and placed Don *Roderigo Manriques*, Earle of Paredes for an assistant there, who teamed himselfe Master of Saint Iames, and hauing by her presence well ordered that Cittie, and by letters and commandements other places of Andalusia and Murcia, shee returned to Vailladolid. At the same time the Inhabitants of Alcarraz rebelled against the Marquis of Villena, and craued ayde of Don *Roderigo Manriques* against the Marquis, who intended to beseege them, the which they obtained, moreover the King and Queene sent vnto them the Bishop of Auila, and the Lord of Coca and Alexos, who were both of them called *Alphonso de Fonseca*.

The Marquis fearing least other places might reuolt, by the example of Alcarraz, folli-

solicited the Kings of Portugall to make haste, and having taken Donna *Joane* whom he termed Queene, out of Escalona, hee brought her by Trugillo vnto Plaisance, where as King *Alfonso* of Portugall arrived with an army of five thousand horse, of all sorts, and fifteen thousand foote. Hee was attended on by the Archbishoppe of Lisbon, the Bishoppe of Ebor and Coimbra, and many other Prelats, and Church-men, who were alwaie desirous to see where stirres and tumults are, albeit the true followers of Christ Iesus, haue peace in greatest recommendation: moreouer, there were with him, the Constable, and Marshall of Portugall, the Duke of Bragança, and his brother the Earle of Faro, the Earles of Villa-real, Penela, Marialua, and Pegnamaçor, with a great number of other Nobility, desirous to serue their King to winne honour, and to encrease their estates by the enlargement of so great a conquest as they hoped to make vpon the Kingdomes of Castile and Leon, with the reitories annexed there-vnto, the most part of whome, hauing vpon this vncertaine ground, sold or morgaged their lands and liuings.

The King of Portugall and Donna *Joane* were betrothed each to other in the City of Playfance, protesting to craue a dispensation from the Pope: there were present, Don *Diego* de Estuniga Duke of Arealua, and his brother the Earle of Miranda, and King *Alfonso*, and Donna *Joane*, were at that act and ceremony called and intitled, King and Queene of Castile and Leon. King *Alfonso* at his departure out of Portugal, least his Sonne the Prince Don *John* Regent and gouernor there, who was newly made father to a Sonne by his wife Donna *Leonora*, who was named *Alfonso* being borne at Lisbon in the year 1475. King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabell* did like-wise intitle themselves Kings of Portugall and of the Algarues, and either-side did beare the armes of both the Kingdomes indifferently. The gouernors of the frontiers were commanded to invade one another, which they readily executed with great cruelty, and to the great spoylle of the realme of Portugall, the people of Castile putting all to fire and sword that were neere to their borders, especially on the coast of Badajos, where the Castle of Nodar was taken from the Portugalls, and *Martin* de Sepulveda, one of the foure and twenty of Siuill, was made gouernor thereof, who from thence made sharpe warre vpon the Portugois, and yet in the end hee proued scarce faithfull to his Kings. Don *Alfonso* of Montroy, Treasurer of the order of Alcantara, who seemed him-selfe Maister thereof, did on the other-side winne Algretta.

In like manner Don *Alfonso* de Cardegna, great commander of Leon, who called him-selfe maister of Saint *James*, did with sundry troupes of horse forrage and spoile the frontiers of Portugall, and brought great booties from thence. Don *Pero* *Aluarez* de Soto mayor, shewed him-selfe on the King of Portugalls side, and tooke *Tuy*, calling him-selfe Vicount thereof, and tooke also *Bayon* of Minio: sundry other exploits of warre, with burning of houses and robberies, were committed on the frontiers by this enraged multitude.

Now the king of Portugall did perceaue that the warre was likely to last longer and be more difficult than hee had expected, and almost despairing of ending it with honour, vnles hee had the aide and supply of some greater power, hee sought by all means to incite the French King, *Lewis* the leauenth, to breake his alliance with the Kings of Castile, and to assaile them on that side of Guisulcoa, the which hee obtayned, as hereafter shalbe mentioned. In the meane time, hauing receiued the City of Toro, by the treason of *John* *Villoa*, hee assailed the Castle, and tooke it by force, and by the like treason made him-selfe Maister of Zamora, the which was deliuered vnto him, by *John* de Porras one of the chiefe citizens thereof, whose Sonne in law named *Alfonso* de Valencia being Marshall, was Captayne of the Castle, who had rather trust to the vncertaine promises of the King of Portugall, than respecting his owne honour, relie vpon the offers of King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabell*: from Zamora King *Alfonso* came backe to Toro, where his new betrothed wife and her mother Queene *Joane* lay, who was sister to this King, who dyed about that time, and was very honorably buried at Madrid in the monastery of S. *Francis*.

The

The army of  
Portugall  
retrieued  
Castile.

The king of  
Portugall and  
Donna Joane  
betrothed each  
to other.

Genealogie of  
Portugal.  
An. 1475.

Toro deliuered  
to the King  
of Portugall.

Zamora in the  
power of the  
King Portugall.

A The Kings, *Fernand* and *Isabella*, greatly apprehending the wrongs and losses which they daily sustained, they hastened on their subjects and souldiers to suppress the Portugois, or else to fight with them. Great numbers of Lords, Knights, and men at armes came to Vailliodolit, where the whole bodie of the armie, from all places of Spayne, was assembled, Andalusia excepted, in which Prouince the quarrell did still continue betwixt the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and the Marquis of Cales, and betwixt the Earle of Cabreça, and Don *Alphonso* of Aguilar: and there was some likelihood, that the Marquis, and Don *Alphonso* would take the Marquis of Villena's part their brother-in-law. The men of note that were come to Vailliodolit, were these, Don *Pedro* Genesal of Mendoza, B. Cardinall of Spayne, and his breethren Don *Diego* Hurtado de Mendoza, Duke of Infantalga, Don *Inigo* *Lopes* of Mendoza, Earle of Tendilla, Don *Lorenzo* *Saues*, Earle of Crugna, Don *Pedro* *Velasco*, Constable of Castile, Don *Alphonso* *Henriques* high Admirall, Don *Garcy* *Aluarez* of Toledo, Duke of Alua, Don *Radevigo* *Alphonso* *Pimentel*, Earle of Benauent, Don *Henry* *Henriques*, Earle of Alua de Lista, Don *Pedro* *Manrique*, Earle of Treuigno, Don *John* *Manrique*, Earle of Castagneda, and his brother Don *Gabriel* *Manrique*, Earle of Osorno, Don *Pedro* *Aluarez* of Osorio, Marquis of Astorga, D. *Diego* *Lopes* *Surmiento*, Earle of Salinas, Don *Pedro* of Mendoza, Earle of Montagu, D. *Alphonso* *d'Arcellan*, Earle of Aguilar, Don *Pedro* of Acugna, Earle of Buendia, with other Lords ecclesiasticall and temporall.

C Don *Bertrand* de la Cueva, Duke of Albuquerque remaind neuter, knowing not how to resolute: he would willingly haue adhered to the King of Portugall, who was to be husband to her, who was reputed to be his daughter, but he durst not yet for all that at the last, he tooke the partie of king *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella*, by meanes whereof diuers did take their parts, who before that time were doubtfull what to do: *Garcy* *Lopes* of Padilla Treasurer of Alcantara, who was the last Master of that Order, and Don *Diego* of Castile, with diuers Knights and Commanders came to the Kings and Queenes seruice. The armie being mustred, there were of the Prouinces of Guisulcoa, Biscay, Alua, Galicia, and the Asturia's, thirty thousand foote, four thousand men at armes, and eight hundred Genets or light horse. King *Fernand* with this mighty armie marched along the riuer of Duero against the citie of Toro, where the King of Portugall, with his betrothed bride, did remaine: by the way the *Biscans* and *Guisulcoans* did take by force a place called las Hazeñas de los Hierros, and some of the Inhabitants thereof in regard of the rebellion, were hanged.

The King of Portugall who was inferiour in forces, would not come to field, but kept him-selfe within Toro, before which citie king *Fernand* stood with his armie embattled about five howers, and at the last he sent Don *Gomez* *Manrique*, to tell king *Alphonso*, that he should do well to giue ouer the title of king of Castile, and to returne into his owne kingdome, and that if his future wife did lay any claime to the Realme of Castile, that the same might be referred to the iudgement of the Sea of Rome, or if he had rather to trie the matter by armes, that then he should come forth to fight, or else to accept the single combat betwixt them two, to saue that effusion of innocent blood: King *Alphonso* made answer to euery poynt with great modesty, but to that of Duell or single fight, hee required, that *Isabella*, and Donna *Joane*, (who pretended each of them to be Queene of Castile) should be kept as hostages, to the end that hee which should prouoe conqueror, might enioy his prize, to wit, the kingdomes of Castile and Leon: thereupon were diuers messages and answers sent too and fro, but to no purpose: so as King Don *Fernand* hauing carried certaine dayes about Toro, his army beginning to want vituals, and other necessaries, hee was aduised to retire from thence, notwithstanding that hee was assured, that the Portugals were in the selfe same estate. Howfoeuer, the armie was brought backe, to the great discontent of the souldiers, who were extremely forrowfull, that so great a force had bene so vnprofitably and idly employed: and they did much murmure against the great Lords, whome the king had much adoe to qualifie and appease.

Being returned to Medina del Campo, Queene *Isabella* came thither from Tordesillas: then the king had great need of money, by reason that his treasures were drawne dry,

Toro besieged  
by King *Fernand*.



in a short time to recouer what was taken from him, but that his affaires would prosper A the better.

The King of Portugall hauing had therevpon the aduise of the Lords, and Captaines, of his army, was aduised not to leaue the hilly country on that side of Burgos: for who-soeuer was possessed thereof, might boldly terme himselfe Maister of Castill and Leon: and withall, if he should seeme to march towards Toledo, the enemy would say, that he did run away from them: wherefore he entertaigned the Marquis, with promise to aide him in all he could, and moreouer to recompence him with great gifts, and honours, provided that hee would take some good order for his affaires, and in some fort prouide for the present danger.

From that time, the Marquis, who felt his losses, and saw no hope of rising againe, began to thinke vpon fit meanes to returne to the King and Queene B serue: At the same time, the City of Zamora did seeke some fit occasion to rebell against the King of Portugal, whereof hee stood in some doubt, and vsed such diligence, for the discouery of their practizes, as hee had notice of a plot, which they had layd, for the which he caused foure of the chiefe Citizens to be put to death. Yet notwithstanding, Francis de valdez, Captaine of the bridge of Zamora, being solicited by Queene Isabell, did promise to deliuer that forte into her hand, and withall to giue her entry into the City, but that it behoued King Ferdinand to bee present in person at soe great an enterprise.

The King was not slacke at such an occasion, but leauing his brother Don Alphonso of Arragon, and the Constable at the siege of the Castle of Burgos, hee came thither in a disguised habit, being accompanied with three horse-men, by the way of Valladolid, causing it to be giuen out, that he was sicke, and kept his chamber. Although this enterprise seemed to be kept close, yet the King of Portugall had notice thereof, and did meane to put a new supply, of such as he durst trust, into the bridge, vnder colour of sending certaine soldiers forth in the night a boot haling: but the Captaine would not suffer them to passe, bidding them come in the day time, saying that the night is euer dangerous to strong places, and passages of importance, as this was. The day following the King attempted the like, and finding the like resistance, would by force haue taken D the passage, but those of the garde of the bridge did valiantly defend it, and did kill and hurt diuers Portugois: wherefore, King Alphonso, by the Arch Bishoppe of Toledo's counsell, withdrew his forces from the sight, and hee with Donna Ioane, his betrothed wife, left the City about midnight, suspecting some treason, in regard that the bridge alone made such resistance, he being there in person.

The inhabitants at the same instant brought in Don Aluaro de Mendoza by another gate, who tooke and spoyled the Portugois, which were left, excepting a few, who saved them-selues in the Cathedral Church, who on the morrow after by breake of day yeelded them selues, King Ferdinand, the Admirall, the Duke of Alua, and other Lords, being there arrived. These soldiers were sent away without paying any ranfome, E and carried their baggage away with them to Toro, where their King remayned, and to encourage his people, sayd, that the victory of a warre did not consist in the gayne, or losse of a few townes, or Cities, but in the issue of a battaill, the which alone would decide the quarrell, about the succession of Castile and Leon: for the which purpose hee did write to Prince Iohn his Sonne, to make as great a leuy of soldiers in his Kingdome as possibly he could, and with all speed to bring them to his aide. King Ferdinand being maister of Zamora, beganne to better the Castle, and caused the traitors to bee arraigned, and condemned, confiscating the goods of Iohn de Porras, and others.

Whilest these matters were handled at Zamora, Don Alphonso of Arragon, Duke of Villahermosa, and the other Captaynes who besieged the Castle of Burgos, did continually batter it, and gaue it many dangerous and rude assaults, but they that were within it wanted no courage to defend them-selues. And as the feminells and those of the garde, were reuiling one another, an Alcayde, or Sheriffe of Burgos, did

The Marquis of Villana being sent to King Ferdinand & Queene Isabella for aid.

The King of Portugal for sake of the City of Zamora.

A called *Alphonso de las Cuenas*, beganne to talke to those of the Castle, and vsed such perswasive reasons and arguments, as they were resolute to hearken to some composition, especially when they did see a great quarter of their wall beaten downe, by meanes whereof they lay open to their enemies assaults: therefore being solicited, they did capitulate about the yeelding of the castle, vpon condition, that all faults past should be forgiven, the which was granted by the Queene, who for that regard came from Valladolid to Burgos, and did receiue the Castle her owne selfe, whereof shee made *Diego de Ribera* Gouernour, who had bene tutor and bringer vpp of her brother the Prince Don Alphonso: and hauing appoynted that which was requisite for the peace and quiet of the Cittie, shee returned to Valladolid, and from thence went to Tordeillas, to the end to be neerer to the enemy, the better to haue an eye to his enterprises and proceedings.

Thither Don Pedro of Estuniga, eldest sonne to the Duke of Auevalo, did come to the Queene, whose part hee had still taken, and had shewed himselfe faithfull vnto her, in regard whereof he was vnkindly vsed by his father, and by Donna Leonora Pimentel his mother-in-law. He besought the Queene to receiue the Duke his father into grace and fauour, promising to put all that hee did possesse into her hands, making an apologie, and excusing the faults which hee had committed by reason of his decrepit age, being wholly possessed and ruled by his second wife. It did greatly displease the Queene to pardon him, who had shewed himselfe so mortall and hatefull an enemy to the King her husband, neuertheless, for the sonnes sake shee did pardon the father, and the whole family. The title of the Dutchie was transposed from Auevalo to the Cittie of Plaisance, and euer afterward the Lords of the house of Estuniga became affectionate seruants to the King and Queene.

The warres continuing after this sort in Castile, the French King inclining to the demands and perswasions of the King of Portugal, and bearing no great good will to the house of Arragon euer since the warre of Perpignan, sent a great armie into the Province of Guispucoa, vnder the conduct and command of *Aman* Lord of Abrit or Albrer, whose posteritie hath reigned in Nauarre, as shall hereafter be declared. Diuers D Gentlemen and braue souldiers of the countrie of Guispucoa, vpon the report of the coming of this armie, did shutte them-selues vp in Fontaraby, others went to Irun, by which place the French-men were of necessitie to passe, who did burne Irun, and slue certaine men: there they went vp and downe for the space of sixe weekes spoyling the countrie, not once attempting or offering to besiege Fontarabic, which was their chiefe designe.

In the meane time *Iohn Lopes de La Cano*, and *Sancho del campo*, entered the towne, being sent from the Court with about fiftie horse, at whose comming, the souldiers which were within the towne, made a fallie, and came forth vnto the very limites of Irun, where they found about a thousand French-foote of the foreward of their armie with E their Captaine *Purquet* of Bayonne, who being assailed and set vpon on the sodaine, through want of good and prouident watch, and hauing no faithfull discouersers, were easily ouerthrowne, and put to a disordered flight: some of them, in this confusion, thinking to saue them-selues in a Tower of a mannor-house belonging to those of Vrdanitia, they were there besieged, and burnt with *Purquet* their Captaine, the Master of the same house being the first man that set fire thereunto. The poore distressed souldiers, to auoyde and escape the implacable torments of the mercilesse fire, leaped out of the tower windows in most desperate manner, and were with scoffes and mockes receiued vpon the enemies pikes. The Spanish Authours say, that three hundred were there slayne and pittifully massacred, besides diuers others that were captiuated and taken pri- F soners.

Soone after Don *Diego Lopes de Sarmiento*, Earle of Salinas, Captaine generall for the King and Queene, came into the Province with certaine troupes of horse, bringing letters to the worthie persons and chiefe Magistrates of Queene Isabella's country, who, with perswasive admonitions exhorted the Guispucoans, to stand and continue D d d d 2 faith-

The Castle of Burgos yielded.

6 Alliance betwixt France and Castile.

Purquet a French captaine defeated.





to the end he might do it safely, he sent Don *Aluaro* of Portugall, sonne to the Duke of Bragança, and the Licentiate *Antonius Nunes* of Cidre Rodrigo to the King of Castile, to treat of a peace vpon certain conditions, which being refused them, they had in charge to demand a truce for a few dayes, thereby to bring matters to a final agreement.

King *Alphonso* of Portugall disdigneth *Frederic Zamora*

This was but a pollicie to auoyd battraile, and to be able to bring his armie in safetie backe to Toro: There were suadrie opinions thereupon, and at the last, they were answered, that the truce which should be graunted, should bee but short, and if there were nothing concluded betwixt the two Kings, hee of Portugall might bee well assured not to bee suffered to depart thence with so great ease, as hee imagined. King *Alphonso* hauing vnderstood this answer, beganne to dislodge secretly the same night: the next day, the scouts seeing the place empty, aduertized the King, that the enemy was dislodged, who fourth-with commaunded the Captaines to leade the armie fourth into the field, and to follow them: the presse was to great at the passage of the bridge, and at the going out the riuer of Duero, by boate and other waies, as the soldiers could conueniently, as a good part of the day was spent before the armie could passe the riuer, and much time was afterward lost in ranging the battraile into wings and squadrons, which was ordered after this manner:

Battel betwixt the Spaniards and Portugall.

They made a squadron of the kings Guard, and of the troupes of horse of Lemos and Salamanca, of the Townes of Olmedo, Valodolit, Medina del Campo, with others, which was commaunded by the great Master Don *Henry Henriquez*. On the right hand of this squadron were sixe battaillions, the first was conducted by Don *Aluaro* of Mendoza, who a little before that time was created Earle of Castro Xeris, and Don *Gutierre* of Cardenas, and *Rodrigo* of Villos: the second, by the two *Alphonso's* of Fonseca, the one Bishoppe of Auila, and the other Lord of Coca and Alaxos: the third, by *Pedro de Guzman*, the fourth, by *Bernard Franc*, the fifth, by Don *Pedro de Velasco*, and the sixt by *Vasco de Binar*, brother to the Bishoppe of Salamanca. On the left hand, the Cardinele of Spaine ledde the first batralion, the second, the Duke of Alua, the third, the Earle of Alua de Liza, the fourth, Don *Garcia Osorio*, who brought thither the troups of the Marquis of Astorga his Nephew: betwixt these two, the foote-men were placed, and in this manner the army marched on vnto the hilles which are betwixt Zamora and Toro, and there it stayed. It was thought that the Portugals making such hast, would bee at Toro before the Spanish armie should passe these hilles: and a Councell being called to determine what was best to be done, the most part were of opinion to turne backe againe, and to content themselves to haue gained the honour, that the enemies had fled from them: but the Cardinall of Spayne being a wise man, and of an exceeding great spirit, thinking that they did iudge amisse of the King of Portugals desseignes, intreated the king to suffer him to goe to the toppes of those hilles with certaine troupes of horse, for discouerie, who hauing obtayned leaue, and being gotten vp to a very high place, hee espied the armie of Portugall in order of battraile, without any trouble or confusion at all. Returning then to the king, he told him, that the enemies meant nothing lesse then to flie, and that hee had seene them standing in good and martial order, wayting if any would follow to fight with them: Whereupon, euery man being placed and ranked in his order and squadron, the armie, with great courage and resolution, marched on.

The king of Portugall descrying the Spaniards marching towards them, caused his people fourth-with to make a stand, and with great magnanimitie to turne their faces towards them, resolving rather to dye fighting, then to retire with shame. Hee was at the same time stronger in horse-men than king *Ferdinand*: wherefore after hee had diuided his squadrons, betwixt himselfe, his sonne the Prince, the Bishoppe of Ebor, the Earles of Phaeo, Villa-reall, and other Captaines, and encouraged the Knights, and souldiers with a large and well-composed speech, putting them in mind of the victorie which King *Iohn* the first wonne from the Spaniards at Aljubarotta, he caused them to march forward to the fight.

The chiefe strength and flower of the Portugall Caullerie lay in the Squadron of Prince

A Prince *Iohn*, against whom King *Fernand* caused the sixth battraillon on his right hand to aduance themselves altogether, albeit that D. *Alphonso de Fonseca* first of all, and Don *Aluaro de Mendoza* Earle of Castro after him, had requested the honour to bee the first that might charge them.

The Portugals which were in that squadron ioyned with those whom the Bishop of E-bora conducted, made so braue a resistance, as the Spaniards turned their backs: so as at this first encounter, the victory seemed to be on the King of Portugals side, the Spaniards being fore hurt by the Artillery, and by the Crosse-bowes of the Portugall footemen. Theie being retired, the other squadrons gaue in vpon the residew of the Portugall army with better successe. Notwithstanding that the valor of either side made the fight doubtfull for three houres space. In the end, the Portugalls not being able to hold out, beganne to giue backe, and were disordred and put to flight, taking the high-way towards Toro as fast as they could gallop, but being pursued, there was a great slaughter of them, and there died more of them drowned in the riuer, who thought to haue escaped by swimming, then were slaine by the enemies hands. King *Alphonso* being not succoured by his sonne, and perceiuing that resistance, without order, was to no purpose, did retire himselfe to Castro Nugno, where hee was received by the Gouvernor of the same place whose name was *Abendagno* de Villa-reall in Alaua, hauing once lost his royall standard (which neuertheless was recovered againe) thorough the carelesnesse of Don *Pedro* de Velasco, and *Pedro* Vaca, who for want of a good guard suffred the Portugals to take it from them: he which did beate it was taken, and being stripped out of his armor, the King and Queene caused it to be hanged vp in the Cathedrall Church of Toledo, in the Chappell of the last Kings. On King *Fernands* side likewise died a great number of souldiers, though vncertaine; and the Earle of Alua de Liza pursuing his enemies ouer eagerly, and being not well followed and seconded by his people, was taken at the bridge of Toro.

The Prince of Portugall made his retreat towards night vpon a litte hill, and as well as hee could did gather together his disbanded troups, and then retired towards Toro: and if the Spanish captaines had gathered and kept all their forces together they might as easily haue defeated all as some: but diuerse of them were busied in stripping the dead bodies, and others in pursuing the runne-awaies, who being come to the gates of Toro, the Earle of Guimaranes, who was left there for the guard of the City, fearing that the Spaniards who pursued them, would haue entred pel mel with them, would not open the gates for no intreaty of the Archbishop of Toledo; who was the only Spanish Lord that was in that battraile, nor yet for the cries & lamentations which the poore hurt souldiers did make, vntill such time as the Prince Don *Iohn* arriued with his troups, and then they were all let into the City: but they were meruelously troubled, when they perceived that the King was missing, but the Earle of Guimaranes beganne to make a most pittifull lamentation, shedding abundance of teares, and tare the haire from his head and beard; and beleeuing for a certaine that hee was either slaine or taken, hee did greatly reproach and raile vpon the Portugals, saying, that they were traitors to their King, and that they had basely and treacherously forsaken him.

But the Kings coming soone after, and newes from him by letters to the Prince his sonne in the meane time, did greatly comfort this Earle and all the rest of the army. It is reported that after the losse of the battraile, the King being at Castro Nugno, fell a sleepe as hee fate at meate, where at the Gouvernor did greatly wonder, no, fell a sleepe as hee fate at meate, where at the Gouvernor did greatly wonder, who in regarde thereof reputed him a carelesse man, and said, that honourable Knights and souldiers did greatly wronge themselves in aduenturing their liues for such a King, and yet this gouernour did still shew himselfe faithfull and constant in his seruice.

Queene *Isabell* in the meane time did remaine at Tordillas, who being aduertised by the King her husband of his victory, shee caused generall processions to bee made, giuing thanks to God, after the accustomed manner, and shee he selfe went bare foote to the Abby of Saint Paule, without the towne, and as well there as in other Cities be- longing

The King of Portugall doth little apprehend the losse of his battraile.

longing to the Queene, great signes of ioy were made. The seege of the Castle of Zamora did still continue after that without any impediment, till *Alphonso* de Valence the Capitaine thereof, who was sonne in law to *Iohn* de Porras, obtained his pardon by the intercession of the Cardinall of Spaine his kinsman, and did yeeld it vp. There was found in the Castle great store of siluer, treasure, iewels, and other precious mouables, belonging to the King of Portugall, which by King *Ferdinands* commandement were at restored vnto him, who made *Sancho* d' Castile Capitaine of the Castle, & after that he had ordayned, and prouided all things requisite for the safety of Zamora, hee came to Medina del Campo, where the Queene met him; This happy successe did daunt the courrages of all the Kings, and Queenes enemies, in so much as the greatest part of them, employed all their meanes, credit, and friends, to obtayne their grace and fauour.

The Constable obtayned pardon for the Maister of Calatraua, and for the Earle of Vregna his brother, vnto whom the Constable gaue one of his daughters in marriage. The Arch-Bishoppe of Toledo, being daily dispossest of the townes, and places belonging to his Arch-Bishopricke, tooke leaue of the King of Portugall, and withdrew him selfe to Alcala de Henares, being accompanied with a gaud and conuoy of horsemen, which did greatly hinder the Earle of Treuignes enterprise, who was sent by the King for to take him.

There remayned in Atienza a Capitaine of the King of Portugalls side, which did great hurt to the country round about, who with his wife, family, and all his goods, was taken in a night by a Knight named *Garey Brauo*, who had entry given him by one of the Captaines seruants. This prey, amounting to better then tenne thousand ducats, was giuen by the King, and Queene, to this Knight, who did in like manner take Camarena, for their seruice, from which place *Iohn* de Tour, did commit infinite spoyle. The King of Portugall finding that all matters fell out contrary to his desire, resolved to returne into Portugall, with an intent to craue aide of the French King: Hee carried Donna *Isabel* his betroathed wife with him, and left good Garrisons in those townes of Spaine which hee did possesse, especially in Toro, where Don *Fernando* Castino Earle of Marialua was left for Gouverneur, in *Iohn* de Villosa his steed, who dyed not long before by a suddayne accident. *Rodrigo* of Castagneda, brother to the Earle of Cisfuentes, did hold Madrid for the Marquis of Villena, being assisted by *Iohn Sapata* a Cittizen of the towne, and a violent and bitter enemy to all those which tooke the King, and Queenes part, who me by all meanes he chased from thence. He was cheefe of that faction. In the number of those that were banished, was *Pero Nugnes* of Toledo cheefe, like wife of those on the King, and Queenes side, who had rettyred himselfe to the Duke of Infantado: this man with others, who were banished from Madrid, hauing conferred with the Queenes people, did thinke to surpris the towne by intelligence, with some within the same. *Iohn Sapata*, at the first newes thereof, left the City, his owne conscience accusing him, and threatening him with death, for his many misdemeanors: neuertheless the commander *Pedro* of Ayala, a knight of the order of Saint James, being in the City, did defend it for a tyme, and then did deliuer it to the Duke. The Castle held two months for the Marquis, in which space it was beseged by the Duke, sent thither with certaine companies by the Queene. This same yeare, King *Ferdinand* and Queene *Isabel*, (their affaires prospering) did celebrate and keepe the assembly of the estates at Madrigall, where Donna *Isabel*, there onely daughter, at that time, was sworne vnto, and acknowledged, after the ancient accustomed manner of Spaine; Princesse of the Alturijs, and eldest lawfull heire to the Kingdome of Castile, and Leon, and the dependances thereof, in case no male child were borne vnto them. And in ittard of the great zeale and affection they did beare to iustice, which had greates neede of their aide and assistance, the whole state of Spaine being so disordered, and full of confusion, as they which were strongest, would without any feare of punishment exercise infinite kinds of cruelties vpon the weaker sort, it was decreed, for the preventing thereof, to renew and authorise the brother-hoods, and companies of the communalties. To the prouoosts and iudiciall seates whereof, authority should be giuen to giue iudgement in iue cases, that is to say, for murder, enforced theft, or those which should be hurt in the country or places

The Castle of Zamora, yielded to the King Ferdinand's liberality.

Donna Isabel, sworne heire to the Kingdome of Castile.

In what case the prouoosts of castile may give iudgement.

farre

A farre from any dwelling: Secondly, they might iudge the selfe same crimes committed in the townes, and villages, in case the offender should flie away: Thirdly, the breaking open of doores and walles, scaling and burning of houses: Fourthly, the rape and violence offered to women or maides; of what age or condition soeuer: And fifthly for rebelling against the Ministers of iustice executing their charge: which brother-hoods should haue their prouoosts and iudges in the townes, and their Ministers in all places of their iurisdiction, and whereas any controuersie should arise betwixt the ordinary Iudges and those prouoosts vpon the enquiry and knowledge of offences, such differences should be iudged by the Kings Councell.

B Don *Lope de Ribas* Bishop of Carthagea was chosen chiefe president of all those brotherhoods, and it was decreed that an imposition should bee laide vpon the people, for the entertainment of the souldiars and officers of these Iudges, every twentieth bouise to finde one horseman: so as by that meanes a power of two thousand horse was leauid, to assist the Iudges, and to purge and cleanse the country from theues and robbers. Of whom, Don *Alphonso* of Arragon, Duke of Villahermosa, the Kings brother, was capitaine generall. These things being thus ordered, did neuertheless displeas sundry of the great Lords of Spaine; but the Constable was well pleased therewith, who was the first that commanded his owne tennants, to contribute towards the payment of these companies, whose example diuers other great Lords did follow afterward.

C Now the King of Portugall had furnished Toro, Cantalapedra, and Castro Nugno with good and strong garrisons, which did greatly molest all the country there abouts, especially that of Cantalapedra where *Alphonso Peres de Buiro* was gouernour, who made continuall courtes, vpon the territory of Medina, Salamanca, and other places: which to remedy, King *Fernand* resolved to beseege it, and sent thither the Duke of Villahermosa his brother, and Don *Pedro Manrique* Earle of Treuigno, with Artillery to batter it.

The seege being planted, and the Canon playing on either side, the beseged, who found themselves shut in, demanded aide of King *Alphonso*, who did forrage and ouer-runne the territory of Salamanca, thinking by that meanes both to diuert the army from before Cantalapedra, and to succour the beseged, but it fell not out according to his desigine; for the Earle of Treuigno marched against the forragers, and did beate them backe, and yet the beseged in Cantalapedra were still as much distressed as before. It was treated concerning the exchange of prisoners: wherefore the Earle of Benauent was freed from his oth, which hee made, not to beare armes for King *Fernand* in that warre, and so the Earle of Pegnamacor was deliuered forth of prison, the seege raised from before Cantalapedra and the Licentiate *Antonio Nugnes* of Ciudad Rodrigo was restored to his goods, and the garrisons of that place were not to beare armes for a yeere afterward. The King and Queene gaue to the Earle of Benauent, foure millions of Marauedis, towards the charges hee had beene at, and confirmed his former gift of the city of Corunna, or the Groine, but the Inhabitants taking armes, did resist him, intending to maintaine themselves vnder the demaines of the crowne, without acknowledging any subalterne Lord, and draue those forth of the castle which held it for the Earle. The same time, King *Fernand* was sent for into Arragon by King *Iohn* his father, whither he did make a short iourney, & because his wars in Castile, but especially in Guipulco, concerned him very nerely, he made a quick returne to victoria: for the Frenchmen remained still in that Province burning the country, to driue whom away, the King and Queene raised an army of fifty thousand men, the most part of them being footmen, out of the Prouinces of Guipulco, Alaua, Biscay, Asturia, and from other places on the confines of Burgos. Vpon the report of this great preparation the French men retired to Bayonne, with intent and threatening to returne againe the spring following.

At the same time, the faction of Beaumont and Grammont in the Kingdome of Nauarre, were at as deadly warre as euer, and the quarrell betwixt Don *Lewis* of Beaumont Earle of Lerin, and *Pedro* of Peralta the Constable, was pursued with all rigour and extremity: the Earle of Lerin beganne to treat with King *Fernand* to make him King of Nauarre, and to deliuer into his hands the city of Pampelona

Nauarre, Lewis of Beaumont causes the Reuaine of Nauarre.

with

with other fortresses of the same country: sending certaine Knights of Nauarre vnto A him to victoria, to offer him his seruice with all that hee did possesse: the King did curiously entertaine those Knights, & thanked both the Earle and them for their offers, and good will: but concerning the rest, hee said that hee would not lay claime to anothers right, for the Realme of Nauarre did in right belong to his sister the Princessse *Leonora*, and after her decesse, to her Sonnes Sonne, *Francis Phabus* Earle of Foix and Lord of Bgarne, and withall because King *John* his father did enioy the royall authority thereof, during his life: therefore, to enterprise any thing against the right of those persons, vnto whom hee did owe so much honour and respect, it would not onely be a sinne, but impiety and sacriledge, so as by no means hee would harken therevnto: saying moreover that hee was much grieued, to see the inueterate hatred betwixt the Earle and the Constable, and that hee would willingly take the paines to make them friends, thinking it an office worthy of him, to procure the peace and quiet of that Kingdome, which was ruined by the confusions of the ciuill warres, wherefore hee did inuite both of them to come to victoria, and to referre their controuersies to his arbitrement: with these holy speeches hee gaue content, and admiration to the Knights of Nauarre, at whose returne the Earle of Lerin, and the Constable came to Victoria, where if King *Fernand* could not wholly reconcile them, yet hee procured a truce betwixt them, putting each of them in mind with great meekenesse mixed with grauity of their errors with the amendement thereof, to the good of the Kingdome, their own particular profit and for the seruice of King *John* their maister.

The King of Arragon afterwards, perceiving him selfe at the graues brinke, and desiring to leaue quietnesse in that miserable kingdome, where the factions had bred such confusions, as neither the feare of God, nor the respect of iustice, nor the loue of honesty was able to containe men from executing all kinds of mischeefes, murders, sacrileges, robberies, burnings, and horrible desolations ouer the whole country, which were followed with the terrible, and fearefull iudgements of God, as plagues, famines, and other scourges of his wrath, all which were not onely encreased, but procured by the Kings second marriage: King *John* I. fay being moued with these things, sent the Earle of Lerin such assurances, as hee caused him to come to Saragossa, being well accompanied, where the King did gently receaue him, graunted him peace, and gaue a generall pardon to all offences past, proceeding from both factions, and for a greater confirmation of the whole, he gaue the Earle a bastard daughter of his in marriage, called *Donna Leonora* of Arragon; by these means the Princessse *Leonora*, widow to the Earle of Foix, and future Queene of Nauarre, recovered without force her townes and fortresses, and was euery where obeyed, except in the City of Caseda, which was battered, at the taking whereof dyed that Valiant Captaine *Sancho* of Eruiti, furnished the obstinate in the seruice of the Princessse *Leonora*; about which time *Alphonso Carrillo* Bishop of Pampelona called a Synode at Estella, wherein they treated of ceremonies and other matters. After all these things, King *John* being at rest and quiet, in the City of Barcelona, notwithstanding hee was very aged, and full of sicknesse, fell in loue with a yong Gentlewoman called *Francisca Rosa*, with whole beauty and comlineffe hee did comfort by imbraces, and frutelesse kisses, the waywardnesse of his old age, leauing her concerning other matters free, and vntouched to him who after-ward married her.

King *Fernand* hauing (as hath beene already saide) made the pacification of Nauarre at Victoria, and by the renoune of his power, deliuered the country of Guipuscoa from the French army, would in like manner order the affaires, of Alua, Bilcaire, and other places neere adioyning, where were many factions, and other disorders: hee therefore entred Bicay, being attended on by Don *Alphonso Carrillo* Bishoppe of Pampelona, *Pedro Lopes* de Padilla, great gouernor of the Frontiers of Castile, Don *Henry Henriques*, the Kings Vncle, brother to the Admirall, Don *Pedro* de Estuniga eldest Sonne to the Earle of Miranda, Doctor *John Dias* de Alcocer one of the Kings Councell, *Roderigo Villos* his great Tresorer and Councellour, Don *Diego* de Acugna

King Ferdinando meditates a peace betwixt the factions of Beaumont and Gracmont.

King John I. could marriage vnto his daughter the realm of Nauarre.

The Earle of Lerin marries a bastard daughter of Arragon and becomes obedient to King John.

John King of Arragon falls in loue in his extreme old age.

A Acugna sonne to the Bishop of Burgos, Don *Fernand* de Ayala sonne to the Marshall Don *Garcia* de Ayala, and by other Knights and Ecclesiastical persons.

The Biscains had an ancient custome, which was, not to suffer any Bishop to come within their country, by reason perhaps of the attempts and wrongs which they had in time before sustained by the prelates and Churchmen, the which was ynknowne to King *Fernand*, who riding on with the Bishop, hee was aduertized of their custome, and was constrained to send him backe; the peasants and poore country people thinking the ground to bee infected whereupon this Prelat and his Mule did tread were busied many daies after in scraping together the dust of the high-waies, which they laide vp in heapes, and threw it afterwards with curses and imprecations into the sea, the which certainly was not done without some mistery, those people not beeing void of religion, but superstitiously deuout; as the rest of the Spaniards are. The King visited Bilboa, and afterward hee came to Guernica, where hee was received and reuerenced with all ceremonious duty. Hee called the Nobility of the country thither, and confirmed all their priuiledges by his letters patents, written by *Gaspard Arin* his secretary, dated the thirtieth day of Iuly, the yeere 1476. in the presence of diuers Noble personages of name.

The King being busied about these matters, a famous French Pirate named Colara, came with foure vessels to a place called the figge-tree of Fontarabie, to whom after that, five more ioyned: these nine shippes did ride there at an ankor for the space of eleuen daies, in the view of the towne of Fontarabie, and sundry times they landed their souldiers, who ranne vp and downe the country burning and spoyling all they met with; against whom the Garrison went forth, and slew more then a hundred of them; whereupon they set faile towards Galicia, where they burned the suburbs of the City of Ribadeo, then sayling along the coast of Portugall, they met with certaine Carrakes of Genoa, with whom they grappled, and the fight betwixt them was furious, as seuen vessels were there burned, to weete two Genoueses and five of the Pirates, who with the other foure, which remained were repaired at Lisbon. The report of this Pirate, caused thirty ships of warre to be set forth, as well from Saint Sebastian as from other places on the coast of Biscay, who met altogether at Laredo, and this sea-army parted from Conferua, and sailed towards Galicia, where they tooke, partly by force, and partly by composition, certaine places vpon the sea coast next to Portugall, which were reuolted from the Kings of Castile. Herevpon truce was granted and agreed vpon betwixt the French men and Guipuscoans, by land onely, for the space of three monthes, leauing the sea free for euery man to doe the best hee could: the army aboue mentioned hauing done that exploit on the marches of Galicia, returned laden with spoiles.

Amongst other things, those of Saint Sebastian brought away two yron peeces of ordonance, whereof one did carry a stone-bullet of a hundred and threescore pound weight, taken from Bayon de Minio. The charges of this warre of Guipuscoa, was heauy to the whole Prouince with great discommodity and losse of their blood: which warre, after the retreat of the French, did continue still at sea, where the French lost more then they did winne. King *Fernand* hauing discharged, honored, and praised the souldiers, and punished certaine euill liuers in that country, and ouerthrowne certaine strong houses, he returned to Victoria.

The Cardinal of Spaine, in the meane time, who was a very wise and polittike man, did trie by all means to draw away the French King from the alliance with Portugall, and to make him friend to his King: hee had in former time written sundry letters vnto him to that purpose, and now hee continued it, sending *Alphonso Ianes*, treasurer of the Church of Siguenca vnto him, to put him in minde of the inuolable Friendship which had beene in times past betwixt the houses of France and Castile, whose forces had beene so well united together to the preiudice of the English, ancient enemies and competitors of the crowne of France: whereas the Portugalls on the contrary had alwaies fauoured, and followed them to the great hinderance and contempt of the French Nation, and then hee blesought him to consider what occasion hee had to bandy

10  
Bishop called  
nuncio of the  
Lanney of  
Biscay.

Strange opinion  
of the Biscains  
concerning  
Bishops.

11

Combat at  
Laredo betwixt  
the French  
and Genoueses.

The Cardinal  
of Spaine, seeks  
to renew the  
peace betwixt  
France and  
Spaine.

bandy against the King of Castile for Portugall, requesting him henceforward to giue A place to that which reason, humanity and profit, did require, which was to cause the warre to cease, and re-establish the holy friendship and league betwixt France and Castile. This Treasorer made diuerse voyages into France for this purpose, and handled the matter so well, as hee obtained truce for a yeere, and there was a place appointed betwixt Bayon and Fontarby for the two Kings Commissioners for to meet at.

About this time the Earle of Paredes, who called himselfe Maister of Saint Iames, did beseege Vcles, where hee found sharpe resistance, and doing his vtermost to take it, the capitaine, who held it for the Marquis of Villena, certified his Maister what need hee had of helpe: the Marquis being then at Alcala de Henares with the Archbishop of Toledo, brought him and as much power as they could raise betwixt them to Vcles, which were about three thousand horse. Yet notwithstanding the Earle made no shew that hee ment to dislodge, but against the opinion of all men hee maintained the siege, and hee had moreouer the courage to goe and affront the troups of the Marquis and Archbishop, keeping them a whole day in alarumm, aking sundrie charges with aduantage: at the last, with the losse of some of his owne people hee enforced them to retorne, not being able to drive him from the Castle, where soone after arriued men at armes to his succor, who were sent by the Duke of Infantazgo, and conducted by Don Hurtado de Mendoza his brother, with the which forces, joyned to some of his owne, hee followed the Marquis and the Archbishop with great hope to haue defeated them if they would haue accepted the fight, but they wanted courage, albeit they were within a bow shot of them; but the Archbishop and the Marquis retired themselves about mid-night to a castle called Arauia, despairing euer to succor Vcles: which the beseege perceiuing, yielded themselves with safety of liues and goods.

As these men did thus trouble themselves in Spaine, the King of Portugall being vexed, that his affaires succeeded so vnluckily, where as he was wont to triumph and bee victorious in Affrica, would once againe sollicite King Lewis, and determined to goe in person into France: Hee therefore imbarkeed himselfe, and hauing passed the Streights, hee came to Marseilles, from whence hee went to the King who lay at Tours of whom hee was kindly entertained: but concerning the affaires for which hee came, hee gaue him no hope at all, but delaied him from day to day, excusing himselfe by the great warres which hee had against the English and the Duke of Burgundy, entreteyning him without any conclusive answer: at the last hee told him, that it behooued him to haue a dispensation from Pope Sixtus the fourth then reigning, for to marry with his Neece Donna Ioane his sisters daughter, before hee could pretend any lawfull right to the Kingdome of Castile and Leon; wherevpon either King did write to Rome to that effect, where the Ambassador of King Ferdinand and Queene Isabella, did mainly oppose himselfe against it, alleging the great troubles and miseries which such a dispensation might cause in Spaine: Yet notwithstanding at the entreaty of King Lewis, the dispensation was graunted, the which did containe that it was lawfull for Donna Ioane to marry any one within the fourth degree. It is reported that King Don Alphons being in talke with King Lewis, and labouring to induce him to pursue this warre, vied many bafe entreaties, and kneeled to him with other like iestures: ill becoming a King, who ought still to shew himselfe couragious, and constantly to resist all aduersities. And perceiuing that the controuersies betwixt the King and the Duke of Burgundy were a great hinderance to his businesse, hee tooke vpon him to reconcile and make them friends, to the end hee might the better procure helpe from both of them: for Duke Charles of Burgundy was his cousin germaine, borne of a sister to King Edward his father: but hauing made a iourney to him, and being returned to Paris, the Dukes overthrow and death did fodainly follow, which happened before Nancy, in the yeere 1477, which did the more alienate the French King from giuing care to the affaires of Spaine, being more attentive to recouer both the Burgondies, with the lands and townes of Picardy, Flanders and Artois, which

V Villena of Villena, who against the Marquis of Villena.

12 Portugal, King Alphons of Portugall death in waies solicite the French King to undertake with him wars against Spaine.

The King of Portugall's abject courage.

An. 1477.

A which were dependances of his crowne, Duke Charles hauing left no other heire of his great Dominions but his onely daughter Mary who was afterward married to Maximilian of Austria, she was grand-mother to the Emperour Charles, heire to all Spaine after the death of King Ferdinand and Queene Isabella, in the right of his mother Donna Ioane their daughter, as shalbe declared in his place. Vpon these pretences concerning Bourgondy, King Lewis found sufficient occasion to delay him: promising that thole businesse being ended hee would doe whatsoever the King of Portugall would request him, who being sorrowfull and discontented, departed out of France, and was brought into such despaire, as hee determined to goe to Ierusalem, and there to become a B Monke, without euer seeing Portugall any more: from which determination his friends and seruants dissuaded him, putting him in minde of the great wrong hee should doe to his honour and reputation thereby. In his absence, Prince John, by his fathers consent, tooke vpon him the title of King, but vnderstanding that King Alphons was arrived at Calcaes, hee like an obedient sonne gaue ouer the title and authority vnto him.

Queene Isabella in this meane space thought to haue surprised Toro by the meanes of the Admirall and the Earle of Benauent, who after a long and dangerous fight, were repulld by the Earle of Marialua who was Gouvernor. It happened in like manner, that the great Maister Andrew de Cabrera hauing taken the Lieutenancy, or Captainship of the castle of Segobia from Alphons Maldonado to bestow it vpon Don Pedro de Boudilla his father in law, Maldonado being enraged thereat, went about to surprize the same place, there to recouer his former authority, and had intelligence with certaine dead paies of the castle, and feyning on a day to haue need of some certaine stones that were within the same, vnder colour of fetching them out, hee put foure soldiars into the fortresse being instructed what to doe, who at the first, slue the porter, and being followed by their Capitaine, they tooke Don Pedro de Boudilla, and constrained the rest which were within it to saue themselves in a tower. In the same castle the Princeesse Isabella, the King and Queene's onely daughter, was kept: wherevpon there arose a great tumult in the City of Segobia, which being vnder stood by Don John de Arias, the Bishop thereof, who as then lay forth of the City, by reason of the disension betwixt him and Andrew de Cabrera, hee came thither and easily made himselfe Maister of the gates which were held by those of Cabrera's faction, being fauoured by diuers principall citizens. Queene Isabella being aduertized of this inconueniencie came thither with the Cardinall of Spaine, and hauing made Gonzalo Chacon Capitaine, hee enquired by way of Iustice of the Captaines behaviour, who hauing yielded good account of himselfe, his iustifications were allowed, and hee restored to his government.

The Archbishop of Toledo, and the Marquis of Villena, being not able any longer to resist the King and Queene, made all the meanes they could for to obtaine their grace and fauour, and they practized with the old King John of Arragon, that hee would bee a meanes to his children the King and Queene of Castile to receive them as their faithfull seruants. The messengers that went about this businesse were certaine religious persons, who preuailed so much with King John, as by great importunity they obtained their pardon, and caused whatsoever they had possessed in time before, to bee restored to them (the castles of Madrid and Trugillo excepted) which remained at the Kings dispose and pleasure. The city of Huera, which King Henry had giuen to Don Lope Vasques of Acugna, with title of Duke, was at the same time yielded vp and willingly surrendered to the King and Queene. The Archbishop was more in fault, and more worthy reprehension, then any one that had resisted the Kings.

During these warres, the Castilian martiners made their first voyage into Guyney where were mines of gold, wherevpon, as hath bene before mentioned, there grew a controuersie betwixt the Castilians and Portugalls, who had most right and title vnto that navigation.

King Alphons of Portugall in despaire.

Castile.

Tumult in Segobia.

The Archbishop of Toledo and the Marquis of Villena obtaine their pardon.

13 The Spaniards first voyage to Guyney.

Eccc

Whilest

14 Whilest Queene *Isabella* remained at Segobia, the Spaniards tooke Toro by meanes A  
of a shepheard, who certified Don *Alphonso* de Fonseca Bishop of Auila, that there  
was a certaine part of the City which the Portugals did alwaies leaue without any  
guard, because by nature the scite thereof was strong. The Bishop sent to discouer  
it, and finding the shep-herds report to bee true, sent thither sixe hundred men, and  
him for their guide, they giuing no great credit to the poore man, went on very lazily  
to that enterprise, but being encouraged by *Pedro* de Velasco, and by an other young  
man called *Alphonso* de Fonseca, who was the first that entred it, they all followed, not  
being discouered by any one, and having broken open a gate, they gaue entry to the  
rest of their fellowes, the Bishop having sent a good troupe after them, and so they be-  
came Maisters of the City, the Earle of Marialua and his people hauing scarce leisure  
to recouer the castle, from whence afterward hee went to Castro Nugno, abandoning  
the said castle, within the which Donna *Maria Sarmiento*, widow to John *Vilna*, did fortifi-  
e her selfe with those of her faction, who desired by all meanes to returne to the  
Queenes seruice. The Queene hauing vnderstood those good newes, came speedily  
to Toro, restored the banished to their goods, did honorably recompence the poore  
shepheard whom they called *Bartlemew*, enfranchising him and all his posterity from  
tributes beside the ready money and pensions which she gaue him: and receiued Donna  
*Maria Sarmiento* into her fauour, who was sister to Don *Diego Sarmiento* Earle of Salinas,  
for whose sake and desertes she restored her vnto all her goods and possessions: and  
by this meanes the castle of Toro came into the Kings power.

15 About this time Don *Roderigo Manriques* Earle of Paredes, the pretended Maister of  
Saint James died in the City of Ocagna, whose competitor Don *Alphonso* de Cardena,  
great Commander of Leon did in all hast with great troupes of horse march towards V-  
cles, to the end he might be chosen there by the thirteene Electors: but the Queene pre-  
uented him, and delin (such fort as the thirteene, and the Commander himselfe were  
contented to intreat the Pope to put the Maisterhip to the Kings disposing, the which  
was graunted, and the same dignity was afterward bestowed vpon the same Com-  
maunder.

16 After that, King *Fernand* returning from Guipulcoa by Toro and Ocagna, met the  
Queene at Toledo, in which city they builded that famous Monastery of Saint Iohn of  
the Kings, which is a Couent of Franciscan friers, and from thence they went to Ma-  
drid, where they were aduertised that the Portugals had entred Castile by the way of Ba-  
dajoz, and Cite Rodrigo, with two armies, against whom were sent as Generals, Don  
*Lorenzo Suarez* de Figueroa Earle of Feria, and the great Commander of Leon: These  
did not onely beat backe the enemies, but they entred into the country of Portugal pur-  
suing the poore miserable subiects to fire and sword, who could not remedy their Kings  
ambition; to which place Queene *Isabella*, who was a woman of a manly courage, did  
march, the better by her presence to encourage, and fauour the enterprises of her army.  
From Madrid the King went to Medina del Campo, where he took order with his brother  
the Duke of Villahermosa, and the Constable, about forces sufficient to assaile  
four fortresses at one time: by meanes whereof, in a short time hee brought vnder his  
obedience, Cantalapiedra Sept, Egilises, and Cubillas: but at Castro Nugno, which was  
the fourth, hee found greater resistance, his scege lasting long, so as all the forces which  
were dispersed abroad in sundry places, were faine to be drawne together to that place,  
and the King himselfe came thither in person, by meanes whereof the towne was  
taken, but the castle made obstinate resistance, before which hauing left his army, hee  
returned to Medina del Campo.

There he receiued letters from *Garcia Osorio*, Corrigidor of Salamanca, who aduer-  
tized him of diuers outrages committed by a Knight named *Roderigo Maldonado*, who  
was of the same citie, who held the castle of Monleon, and from thence did many  
robberies and insolent attempts, as namely coyning of false and counterfeit mo-  
ney, with diuers others mischiefs: in regard whereof the King would needs go thither,  
and found meanes to catch this wicked man, who thought to haue saued himselfe  
11

A in the Sanctuary of the Couent of Saint Francis, the which neuertheless did saue his  
life, at the earnest entreaty of the Friers, who deliuered him vpon that condition, as al-  
so that he should deliuer vp the Castle of Monleon, otherwise the King would breake  
open their gates. Maldonado being taken, gaue his wife and subiects notice of his  
estate, and willed them to deliuer vp the Castle to the King, the which they refused to doe,  
saying, that they would haue some recompence of the King, otherwise they would deli-  
uer it to the King of Portugall; and if hee were taken prisoner, he might thanke himselfe.  
Then the King caused him to be carried to a place, in the sight of those which were in  
Monleon, and commanded that in their view his head should be stricken off: but being  
B come to the place, hee made such pittifull lamentation, as they compassionating him,  
yielded the Castle and saued his life. From Salamanca, the King returned to the Campe  
before Castro Nugnes.

As Queene *Isabel* went towards Badajoz, shee sent from Guadalupe, to *Pedro* de Ba-  
ca, Captaine of the Castle of Trugillo, who held it for the Marquis of Villena, com-  
manding him, following the agreement betwixt her and the Marquis, to deliuer vp the  
fortresse to *Gonzall d' Auila*, the which hee refused to doe, saying, that hee would neuer  
yeeld it whilest hee had life in him: the Queene tryed by faire meanes and promi-  
ses to drawe him to deliuer it, but all was in vaine: wherefore shee raised a power,  
and marched to Trugillo, whether the Maister of Calatraua came, and Don *Alphon-  
so de Montroy*, who called himselfe Maister of Alcantara, with diuerse other Lords and  
C Knights: whilest shee remained there, shee recovered diuerse Castles of the same  
countrie, some of which shee razed. And knowing her selfe to bee strong and well  
accompanied, shee gaue ouer all milde and gentle meanes, and began to vie gre-  
uous threatnings, so as Don *Pedro de Bacsa*, became more tractable, and was willing to  
deliuer it, so as the Marquis would come thither in person, and bid him doe it. The  
Marquis was sent for, who to auoyde farther quarrels with the Queene, caused it to be  
deliuered, and *Gonzall d' Auila* was made Captaine thereof.

After that, shee did choofe certaine Arbitrators at Caceres to compose the con-  
trouersies betwixt her and the Marquis, (heereformed the state of the towne, and  
D made the officers thereof perpetuall: and from thence shee went to Siuill, the which  
City shee found in a miserable estate, and diuided into factions; which caused infinite  
disorders and villanies: for the inhabitants were of a long time bandied one against  
an other about the quarrells betwixt the houses of *Guzman* and *Ponce*: and they  
were so grounded therein, as they fought for the same with incredible cruelties and  
impieties, the father against the sonne, the brother against brother, the wife against  
the husband, with more furie and obstinacie then the *Guelphs* and *Gibelines* in Italy,  
and the *Gambins* and *Ognazins* in Biscay, the City of Cordoua being likewise  
infected with the same pestilence: Don *Alphonso d' Aguilar* Lord of Montilla, being  
chiefe of the faction for the Marquis of Cales, his brother in lawe, and Don  
E *Diego de Cordoua* for the family of the *Guzmans*.

The Queene was receiued into Siuill with great honour, where shee made some  
stay, and tooke the paines to heare all these controuersies, with others, sitting her  
selfe in counsell, and giuing audience eury Friday, being accompanied with Pre-  
lats, Doctors, and other noble personages: whose example is to bee followed of all  
Christian Kings and Princes, who in regard they will not take the paines them-  
selves to harken vnto their affaires, doe see and heare by other mens eyes and cares,  
which causeth them to fall into greuous errors, by not knowing truly what is  
done in their Realmes and dominions, through the pernicious dissimulation, and  
damnable flattery of their Ministers and officers.

F The Queene determining to punish all those that were guilty of the maine mise-  
ries which this stately Citie had endured; the Bishoppe of Cales, Suffragan to  
the Cardinall of Spaine, Archbishoppe of the same Church, did admonish her in  
a wife and learned Oration, of the difficultie and danger of that shee pretended to  
doe, saying, that it was the end of all good Princes, and of Iustice, to amend,  
Bccc 2 and

17  
Reformation  
of the towne  
and state of  
Andalusia.

The City of  
Siuill could  
not stand  
the factions  
of *Guzman*,  
and *Ponce*.

A Queene  
carefull of do-  
ing iustice to  
her subiects.

The end of all  
good govern-  
ment is to  
maintain and  
not destroy  
offences.

Gentle punish-  
ments whereby  
the seditions in  
Siull are ap-  
peased.

and not to destroy; otherwise in stead of Kings, they would bee accounted barbarous A tyrants, greedy of humane blood, true Ministers, not of the diuine clemencie, but of the destroying spirit, who had beene a murderer from the beginning of the world, applying to his speech many examples of old times, drawne out of the Holy scriptures: adding, that the number of the offenders was so great, that if all of them should bee punished according to their deserts, the City would want people to dwell in it: the Queene therefore being moueued with these reasons, gaue a generall pardon for all matters past (apostacy onely and mens priuate interests excepted.) The Duke of Medina and the Marquis of Cales, who were the causes of all these euils, comming into the Queenes preience with great submission, would haue laied the fault one vpon other: in the end hauing deliuered vp into her hands the places and fortresses which they had vsurped, as well the one from the other, as those which did belong to the City of Siuill, shee made peace betwixt them, and gaue to euery one his owne. The castle of Vtrera onely made resistance, the capitaine thereof saying, that hee would not deliuer it, because it belonged to the Marshall of Sahauedra vnto whose father *Gonsalo Arias* of Sahauedra the late King *Henry* had giuen it, for which contempt, the Queene caused it to bee beleaged and furiously battered, in regard hee did defend it with such obstinacy: in the end, the place being taken by assault, himselfe, with all those that were within it, lost their liues, the most part of them in the heate of the fight: the residue of them being brought to Siuill seruied for an example to others not to resist a greater power, and were publickly hanged.

King Don *Fernand* reigned not very long ere hee came vnto Siuill to the Queene, who about that same time was brought in bedde and deliuered of a sonne, who was named Don *John*; for the which, great ioy feastings and gladnesse was made ouer all Spaine.

There came vnto the Kings, being at Seuill, an Ambassage from *Muley Albobacen* King of Granada, with whom they were at peace, notwithstanding hee had not paid the tribute which his Predecessors did vsually doe vnto Castile, the which the warres of Portugall had constrained the Kings to dissemble till a fitter time. These Ambassadors craued confirmation of the truce betwixt the Realmes and Kings of Castile and Granada; the which was refused them, vnlesse that *Albobacen* would send the arrearages due for the tribute: but the Moores answered (hauing expresse commission so to doe) that the Kings of Granada, who had beene tributaries to Castile were dead, and their bondes buried with them, and that the money of Granada was no more coined of gold or siluer, but the iron of launces, darts and many other such like weapons, which they would turne vpon their enemies, and deliuer themselves from all slavery and bondage.

This braue answer caused the Kings to thinke (who were not yet freed from the Portugall warres) that it was not good to draw so many enemies vpon them at once, therefore they granted them a truce, being sufficiently aduertized that King *Muley Albobacen* was the best provided of souldiers, armour, horses, artillery and all other munition, and more abounding in treasure, by reason of the long peace hee had enjoyed, then any of the Kings of Granada his Predecessors. King Don *Fernand* being highly offended at the rebellion of the Marshall Don *Fernand Arias* de Sahauedra, would haue had his proces made, and haue punished him as a contemner of the royall Maiesty: but diuerse of his friends and kinsfolke who were in the Kings fauour, and their faithfull seruants did saue him from this daunger, and obtained his pardon, with restitution of all his offices and possessions.

The Admirall recovered the government and captaineship of Tariffa with the castle thereof, the which was giuen to his brother Don *Pedro Henriquez* Gouvernor of the frontiers of Andaluzia, who placed therein *Pedro de Godoy*, from whom the three castles of Carmona had beene taken, and were giuen to Don *Gutierrez* de Cardagna, who therewith was promoted to the great Commanderie of Leon, because Don *Alphonso* de Cardagna who had beene great Commander was elected and confirmed

A med Maister of Saint Iames alone, and the last that hath beene Maister of the same Order, the which dignity, with the rest of the Maisterships hath euer since continued in the hands of the Kings of Castile; the Princes and their prudent Councell hauing considered and well weighed with themselves, that these Maisters were ordinarily followed by great numbers of Knights of their Order, men of warre, who had for the most part made such tumults and factions in the Realme of Spaine, as they haue not let for to make heads against their owne Kings. Queene *Isabella* would willingly haue had the Maisterhip of Saint Iames to haue beene for euer after extinct, but shee could not obtaine it. The King her husband leauing her at Siuill, returned to Trugillo, where he made

B *Sancho de Auila* capitaine of the castle.

These matters happened in the yeere 1478. in the beginning, whereof *Philip* Archduke of Austria was borne, who was sonne to *Maximilian* as then King of the Romaines, and to Donna *Maria*, the heire of Bourgondy, Flanders and other great Dominions, this *Philippe* was husband vnto Donna *Isaone* of Castile who, succeeded King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella* her father and mother in all their Kingdomes of Spaine.

At the same time, King *John* of Arragon being laden with many yeeres and nere to his end, was desirous to see and conferre with his sonne King *Fernand*, concerning the affaires of Nauarre, Arragon, Sicill, and his other Dominions, hee therefore consented to request him, if the Portugall warres would permit it, to meete him at Victoria. King *Fernand* being wonderfull ioyfull to see his father, came thither before him, where the King of Arragon soone after arrived, accompanied with a great number of Lords and Gentlemen, chosen amongst the ancientest of Nauarre, Arragon, and his other countries, so as the beholding of such a company of reuerend old men was very notable and to bee admired, for the youngest amongst them was about three score yeeres of age, all of them in decent habits besetting their yeeres, and yet differing one from another. The sonne being gone forth to meet the father, they did a great while strue about complement and ceremonies, and the King of Arragon, would neuer suffer his sonne of Castile to kisse his hand, neither would hee take the place of him, but they entred into Victoria, the father riding on the lower hand of the sonne: and when they were come before the lodging which was prepared for the King of Arragon, and both of them on foote, as soone as the father perceived that it was his owne lodging, hee seemed to bee very sorry, as though hee had committed a great fault, and said, „ You my sonne, who are Lord and head of the Royall house of Spaine, from whence wee are descended, ought to receiue from vs all honour, reuerence, and seruice due vnto you, in regard the obligation which in this respect wee owe vnto you, as to our King and superior, is stronger then that of the sonne towards the father, therefore take horse againe, and I will accompany you to your lodging, for reason commands it to bee so. „ And King *Fernand* was constrained so to doe thorough the great importunity of his father, who went with him to his lodging, where hee left him, and the olde King rode backe againe vnto his owne.

For the space of twentie daies that these two Kings remained in Victoria, the father did still giue the honour, ypper hand, and preheminance in all matters to the sonne, were it in sitting, or rising vp, and in speaking, walking and keeping of company: in writing, and in euery other thing belonging to honour and dignitie, wherein great Lords vie ceremony and complement to honour one another with. Wherevpon their arose a disputation and controuersie betwixt the Lords and Knights of the Court, to weet, whether it a were a seemely, and a decent matter for a father, to shew such great submission to his sonne, who beside being his father, was also his guest, being an vsuall thing alwaies to honour and giue the places to those whom wee receiue into our houses, albeit hee were of meane quality then our selues, and whether the sonne did well to receiue and accept of these honours. The Spaniards thought that either of them had done that which was fit. Now the chieft communication betwixt these



The father & the sonne cut off diuers places from the kingdome of Naxarre.

*Castro Nugno  
yielded to king  
Fernaund.*

*Peace betwixt  
France and  
Castile,*

19  
Navigations  
and conquests  
of the Spaniards  
in the O.  
cean sea.

20  
Inquisition in  
Spain again,  
Jews and  
Moors, did  
beget the ne-  
gligences of the  
Bishops and  
Pastors.

two Princes at this interview was concerning the affaires of Nauarre, touching Donna A  
*Leonora's* future fucccession to the same, with her grand-child *Francis Phelipe* Earle of Foix:  
 and some are of opinion, that the townes and fortes of Saint Vincent, Garda, Bernedo,  
 Arcos, Larraga, and Miranda de Arga were at the same time wholly cutt off from the  
 crowne of Nauarre, in recompence of the charges which *Don Fernand* had bene at  
 for the warre of Perpignan, with an agreement, that the customes rights and priui-  
 ledges which they had, should for euer be maintained: but seeing it is certaine, that  
 a long time before this assembly, Saint Vincent, La Garde, and Arcos, were possessed  
 by the King of Castile, it is most likely, that they were at that time onely confirmed  
 vnto King *Don Fernand*. They did likewise intreate of many matters belonging to B  
 the Kingdoms of Arragon and Sicil, and then they returned each of them into his owne  
 Dominions, and the King of Castile did neuer more after that see his father, who spent  
 the final remainder of his daies at Barcelona, afflicted with the goutte and other diseases  
 which doe ordinarily accompany old men.

which doe ordinarily accompany old men.

King Don Ferdinand returned into the campe before Castro Nugno, which was very faithfully and valiantly defended by the capitaine *Nicholas* de Abendago of Villalreal, in the Province of Alaua, but the great want of victuals and of men (those which were with him, being in part dead, and the others were so tired and weakened with watchings, wardings and huris received at the assault as they could hold no longer) did constrain him to yeeld up the same place, and yet vpon very honorable conditions; for he carried away into Portugall all those that were with him, without ransom, with their armor, weapons and baggage, and their engines displayed, and drummes beating; and was greatly praised by the King, the fort was presently razed downe to the ground: after the rendering whereof, the King returned to Siuill to the Queene, where order was taken for the well governing of the City, and excoesse commandeement given to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and the Marquis of Cales, not to remaine there. Don *Iohn* de Gamboa Governor of Fontarabie, and the Licentia *Iohn* de Medina, both of them of the Kings Council were likewise dispatched into Guipulcoa, with instructions and authority, to treat and conclude the peace with the French Kings Ambassadors who were at Bayon. These, came to Fontarabie, and after that, both sides did meet; at Saint Iohn de Luz, where they conferred together, and concluded the peace, renewing the alliances, leagues, and ancient friendship betwixt the two Kingdomes. The French Commissioners were the Lord of Lescut, and the Abbot of Saint Denis: and so the warre ended betwixt France and Castile.

From Siuill France army to conquer the

The King and Queene before their departure from Siuill sent an army to conquer the Canaries vnder the conduct of *Pedro de Vera*, where, for the space of three years, diuerse notable exploits of warre were performed by the Castilians: Thirty five ships were likewise sent to Guiney, *Pedro de Cobides* being their general, from which place great quantity of gold was brought, with great profit for the Kings, who had the fifth penny. In the first, the thing which was most esteemed of that blacke Nation was cockenys, who were of opinion that they had great vantage against thunder and lightning, by means whereof they were fold in Spaine at a great rate, so as men could hardly get any for money.

This year 1478. the inquisition beganne at Siuill, instituted at the first by the Councell of *Don Pero Gonzalez de Mendoza* Archbishop of the same City, against the lewes and conuered Moores, which did returne to their superstitious ceremonies: this Prelate, and other, depured for that search, thinking that for to conteyne them in the profession of Christianity, rigour and ciuill punishment was more expedient then other milder meanes, or greater care: Beeing content for to take away the occasion of seditions and troubles which grew in the Townes and Prouinces of the Realme, against these miserable creatures, most commonly at the instigation of Preachers, and other Clergy men, inciting the people to murine against them.

Whereas in deed, they ought to haue bene instructed by good and whole-  
some examples: but the Bishops and Pastors had no great care of their foules health: for

A for the affaires of State, and worldly greatnesse hath so busied them for many ages, as they have not had leysure to eleuate their eyes and minds higher then the earth. Since that time, the power of the Inquisitions tribunall, which is diuided into diuers iurisdictiones thorough euery Province of Spayne, hath bene chiefly bandd against those who have dared to speake against the pompe and pride of the Sea of Rome, and the abuses brought into the Church, for to entertaine the ease and wealth of the Clergie, a gulph which hath swallowed vp many good and honest families. Concerning this Inquisition, which within awhile made it selfe knowne for a fruitlesse iuention, more ample mention shall be made hereafter.

B The King and Queene hauing pacified and ordered the cittie of Seuille, left *Diego de Merlo* there, who was a good Knight, in qualitie of an assistant; and went themselves to Cordoue, which was in like manner afflicted by the factions of Don *Pero Fernandes* of Cordoua, Earle of Cabra, and that of Don *Alphonso d'Aguiar*, who in the last tumults had driven the Earles forces out of the cittie, and had taken the forts and places thereof, which were in the keeping of the Earle, detaining them, with other places also belonging to the gouernement and iurisdiction of the cittie: they and their followers being moreover charged with so many robberies, thefts, and murders, as the King and Queene had much ado to chastise the offenders, and to restore euery man to his owne. *Alphonso* of Aguiar was driven forth of the cittie, and the fortresses taken from him. Vpon complaint made against the Iudges and Officers of the legal Courts, who did greatly exact, the King and Queene caused their fees and stipends to bee rated, more then what, they were not permitted to take vpon payne of forfeiting seuen-fold as much, which was executed vpon some, who neither feared God, nor reuerenced the lawes.

As these busineses were managed in Andalusia, the Arch-bishoppe of Toledo, who was euer turbulent and desirous of inuouation, had secret intelligence with the King of Portugal, vnto whom hee undertooke to deliuer the Cittie of Toledo, and to kill Don *Gomes Mariques* assittant there: and to the same purpose he had praised with the common people of Toledo, and had executed it, if the assittant had not been a proud and politicke man, who hauing discovered the plot tooke order for it, standing on his guard and by punishing some of the Conspirators, hee caused thereto to containe themselves within their bounds for feare of the like punishment. The Arch-bishop too remained at Alcala de Henares had inuited the King of Portugal to come vnto his house of Talavera, assuring him, that hee would put him into Toledo: who was in a readinesse to haue come thither, had not the Prince his sonne, with his friends and seruants, told him what small profite hee should receiue, and how great danger hee should incurre by such an enterprise.

The Kings, Don *Fernand* and Donna *Isabella* being aduertised of the Arch-bishops dealings, were iustly incensed against him, they caused all his temporalities to be seized on, sending the Duke of *Villa-hermosa* to Madrid, to briidle that cittie, commanding all his tenants and seruants to forsake him, and no more to obey him, vpon payne of deprivation of their goods: and for a terrour to the rest, they caused the houises of diuers of the Rebels, who had contemned their commaundement, to be razed downe to the ground.

Wherefore the Arch-bishoppe within a few dayes was left alone, and his great friend *Heruard Alarcon* did forsake him and fled presently into France, not daring any longer to tarrye in Spaine. Don *Tello de Buendia*, Arch-deacon of Toledo, and a learned man, did vndertake to bring the Arch-bishoppe to his dutie, he vanquished him by reason, and perswaded him to humble himselfe to the King and Queene, of whome by his meanes he obtained pardon: but hee gave all the strong castles of his Arch-bishoppricke in hostage for his future fidelitie. The Marquis of Villena on the other side hauing entered into the Marquisate, began to picke quarrels with the Governour placed there by the Queen, concerning the limits of his power and iurisdiction, saying, that he did vsurpe more then the covenants would permit him, and would haue letted him from punishing those of Cinchulla, with other rebellious and disobedient people, so that a power was sent thither vnder the conduct of Don *George Manrique*, and *Pedro Ruiz Alarcon*,

The cittle of  
Cordona paci-  
fica.

The Archb.  
always disloyal  
and seditious.

The Archb.  
enforced to his  
duty.

## Great

Officers for-  
face the coun-  
try in aways  
punishment.

22

A murderer  
Bishop, mur-  
dered.

Petty tyrants  
It ned to death  
by the common  
people.

A. 1479.

Natural issue of  
one brother to  
ward another

Great was the King and Queene's toyle, in ordering the peace and quiet of the coun-  
try of Andalusia, for the people thereof were so given over to all manner of villanies,  
as if they had not vied their meeknesse and elementie, the cities and towns would have  
beene voyd and empty of people: for it is most certaine, that this yeare and the former,  
there went out of Seulle and Cordoua about eight thousand men, tainted of notorious  
crimes, who left the country for feare of punishment.

It happened about the same time, that Don *Rodrigo de Vergara* Bishoppe of Leon,  
borne at Logroño (it is not knowne vpon what occasions) caused *Pedro Pasa* Treas-  
urer of his Church, to be slayne in the same Citie, being a Knight of a great paren-  
tage, whose death his friends and kinsfolkes reuenged by the death of the Bishoppe, who  
asslayed him in his owne house, and pursued him, as he thought to haue fled for safetie  
to the house of *Diego Fernandes Quiñones*, Earle of Luna, where they murdered him  
in the bosome of the Countesse, who intreated them to spare the spilling of his blood  
for her sake.

In the towne of Fontecoujuna, the Inhabitants did kill with stones *D. Hernand Gomes de*  
*Guzman*, great Commander of Calatrava, for outrages and tyrannies which hee had  
done to them, for the which fact the Iudges which were sent by the King to informe of  
the matter, could neuer find any one witness, which would charge any one particular  
man with that murder, and they could haue no other answer, than this, that Fontecou-  
juna had slaine him, which passed for a Prouerbe thorough Spaine. This same yeare  
the inhabitants of Saint Helizes de los Galegos, a place neere to Trugillo did in like manner  
stone their Lord *Graian de Sese* to death, who as it hath beene heretofore sayd, had bene  
Captaine of Trugillo.

In the beginning of the yeare, one thousand, foure hundred, seuentie nine, the King  
and Queene left Cordoua, and came with great deuotion to the Monasterie of Guada-  
lupa, and also to take order for the Portugall warre, which they daily feared. From Gua-  
dalupa they sent the duke of Villa-hermosa their brother to Almorox neere to Escalona,  
in which place were Don *John de Laxan*, and Don *John de Pacheco* the Marquis of Vil-  
lena's brother, who ranne yppe and downe burning and spoiling the countrey round  
about.

The Marquis on the other side remayning in Garcy Nugnos, did violently resist the  
the Kings souldiers, and defeated the troups of Don *George Manrique*, who within a few  
dayes after, dyed of the hurts which he had receyued in that encounter. By meanes wher-  
of, others of the Kings Captaines, being lustily moued against him, did hang vp fixe  
of his seruants whome they had taken, to serue for a terrour to the rest: the Marquis in  
like manner would not be indebted to them for reuenge: but caused as many heads to  
bee stricken off, casting lots among the prisoners, which fell vpon a souldier who dwelt  
at Villa-noua de Laxara, neere to Alarcon, who amongst others was to bee beheaded,  
but a younger brother of his did befeche the Marquis, that he might dye in his brothers  
stead, who had wife and children, and did so much importune the matter, as hee rede-  
med him from death, giuing his owne life for him: a notable example of brotherly loue,  
and well worthe to haue bene considered by those who did cause the execution, if they  
had bene possessed with a noble and generous disposition. The names of these two  
brethren are vnjustly supprest by the negligence of the authors. The Marquis yet not-  
withstanding sent *Rodrigo* of Castagneda to Court to excuse him to the King and Queen,  
and to lay the fault vpon their Lieutenants and Officers, whose pride and insolencie had  
prouoked him to those courses, the King answered that the Marquis should be heard ac-  
cording to lawe: but being aduertised, that Don *Roderigo* had intelligence with the  
king of Portugall, they sent him away prisoner to Talauera, where hee quickly ended  
his dayes.

Whilest the King and Queene remayned at Guadalupa, Donna *Maria de Pacheco*  
Countesse of Medelin, the Marquis of Villena's bastard-sister, being a proud and  
haughtie woman, who held the towne of Merida, and had driuen her owne son out of  
all his possessions, presented a petition to the King and Queene, the effect wherof was,  
that

A that shee might enioy the Earledome of Medelin, during her life, with the commande-  
ry of the same city. An other petition came from Don *Alphonso* de Montroy, treaso-  
rer of Alcantara, who called himselfe Maister of the same order, and held most part of  
the fortresses belonging to the same, who requested that he might be confirmed in that  
dignity, notwithstanding any pretence that Don *John de Estuniga* Sonne to Don *Alua-  
ro* Duke of Auevalo could make, vpon whom the Pope had bestowed it. Both of them  
were answered, that vpon hearing of the parties, they should haue speedy iustice. The  
Countesse and the Treasurer not contented therewith, became enemies to the King  
and Queene, and did cleaue to the King of Portugall: Don *Alphonso* hauing forgotten,  
how that when he was taken prisoner by the Captaine of Maganza in Extremadura,  
the King had deliuered him and paid his ranfome, bestowing diuers other benefits  
vpon him.

Ambassadors from the French King *Lewis* the eleuenth, arrived at Guadalupa  
to see the peace agreed vpon by the Commissioners at Saint Iohn de Luz to bee sworne  
and ratified. There the Popes Bull was scene, which dispensed with the King of Por-  
tugall about the marriage of Donna *Joane* his Neece, not without excuses on the  
Popes part, who said, that he had bin circumvented, and finistely informed, concerning  
that matter. And to the end the French King should on his part swaere, and ratifie the  
articles of the peace, the same commissioners, who had first treated thereof were sent into  
France, to meet, Don *John de Gamboa*, and the licenciad Don *John de Medina* both  
of them of the Kings Councill. It was likewise agreeed vpon with the French Am-  
bassadors, that the towne of Perpignan, with other fortresses of the Earledome of  
Rossillon, should bee deliuered as hostages, into the Cardinall of Spaines hands, and  
that with in five yeares following, arbitrators should decide, whatfoeuer king *Lewis*  
could pretend to be due vnto him.

Whilest the Spanish Court remayned at Guadalupa, God (being willing to make  
peace betwixt Christian Princes in Spaine, to the end they might haue leasure to  
vnderake more worthy enterprises,) did inspire Donna *Beatrice* Dutchesse of Viseo,  
widow to the Infant Don *Ferdinand* of Portugall, Duke of Viseo, and Mother to  
Donna *Leonora*, married to Prince *John* the eldest Sonne and heire of the Crowne  
of Portugall, with a desire to imploy her vttermost credit, and meanes for the effecting  
thereof. This Princeesse hauing founded King *Alphonso* mynde, and finding him to be  
inclined to an agreement, sent word to her neece Queene *Isabell* (for shee was sister  
to her Mother Queene *Isabell*, widow to King *John* yet liuing,) that if it would please  
her to come to the frontiers of Portugall, shee did hope that some good agreement  
would be made betwixt them; wher-vnto the Queene disposed her selfe with the consent  
of King *Fernand* her husband.

King *John* of Aragon dyed about this time at Barcelona being foure score and  
one yeares of age, hauing reigned in Nauarre fifty three yeares and foure months, and  
one and twenty yeares and fixe months in Arragon: hee was buried in the monas-  
tery of Pobleta. By his last will and testament hee left his Sonne Don *Fernand*, heire  
to his Kingdomes of Arragon, and Sicill, and his daughter Princeesse *Leonora*, widow  
to Earle of Foix, heire to the realme of Nauarre: and soone after deputies were sent  
from the states of Arragon, Catallogne, and Valencia to the Court of Spaine, to re-  
quest King *Fernand*, to come and take possession of his dominions; they came vnto him  
in an vnseasonable time, by reason the Portugall warre was hotly beganne, by the prac-  
tices of the countesse of Medelin, and Don *Alphonso* de Montroy, the pretended maister  
of Alcantara.

The King and Queene were aduertised that the army of Portugall was in a redinesse  
to invade the country of Extremadura: by reason wherof they called the Constable,  
and other Spanish Knights to Court, and sent forces to the frontiers, with great gar-  
risons to Badajos, and other fortes of the same marches, where Don *Alphonso* de Car-  
deña Maister of Saint James was generall, who lodged his army at Lobon betwixt  
Badajos, and Merida, wherein the Tresorer of Alcantara remayned, attending  
for the Portugalls, and the Bishoppe of Ebor, their Generall, who came with an  
intent

Two pers, in re-  
gard they might  
not be autho-  
rized in their out-  
rages do lan-  
don them se nes  
against the king

Arragon.  
The death of  
John King of  
Arragon.

Castille.

The Portugall  
army defeated  
at Albuhera.

Battell of Al-  
buhera.

Defeat of the  
Spanish army  
by sea.

Titles of King  
Fernand and  
Queene Isabell

24

Entrance of  
the Queene Is-  
bella and the  
prince of Viseo  
into the city of  
Toledo.

intent to ioyne with him: to preuent which, the Maister of Saint Iames did march a-  
gainst the Bishoppe, and gaue him battaile, in the fields of Albuhera, the which was  
fierce, and bloody, on either side: but the Portugalls were ouerthrowne, and the Bishop  
taken, (although afterward he escaped away) hauing lost their ensignes, baggage, and all  
the equigage and munition: the maister of Saint Iames, and all the King of Castiles  
Captaines were hurt: but about the rest the valour and prowess of Don Martin de  
Cordoua Sonne to the Earle of Cabra, of Sancho del Aquila, of *Alphonso Henriques*  
and of *Rodrigo de Cardena*, Cosin to the Maister of Saint Iames, was admirable: the  
which Maister by his Iudgement and valour, hauing gotten the King, and Queene this  
victory, was so charitable, as with his owne mony, hee releued the dearth and famine  
which at that time, did oppress the country of Extremadura, in regard whereof the King  
and Queene, did acquit him of three Millions of Marauedis, which he was to pay, as a  
pension vnto them out of the renewen of his place. After this battaile the Treasurer  
of Alcantara, went to Deleitosa, which had bene taken by *Roderigo de Monroy*  
his brother, and the Bishoppe of Eborra went to Medellin to encourage the  
Countesse, who perhaps, was valianter than him-selfe. Gods will was, that the King of  
Portugall, in recompence of this losse, should by his army at sea, take the five and thirty  
Spanish shippes which came from Guiney wherein was great store of gold, which let-  
ted well to pay his soldiours, and the prisoners, to exchange for those which were taken  
at the land Battaille of Albuhera. After this manner are the euents of ioy, and sorrow, C  
mixed in this miserable world.

King *Fernand* being importuned to goe into Arragon, and considering the nota-  
ble vnion of those two Kingdomes, being at that time at Trugillo, where after hee had  
celebrated the obsequies of King *Iohn* his father, hee treated with the Queene his wife,  
and those of her counsell about the forme of precedency, and the order which should  
bee kept in the letters, and writings concerning the titles of the realmes, and dominions,  
which he commanded: diuers of them were of opinion, that they should intitle them-  
selves Kings of Spaine, in regard the greatest part thereof did obey them: but they not  
being willing to exceed the bounds of modesty, nor yet to preiudice in that behalfe,  
the Kings of Nauarre and Portugall, with whome they were conioyned in blood, D  
place their titles after this manner. *Fernand* and *Isabell*, by the grace of God, King and  
Queene of Castile, of Leon, of Arragon, of Sicill, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of  
Majorque, of Siuill, of Sardinia, of Cordoua, of Corsica, of Murcia, of Jaen, of Algarbes,  
of Algezire, of Gibraltar, Earles of Barcelona, Lords of Biscay and Molina, Dukes of  
Athens and of Neopatria, Earles of Rossillon, and of Cerdaigne, Marquis of Oristagni,  
and of Gocian. After this manner, were the titles of these Kingdomes and dominions,  
ordered according to their ranke and dignity: and in the shieldes of their armes, and  
deuices it was appointed that the armes of Castile and Leon, should bee first drawne,  
and after them those of Arragon and Sicill.

The Court being come from Trugillo to Caceres, Queene *Isabell* was great-  
ly solicited by Donna *Be. trice* Duchesse of Viseo, to come to Alcantara, where shee  
promised to meet her, and to conferre about the meanes of a peace betwixt Castile and  
Portugall: the King and Queene departed the one from the other, they towards Al-  
cantara, which for the same purpose was committed to the keeping of Don *Gutierrez* de  
Cardena the great commander by Don *Aluaro* de Estuniga Duke of Playfance or  
Arealuo, who held it as lawfull administrator of Don *Iohn* de Estuniga his Sonne, who  
pretended him-selfe Maister of that order: and King *Fernand* went into Arragon to take  
possession of his new Kingdomes. These Princesses being arrived at Alcantara, were  
lodged in one house, namely in the Castle, where they spent thirty daies in conference,  
and agreeing at the last vpon certaine Articles, the Dutcheffe being highly honored,  
by the Queene *Isabell* of Castile, and rewarded with many rich presents, and Jewells, F  
returned into Portugall, carrying *Roderigo Maldonado*, one of *Fernand* the King of  
Castiles counsell with her, to communicate more at large with the King of Portugall,  
concerning them.

In

A In the meane space whilst these matters were conferred on, the Treasurer of Alcan-  
tara surprized the fortresse of Montanches on the one side, and those of the Countesse  
of Medellins part made sharpe warre in Extremadura on the other: the which country  
besides the miseries which it endured by the warre, it was oppressed with extreme fa-  
mine: so as euery one perswaded the Queene to goe backe to Toledo: but her haughtie  
courage, would not suffer her to leaue such places where shee knew trouble and danger  
to bee, being able by her wisdom, speedily to redresse it. Shee then gaue order to be-  
seege diuers places at one time, from whence the enemies made stindie roades with in-  
credible spoyles, euen to the gates of Trugillo.

B The Master of Saint Iames was sent against Merida, Don *Lewis Fernandes de Porto*  
*Carrero*, Lord of la Palma beseegeed Medellin, *Rodrigo de Monroy* d'Eleitosa, and Don *La-*  
*renco* *Suares* of Figueroa, opposed himselfe against those which molested the country  
of Badajos. The Treasurer of Alcantara ranne vpp and downe, and tooke booties now  
from one place, then from another, hauing his retreat at Piedra nueva, Castro nuevo,  
Majorca, Azagala, and other forts, and not contented therewith, hee went into Portu-  
gall, animating King *Alphonso*, not to giue ouer that warre, but courageously to pur-  
sue it with great hope, and not bee carried away by the perswasions of the Dutcheffe of  
Viseo: and hee did chiefly vrge him to come with a mighty armie, to raise the seege be-  
fore Montanches, that place being the strength and importance of the warre: which D  
C *Pero Fernandes de Velaſco* the Constable fearing, fortified his campe with trenches and  
walles of stones, so as he could not easily bee assailed on the sodaine. Don *Lewis Fer-*  
*nando Porto Carrero*, beseegeing Medellin, where the Countesse, and the Bishop of Eborra  
remained, sustained infinite difficulties: for besides the continuall sallies and skirmishes  
of the beseegeed, who were very strong, his campe was troubled with a horrible number  
of flies, which constrained him to change his seat, and to retire halfe a mile from thence.

At the end of the seege, which lasted three moneths, those of Deleitosa yielded, sauing  
their liues and goods, and with-drew themselves to Montanches. Great was the paine  
and toyle which the beseegers and beseegeed of this place did endure, with those likewise  
of Merida and Medellin, where the Bishoppe of Eborra spared no care nor diligence, to  
D recouer his honour, and to couer the losses which he had sustayned at Albuhera, and al-  
so at the battell of Toro.

Hunger, sicknesse, and other inconueniences were the chiefe enemies, that either  
part had to warre against: although Queene *Isabella* to her power had provided for the  
necessitie of her people, who from time to time receiued letters from *Maldonado* her  
Ambassador in Portugall, putting her out of hope of peace, by reason of King *Alphonso's*  
obstinacie, who could not bee brought to any reasonable conditions: she therefore wil-  
led him to returne into Castile. The Ambassadour being readie to depart, came to take  
his leaue of King *Alphonso*, who was at the same time accompanied with the Prince his  
sonne, and the Lords of his Counsell, who did perswade him by diuers reasons and ex-  
amples of things fallen out lately in Spayne to consend to a peace: which perswasion  
E of his, being better taken and apprehended by the Prince and the other Lords, then by  
the King himselfe, were of such force, as he was drawne by them to receiue the peace  
which the Dutcheffe of Viseo had concluded at Alcantara: Wherevpon the Ambassa-  
dours departure was prolonged, and the morrow after he assembled his Councell, where  
the Articles were againe perused and considered of, which the King allowed, confirmed,  
and swore to obserue, after this manner.

First, that the King of Portugall should lay aside the title of King of Castile and Leon,  
and should wipe out of his shield the armes and deuices of the sayd kingdomes.

Secondly, that he should sweare not to marrie Donna *Joane* his Neece, who called her  
F selfe Queene of Castile and Leon.

Thirdly, that shee being at that time eightene yeares of age, should choose one of  
these things within fixe moneths, that is to say, to forsake the Realme of Portugall with-  
out hauing ayde, meanes, or any assistance from king Don *Alphonso*, or if shee would  
tarrie there still, then to marrie with Prince *Iohn* of Castile, who was newly borne, when  
he should come to age, or else to enter into one of the five Orders of Religion of Saint  
Clare

Queene Is-  
bella perswades  
the King to  
Extremadura.

Peace brought  
Portugall and  
Castile.

Articles.

*Clare* in Portugal, and if she would consent to marrie Prince *John*, shee should live and remaine in the meane time, in the company of Donna *Beatrice* Dutcheffe of Visco.

Fourthly, that the Infanta Donna *Izabella*, eldest daughter to the King and Queene of Castile, should marrie the Infant Don *Alphonso*, eldest sonne to Prince *John*, heire to the Kingdomes, the which Infant and Infanta should likewise be committed to the keeping of the Dutcheffe of Visco in the fort of Mora in Portugal.

Fifthly, that the Kings of Castile should in no sort let or hinder the king of Portugalls, nor the Prince his sonnes voyage into Guiney, and that the States and people of Castile should bee bound to performe and maintaine that poynt inviolably.

Sixtly, that all crimes and offences, layde to their charge, who had fauoured and taken the King of Portugalls part in those warres, should be abolished, and a generall pardon graunted to them all, especially to the Countesse of Medellin, and to Don *Alphonso* of Monroy, Treasurer of Alcantara, and euery of them to be restored to their goods, liuings, and dignities.

Seuenthly, that this peace should be kept betwixt the Kings of Castile and Portugall for an hundred and one yeares.

This peace thus concluded, was proclaymed in the Court of Portugal, to the great contentment of all men, and presently the Licenciado Figueria, one of the kings Councell, and his Confessor, named Friar *Martin*, were sent Ambassadors to Queene *Izabella*, who lay at Trugillo: who on her part, did likewise sweare to ratifie it, the Castilians beeing no whit displeased thereat; for they were all tyred with that pernicious warre. The which warre did wholly cease, and the seeges, from the aboue-mentioned places, were rayed. Merida which belonged to the Order of Saint *James*, was yielded to the Master thereof: Medellin was committed to the keeping of Don *Lewis Fernand Porto Carrero*, vntill the controuersie betwixt the Countesse and Don *Pedro Porto Carrero* her son, were decided by order of lawe. Newes hereof was carried to Barcelona to King *Fernand*, the which was most welcome vnto him, who gaue thanks vnto God therefore, causing the which was most welcome euery where, and did worthily recompence the messenger which brought tidings of so desired a peace: by meanes whereof those two kingdoms haue bene encreased and maintayned in the greatnesse whereunto they are risen in the dayes of our fathers, and in our time also.

25  
Prison of Castile  
and Arragon.

In king *Fernand*, the two kingdoms of Castile and Arragon with their dependancies, were ioyned together, which had bene separated foure hundred, fortie, and five yeares, euer since that the two States of Earledomes, became Kingdomes, after the death of Don *Sancho* the Great, King of Nauarre, who was the last Earle of Arragon and Castile.

Now King *Fernand* hauing taken order for all things belonging to so great a succession, wherein hee found no difficultie nor resistance, hee came to the Queene his wife, who lay in the city of Toledo, where with great solemnitie he swore the peace in the presence of the Portugall Ambassadors: and for a greater confirmation thereof, there were sent Ambassadors to the king of Portugal, Friar *Hernand* of Talauera, the king of Castiles Confessor, of the Order of Saint Hierome, great Prior of Saint Marie du Pré of Vailliodolir, who was afterward Bishoppe of Auila, and successiue first Arch-bishoppe of Granada after the conquest, and with him Doctor *Alphonso Manuel* of Madrigal, one of the kings Councell, to reiterate and sweare the peace the second time. Donna *Joane*, who till then was called Queene of Castile and Leon, and by a particular surname the Excellent, beeing questioned vpon the Article of peace, which concerned her marriage with Prince *John*, did rather choose a Monasticke life, who therefore was shorne and veiled in the Monasterie of Saint Clare the royall, at Coimbra, and casting off his royall habits, shee tooke the Order of Saint *Francis*, not without great griefe to king *Fernand*, to see so great a Ladie in such manner to abase her selfe, where if she had so pleased, might haue reigned in Castile, Leon, Arragon, and Sicill.

The Ambassadors of Castile hauing executed their commission with the king of Portugall, went to the citie of Coimbra, where they did see this Princeesse to professe her selfe a Nunne, with protestation to spend her dayes in such humilitie, notwithstanding that

D. Joane, called, the Excellent, contented the marriage with the wife of Castile, Arragon, &c. and becomes a Nunne.

As that they brought her King *Fernand* and Queene *Izabella*'s honourable word and promise, to accomplish in her behalfe, all that which had bene agreed vpon in the treaty of peace, and to marrie her to their sonne when time should serue: but she with an incredible contancie refused all these dignities, and spent the whole time of her life (which was very long) in religion, and was euer after called, (in stead of royall titles which had bene offered vnto her by the King and Queene) Donna *Joane* the Nunne.

The troubles beeing thus appeased in Castile, Don *Diego Lopes de Pacheco*, Marquis of Villena, who in his Marquisate had made warre vpon the Kings Lieutenants and Captaines, came to the Court at Toledo to iustifie himself concerning the same: and to speak truth, the matter beeing well weighed, hee was not found to bee the principall cause of those mischiefs, nor yet to haue any intelligence with the King of Portugall, since his last agreement made with the Queene, in regard whereof, the King and Queene receyued him to grace and fauour, vnto whome afterwards in the warres of Granado, hee did many notable seruices.

Marquis of Villena reconciled to the King and Queene.

This yeare, 1479. in the moneth of Nouember, Queene *Izabella* was brought to bed in the Citie of Toledo, in a house belonging to the Earle of Cisuentes, of a daughter named *Joane*, who in proceesse of time came to succeed in all the kingdoms, as by the progresse of this Historie shall appeare. This Infanta did in all poynts lo resemble queen *Joane* of Arragon her grandmother, as when the King her father did play with her, hee called her his mother. In like manner the Infanta *Izabella*, because she was in lineaments like to Queene *Izabella* her Grandmother, mother to the queene then reigning, was by her called her mother: the rest of queene *Izabella*'s children were commonly called her Angels. At the same time that these things happened in Spayne, the armie of *Mahomet* the second of that name, Emperour of the Turkes, did houer about the Isle of Rhodes, the seat of the Knights of Saint *John* of Hierusalem, *Peter d'Aubusson* a French-man, being great Master of that Order: the Sicillians fearing lest the Turkes would haue landed in their Isle, sent messengers to king *Fernand*, to obtaine of him ayde and succour, vnto whome certaine shippes laden with munition, armour, and other prouision, were sent.

D

### Donna Leonora Queene of Nauarre, and 33. in order.

AS King *Fernand* succeeded in the kingdoms of Arragon, Valencia, Sicill, Majorca, and principallie of Cattalonia, with other dominions and dependancies thereof by the deceale of the late king Don *John* his father: the Princeesse *Leonora* in like manner, daughter to him and to his first wife Donna *Blanche*, queene of Nauarre, did inherit the same kingdom, nine yeares after the death of the Earle of Foix her husband, remaining all that time a widow. She was crowned queene in the citie of Tudela, where she did sweare and promise to maintaine the rights, lawes, priuiledges, franchises, and liberties of the country, in the same manner as her predecessors had done before her. Her reaigne was so short, as we haue no matter afforded to speake of, but onely her death, which happened by a sudden sickness fiftene dayes after she was crowned, in the same citie of Tudela: she was buried in the couent of S. Sebastian of the Order of S. Francis, neere to the city of Tafalla, which was since ruined by the commandement of Cardinal *Francisco Ximenes*, Archbishoppe of Toledo, and Gouvernour of Castile, who thought that the strong building of that Monasterie, was no good neighbour to such a towne. Albeit we haue already in the precedent booke spoken of this Princeesses children, yet wee will somewhat more amply enlarge the discourse thereof in this place. Their eldest sonne was *Gaston*, who bearing the title of Prince of Viana, was married to Donna *Magdalene* of France, and dyed at Libourne, being misfortunatly hurt with the splinter of a Lance, as hee there ranue at Tilt: hee was father of two children, that is to

26  
Nauarre.

Genetrix of Nauarre.

Ffff

say,

say, *Francis Phœbus* and *Katherine*, who were King and Queene of Navarre, and Earles A of Foix, successively the one after the other. Their second sonne was *John*, who had the Vicouny of Narbonne for his portion, purchased by his father for readie money, and married *Mari*, who was daughter to *Lewis*, Duke of Orleans, who was French king, and the twelfth of that name. *Paradin* sayes more truly, that she was daughter to *Charles*, Duke of Orleans, of whome were borne, *Gaston* of Foix, Duke of Nemours, who dyed in the battaile of Rauenna, and *Germaine*, who was second wife to *Fernand*, the Catholick King, and after that shee was secondly married to *Fernand* of Arragon, Duke of Calabria, lawfull son to *Fredericke* king of Naples, who dyed being Viceroy of Valencia.

This *John* Vicount of Narbonne, was Gouernour of Daulphiné, and afterwards of Guyenne, a hardie and valiant Knight, renowned in the warres against the English, and in those of Italy, whither hee went with King *Charles* the eighth, in great credite and authoritie, and afterwards dyed in the raigne of King *Lewis* the twelfth at Estampes where he lies buried.

The third sonne of Earle *Gaston*, and Donna *Leonora*, was *Peter* borne at Pau in the countrey of Bearne, the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, forty nine, who gaue himselfe to studie, and did chooseth an ecclesiasticall life, vnder the gouernement of his great Vncle, the Cardinall of Foix, Bishoppe of Lescar, and the Popes Legate in Daulphiné and Prouence: after whose death hauing professed at the Vniuersities of Tholousa, Pavia, and Ferrara, in the ciuill and canon Lawes, hee was also by Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, made C Cardinall of the title of Saint Cosmo and Damian, being before Bishop of Vannes, and prouided of many rich Benefices, by the fauour of *Francis* Duke of Brittain his brother-in law, who had married his sister Ladie *Margaret* of Foix, mother to Queene *Anne*.

The fourth sonne of the Earle of Foix, and of Donna *Leonora*, was called *James*, hee onely of all their children was borne in Navarre, and was a Knight highly esteemed, and honoured by King *Lewis* the twelfth, with the Order of Saint Michael, and with the leading of an hundred men at armes: in the warres of Lombardie and elsewhere; he purchased the commendation of a valiant and wise Captaine, but hee dyed young, hauing not attained to the age of thirtie yeares, and was neuer married. Hee left certaine base children, who professed an ecclesiasticall life, and did possesse rich benefices, euen till the latter dayes of King *Francis* the first.

Besides these foure sonnes, Earle *Gaston* and Donna *Leonora* had fise daughters, the first whose name was *Mary*, was married to *William* Marquis of Montferrat, who, by the Popes authoritie, erected the church of Casall into a Bishops See: this Ladie was brought to her husband, the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, sixtie sixe, by her brother *Peter* of Foix, by *Bernard* the Bastard of Foix, *Gudfrey* Basleus, Bishoppe of Riues, by the Bishop of Conserans, and *Peter* of Sobreuil, and by diuers other Lords and Knights: Of this marriage no male children were borne, but daughters onely, the eldest of whom was married to *Lewis*, sonne to *Thomas* Marquis of Salusses, and these daughters did not succeed their father in the Marquisat, but a brother of his: *Loane* second daughter of Earle *Gaston*, and Donna *Leonora*, was married to the Earle of Armagnac, sonne to him who was slaine by the commaundement of King *Lewis* the eleuenth: with which marriage, the King being displeased, the Earle was so persecuted, as hee was constrained to flee for safetie into Castile, where trusting to the faire speeches, oathes, and promises of the Cardinall of Albi, the French Kings Ambassadour, in the sayd kingdome, being returned into France, hee was there cruelly stabbed to death with daggers. Whereupon his wife Donna *Loane* of Foix, returned into Bearne, hauing had no children by him. The third daughter was *Marguerite*, wife to *Francis* the last Duke of Brittain, by whome hee had two daughters, *Anne* and *Isabella*, *Isabella* dyed young, but *Anne* was married to two French Kings successively, *Charles* the eighth, and *Lewis* the twelfth: by *Lewis* she had two daughters *Claude* and *René*; *Claude* who was first promised to *Charles*, who was since king of Spain, and afterwards Emperour, the fifth of that name, did marrie *Francis* of Valois then duke of Angoulesme, and afterwards French king, first of that name. *René* was married to *Hercules* of Este duke of Ferrara: the Earle *Gaston* and his wife D. *Leonora*, had besides these, *Catherine*, married to the Earle of Candale, and mother of 3. children, the

A the eldest of whome was Lord of Candale, the second Arch-bishoppe of Bourdeaux, and the third who was a daughter named *Anne*, Queene of Hungarie and Bohemia, wife to *Vladislaus*, son to *Casimir* King of Polonia. This *Vladislaus* first king of Bohemia, had before married Donna *Beatrice* of Arragon, widow to King *Matthias* of Hungarie, for whose sake the Hungarians chose him for their King: but he was diuorced from her in regard of her loose life, and afterwards married this Ladie *Anne* of Foix, who was brought to her husband thorough the Dutchie of Milan, at that time possessed by the French, and by the cittie of Venice, the great friend and ally of this King, *Leonard* *Lauredan* being at that time Duke thereof. Of this marriage was borne *Lewis*, who succeeded his father in the kingdomes of Bohemia and Hongarie, husband to Queene *Mari* of Castile, who was sister to the Emperour *Charles*, and a daughter named *Anne* married to *Ferdinand* of Austria, afterwards Emperour and Brother to *Charles*, and by her, king of Bohemia and Hungarie, after the death of his father-in-law King *Lewis*, of the which *Fernand* and *Anne*, the Emperour *Maximilian* was borne, and many other children: the fifth daughter of Earle *Gaston*, and Donna *Leonora* of Navarre, dyed vnmarried, being onely promised to the Duke of Medina Celi, issued from the same house of Foix, and was called after her mothers name *Leonora*. This house of Foix and Navarre hath brought forth this offspring of great and illustrious Princes, giuing to Christendome at one time foure Queenes, who were cousin-germaines, namely, *Catherine* Queene of Navarre, C *Germaine* Queene of Castile and Arragon, *Anne* Queene of France, and *Anne* Queene of Bohemia and Hungarie.

### Francis Phœbus, the foure and thirtieth King of Nauarre.

LET vs now go forward with our Historie: after Queene *Leonora*'s decease, her sonnes D *Loane* *Francis Phœbus* of the age of twelue yeares, succeeded by right to the Crowne of Navarre, the yeare, one thousand, foure hundred, seueny nine, being brought vp in his Earldome of Foix, and Lordship of Bearne, vnder the gouernement of Donna *Margdaleine* of France his mother, and the Cardinall his Vncle: but three yeares were expired before hee durst passe into his Kingdome, by reason of the seditions which suddenly after the Queene *Leonora*'s decease, were renewed betwixt the Beaumontois, the Earle of Lerin being their head, who held the Cittie of Pampelona, and those of Grammont, who followed *Pedro* of Peralta the Constable, and *Philip* of Navarre the Marshall, who had for their forts the places of Estella, Sanguessa, Olica, and a great part of the cittie of Tudela.

The young Kings mother made a iourney thither, as appeareth by letters graunted E by her this same yeare, dated at Pampelona; where (she laboured (though in vaine) to settle peace and quietnesse in the Countrey: diuers Prelates and great Lords of Castile and Arragon did in like manner, but to none effect; go about to appease these obstinate seditious persons, who were hardened in their wickednesse. The Faction of Grammont was much discontented, to see the Earle of Lerin married to a Ladie of the blood royal; sister to King *Fernand* of Castile, and for that hee was possessed of the cittie of Pampelona, the chiefe of the Kingdome, they sayd, that hee thought to make himselfe king of Navarre. These quarrels being sharply pursued by either side, it happened that *Philip* of Navarre, successeour to his father in the office of Marshall, and in hatred to the Earle of Lerin, did surprize the cittie of Viana, but he could not get the castle, wherein a knight F of the house of Gongora was captaine for the Earle: and being out of hope of being able to keepe the towne, so great was his hatred towards the Earle, as hauing conspired with Don *John* of Riueria, Gouernor of Logroño for the king of Castile, Captaine *Mudarra*, and other Spanish knights, he deliuered the towne into their hands: the which deed of his, the Earle of Lerin greatly resenting, endeauored to recouer that losse, which did not so much touch him nor his faction, as the whole Realme in generally, and hee, did

Seditions excited by those of Grammont and Navarre.

Viana surprized by the Marshall Philip.

Expulsion of the Earle of Lerin.

so well bestirre himselfe, as he did not onely recouer Viana, but Larraga likewise, which A had beene before that time possessed by the king of Castile, and if he had beene as strong as hee was courageous and skilfull in martiall affaires, he would, without all doubt, haue recouered the places of Saint Vincent, la Garde, and Arcos, the which hee attempted: but hee was too weake: with this good happe, yet neuertheless hee tooke the towne of Miranda vpon Arga, and caused those which held it, to leape into the riuer. In theſe troubles was the Realme of Nauarre, when this young King, *Francis Phœbus*, came to the Crowne, in danger vpon such like occasions, to haue the kings of Castile attempt some thing to his preiudice, as well thorough the euill offices of the chiefe of the Factions, as by the superfluous duties of the Captaines of the frontiers, who to bee accounted good and profitable seruants, do oftentimes draw their masters into vniust quarrels, contrarie to their owne minds and dispositions.

28  
Castile.  
Parliament at  
Toledo.

Consultation  
touching the  
reueuion of the  
royall reuenue.

The Court of Castile remayned yet at Toledo, in the which cittie in the beginning of the year, one thousand, four hundred, eightie, the kings had called a Parliament: there the Deputies of the citties, who were accustomed to haue voyces, hauing well weighed and considered the disposition of the royall reuenue, which was alienated to particular persons, in recompences, perpetual rents, superfluous gifts, and other such like wastes, which were not well digested, did craue reformation thereof, and demanded to haue those things which had beene giuen from the Crowne, to be restored to the same: and they were the more instant therein, because they did fore-see, that if the kings did not looke to it, necessitie would constrain them, to seeke money in another nature, and to charge the people with new tributes and taxes.

The matter being consulted on by the kings, the Cardinall of Spaine, and by other Prelates, Lords, and Knights, it was determined, that regard should bee had to the peoples admonishment: but concerning the manner how, the opinions were diuerſe: some thought it fit, that whatsoever had beene alienated, should be vnited againe: others were of opinion, to call that onely in question which had beene euill employed: others sayd, that no distinction ought to be made in that point, but either to take all, or leaue all. Vpon this diuersitie of opinions, the Kings knew not what to resolve; but wrote their letters to the great Lords of Spaine to come to Toledo to giue their opinions concerning D that businesse, and if some of them could not come thither in person, that they should set downe in writing, what they thought was fit to be done, and to send it. The most part of them thought it requisite, that the whole reuenuen of the Crowne should be reuited.

Whereupon the Cardinall did secretly aduise the Kings, to make this difference in the matter: namely, to take away from those vpon whom the late King *Henry* had bestowed anything, that is to say, from the Lords and Knights which had beene the cause of the troubles, and had followed the Prince Don *Alphonso*: and not to mention those gifts which they themselves had giuen vnto such as had serued them. In these difficulties the Kings made this conclusion: That all those who had gifts, reuenues, and other such like E penſions out of the ordinarie reuenue of the Crowne, should by a certaine prefixed time penſions out of the ordinarie reuenue of the Crowne, should by a certaine prefixed time come and shew cause, how and wherefore they had obtained such graunts: and Friar *Fernand* of Talauera was appointed to search out the truth, and set downe an order, vpon whose good conscience and integrity, all men reposed great trust, and to satisfie euery man according vnto right and reason, who with other assistants did so order the matter, as hee brought backe three millions of reuenues into the kings coffers, and diuers men had their graunts confirmed, others were cut off in part, others had all taken from them, and others enjoyed their penſions during their liues. The Estates were likewise very much buſied about other matters, and euery day was a Councell held, in ſeuerall chambers: one was for the State, another for the administration of iustice, another for the affaires of Arragon and Sicill, another for the businesſes of the commons, and for the iurisdiccions of the Hermandades or brotherhoods, and the fift and last, for the treasure and royall reuenue.

At the same time iustice, which had a long time beene banished out of Spayne, was called home againe and reuerenced, and diuers wicked persons punished, among whom A *Hernand*

A *Hernand Alarcon*, the familiar friend and instigator of the Arch-bishoppe of Toledo, a seditious and turbulent person, was beheaded, by means of which example, euery man submitted himselfe to law, and framed himselfe to a ciuill and honest life: then did the tyrannies of great men cease, the thefts and robberies of their followers were suppressed, in such sort, as the fields were as safe as good townes, those things which were vsurped were restored to the right owners: the seates of iustice were well ordered, and diuers good lawes and Edicts were made.

It was there enacted, that the Iewes and Moores in townes and citties, should dwell in streetes and places by themselves. All Noblemen were forbidden to carrie Guards about with them, to place Crownes vpon their shields and armes, or to haue vsfers to carrie maces or rodde before them, vnlesse they were Magistrates, nor to vse titles in their letters, belonging to Princes and Soueraigne Lords: And for that the Kings felt their consciences burthened with the death of many poore people, who had followed them in their last warres, whose widowes and children were in great necessitie, they appointed a summe of twentie millions of Marauidis to be distributed vnto such people by Friar *Hernand* of Talauera, as he should thinke it meete and conuenient, thinking by laying this charge vpon him, to discharge themselves.

Charity of K.  
Fernand and  
Queen Iſabel.

In this assembly of the Estates in the moneth of May, the Infant Don *Iohn* was, according to the custome of Spayne, sworn vnto, as Prince of the Asturia's, and heire to the C Kingdomes of Castile and Leon, in the presence of the Prelats and Lords, whose names follow: The Cardinall Don *Pedro Gonçales* de Mendoza, Arch-bishoppe of Siuill, and withall, Bishoppe of Siguença: Don *Diego Hurtado* de Mendoza, Bishoppe of Palence, Friar *Alphonso* of Burgos, Bishop of Cordoua, with others of the Clergie. For the Nobilitie and State militarie, Don *Alphonso* of Cardegna, Master of Saint Iames, Don *Pero Fernandes* de Velasco, Constable of Castile, and Earle of Haro: Don *Alphonso Henriques* great Admirall of Castile, and the Kings Vnkle: Don *Pero Aluarez Oſorio*, Marquis of Aforga, and Earle of Tranſtamara: Don *Aluaro* de Mendoza, Earle of Calſtro: Don *Lorenzo Suarez* de Mendoza, Earle of Crugna: Don *Inigo Lopes* de Mendoza, Earle of Tendilla, Don *Diego Lopes* of Estuniga, Earle of Miranda: Don *Fernand Aluarez* of Toledo, D Earle of Oropesa, Don *Gutierre* de Sotomayor Earle of Benalcazar: Don *Bertrand* de la Cueva, Earle of Ledesma, Don *Diego Fernandes* of Quignones, Earle of Luna, Don *Iohn de Ribera*, Lord of Montemayor, Don *Almar Peres* of Guzman, Lord of Saint Eulalia: Don *Gutierre* of Cardegna, great Commander of Leon, with diuers others of name and place: For the third estate, the Deputies of the Citties on this side, and beyond the mountains, did take the accustomed oath, to wit, for old Castile, Burgos, Leon, Segobia, Auila, Soria, Zamora, Toro, and Salamanca: and for the other part, Toledo, Guadaluja, and Cuenca: and for Andalusia, Siuill, Cordoua, and Iacen, and the Cittie of Murcia for that Countrey: Diuers Lords likewise of the Realme Arragon were present at this solemnitie, as Don *Raymond* Bishoppe of Vrgell, and Don *Philip* of Arragon E bastard-sonne to the late Prince *Charles*, Nephew to the King, and cousin germaine to Prince *Iohn*.

At this assembly, Don *Andrea de Cabrera*, and Donna *Beatrice* of Bouadilla his wife were created Marquises of Moya, with graunt of twelue hundred vassals neere to Segobia for the good seruices which they had done to the kings Don *Ferdinand*, and Donna *Iſabella*, at whose table, the more to honour them, they did eate, the same day. The Parliament or assembly of States being ended, the Court came to Medina del campo, where they began to take great paines to haue the ordonances of the Estates executed, and put in practise, vpon the vsurpations, tyrannies, quarrels, and enmities which were past. In the same towne a knight, whose name was *Aluar Ianes* of Lugo, was put to death, who being courteous to adde to his owne great wealth the goods of a certaine Citizen, hired a certaine Notarie or Scriuener to make some false and counterfeit contracts, and to the end the deceit might not be knowne, hee fourth-with payed him his hire, cutting his throat, and burying him secretly in the back-side of his owne house: the which murder was discouered by the diligent inquirie of the poore widow, whose husband was neuer scene abroad, since hee was scene to go into the Knights house.

Prince Iohn  
sworne vnto  
with great solemnitie.

A gentleman  
gentle and  
civill.

This Gentleman was taken; conuicted, and beheaded notwithstanding his great friends A and kindred, who offered fortie thousand Duckets for to saue his life, which was a great summe in those dayes, which sundrie of the Councel wished the Kings to take. but these Princes being great lusticers, would not hearken to it: but the Knight was executed according to his desires.

King Fernand  
and Queene  
Isabels zealous  
of iustice.

The yeare 1481. the Kings departed from Medina, and did take leaue the one of the other for a certaine time, the Queene went to Vailladolid, and the King made a voyage into Arragon with intent to haue the like oath made, there to his son Prince John, as the States of Castile had done at Toledo, and to order the State of his owne patrimoniall Kingdome, as also to demaund a certaine subsidie of money of his subiects there.

29  
Nauarre.

The King being at Sarragossa, the Cardinall of Foix, and his brother Don James, Vn- B kles to the young King Francis Phœbus of Nauarre, came thither to him, to beseech him to ayde him with forces and meanes to suppress his audacious subiects, which did tur- bles the peace of his Kingdome, who contemning his youth, did commit infinite ty- rannies there, whom king Fernand did most louingly receiue as his Nepheues, sonnes to Queene Leonora his sister, and did promise concerning their demaunds, to performe the office of a Christian Prince, friend, and neere kinsman to the young king. During his a- boade at Sarragossa, the Marshall of Nauarre, who was at Tudela, had ordinarie intelli- gence with diuers Castilian Lords, some of whom knowing their masters will, did be- ginne to treat of meanes for the pacification of the factions of Beaumont and Gram- C mont, by whom the kingdome was spoiled. Amongst those which did most earnestly employ themselves therein, was a Friar, Preacher to king Fernand, whose name was A- barca, who dealt in such sort, as hee agreed vpon a marriage betwixt Philip of Nauarre the Marshall, and a daughter of the Earle Lewis of Lerin, which he thought would bee a meanes, that these two Lords would forget all former hatred, and become heartie and affectionate friends, by whose example, the rest of the factions would do the like, but the poore Friar was deceyued in his hope: for those of the Grammontois faction, rejecting this marriage, as hurtfull to their side, and fearing to lose so mighty a Captaine, did so preuayle with the Marshall Philip, as notwithstanding that matters were in such forward- nesse, as neither of the parties could go backe with honour and credit, the Marshall ne- D uertheless refused that alliance, and went wholly backe from his former promises: whereat the Earle of Lerin being extremely enraged, and being of a haughtie and proud spirit, was sore reuenged, by killing the Marshall, as hee rode from Sanguessa to Villa-franca to speake with Don John de Ribera, the Earle hauing attended for him vpon the way, as well for to chastise his lightnesse and inconstancie, as for ialousie that hee had, concerning the businesse that the Marshall went about in conferring with that Ca- stilian, doubting some treason as well towards himselfe as the kingdome, like to that of Viana which he still remembered, and could by no meanes forget.

The Estates of  
Nauarre at  
Tafalla.

In this manner, the father and the sonne, both of them Marshalls of the Realme of Nauarre, did perish by one selfe same hand: in which Office Peter of Nauarre succeeded, who E was younger brother to Philip, and the fourth of that family, who had held the same di- gnitie. The Constable Pedro de Peralta was at the same time out of the Realme, who ha- uing with great labour obtained absolution from the Pope, for the murder committed on the person of Don Nicholas of Echaurri, Bishop of Pampelona, did publicly ac- knowledge his fault in the cathedrall Church of Valencia, and liued not long after, lea- uing one onely daughter who was called Ioane of Peralta, heire of his house, who was wife to Don Tristo Carrillo of Acugna, sonne to the Arch-bishop of Toledo, of whom we haue often spoken in this Historie.

Bishop of Pam-  
pelona (being by  
D. Pedro de  
Peralta.

This house of Peralta, descended from the royall stocke of Nauarre, and by the death of Pedro de Peralta, the office and dignitie of Constable ended in that family, the F successors whereof were called Earles of Saint Stephen, and great Chamberlaines to the Kings of Nauarre. Lewis of Beaumont, Earle of Lerin, entering into that Office was af- terward dispossessed thereof, and the Constableship fell since to Don Alphonso, grand- child to Pedro de Peralta, the heires of whose house, in processe of time, were called Mar- quis of Salces, a towne in Nauarre.

Marquis of  
Salces.

Ciuiil

A Ciuiil warres spoyling after this manner the poore Kingdome of Nauarre, the young Kings vnclcs returned into the Realme, accompanied with diuers Lords and Knights of the King of Castiles Court, who promised them that if by faire meanes, they could not bring the Kings rebellious subiects to his obedience, the which hee wished them in any case to trie, that he would then furnish him with men, munition and money for the warres: these Lords being come to the towne of Tafalla, they did forthwith assemble the generall Estates, by vertue of a commission which they had from the King, the Cardinall and Lord James of Foix promising free and sure access and safe conduct to all men.

The Estates of  
Nauarre at  
Tafalla.

B The Deputies of the three Estates of the Kingdome being assembled, and hauing vn- derstood by the Cardinall the cause why they were come into Nauarre, whereunto were ioyned the French King Lewis the eleuenths letters, which did exhort the Nauar- rois to continue obedient to their King, and to acknowledge and serue him as faithfull subiects ought to doe, prouiding thereby, for the welfare, rest and quiet, of their coun- try: they did all with one generall consent make answer, that the Lords and people of Nauarre, did neuer meane to forsake their obedience towards Francis Phœbus the young King, whom they did acknowledge for their natural and lawfull Prince, but that on the contrary they had euer till now bene iealous and fearful, in regard of his youth and absence from the Realme, least some stranger should haue made himselfe

C Maister thereof, and therefore they did no lesse desire his coming then himselfe, and they humbly besought him to make hast as a thing most necessary: and if his coming had bene hindred by meanes of the ambition and tyranny of a few priuate persons, they gaue him to vnderstand, that it was to the great griefe of others, and in no sort occasioned by common consent; therefore they intreated him to come in a lucky ho- wer, seeing they were ready to receiue and honour him, accordingly as it did become them. The Cardinall and his brother vnderstanding so pleasing and desired an answer, did forthwith write thereof to the young King Francis Phœbus, and to King Fernand his great vncl. And because whatsoever was done, was to no purpose vnlesse those two great houses of the Earle of Lerin and the Marshall Don Pedro were reconciled,

D the Cardinall did vse the best meanes hee could to make them friends: but by reason of their inueterate quarrels hee found matter enough whereon to set his iudgement and industry a worke, and also incredible resistance against his brothers authority and his owne, so as diuers times they were in despaire of the matter: neuertheless, knowing that by perseverance, all difficulties are surmounted, and that in such holy and laudable actions we ought to vse our best endeavors, they laboured so earnestly therein, as in the end they thought that they had wholly reconciled them. And for a greater and more strict band of this alliance, this assembly of the Estates being in the time of Lent, the Cardinalls would needs haue the Constable and the Marshall to receiue the Sacrament together, in an hostie parted betwixt them in the Monastery of St. Sebastian in Tafalla.

Perseuerance  
ouer-cometh  
all difficulties.

E But as the heart of man is oftentimes different from the outward shew, so this reconcil- iation prooued but feigned and counterfeit; for notwithstanding promises, oaths, and all respect to Religion, which are oftentimes but masks to euill intents, the Earle of Lerin thinking with these ceremonies to haue sufficiently secured his aduersary, did determine to kill him vpon the first proffered occasion, perswading himselfe that if he could dis- patch this man, as hee had done his father and brother in time before, that then in Nauarre, hee should haue no more great enemies left to make head against him. There- fore vpon the very next day after their reconciliation which was good Friday, he hauing intelligence that the Marshall rode from Tafalla towards Tudela, or else to the Mona- stery of Oliua, hee came with a great troupe vnder the hill of Agnorba and there lay in

Feigned recon-  
ciliation be-  
twixt the Earle  
of Lerin and  
the Marshall  
of Nauarre

F ambush intending to assaile him on the sodaine as hee should passe that way. The Mar- shall who feared no such matter, came riding in the company of the Earle of Saint Steuens the Constable of Peraltas successor with their traine, and being come neere to the place where his death was prepared, Gods will was that hee had some inckling of the Earles treachery, wherevpon on a sodaine hee galloped backe againe as fast as hee could, being so hardly pursued by his enemy, as without the assistance of Arnaud

Treachery of  
the Earle of  
Lerin against  
the Marshall.

Gouernor



gouverneur of Vnqul, who speedily thrust him into a Church, he had beene there slaine. A  
The Earle being made that the Marshall had escaped, did the very same day execute  
his furie vpon other Gramontois, for with his owne hand hee slew *Leon de Garro* the bar-  
nard, the Arch-priest *Mendigorria* left *John de Pelex* of Medran for dead, with diuerse  
others slaine and hurt, and then returned home to his house: not long after that, cer-  
taine of the family of *Artieda*, hauing murdered some of the house of *Ayane*, the mur-  
derers were upheld and received by the Constable the Earle of Beaumont, by reason  
whereof, those of the family of *Ayane*, who had euer followed the *Beaumonts* faction,  
reuelted from their side to those of Grammont. These things are set downe by some,  
to bee more likely to haue beene done after the assembly of the estates, and they say, B  
that it is not to bee beleueed that the Constable would so much forget himselfe, as to  
commit such an act the next day after his reconciliation, which was made in so religious  
a manner, especially seeing the Cardinall and his brother were in the realme, and the  
estates of the kingdom there assembled, and they rather beleuee, that this quarrell was  
renewed a long time afterward in the reigne of Queene *Catherine*, vpon some new  
wrongs offered betwixt these Lords.

The peace of Castile, according to the determination of the States at Toledo, was  
virtuously procured by Queene *Isabell*, who in her husbands absence remained at Valio-  
dolit, being accompanied and counselled by the Cardinall of Spaine, the Earle of  
Benauent and others; by whose aduise were sent into Galicia, to order the affaires of C  
that Prouince, which had beene greuously shaken by the fore-past tempests, *Don Fer-  
dinand d'Acugna* a good and a virtuous Knight, sonne to the Earle of Buendia, with  
title of Gouvernor, vnto whom the Licenciat *Garcilopez de Chinchilla* of the Kings  
councill, and a man of great integrity, was ioyned in quality of Corrigidor, or Iudge,  
who found much to be reformed there; for diuerse tyrants oppressed their neighbours,  
vsturped the temporall and spirituall patrimony and reuenues of the Church, not caring  
for God, the King, nor Iustice, nor acknowledging any superiority, and did keepe backe  
the Kings tribute. The cities of *Lugo*, *Orense*, *Mondogedo*, nor the townes of *Buero*  
and *Corunna* were exempted from such calamities, in regard whereof the Gouverneur  
and the Corrigidor, accompanied with two hundred horse, went to the city of *S. James*, D  
there to make their residence, and to begin to order the affaires according to the forme  
of law: The inhabitants of *Saint James* seeing their company so small, were afraide  
that they were too weake to take in hand to bridle so many tyrants as were in that coun-  
trei, did make some difficultie to let them into the city: but at the last being satisfi-  
ed by the reasons of the Licenciat, they opened their gates, and promised to their power to  
aide and assit them to execute iustice: wherefore they began to fall to worke, and they  
made such executions, without partialitie or respect of persons, as they were not afraide  
to strike off the head of the Marshall *Pero Parde*, who had committed infinite mischiefs,  
so as in lesse then three months, more then one thousand five hundred persons, attainted  
with notorious crimes worthy of death, went out of the countrey of Galicia: as they E  
Commissioners did raze downe to the ground diuerse strong houses, which serued for  
places of retreat to theues and robbers: by means of which executions, euery one  
did acknowledge his dutie, and there were many, who without any constraint by iustice,  
did restore that which they held of other mens, by means whereof *Don Ferdinand d'Acugna*  
and *Garcilopez de Chinchilla* got much honor and credit.

This yeare, fiftie ships of warre, with men and munition, were set forth out of Biscay,  
Guipulcoa and Castile, vnder the title of warre against the Turkes, wherevnto the peo-  
ple of Biscay did contribute; nor preiudicing their priuiledges and exemptions, onely  
for the present occasion of so holy a warre, the Armie met together at Laredo, and was  
sent into Sicill, vnder the conduct of *Don Francisco Henriques*, sonne to the Admirall F  
of Castile, and serued at the taking of Otranto, which the Turkes had taken from *Don  
Ferdinand* the bastard of Arragon, who at the same time reigned at Naples: Before the  
Armie departed from Laredo, the standards and banners of the ships were blessed, *Don  
John de Ortega* Pouruoier of Villafranca, singing a sollemne masse: then they sailed alongst  
the coast of Spaine, and ioyned with other twenty vessels that came from Galicia, so as  
the

A the whole army of Castile consisted of three score and tenne ships gallantly rigged and  
furnished, who sayling towards Otranto perceived the army of Portugall to be there  
before them. By this succor the towne was recovered from the Turkes, who yeelded  
it vp vpon the newes of the death of their Emperour *Mahamet*, which happened at  
the same time. The Turkes being gonne forth of Italy, and the suspicion of other  
enterprises ceasing, the Spanish and Portugall ships returned home into their owne  
country.

The first acts of the new Inquisition in Spaine were at that time so sharpe and vio-  
lent, as this yeere 1481. *Don Pero Gonçales de Mendoza* Cardinall of Spaine vpon the  
B extreme complaints which the Conuerts did make, by reason of their vniust persecu-  
tions were enforced to take some milder and gentler course: for there were already  
more then three thousand house-holds destroyed and rooted out, onely in Siuill, and  
the Diocesse thereof. For these causes the Cardinall and other Prelats met to-  
gether to moderate the cruelty and violence of the pitiless Inquisitors. Then friar  
*Thomas* of Torquemada, a Iacobin, was chosen chiefe inquisitor: who by the Kings  
leauie did appoint diuers Iudges in the Prouinces of Spaine, which by the Popes au-  
thority did enquire of euery ones faith and manners. This iurisdiction hath bene  
often times since then amplified and reformed vntill that the tribunalls and seates  
were established in manner following. Valiodolit, and Calaoorra on that side of the  
C mounts towards Burgos, and Toledo and Cuenca on the other side, *Murcia* in her owne  
iurisdiction: Siuill and Cordoua in Andalusia: and *Erena* in Extremadura: then after the  
conquest of Granada in the same city.

The Inquisition was successfullie received into Arragon, at Saragossa, and Valencia,  
and at Barcelona for Cattalonia: All which Prouinces are twelue in number. Na-  
uarre answereth to Calaoorra, the seate whereof was transported to Logroño for bet-  
ter ease and commodity. The knowledge of these Iudges Inquisitors did at the same  
time chiefly extend to the Iewes; and Moores, which were conuerted, and yet neuer-  
thelesse did secretly adhere to their old sects: then to heretikes, and such as were reuol-  
ted from the Catholike faith, to Magicians, Blasphemers, and those that were attainted  
D with the sinne against nature. The generall Inquisition remayning at Court neere to  
the Kings person did rule and were chiefe ouer all these other Tribunalls. At the same  
time Pope *Sixtus* the fifth, did allow and authorize all that the Cardinall and his Coun-  
cell had decreed concerning that matter, and he did confirme the election of friar *Tho-  
mas* of Torquemada of the order of the Preachers, and Prior of the Monastery of  
Santa Cruz in Segobia, vnto whom *Diego de Merla* the Assitiant of Siuill, and *Pero  
Martinez Camagno* the Kings Secretary were ioyned as coadiutors. The first effect  
of the Inquisition after that it was ordained, was to set downe an edict that all Heretikes  
and Apostataes should appeare, and re-unite themselves to the Church of Rome, ac-  
knowledging their offences: More then seuentene thousand persons, did appeare E  
at this commaundement, who were enioyned what to say and doe; then they pro-  
ceeded against the obstinate and rebellious, more then two thousand of them were  
burned and their goods confiscated, and taken from their children and heires: the same  
sentence was executed vpon those that were absent and dead, digging vp their  
bones and burning them: in such sort as the Inquisition continuing thus rigorously,  
great numbers did leaue Castile, and with-drew themselves into the Kingdomes  
of Nauarre and Portugall; others went into France, England and to other farre  
Countries.

Let vs now returne vnto the Court, which was then at Valiodolit where the  
Queene of Castile was accompanied after the accustomed manner with a greater  
F traine of Ladies and Gentlewomen, the Nobility (who in these latter times giue  
themselves wholly to the exercise of armes, and doe for the most part contemne  
all other course of life which causeth them and not without cause to be esteemed of all  
men as people very vnprofitable in time of peace) did in this Court thinke vpon  
nothing else then for to serue and court the Ladies and Gentlewomen, and gae them-  
selves to such other like vaine and idle pleasures, accustomed in Princes Courts, and most  
of

March recom-  
mended by the  
Earle of Arden.

30  
Castile.  
The decrees of  
the Kings  
executed.

Justice establi-  
shed in Galicia.

31  
Spanish Army  
in Sicilie.

Rigor of the  
Spanish Inqui-  
sition medi-  
ated.

Friar Thomas  
of Torquemada  
da.

Power of the  
Inquisition.

Shame and ri-  
gorous execu-  
tions of the  
Inquisition.

of all in that of Spaine from whence did spring such fruites as vice doth produce, A namely quarrels and dishonour and losse, which euills had almost spread themselves from the particular to the generall, corrupting the publike peace, by troubles, seditions and mutinous wars.

Quarrell be-  
tweene D. Fre-  
derike Hen-  
riques and Don  
Ramir Nugnes  
de Guzman.

Don Ramir Nugnes de Guzman, sonne to Don Goncal de Guzman Lord of Torall, being in an evening in talke with Donna Maria Manuel in the Queenes presence Cham- ber, was interrupted in his speech by Don Frederike Henriques eldest sonne to the Ad- mirall, who either thorough the insolency of his youth, or else to content Don Gut- tierre de Sotomajor his brother-in-law, who made loue to that Lady, and was loath to haue an other man walke in his pursues, caused Don Ramir to arise as hee fate by B her, making as though he would haue gonne by him to haue spoken with Don Marine Zapate, and sodainly fate downe in his place by her, whereat Don Ramir beeing offen- ded, beganne to murmur against Don Frederike, so as they threatened to baltinado one another, and fell to bitter and reproachfull speeches: in such manner as Don Ramir Nugnes his honour was greatly interested: for Don Frederike going forth of the Queenes lodging called him drunkard, and base fellow, with many such like bitter termes. The Queene hauing notice of this quarrell, commaunded both of them to depart forth of the pallace, then shee confined Don Frederike to the Admirall his fathers lodg- ings and committed Don Ramir Nugnes to the keeping of Garci Laso de la Vega, Mai- ster of the Hall, vntill it were knowne who was in the fault, as also to keepe them from C hurting one an other in action as they had done a little before in words. Hauing vnderstood afterwards that Don Frederike had committed the greatest insolency, her will was to haue them still to keepe their Chambers till such time as shee had made them friends.

Notwithstanding which commaundement of the Queenes Don Frederike went a- broad to a tournament which was held the next day following, by reason whereof the Queene was extremely moued against him and the Admirall his father, and told them that if they went about to vse their power against Don Ramir Nugnes, hee should finde those to take his part as would not suffer him to susteine any wrong or iniury at their hands. The Admirall finding the Queene to bee much displeased, did beginne D to humble himselfe, and did assure her that Don Ramir needed not to feare any wrong either from himselfe, his sonne, or any of their followers; wherewith the Queene being contented did permit Don Ramir freely to goe out and come into the palace, acquaint- ing him with what the Admirall had promised her, bidding him to relie vpon her word, and to walke abroade vnder her royall safe-guard and protection. Don Ramir was well assured by her Princely and comfortable words, and. Don Frederike had saluted him, and talked familiarly with him and met diuerse times for the space of three daies together, yet notwithstanding this outward shew of reconciliation, Don Ramir was vpon a day baltinadged as hee walked in the streetes by certaine persons vnknowne vnto him, who presently after hauing their horses ready, galloped away.

The Queene beeing aduertized of this disgrace offered to Don Ramir, contrary to the Admirals promise, and her owne royall assurance, did rigorously pursue the Ad- mirall, and did not leaue (hauing seized vpon two of the chiefeft places that hee had name- ly the castle of Simancas and Iosecco) vntill shee had his sonnes person in her power, saying that those bl- ues lighted vpon her selfe, and that shee had felt them, and that shee would know whether it were the manner of Spaine, that Kings should bee so contented and despised by their subiects. The Admirall notwithstanding that hee was the Kings prouince, was constrained to deliuer his sonne Don Frederike to the Queene; with pro- mise that he should receiue no harme in his person, who by the Queenes commaunde- ment (who would not see him) was sent prisoner to the castle of Arealo. Don Ramir F hauing receiued this disgrace went to Torall with an intent to bee reuenged in a most rigorous manner, and was very glad to heare of his Aduersaries imprisonment: but nor contenting himselfe with the right which the Queene meare to doe him, he inuent- ed meanes how to bee reuenged on him with his owne hands, wherefore diuers nights together he caused the castle of Arealo to bee watched whether that he might finde any

Effects of im-  
moderate  
colours.

A any meanes to enter the same, and to kill Don Frederike, who was to narrowly garded: so as hatred daily encreasing in Don Ramir, who not being able to execute that which his choller had pretended, hee did resolute to kill the Admirall Don Alphonso Henriques, father to his aduersary, and in the same minde he rode secretly towards the Court, whe- ther hee had first of all sent Aluaro de Valderas one of his confederats to obserue the Ad- miralls actions, and to espy a fit time when hee might execute his designe, that hee might aduertize him of the time and place: Aluaro de Valderas cunning enough in other matters, communicated the businesse to Garci Franco, reposing trust in him, be- cause that his eldest sonne had married not long before Don Ramir Nugnes sister, but he found himselfe deceiued, for Garci Franco did forthwith aduertize the Admirall there- of, to the end that hee might stand vpon his guard: therefore Don Ramir lost his la- bour, and had no other recompence for that painfull journey, but onely daunger to bee drowned, as hee did inconsiderately and hastily passe ouer a riuer neere to Saldaigne. The Admirall did not faile to complaine that the Queene, how that, notwithstanding they were vpon termes of law, Don Ramir had praized against his life: this was done in the presence of the Cardinall of Spaine, who afterward pursued the matter in his behalfe: wherevpon shee did write to Don Ramir Nugnes, commaunding him by no means to attempt any thing against the persons of the Admirall, his kinsfolkes and seruants; and Pedro Mercado, who brought the Queenes letters, did demand letters C of assurance from him to performe that which the Queene commaunded him. Don Ramir answered the messenger that hee would fend his brother to the Court with his answer, and hauing consulted therevpon with his friends and kinsfolkes, within a few daies after, hee did write to the Queene that hee did assure the Admirall and all his fol- lowers vntill her returne from Arragon, whither shee was then going, and for five and twenty daies after her returne, the which did content the Queene, who gaue the Admi- rall that letter.

In the meane time Don Frederike was deliuered out of the castle of Arealo, and confined into Sicill, whether he was to haue gonne howe soeuer, to marry the Coun- tesse and heire of Modica, who was one of the greatest Ladies in the Island; and of D whom Queene Isabella in time made more account, then of any other whatsoever, and it is reported that before King Fernand was married to her, his father King John had thought to haue married him to this Countesse of Modica. When Don Ramir vnderstood what they ment to doe with his Aduersarie, hee thought that the punishment was not sufficient for the offence which hee had committed, therefore hee sent to beseech the Queene, that it might please her to permit him to endeavour to repaire his lost ho- nour, and reputation, by taking vengeance on Don Frederike, or else to grant them the single combate against him now whilest shee held him in her power: The Queene an- swered that these combats were no matters belonging to women, and that therefore he should content himselfe till the King were returned, who would see that right should E be done vnto him, and that his honour and reputation should bee maintained. Don Frederike went into Sicill, passing by Saragossa, and accomplished his marriage. Don Ramir Nugnes being continually solicited by the spirit of reuenge, perceiving that hee could haue none other remedy, did pursue his former enterprize against the Admirall Don Frederikes father, and was with great difficulty contained by his friends and kins- folks from killing of him, but at the last hee determined onely to crie quittance with him, and to entertaine him with baltinadges as they had serued him; the which hee ex- ecuted after the Queenes returne from Arragon; so soone as the five and twenty daies were expired within the which terme hee had promised not to touch him, the Court be- ing at Medina del Campo; hee assailed the Admirall as hee came out of the Queenes F house in the company of the Marquis of Astorga, which being done Don Ramir fled away hauing men and horses ready in the streete and at the gates to further his escape, and tooke the ready way towards Tordesillas, the bridge of the which place vpon Duero hee passed by night, the gate being opened to him by one that had beene sometime his seruant, and as then did serue the porter and kept the keyes. When he was passed ouer and the bridge locked againe, they tooke the keyes from the poore fellow and threw them

D Frederike  
Henriques  
confined in a  
Sicill where  
hee married  
with the Coun-  
tesse of Modica.

them into the river, fearing to bee pursued by the Queenes people, and by the breach of a day he arrived at Villalobos, where he changed horses and kept on for his greater safety the way of Benauent though it were the longest, and passing the bridge of Castro Gengalo, he turned on his left hand towards Saint Ciprians Church into the which he entered, as triumphing of his victory, with his vnkle Don Pedro de Guzman, and his brother Don Pedro Nugnes de Guzman, who waited for him there, and from thence they came al together to Torall, the which place they beganne to fortifie fearing that the Admirall, who was a great Lord, and the Queene likewise would send thither to beseege him. *Ramir Nugnes* leauing his vnkle and his brother at Torall, came to Leon, where diuerse of his friends met him, reioicing with him for what he had done. It is reported that entering into the Church of Saint Dominie in the same city, where diuers of his predecessors were buried, after that he had said his prayers he said openly before all men, that since the time he had bene disgraced, hee durst not come into that Church, being ashamed to be found in a place where the memories and remembrances of so many illustrious and honourable persons did remaine: but hauing now recovered his owne honour, his fathers, and that of their whole family, he was boldly come to visit them. Hauing afterward visited his mother, and his betrothed Lady Donna Maria de Quignones youngest daughter to the Earle of Luna, and tarried a while in the city, he withdrew himselfe by his vncles counsell to the castle of Auiaados, where he told him that he should be in greater safety then at Torall. Now after that this outrage was committed at Medina del Campo, the Marquis of Astorga, being present thereat, did enforme the Queene who commaunded *Alphonso Osorio* to pursue Don *Ramir Nugnes* and his people with fifty horse, who hauing rode all that night and the next day without finding any of those whom he fought for, he came and lodged at Villademor, a place not farre distant from Torall, where afterward, other captaines and souldiers sent from the Queene did meet together, who made a shew as if they would beseege the towne. The Bachelor *La Font*, came thither likewise to commaund *Pedro de Guzman* in the Queenes name to yeeld the place, hee receiued this answer, that if Don *Ramir Nugnes* had done any thing for the recovery of his honour, it was not a fault that did deserue to haue him spoiled of his patrimony and goods, lest him by his predecessors, therefore he besought the Queene to proceed in this businesse by order of law, and if that Don *Ramir* should be found guilty, then to punish him: with these speeches they entertained *La Font*, and gained time to the end that Don *Ramir* might haue leisure to fortifie himselfe. Whilest *La Font* went to the Court, the souldiers did much hurt in the country neere to Torall, and provoked the Inhabitants and souldiers which were within the towne, to come forth and skirmish with them, albeit that Don *Pedro de Guzman* with-held them from so doing, as much as in him lay: for hee would not giue that aduantage to Don *Ramires* aduertaries, so say that those of Torall had fought against the Queenes forces, who commaunded *Alphonso de Quintanilla* to vse all fit means that hee could to take the towne and castle of Torall, *Alphonso* hauing demanded to speake with Don *Pedro de Guzman* and *Pero Nugnes* his Nephew, acquainted them with the Queenes resolution, exhorting them not to delay the time till they brought the canon, they answered that they would in no sort shew themselves rebellious to the Queenes commandement, but they only entreated that Don *Ramir* might be proceeded against by the ordinary means of Iustice, which being graunted they were ready not only to yeeld vp Torall, but the castle of Auiaados in like manner, and namely if need required to put Don *Ramires* person into the hands of the Duke of Medina Sidonia in hostage, orto Don *Gomes Sueres de Figueroa* Earle of Fertia: the which was agreed vpon betwixt them and signed by a Notarie, and a truce made betwixt the beseegers and beseegeed whilest that *Alphonso de Quintanilla* might goe and come from the Court. The Queene was at the same time gone to Cordoua, wherefore *Alphonso* being come to Valadolid, and hauing conferred with the Admirall, sent the dispatch to Cordoua to the Queene, who appointed for depositor of *D. Ramires* lands and person the Earle of Fertia who had married *D. Constance*, *D. Ramires* Aunts daughter he accepted it vpon condition, that he should be aduertized fure and twenty daies before the sentence should bee pronounced, and that the Kings should promise

33  
Quarrell betwixt D. Ramir Nugnes de Guzman and D. Fendric Henriquez.

A promise him by writing, not to demaund Don *Ramires* person during the time of the processe, for he would assure him whilest he was in his power: On the other side, Don *Ramir* lent to the King of Portugall to know, whether that if it should happen, that a sentence should be pronounced against him which might touch his life and honour, hee would permit him to come into his Kingdome and Court in safety. These things being graunted, Don *Ramir* was brought to the castle of the towne of Fertia, for greater surety, and there kept in prison, vntill his processe was ready to be iudged; and then the Kings according to their promise, did aduertize the Earle of Fertia thereof at the appointed time, who sent Don *Ramir* well accompanied into Portugall, where King *Iohn* the second of that name did then reigne, who entertained him very courteously, as shalbe hereafter declared.

Queene *Isabella* as hath bene said made a voyage into Arragon, and carried thither with her husband *Iohn* Prince of the Asturias, and was receiued into the city of Calatayub with great and magnificent triumph, whether the King came not long after, who at the same time was at Barcelona with the Lords and Deputies of the States of Arragon, by whom Prince *Iohn* was likewise sworne vnto and acknowledged for Prince of Girona, heire vnto Castile and Arragon, and true successor in these Kingdomes, the Kings in like manner did sweare and promise to maintaine the rights, priuiledges and exemptions of the country: That being done they went to Saragossa, where they made as triumphant an entry as at Calatayub. Thither was newes brought of the death of the great Turke *Mahomet*, of the succession of his sonne *Bajazet* in that Empire, and of the discord betwixt him and his brother *Zemir*, and also how that King *Fernand* of Naples had recovered the towne of Otranto which *Acomat Bascia* had taken from him the yeere before. For all which desired newes, the Kings yeelded thanks vnto God by generall processions after the accustomed manner. The Kings did in like manner assemble the Estates at Barcelona and Valencia, where the like others were made vnto Prince *Iohn* as next future heire: but touching the subsidies they demanded, it was impossible to obtaine any, and they were faine on the contrary to grant many things to the people, and in diuerse sorts to supply their wants, being but poore euer since the last warre that the Cartellans made against the King Don *Iohn*.

The States of Arragon sworne to Prince Iohn.

Hisier at Barcelona and Valencia.

## D Don Iohn the second of that name, and 13. King of Portugall.

A About the same time died *Alphonso* King of Portugall at Sintra, who since the last warres betwixt him and Castile, had euer led a melancholy and discontented life: he lay sicke fure and twenty daies, and de ceased the three and fortieth yeere of his reigne, being of the age of nine and forty yeeres and seuen monethes: his body was buried with great solemnitie and funerall pompe in the royall Monastery of the battle, of the Order of the Friars preachers: the Catholike Kings remaying still at Barcelona did there celebrate his obsequies. After him reigned his sonne *Iohn*, father to *D. Alphonso* who did not succeed him, because he died before his father, as hereafter shalbe mentioned.

34  
Portugal.

King *Fernand* hauing ordered the affaires of Arragon, Catalonia and Valencia, returned with the Queene his wife into Castile, where, during her absence, the Constable and the Admirall were appointed Viceroyes, who committed the Earles of Luna and Valence to prison, in regard of certaine tumults and seditions which they had raised in the Kingdome of Leon. The Court remaying at that time at Medina del Campo, happened, as hath bene herebefore declared the reuenge of *D. Ramir Nugnes* de Guzman against the Admirall.

There arose at the same time a new contention betwixt the Kings of Castile and the Pope, wherein they shewed no want of courage. The Episcopall See of Cuenca was vacant by the de cease of the Bishop, Pope *Sixtus* gaue it to a Nephew of his borne in Genoa, Cardinall of the title of Saint *George*, without the knowledge or consent

35

Gggg

consent of the Kings, who being highly displeased that the Bishopricks and great benefices of Spaine should be possessed by strangers, against the ancient decrees of the Estates of the Kingdome, obserued from time to time, did hinder this Cardinall from taking possession of the Bishopricke, and gaue the Pope to vnderstand how preiudiciall it might be to the Realmes of Spaine, whereof the Pope making no account and continuing in his former purpose, the Kings commanded all their subiects that were in the Court of Rome, to depart from thence, and made protestations to the Pope that they would procure a generall Councell to bee called to redresse these and other such like disorders.

The Pope who abhorred that more then any thing in the world, sent a Gentleman of Genoa, whose name was *Dominico Centurion* for his Ambassador into Spaine, who being come to Medina del Campo, and crauing audience, it was refused him, and he was told from the Kings, that because their Ambassadors were euill intreated and contemned at Rome, they would not entertaine nor harken to the Popes, therefore he should doe well and wisely, speedily to depart from thence, and concerning his owne person, they would no farther assure it in their dominions, then whilest he could returne towards Italy. The Ambassador being amazed at this commandement, did forthwith reiect the name and priuiledge of an Ambassador, and besought them to hold him as their subiect, for he was borne in their Kingdome. The Kings in regard of this humillity, committed him prisoner to the fort of Medina, from whence soone after he was deliuered, by the means of the Cardinall of Spaine. When the Pope vnderstood what the Kings had done, hee was content to let them enjoy their ancient rights, and they made couenants and agreements together, by the which it was decreed, that the Kings of Spaines presentations to the Bishopricks, should from thenceforth bee admitted in the Court of Rome, and they should be bestowed vpon such as had well deserved of the Spanish common-wealth: and by this meanes it hath benee oftentimes seene that diuers good religious persons haue benee, against their willes, constrained to become Bishops, as *Don Pedro de Maluenda*, generall of the Order of Saint Ierome, who was enforced to take the Bishopricke of Coria, and Doctor *Don Tello de Buendia* that of Cordoua.

Before we end this booke, it shall not be amisse to returne to Nauarre where we left the Cardinall of Foix, and his brother James of Foix, much busied to ouer-rule the chiefe of the factions in that Kingdome. They hauing had an answer of the States such as they desired, and ordered the affaires of the country as well as they could, came backe into Arragon before King *Fernand* went thence, with whom hauing consuled, they concluded that it was expedient, that King *Francis Phabus* should come into his Kingdome, and enter it in armes and military Order as soone as conueniently he could, before the peoples mindes and affections should be changed by any occasion that might happen; wherefore as soone as they were returned into France, they declared to the King and to Donna *Magdalene* his mother, what they had effected, as well in Nauarre, as in Arragon, signifying vnto them that the chiefe hope consisted in diligence: wherefore they sodainely assembled their friends and seruants from all partes, and gathered together a thousand or fiftene hundred horse; and like number of footmen, with which forces, this young Prince, accompanied with his mother, and the Cardinall his vnckle entred into Nauarre, where hee was receiued by the Nobility and townes, without any difficulty or resistance at all, namely the Earle of Lerin albeit he was not pleased with his coming, did deliuer vp the city of Pampelona vnto him, considering that if he should doe otherwise, the young King had the King of Castile on one side, and the French King on the other, mighty Princes and his neere kinsmen, who would constrain him to doe his duty.

King *Francis Phabus* in the month of Nouember the yeere 1482. made his entrie into the City, where the three Estates were assembled, he was there crowned, and did giue and receiue the othes of fidelitie, and good government, in the Cathedrall Church after accustomed manner, in the presence of the Cardinall his vnckle, the Lords of his Kingdome, the Princess his mother accompanied with

A with Ladies and Gentlewomen, and by the Ambassadors of Castile, France, and from other potentates being at that time not above fiftene yeeres of age: and the same day and many daies after, tilts, turneys, and other royall feasts were there made in magnificent manner. These matters being ended, he went in person to visit the townes, cities and fortresses, as well to see the manner of the government of the country, as to receive the particular othes of the captaines and gouernors, to see iustice administered, and to make how firme and constant euery one was in his seruice: and the better to provide for the publike peace and quiet, he commanded proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet both in his owne Court and ouer the whole Kingdome, that no man vpon paine of death should any more vse the feditious names of Beaumont and Grammont. And the more to gratifie the Earle of Lerin and to binde him more strictly to his seruice, hee confirmed the office of high Constable vnto him which *Peter de Peralta* deceased had held in time before and gaue him moreouer Sarraa and other places which he had won from the Spaniards, Viana excepted, because it was the chiefe of the principallity, and the title of the eldest sonne of Nauarre. In the Cathedrall Church, where hee was crowned, he gaue gifts, and graunted priuiledges, namely to be free from lodging, the letters whereof were dated at Tafalla in the month of Ianuary, the same yeere: he did grautifie in like manner other Lords, Knights, Churches, Townes, and particular persons with such moderation and equiry, as all men did admire so great wildome in such young yeeres, and did praise God that had giuen so good a King vnto Nauarre: In all which matters, he was ruled by the wildome of the Princess his mother, of the Cardinall his vnckle, and other persons of State and experience which were in his Court and neere his person. Whilest in his nonage his mother the Princess did gouerne the Kingdome, shee vied these titles in her letters. We *Magdalene* daughter and sister to the French King, Princess of Viana, gouernor and protectresse of our deere and best beloued sonne *Francis Phabus* by the grace of God King of Nauarre &c. This Prince was surnamed *Phabus* because he was faire as the sunne among the starrs, and also in regard diuers of his race were of the same name. Diuers marriages were procured for him, but none was accomplished: for he died fiftene monthes after he was crowned, hauing but shewed himselfe to the world, and sodainely vanished in the prime of his youth. King *Fernand* his great vnckle, would haue married him to his second daughter Donna *Isabe*, who was since heiress to all his Kingdomes: but the Princess his mother following the counsell of King *Lewis* the eleuenth, who did not greatly affect the affaires of Castile, did hinder that match. The like hinderance was ministred by her and King *Lewis* in the marriage of his sister *Catherine* who was Queene of Nauarre and the Prince Don *Iohn* of Castile heiress to the same crowne: for King *Lewis* who had great deieignes in his head, did goe about to marry this King *Francis Phabus* to Donna *Isabe* the Nun at Coimbra the pretended Queene of Castile: and by that pretended right, and the forces of his owne Kingdome, to cast King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella* out of the Realmes of Castile and Leon, and for euer to keepe the Earldome of Rossillon to himselfe, with other purposes which vanished into aire: and the better to effect what hee had determined sent Ambassadors into Portugall to King *Alphonso*, whose death happening this yeere with that of the King of Nauarres soone after, did quite frustrate these practises: to the which, King *Iohn* of Portugall, who succeeded his father *Alphonso*, would by no meanes harken.

The end of the two and twentieth Booke.

Gggg 2

THE



## THE THREE AND TWENTYTH Booke of the Generall History of Spaine.

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- 1** The beginning of the long warre of Granada against King Muley Albohacen.
- 2** Death of King Francis Phoebus. Marriage procured by the Kings of Castile for their sonne D. Iohn with Queene Catherine of Nauarre.
- 3** Continuance of the warre of Granada. Conquest of that great Canaries: Switzers hired for this warre against the Moores.
- 4** Causes of suspicion of King Fernand and Queene Isabella against the heire of Nauarre. Intelligence and practizes with the factious to get that Kingdom.
- 5** Continuance of the warre of Granada.
- 6** The reign of King Iohn the second of Portugall. Discovery of Manicongo: the King intitles himself Lord of Guiney: Conspiracies: Death of the dukes of Bragança and Visco, with other irragittall acts in the same Court.
- 7** Continuance of the warre of Granada against Muley Boabdellin the one and twentieth King of that Country: The Pope helpeth forward the warre of Granada: Politike acts of the Kings of Castile.
- 8** Christopher Columbus his first comming to the Court of Castile: his disposition and qualities.
- 10** Siege of Malaga.
- 11** Hermandades or brother-hoods: Inquisition in Arragon.
- 12** Iohn d' Albret, and Catherine of Nauarre the five and thirtieth in Order of the Kings of Nauarre: The vicount of Narbonne quarrels about the Earldome of Foix: Enterprises of Castile against Nauarre by meanes of the factious.
- 13** King Fernand's fauours towards Amand d' Albret: aide granted by him to the Princes and Lords confederate against the French King Charles the eight.
- 14** Death of the duke of Alua, and other Lords of Castile. Exploits done against the Moores.
- 15** Nauigations of the Portugalls into the Ocean sea: search and discovery of vnkowne lands, and great diligence of King Iohn of Portugall about these matters.
- 16** Treaties of marriage, and other domesticall acts in the Court of Castile, oppression of the Conuers.
- 17** Continuance of the warre against the Moores of Granada. Siege of Baça.
- 18** Masterhip of Calatrava incorporated to the Crowne of Castile, with other matters belonging

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- A** long to the same Order.
- 19** Pursute of the Moorish warre, Baça yeelded up.
- 20** Pursutes against Mahomet the Little, the last King of Granada, to dispossesse him of the same city, vnder colour of right.
- 21** Marriage of Prince Alphouso of Portugall with Donna Isabella the Infanta of Castile.
- 22** Siege of Granada, and yeelding up of the same city.
- 23** Politike acts of King Fernand and Queene Isabella of Castile.
- B** **34** D. Alphouso of Portugall his pittifull death.



In this three and twintith Booke, for continuance  
of the Kings reigning in Spaine, mention  
is made of.

35. Iohn D' Albret, and Catherine his wife, King  
and Queene of Nauarre, himselfe  
the second of that name.

Gggg 3

THE

Qualities of  
King Muley  
Albohacen.



He warre which King *Fernand* began and ended against the Moores of Granado, was one of his most memorable acts: for the Kingdome of Granado did flourish more at that time, then it had done in many yeeres before, being full of men, riches and armor, and governed by one of the wisest and pollicke Kings that euer reigned ouer that Nation: namely *Muley Albhacen*, if hee had bene a little more faithfull, and lesse ambitious and proud, which qualities did plunge him into troubles, and miserable diuisions as well against his subiects in the bowels of his owne country as against the Castilians his neighbours. Hee had enioyed a long peace, and as it were with pride and brauing he pulled vp the assurance thereof by the rootes from the Kings of Castile, hauing freed and discharged himselfe from the tribute which his predecessors were accustomed to pay them. And albeit the same was greuous to King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella*, which were magnanimous and impatient of all losse and diminution of their royall Estate: who besides that, were pricked forward as well by their owne zeale to Christian Religion; as by the perswasion of the Popes and Prelates to undertake the same warre: yet notwithstanding, the truce agreed vpon, the charge and discommodities of the warres which they had newly ended against the King of Portugall, the present confusion wherein the Realme of Castile was at the same time, did counsell them to waite for a fitter opportunity. Now when it pleased God (vnto whom all times and occasions are subiect) that this Mahometan superstition should take an end, and that this race of Moores should bee rooted out of Spaine by armes, seeing that other more conuenient meanes could not bee vsed by the Church, the warre which commenced constantly pursued against them, and wholly ended in the space of tenne yeeres, did beginne in this manner.

I  
Nauarre.

King *Muley Albhacen* hauing bene aduertized that the city of Zahara was negligently kept by the Christians, and presuming vpon the truce, caused it to be taken in the night by scaladoe, together with the fort and castle; he carried away the men, cattraile, and all the riches that he could finde therein, and manned it with a good and strong garison of Moores. The taking thereof being knowne in Granado, one of their Philosophers which they call *Alphagiques* cried out publicly: Either mine Oracles deceiue mee, or the end of the ancient reigne of the Moores in Spaine is at hand: the which in deed came to passe, the surprising of this towne giuing King *Fernand* occasion to lay hand vpon this conquest, with all his forces and meanes, and with incredible perseverance: The newes that the truce was broken by the Moores being vnderstood at Medina del Campo where the Court then was, diuerse companies were dispatched to the frontiers of Murcia and Andaluzia, vnder the charge of Don *Alphonso* de Cardenaz Maister of Saint James, who lay in garison at Eccia, Don *Roderigo Telles Giron* Maister of Calatraua, remained at Iaen and others in other places, besides the ordinary garisons and forces of Don *Pedro Henriquez* Gouvernor generall of the frontiers of Andaluzia and assisted by Don *Pedro Ponce* de Leon Marquis of Cales, the Duke of Medina Sidonia and others: the King commaunded all of them to make sharpe warre in the country of Granado with fire and sword, the which they beganne to execute with all violence; for hauing ouer-runne and ruined a great part of the country, they did winne by the industry of *Diego Merlo* assistant of Siuill, the city of Alhama, as carelessly guarded by the Moores as Zahara had bene by the Christians: by reason that it was most in the midst of their country: the castle was the first that was taken; being scaled, a valiant souldiier of Carmona called *John* de Ortega a great sceler of wallies being the first man that entred it, being neerely followed by *Martin Galindo* a Knight borne at Eccia, *John* of Toledo and others to the number of thirty, who cut the next Court of garde in peeces, whom they found fast a sleepe, then they brake open a posterne gate, and gaue entrance to the rest of the army.

Alhama taken by the  
Castilians.

The Moores which were resident in the towne, hearing the noyse and clamour of this surpris, ranne confusedly and in great disorder (and not yet thorowly waked) to succour the castle: but they soone perceived that it was past all remedie: therefore

A therefore they fortified themselves in the Mesquites or Churches, and in the towers of the wallies, with all sorts of armes and engines for defence: giuing notice to their next neighbours of what had befallen them, and craued speedie ayde, which they expected also from Granado, which was ten miles distant from thence. The Christians who in like manner made account, that if they did not driue the enemies forth of the towne the same day, they themselves should be ouer-runne with the multitudes which would come thither, did resolute valiantly to assaile them, by the perswasion and example of *Sancho de Anula* Captaine of Carmona, and of *Nicholas de Rojas* Gouvernor of Arcos: but finding great resistance, the opinion of those was almost followed, who would haue the castle razed downe to the ground, and so to returne: yet for all that the Marquis of Cales, nor the Assistant of Siuill not consenting thereunto, they began onely to ouerthrow that part of the castle which looked vpon the towne, and the souldiers being againe brought to the fight, did behaue themselves so valiantly, as, notwithstanding the Moores brauer resistance, before the latter end of the day, all the churches and forts were taken, and the towne wholly wonne, which was esteemed the goodliest prize, that they could haue wished, for the importance of the warre. Three thousand Genets or light-horse were brought to this expedition, and as many foot-men by *Diego Merlo*, Don *Pedro Henriquez*, and the Marquis of Cales, who for the hatred which he did euer beare to the duke of Medina Sidonia, would not haue him made acquainted with this enterprise. The Moores of Granado being greatly astonished for the losse of Alhama, beganne to make euill prelagges of the end of the warre, and to murmure against King *Muley Albhacen*, not sparing to say, that his taking of Sahara would sticke to him and to his posteritie to the worlds end. He did speedily lend a thousand horse to their ayde, but they could not come time enough.

Euill prelagges  
of the Moores.

In the meane space he gathered together all his men at armes from all parts of his kingdome, and came in person to beseege Alhama, not bringing any artillerie with him, imagining that the Christians not being yet fortified therein, would quickly leaue it, but he was deceiued, for hee found them fowre and stubborne aduersaries; but chieffy there was a bloudie encounter at such time as the Moores went about to turne away the riuier which passeth by the towne, where diuers of both sides lost their liues: and it is to be doubted, that without the ayde of God sent to the beseged, they had bene ouercome by so great a power, as then fought against them, for they began to be out of hope and beganne to spoile all that they could not carry away, and were resolute to yeeld it, when Don *Henry de Guzman*, Duke of Medina Sidonia, arrived with a sufficient armie of his owne tenants, friends, and followers, with others entertained with his owne money, which (they say) amounted to three thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, with whom were ioyned the Earle of Cabra, and Don *Alphonso* of Aguilar, and his brother Don *Gonsal Hernandez* of Cordoua, who was afterward called the great Captaine in the warres of Italy, bringing with him the troups of Seuille, Eccia, Cordoua, and other places. All these forces, which were great and wonderful, for the short time wherein the were gathered together, did march towards Alhama.

King *Fernand* hauing notice of the taking thereof, made himselfe forthwith readie for to come into Andaluzia, hauing in his company Don *Berrand de la Cueva*, Duke of Albuquerque, and the Earles of Treuigno and Tendilla, with many other knights, the Earle of Cifuentes meeting them at Toledo, and then they altogether passed the mounne called Sierra Morena, to ioine with the armie which the king commanded to attend him there: but the Commanders knowing the necessitie of those of Alhama, went forward with great diligence to deliuer them, the which they did onely by the noyse of their coming: the Moore King being retired in the night with his whole armie. The king who followed, passed on to Anteguera, and there receyued newes, that the seige before Alhama was rayzed, wherefore he returned to Cordoua to meet the Queene whom he had left to leaue souldiers.

Now the Marquis of Cales, who was beseged with great danger in Alhama, considering the generosity of his aduersarie the Duke of Medina, who for the weale publike and seruice of the king, hauing forgotten all enmitie, had come to his ayde, he did highly esteeme

The king of  
Granado be-  
siege Alhama.

*Don Hen y de Guzman comes to the succour of this aduersarie.*

*Debate betwixt the besseged, and those that came to their ayde.*

*Alhama preferred at the instance of Queen.*

*Death of Don Alphonso Carrillo.*

esteeme of him, and casting away all euill will and hatred, he ranne to him and embraced him with great loue, giuing him infinite thanks for so great a fauour: and these two Lords had such louing and pleasing conference together, as euer after they liued in strict and vnfaigned friendship, this Moorish warre hauing brought fourth effects contrarie to the seditions in Castile. The Chieftains being agreed, there arose contention betwixt the souldiers, those which came to their ayde did say, that they ought to haue their part of the spoyle of the towne, the others gaine-fayed it, in such sort, as if the wisdom of their Captaines, and their new reconciliation had not preuented it, they had fallen into tumult. The spoyle remayned to those who had defended the place, and the new come souldiers were appeased with reason and good words, and they all dislodged with the Duke and the Marquis, and returned euery man to his home: after the garissons were refreshed, and the towne well manned, where *Diego de Merlo*, *Don Martin* of Cordoua, and *Hernand Carrillo* remayned Captaines. After that the armie was gone, the King of Granado hauing notice thereof, he did forth-with returne backe to assaile Alhama, and brought at this time no more engines of batterie with him, than at the former, but only a great number of ladders, thinking in regard it was not yet thoroughly fortified nor rampired, to take it by the multitude of his souldiers: and at last hauing assailed it day and night without ceasing, he earely in a morning scaled it in a place which was not thought vpon: so as he put three-score and ten Moorish souldiers into it, and had caused greater numbers to haue entred, had not a souldier perceyued them, and giuen the alarme: wherefore the Christians running to that place, did cut in peeces those that were entred, and repulsed the rest who endeauoured to follow them. The successe of those assaults was not according to king *Malley Alboacen*s expectation, therefore he went thence once againe, with an intent to returne thither with artilerie. In the meane space *Queene Isabella* hauing left the Admirall Viceroy of Castile, marched with those forces which she had leauiued, towards Cordoua, to meete the King, being attended on by the Constable, who refused to be Viceroy of Castile, saying, that warre and armes were the proper offices belonging to an high Constable of Spaine. The Kings Councell did determine and almost conclude to raze the Citie of Alhama, in regard it stood in the middelt of the Realme of Granado, and therefore very hardly to be kept: but the Queene, who was desirous to preserue it, as the first conquest of her raigne, did perswade the contrarie, so as it was not ruined: and order was giuen to assaile, and take in all the forts and castles nere adioyning.

The Kings came after that to Eccia, where they receyued newes of the decease of *Don Alphonso Carrillo* of Acugna, Arch-bishop of Toledo, who dyed at Alcalá de Henares: they procured the election to the same dignitie for the Cardinall *Pero Gonçales* of Mendoza, the seuentith Arch-bishop of that Sea and Primate of Spaine, and the Arch-bishoppricke of Siuile was giuen to *Don Inigo Manriquez* Bishop of Iuen. There were at the same time with the King, *Don Diego Hurtado* of Mendoza Bishop of Palence, the Masters of Saint James and Calatrava, the Constable, the Dukes of Villa-hermosa, Infantazgo, Medina Celi, Albuquerque, the Marquis of Villena, and Cales, the Earles of Vregna, Cabra, Treuigno, Tendilla, Cifuentes, and Benalcázar, *Don Alphonso d'Aguiar*, *Don Henry Henriques* great Master, and the Kings vncler, *John Chacon*, *Rodrigo* of Villosa, *Don Frederick* of Toledo, sonne to the Duke of Alua, *Don John de Ribera* Lord of Montmajor, *Don Alphonso* of Cardenaz, *Don Antonio Fonseca*, *Hernand* of Vega, with other Lords and Knights of great name: *Don John* of Estuniga, master of Alcantara, by reason of his young yeares was absent, with his father the Duke of Plaisance. With this companie the king departed from Eccia, with eight thousand horse, and great numbers of foot, and came to Alhama, the which they fortified with rampars, bulwarkes, and other sufficient defences, and the king made *Don Lewis Fernandes Porto Carrero*, Lord of Palma, Gouvernor thereof, leauing him foure hundred horse: the Cardinall did purifie and blesse the three Mesquites or churches with the accustomed ceremonies, and dedicated them to other vses: then the army began to ouer-run the country on euery side, whilst the queene busied her selfe in providing victuals, armes, munition, and other necessaries for the wars. The Christian army being strengthened with new supplies, did presently beseege Loxa and

A and was lodged amongst the Oliue trees, vallies, and little hills neere to the riuer of Guadaxenil. The Mooreking on his part lost neither time nor courage, but fortified and defended the passages and streights, by the which the enemies might assaile him, and approach towards Granado: sending to the Kings and Potentates of Affrica, to aduertize them of the dangerous warre wherein he was engaged, intreating them for the religion common betwixt them, for the honour of their nation; for the equall danger which threatened them, if Granado should be lost, that they would come or send to his ayde: and he did in the meane time oppose his owne forces against the Christians, and on either part there were valiant encounters and skirmishes performed, where neuertheless *Don Rodrigo Telles Giron* Master of Calatrava's shappe was hard, who dyed being shot thorough the bodie with two poysoned arrowes, and *Don Garcia Lopes* of Padilla was promoted to his place, and was the last Master of that Order. King *Fernand* being desirous to change and alter the seate and lodging of his armie to a more conuenient place, there were sharpe skirmishes in the removing of the campe, where the Constable receyued two wounds in his face: the besseged, who were not about three thousand, made continuall sallies vpon the Christians with such furie and brauing, as it was to be wondered at: and did oftentimes put the great Lords and Captaines which kept those quarters which they assailed, in great danger of their liues: committing notable spoyles vpon their troups, and the Duke of Medina Celi, and the Earle of Tendilla, did hardly escape with their liues, being rescued by the forces of the Earle of Playfance, which his sonne *Don Francisco* of Estuniga brought to their ayde: the Kings owne person was likewise succored by *Don John de Ribera*, Lord of Montmajor, assisted greatly by *Don Fredericke* of Toledo, sonne to the Duke of Alua, *Don Antonio de Fonseca*, *Don Alphonso* of Cardenaz, and *Hernand* of Vega. Such was the enraged hardinesse of the Moores, as notwithstanding that they were beaten backe and streightly shut in by the valour and industrie of the Marquis of Cales, yet they constrained King *Fernand* to raise his seege and returne to Cordoua.

The souldiers which lay in Alhama hauing notice of what had happened, and of the Kings retreat from before Loxa, fearing that the Moores would returne to bessege them, cryed out to haue the towne razed and ouerthrowne, and to returne home to their houses: but *Don Lewis Fernandes Porto Carrero*, and *Pero Ruiz* of Alarcón, with others, did oppose themselves against it, and hindered it. The king of Granado came thither the third time, and did greatly annoy them: but they valiantly defended themselves vntill *K. Fernand* came with succour to deliuer them from the seege, who changed both the garisson and the Gouvernour, and left other souldiers there, vnder the command of *Don Lewis Oforis* Arch-deacon of Astorga, and brother to the Marquis of the same place. That being done, the Christian armie did forrage, burn and spoyle the cuntry of Granado, from whence they carried away much spoile, and many prisoners to Cordoua.

E Mahomet Boabdellin called the Little, and the twentieth king of Granado.

THE Christian souldiers found smal resistance in this latter roade, in regard the Moores were greatly diuided among themselves, by means wherof king *Malley Alboacen* was dispossessed and driuen away; for hee was much feared, and hated, because of his tyrannies which extended chiefly to the Nobilitie, and he had namely euill intreated the family of *Abencaraxes*, one of the most illustrious houses among the Granadins. These men with their complices and allies constrained *Malley Alboacen* to giue place, and they deliuered the citie with the Alhambra or fort thereof, to his sonne *Mahomet Boabdellin* surnamed the Little, who was fled to Guadix for feare of being slaine by his father, who was carried away with vnreasonable amorous passions, and false suggestions of a second wife, a renied Christian, whom hee had married for her rare and excellent beaurie, in regard wherof she was called *Zoraya*, which signifieth *Morning-Barre*. This woman

*The Moores make Iournales to lie vpon the Christians.*

*The sege of Loxa raised.*

*Seditions betwixt the fauer and sunne.*



woman being desirous to aduance her children which shee had by the King, did incite A  
 a uour by all meanes to roote out those which hee had begotten on the Queene *Aixa* his  
 wife, a Ladie of a great and illustrious house, and his neere kinswoman, who because she  
 would not see her eldest sonne murdered, which was this *Boabdellin*, she caused him on  
 a night to be let downe out of the window of the castle with the helpe of her woman by a  
 rope made of their vailles, and night tyres, and thereby gaue him meanes to saue him-  
 selfe in the citie of Guadix, where the *Admireraxes* his kinsmen, who were of great po-  
 wer there, did kindly receiue him, and dealt in such sort with their friends of the city of  
 Granada, as they acknowledged him for their king. The father hauing retired himselfe  
 somewhere else, made fierce and sharpe warre vpon his sonne, which caused the losse of B  
 their Crowne, and totall ruine to the raigne of the Moores in Spaine.

*The Moores take Cagnette.* Albeit that those barbarous people were at such dissention among themselves, yet  
 when there was any cause they would agree together to annoy the Christians, so as they  
 tooke the towne of Cagnette, spoyled it, and carried away all the inhabitants and soul-  
 diers for slaues, and afterwards razed it downe to the ground. These things were done  
 in the yeare 1482. wherein is to be noted, that foure seuerall Christian armies entred in

*An. 1482.* a few moneths space into the kingdome of Granada. King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabel-  
 la* appointed Captaines for the frontiers, namely, for Iacn Don *Pedro Manrique* Earle  
 of Treuigno, who was newly made Duke of Nagera: the Master of Saint Iames for Ec-  
 cia, and Don *Iohn de Siliua* Earle of Cisuentes for Siuill, the assistant *Diego Merlo* being C  
 lately dead. Towards the end of the yeare, the Queene in the citie of Cordoua was deli-  
 vered of a daughter, called the Infanta *Maria*, who was afterward Queene of Portugall,  
 and after she was churched, the Court remoued to Madrid.

*Nauarre.* The beginning of the yeare 1483. was sorrowfull to the Nauarrois, by reason of the  
 death of their king *Francis Phœbus*, whome the Princeesse his mother had carried backe  
 into France, to auoyde the Importunate solliciting of marriages which they would haue  
 procured in Spaine both for him and his sister Donna *Catherina*, wherewith King *Lewis*  
 the eleuenth was not contented: hee dyed not without suspicion of poyson: for without  
 any apparance at all of sicknesse, he selfe himselfe to be stricken with a deadly priking, as  
 he was playing vpon a flute, which was presented vnto him, in which, and all other D  
 instruments of musike, he did greatly delight. Being neere to his end hee repeated these  
 words taken out of the Gospell: *My kingdom is not of this world, therefore I leaue the  
 world: trouble not your selves, for I go to the Father.* He dyed in Bearne, in the castle of Pau  
 the fourth yeare of his raigne, if we reckon from his grand-mothers death, Queene *Leo-  
 nora*, being but fifteene yeares of age fully compleat: hee lyes buried at Lescar in the  
 Cathedrall Church of S. Mary.

*Castile.* King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella* receiued newes of his death at Madrid, where they  
 had called a Parliament, and because the Crowne of Nauarre descended to the Infanta  
 Donna *Catherine* sister to the deceased king, they sent the Licenciate *Rodrigo Maldonado*  
 of Talauera, one of their Councell Ambassadors into Bearne, to the Princeesse *Magdalen* E  
 her mother, to demand the Infanta in marriage, for the Prince Don *Iohn* their sonne.  
 The mother Princeesse notwithstanding that these would willingly haue condescended  
 thereunto, made answer that shee could not bestow her without the consent of his brother  
 the French king. Vpon this answer, the Catholike kings sent *Iohn de Ribera* with  
 troupes of men at armes towards the frontiers of Nauarre, to haue intelligence with the  
 Earle of Lerin, who had married King *Fernandes* bastard sister, to the end to hinder the  
 French-men from enterprising any thing, and from entering into that kingdome. The E-  
 states assembled at Madrid granted a subdie to the King, towards the warre of Granada:  
 and besides that, the Pope permitted them to leaue one hundred thousand Crownes v-  
 pon the Clergie of Spayne, and sent them a Croizado, to gather contributions and gifts  
 for the same purpose: and in this Parliament, the power, authoritie and iurisdiction of  
 the Hermandades and vnions of the Communalities was ordered and reformed. After-  
 wards the Kings diuided the affaires betwixt them, that they might the better provide  
 for all matters: these remayned in Castile, and he prepared himselfe to returne into A-  
 dalusia, but the troubles which were raised in Galicia, by the meanes of *D. Pedro Almaraz*  
*Orosio*,

A *Orosio*, Earle of Lemos did call him into those parts. The Earle dyed there before the  
 Kings arrivall, and by that meanes saued the King a labour, who otherwise would haue  
 had him arraigned by order of lawe. Another contention arole betwixt a bastard sonne  
 of the late Earles called *Rodrigo Orosio*, whome his father had appointed heire in the  
 Earldome of Lemos, to the preiudice of his lawfull daughter, who was married to the  
 Earle of Benaunts sonne: she sayd, that in regard *Rodrigo* was a bastard, he was incap-  
 able to inherit: he on the contrarie alleged his legitimation by the Pope: the king impos-  
 ed silence and peace to both parties, and referred the cause to his Councell to bee orde-  
 red according to iustice: and in the meane time did commit the towne of Ponferrada, and  
 the Lordship thereof, being a parcell of the litigious inheritance, to the keeping of his  
 Vncle Don *Henry Henriques* great Master, excepting one strong hold of the same Lord-  
 shippe, which he gaue in keeping to Don *George d'Abendaño* his countri-man, and a  
 Knight of the Kings house. These matters thus ordered, the king returned to Madrid,  
 from whence he dispatched Ambassadors to procure the peace of Italy, which flamed  
 with intestine warres, the Pope and the Venetians hauing ioyned, to the preiudice of  
 King *Fernand* of Naples and the Florentines, drawing all the Potentates of Italy to their  
 Factions: who by the diligence and good meanes of Don *Iohn* Bishoppe of Girone, P  
 chiefe of that Ambassage, and by the fauour and authoritie of the Kings of Castile were  
 reconciled: albeit the Venetians did alwaies nourish a secret hatred and contempt of  
 King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella*, and did not greatly care to obserue the peace.

*C* In this meane space the Captaines, which lay vpon the frontiers of Granada, made  
 inroades and incredible spoyles vpon the Moores, especially those of the Garrison of  
 Alhama, from whence a craftie and cunning Squire, whose name was *Iohn de Corral*, of  
*Diego Lopes d'Alcala* his companie, came forth by meanes of a safe-conduct, to con-  
 ferre with the King of Granada, giuing him to vnderstand, how that hee of himselfe  
 could vif meanes to cause Alhama to bee restored vnto him, wherewith the Moore king  
 was pleased, as he offered readily on his part to yeeld vp Zahara, and to set all the  
 Christian prisoners at libertie, giuing a great quantitie of gold, and besides that, to pay  
 tribute, and for euery to become vassall to the kings of Castile. *Iohn de Corral* with these  
 promises, came to the Kings, and declared to them in part what he had treated with the  
 King of Granada, his chiefe drift being onely to get gifts and rewards, whereupon  
 D the Kings giuing credite vnto him, gaue him limited authoritie to contract with the  
 Moore.

Being returned to Granada, the Moore King, who thought that the principall Ar-  
 ticle of his Commission, was for the restitution of Alhama, had not the patience to con-  
 sider and looke vpon *Iohn de Corral* his authoritie, but beganne readily on his part to  
 performe what hee had promised, causing diuers Christian prisoners to be set at liberty.  
 Then *Iohn de Corral* contenting himselfe with that which was done, came to Iacn and told  
 the Duke of Nagera how he had deceived the king of Granada, who presently sent to  
 the Duke to complaine of this deceipt. The Duke sent *Iohn de Corral* to the Court, ad-  
 uertising the Kings what he had done, wherat they were highly discontented, and they  
 did command that the prisoners ransomes should bee payed, and that *Iohn de Corral* E  
 should pay backe the money, iewels, and other presents that hee had receiued of the  
 King of Granada, and that hee should bee kept prisoner in Anzequera, vntill hee had  
 made full restitution, and that the warre should stand vpon the selfe-same termes as  
 before.

Notwithstanding that the Kings had begunne the warre of Granada, and did greatly  
 suspect the French on the side of Nauarre, yet for that they did not giue ouer to vnder-  
 take matters of great importance, either of them being of an haughtie and magnani-  
 mous courage.

Of the seauen Ilands called the Canaries, which are girdled with the Atlantick Ocean,  
 foure of them were already conquered by the valor and industrie of certaine inhabitants  
 of Seuill, euery since the raigne of King *Iohn* the second, and there remayned yet the great  
 Canarie, Thenerif, and the Ile of Palmes to be brought vnder the subiection of the kings  
 of Castile: therefore this yeare 1483. they sent thither *Alphonso* of Muxica, and *Pedro de*  
*Veraz*,

*Sedition in  
 Galicia.*

*Part of Italy  
 opposed.*

*Integrity of  
 Fernand and  
 Isabella.*

*Canaries made  
 subiect to the  
 Kings of Castile.*

*Vera*, valiant Captaines, and no lesse skilfull in sea-fights than at land, who landed in the great Canaries, where they found two kings striving for the principallitie thereof: they fauoured one of them, and dealt in such sort, as hauing rooted out the other, they obtained the gouernement of the Island: the Cittie was erected into a Bishops Sea, and translated from the Isle of Lançarot.

The Christians  
defeated.

In Andalusia the Master of Saint Iames, the Marquis of Cales, the Earle of Cifuentes, Gouernour of Siuill, Don *Alphonso d' Aguilar*, Don *Pedro Henriquez*, Captaine of the frontiers, and others, came to Antequera with an intent to spoile the country of las Lomas de Malaga, called Axarquia, a territorie abounding in cattell: of the which enterprise the Moores had notice, who made themselves readie to charge them on the sudden, when they should least looke for it, hauing driuen their cattell into streights and strong places. The Christians being entred into the country beganne to spoyle, and they loone found sharpe resistance: wherefore in regard of the streightnesse of the country, and because they found not such booties as they expected, they thought to turne backe: but being ignorant of the wayes, and ouertaken by the night, they fell into streight and narrow places betwixt certaine hilles, which were filled with enemies, at the last they came into a valley, where with great labour and disadvantage, they were enforced to fight all that night with the Moores, the which did greatly amaze the whole army. The Master of Saint Iames being valiant and couragious, in striving to ascend an hill, lost his Ensigne-bearer, and a kinsman of his owne called *Iohn d' Osorno*, *Iohn Bazan*, and other Commanders, who sold their liues at a deare rate: the Marquis of Cales did in like manner follow the Master of Saint Iames, but the victorious Moores ouerthrew his troupes likewise, and slue Don *Diego*, Don *Lope*, and Don *Bernard* his brethren, and Don *Lorenzo*, and Don *Mannuel* his nephewes euen in his sight: yet notwithstanding, himselfe, the Master of Saint Iames, and Don *Pedro Henriquez* did escape with great danger. The Earle of Cifuentes making meanes to escape among the rest, was taken prisoner, with Don *Bernardin Manrique*, the Captaines of Antequera, and Moron, and diuers others: great was the slaughter of the souldiers at this defeat, the which was notable and of great consequence.

The Moores carried away the Earle, and the rest of the prisoners to Granado: but they did not long reioyce in the good hap of their victorie; for the Christians soone after tooke a sharpe vengeance on them: for King *Mahomet Boabdellin*, surnamed the Little, hauing with great troupes of horse and foote ouer-runne and spoyled the territorie of Lucena and Aguilar, at his returne backe being pestered with great herds of cattraile and other booties, Don *Diego* of Cordoua Earle of Cabra, who lay in garrison at Beana to resist such enterprises, and Don *Diego Fernandes* of Cordoua, on the one side, did pursue him to cause him to leaue his bootie behind him, and Don *Alphonso* of Aguilar on the other side with his troupes placed themselves in ambush in a narrow streight, thorough which they were to passe at their returne with intent to charge them on a sudden. Now the King who had tenne Moores for one Christian of the Earle of Cabra's band which followed him, made no difficultie to stay for them, yet they charged one another with great furie, where the Moores notwithstanding their multitudes proued the weaker: and thinking to make a safe retreat, they fell into Don *Alphonso d' Aguilars* ambush, who slue a thousand of them vpon the same place: the rest, leauing their prey behind them, fled away as fast as they could, forsaking their king, who was there taken prisoner. There were taken at this encounter nine hundred mules, fise hundred horse, and nine Moorish Standards, besides other spoiles, which were distributed among the souldiers, and the Kings person fell to the Earle of Cabraes share: in token of which victorie the Earles of Cabra, by the aduice and grant of the Kings of Castile, do beare for their armies a Mores head in prison, tyed with a chaine of gold, with a bend ouerthwart their shield, wherein nine standards are painted. By this ouerthrowing *Mahomet* the Little lost much of his reputation, and many strong Castles revolted from him to his father *Malay Albohacen*: during his imprisonment he was honorably vsed and like a king.

King *Fernand* being ioyfull for this victorie did thinke it fit to follow the occasion, and with a great armie to assaile the Moores, who were astonished with their losse: wherefore

A wherefore he tooke order that the Affrican Moores should not come by sea into Spaine to their ayde: and then hee entred into the Countrey of Granado with an army of tenne thousand horse, and thirtie thousand foote: among whome there were great numbers of Switzers, with a great trayne of Officers, victuallers, Merchants, and other people who serued and followed the campe: before which the Earle of Cabra and Don *Alphonso* of Aguilar did march with troupes of auantcourtiers, who burned the country round about Illora and Montefrio: the armie passed by Illora which was not easie to be taken without great Artillery: but they tooke the towne and castles of Tagara, which lies betwixt Alhama and Loxa; the King would not take those of the Castle to his mercie, because they did not yeeld at the first assault, which together with the town was razed to the ground.

Switzers in  
the wars of  
Granado.

Diuers valiant men of the Christian campe were hurt at the taking thereof, as namely, Don *Henry Henriquez* the Kings Vncle, and Lord great Master of his house. Being come to Alhama, the King caused it to be well fortified, and left Don *Inigo Lopes de Mendoza*, Earle of Tendilla Gouernour there, who was a very vertuous Knight: then he led his armie farther into the countrie of Granado, ouerthrowing and destroying all that stood before him, but for want of victuals, he returned to Cordoua. The Moores being thus persecuted and afflicted, did beginne to intreat for peace, and offered to pay the King tribute, and some Moore children of Noble houses for hostages: Wherewith King *Fernand* acquainted the Queene his wife, who then lay at Victoria to looke to the affaires of Nauarre, which shee feared would shortly flure, who was of opinion to haue the hostages to be townes and castles, and not children, wherunto the Moores not consenting, the warre stood at that same stay as it was before. Thereupon the Moore Queene, mother to the King, made meanes for her sonnes deliuerie, and sent to offer King *Fernand* perpetual homage, twelue thousand Duckets for yearly tribute, and a great summe of readie money for his ranfome, and besides, to set three hundred Christian prisoners at libertie, such as he would please to name, and shee offered sufficient hostages for the performance of what shee promised.

The King commaunded the Earle of Cabra to deliuer the prisoner vnto him; the which he did, and deliuered him to *Martin Alarcon*, Captaine of Porcuna, whether King *Fernand* sent to visite and comfort him; for the which, *Mahomet* gaue him infinite thanks, saying, that he could not be in care, so long as he was in the hands of so great and courteous a King, whome he had euer desired to serue being at his full libertie, and to receiue the Crowne of Granado at his hand, in the same manner as king *Ismael* his Grandfather had done from King *Iohn*. And because the King had occasion to go into Castile, and also to Arragon, he did determine to deliuer the Moore King: the opinions concerning his deliuerie were diuers, some agreeing thereunto, and others, not, wherein the Master of Saint Iames, and the Marquis of Cales were contrarie one to the other: Wherefore they sent to haue the Queenes opinion in the matter, who therein agreed with the Marquis, that he should bee deliuered: the prisoner was brought to Cordoua, where he wold haue kissed King *Fernands* hand, but he would not permit it, the better thereby to oblige him to himselfe: hee did there sweare to accomplish whatsoeuer was agreed vpon, and he was set at libertie hauing beene honoured with rich presents. King *Fernand* after that went to Victoria, from thence he passed into Arragon, and going by Guadalupe, being a deuout Prince, he there performed a vow.

King Mahomet  
deliuered.

The Frontier was well furnished and provided of all things necessarie against the assaults of the Moores: yet notwithstanding, they hauing notice of the Kings departure out of Andalusia, did make diuers roades into the country, being extremely moued against King *Mahomet*, in regard he had beene so well intreated by the Catholicke King, and was become his vassall, and of whom, besides other benefices, he had promise of aide and assistance against *Malay Albohacen* his father, and they sayd, that it was a matter displeasing to God, and against all right for the Mahometan Kings to beg any assistance of Christians against the Princes of their owne religion: wherefore diuers forsaking him, they tooke part with *Malay Albohacen*, and brought him with fise hundred Knights into the Castle of Alhapubre, where he slue all such as were of his sonnes faction, who retired himselfe to Almeria.

Hhhh

Now

The Moores de-  
fraid at V.  
terra.

Isabella surpris-  
ed by the Chri-  
stians.

Counterfeit  
money.

4  
Nauarre.

Now the army of the Moores being strong and resolute to do their worst, entred in to the marches of Andalusia, the Garrisons and chiefe Commanders of the warre being in the cities, were forth-with aduertised thereof by the souldiers called *Almogaraues*, or ordinarie watches of the frontiers: therefore Don *Lewis Fernandes Porto Carrero*, Lord of Palmas, who was afterward made Earle thereof, with the forces of the Master of Saine James, of the Marquis of Cales, those of Ecicia, Xeres, Arcos, and others which were gathered together, did march against the enemies, whome hee found disbanded, spoiling and destroying the territorie of Vviera: whome he charged with such resolution and courage, as in an instant they were all defeated and put to flight, with losse of diuers of their captaines, great numbers of souldiers, fifteene ensignes, and all their spoyle: of which victorie the Queene being aduertised, shee caused generall processions to bee made in the citie of Victoria: and because this encounter happened vpon the sixth day of Ianuarie being Twelfth day, shee sent a gowne of cloath of gold to the Lord of Palmas wife, to the end shee should weare it euery yeare vpon that sollempne festiual day.

The Christians in Andalusia hauing this good hap, the Marquis of Cales was aduertised, that Zahara was ill furnished of souldiers and victuals, wherefore hauing communicated his desseigne with the Lord of Palmas, they went forth on a night being accompanied by the troupes of Xeres, and hidde themselves in covert places neere the towne, whither they sent tenne men, who in great silence lodged themselves at the foot of the wall, towards the Castle: these were seconded by three-score and tenne other souldiers. At the breake of day, the Marquis sent certaine light horse to runne about the towne, against whome three-score and ten Moorish horse-men came forth, (and with them also, the Sentinels and Guard leauing their places) to skirmish, then the ten men did set vp ladders against the Castle, and beggan to make a shew, as if they would haue skaled the wall, to the defence whereof as many as stayed within came running: in the meane space the three-score and tenne souldiers which were hidden, did seize vpon one of the gates: besides that, those which were come forth against the Christian light-horsemen, perceiving themselves to be charged by others, who came to their ayde, turned their backs and fled towards the towne, and were so narrowly pursued, as they all entred pell-mell together: and being in this sort surprized on euery side, they lost the town. The Castle would haue made resistance if it had bene well victualled, but for want thereof they yielded, compounding for their liues.

The Earle of Tendilla who kept Alhama, would not suffer the Moores his neighbors to rest, but he oftentimes annoyed them, so as he was feared like lightning ouer all the Countrey. The winter this yeare was very rainie, by means whereof a great part of the wall of Alhama fell to the ground, making a large breach for the enemies, if they had then assayed it: whereat the souldiers which were within were greatly amazed and thought vpon nothing but flight, but the courage and valour of the Captaine, which is euer of much worth, contrayned them in their duties, who delc in such sort by hanging of painted cloathes against the breach with such art and cunning, as the enemies neuer knew, that the wall was fallen downe, till it was made vp againe stronger then before. The Earle Don *Isigo*, true sonne to the Marquis of Santillana, caused the tower of Alcala la reale to bee repayred, on the toppes whereof euery night a burning lampe was set, which served to direct the poore slauers that fled from Granado. His souldiers being disobedient for want of pay, (money being very dangerous to bee sent vnto them without the conuoy of an armie) the Earle inuented a certaine kind of counterfeit money, and of diuers stamps, the which hee named and prized according to the coynes of gold and silver which were currant in Spayne, and with the same hee payed his souldiers, promising them to change all that false money into good, according to the value of euery coyn, and by this means hee did appease them.

Whilest these matters fell out in Andalusia, King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella* were in great doubt to bee disturbed on that side of Nauarre by the French: it may bee that this suspition came from their owne consciences touched with their sinister proceedings

A proceedings with the Earle of Lerin, and with the treaties of marriage of these poore Princes of Nauarre, and matters happened vpon those occasions. Now Queene *Catherine*, who was newly come to the Crowne of Nauarre, besides her being wholly at the deuotion of France, and vpon the poynt of her marriage with *John d'Albret*, sonne to the Earle Alaine, King *Lewis* his death happened a litle before, which had openly troubled and hindred the alliance betwixt these two great kingdomes of France and Spayne: for Ambassadors being sent from one to another, as well for to make the accustomed condolences, and consolations ordinarie at such accidents, as for to treat of the alliances, and moreover, about the restitution of the Earldome of Rossillon which the French held, the Ambassadors of Spayne receyued no pleasing answer from the young King *Charles* the eighth, who succeeded King *Lewis* his father, nor from his tutors and counsellors, so as they made the protestations and declarations which Princes usually do make, when they are vpon the point of making warre one against another: therefore Queene *Isabella* had furnished the frontier of Castile ioyning to Nauarre with strong garrisons, and sent forces to Tudela a towne in Nauarre which held their partie, vnder the conduct of *John de Ribera*.

After the death of King *Francis Phelbus*, his mother the Princeesse fearing, and not with our cause, the reuolt of that nation, which was an enemy to rest and quiet, had sent thither the Cardinal of Foix, and the Lord of Abenas, brother to the Lord of Albret, who did call a Parliament, to receyue a new oath of fidelitie for Queene *Catherine*, and commanded them moreover to receiue the sayd Lord of Abenas for Viceroy, notwithstanding that the Constable Earle *Lewis* of Beaumont did resolutely oppose himselfe against it, hauing secret intelligence with his brother-in-law King *Fernand* for the same purpose.

The Lord of Abenas was a graue, wise, and modest Knight, who by these qualities and vertues had well gouerned the Realme of Nauarre, and maintained it in peace and quiet, vnill such time as Queene *Catherine*, hauing married his Nephew *John d'Albret*, came herselfe in person to rule and gouerne the same. The Constable in the meane time, who held the Citie of Pampelona vnder his power, and many other places besides, did rayse troubles, and brought the Castilian men at armes into the Kingdome, vnder colour of the Factions of Beaumont and Grammont, during all these actions they still pouised the marriage, so that after King *Lewis* his death the Princeesse *Magdalen* being continually sollicit to marrie her daughter Queene *Catherine* to Prince *John* of Castile, shee was aduised to make a small answer, and to say, that the inequality of their yeares would not permit it to be done, in regard her daughter was marriageable, and the Prince a little child in his cradle: and that in the meane time, before hee should come to age, there might bee great troubles and combustions in the Realme of Nauarre, which stood in need of men to gouerne it, and to suppress the vsuall contentions and quarrels which those people did naturally entertaine: and that without this let, her selfe, and her daughter would thinke themselves happie in so great an alliance; for they esteemed no match in the world like to that of Prince *John*, who was presumptiue heire to so many rich and mightie Kingdomes.

All this notwithstanding, Queene *Isabella* perswading her selfe to effect this marriage in despite of all these hinderances, carried still at Victoria, the most part of this yeare 1484. at which time (as hath bene sayd) shee sent Don *John de Ribera* with forces into Nauarre, who hauing intelligence with the Earle of Lerin, tooke Viana, the Castle of Saint Gregorie, that of Iruera and others: which disorders the Viceroy sought to redresse with great prouidence, and kept the people in their obedience to the Queene their naturall Princeesse. About this time Pope *Sixtus* the fourth dyed, in whose place succeeded *John Baptista Cibo*, Cardinall of the title of Saint Laurence in Lucina, and Bishop of Malfetta, who was called *Innocent* the eighth. The yeare before King *Lewis* the eleuenth dyed, who (as it is reported) had ordained by his last will, that the Earldome of Rossillon should bee restored to King *Fernand* the lawfull Prince thereof: but his sonnes Counsellours thought it not conuenient. This King being very deuoute and greatly honouring Saint James, had giuen tenne thousand Crownes, and sent great store of mettall and worke-men to make the greatest bell there in all Christendome.

Don Lewis of  
Beaumont rebo-  
ly assistant  
to the Kings of  
Castile.

Hhhh a

Now

## The generall History of Spaine.

Lib. 23

Now for the causes heretofore declared, the Kings of Castile did enterprife against Nauarre and France, notwithstanding the warre of Granada, the which they would in no sort giue ouer, but did earnestly sollicite it, and provided sufficiently for it.

King *Fernand* being yet in his Kingdome of Arragon, there were assembled in the citie of Cordoua, and afterwards in Antequera, the number of fixe thousand horse, and twelue thousand foot-men, which ouer-ranne and spoiled the Countries of Alora, Coin, Caçaranouella and Carthama, where diuers notable skirmishes were made: the Master of Saint James, the Marquis of Cales, and Don *Alphonso d'Aguilar* were Captaines of them. This armie was refreshed with victuals from Siuill and Xeres, and then returned to Antequera laden with spoyle. The Queene in the meane time visited the Prouinces of Guipulcoa and Biscay, and at her returne to Viçoria, the King arrived there out of Arragon, where he found much to do, for the Arragonois were not so easily gouerned, nor so ready to please their Kings appetites, as the Castilians, both of them left Viçoria, and came to Tarassone, where the Estates of Arragon were appointed to meet, whose Deputies, did let downe such difficulties and delays, as they would by no means contribute money towards the warres of Granada, nor against France for the Earldome of Rossillon, so as they were at the point to dissolue the assembly: for the time of making warre being come, it behooued them either to assaile or defend on the frontiers of Granada.

The Kings Councell made long disputations vpon the difficultie of making this double warre: for King *Fernand* was desirous to assaile the French for the recouerie of the Earldome of Rossillon, and the Queenes mind was to pursue the Moores, euen to the totall ruine of their State, and expulsion out of Spaine. The most part of the voyces fauoured the Queenes desire, and shee, to please her husband, was of opinion, that hee with the forces of Arragon, Valencia, Catalonia, and some part of Castile should warre vpon the French, and her selfe with the rest of the armie would pursue the Moores. Hereupon they seuered themselves, the Queene went towards Toledo, and the King stayed to make an end of the assembly. The Cardinall of Spaine did accompanie the Queene, and hauing not yet made his entrie into the citie of Toledo, since hee was Arch-bishop thereof, he entred the same in great pompe, in which sollemnitie vpon that day by an ancient custome the Arch-bishop of Toledo was preferred in all honors and ceremonies, about the Soueraigne Magistrat: neuertheless the Cardinall gaue place to the Queene, albeit shee would haue had the old custome obserued. From thence they went to Andalusia, where they ordered and reformed certaine customes which the people of Iuen, Baeca, Vbeda, Caflona, Andujar, and others had concerning feasts and plaies nothing profitable to the common-wealth. When they came to Cordoua the great Lords did there meete to conferre about the warres: there came also diuers French and Almaine Gunners, for Cannons and Bombards were not as yet much vsed in Spaine. There was likewise a great army by sea sent forth, Don *Aluaro* of Mendoza, Earle of Castro being Generall. The Queene would haue made the Cardinall Generall ouer all her land and sea forces: but the kings vnlookt for returne, who could do no good with the States of Arragon, gaue end to his commission. They were determined to beseege Loxa: but for the easier execution thereof, they first of all did assaile Alora, the which they took hauing beaten downe two towers with the Cannon: The Moores fledd into the Castle, and did afterwards by composition saue their liues and goods.

The King and Queenes custome was, so soone as they had taken any towne from the Moores, to send three ensignes thither which were consecrated or blessed, (as they term it) the which were to be set vp on the highest tower or place of the same towne: the first, was of the Crucifixe for a signe and token of the redemption of mankind, the which was carried to the highest topp of the towne or fort, and there by an ensigne-bearer displayed and flourish in the ayre: the whole army kneeling downe, and giuing thanks to God in diuers prayers: but this prayer was chiefly rehearsed with a loud voyce, as followeth:

*Deus qui per crucem tuam, populo in te credenti triumphum contra inimicos tuos concede-  
re voluisti, quesumus, ut in tua pietate adorantibus crucem, victoriam semper tribuas &  
honorem.* Others did say: *Exaudi nos Domine salutaris noster, et per Triumphum sancte*

Cruis

Lib. 23

## The generall History of Spaine.

A *Cruis* a *cruis* is *nos* defende *periculis*. The Clergy and Ministers of the Church did afterwards sing, *Te Deum laudamus*.

The second stander was that of the Apostle Saint James the Sonne of Zebede, whom the Spaniards acknowledge for Patron, and protector of their Country and state, and for guide and defender of their Kings of Castile and Leon: at the sight wherof the army and the people cried out with great ioy, *Santiago, Santiago*. Saint James, Saint James; And the third was the King and Queenes royall Banner, wherein were pictured the armes of all their realmes, and dominions; and when that was lifted vp and displayed, they all cried aloude Castile, Castile, for King *Fernand*, and Queene *Isabell*. After all this, the prelates, and Clergy did expiate, and purge the mesquites, or Churches, which had serued for the reprobate vse of the Mahometan religion, blessing and dedicating them to some Saint or other; and if in the towne or Citie taken, any Christian Captiues were found, as vsually there were some, they after the Priests had sung *Te Deum laudamus*, were made to answere, *Benedictus dominus Israel, quia visitauit et fecit redemptionem plebis sue*. These were the ceremonies, vsed by King *Fernand*, and Queene *Isabell*, at the taking of any towne from the Moores.

Alora being taken and fortified, Don *Lewis Fernandes* Lord of Palma had the keeping thereof, then the royall army passed on to the valley of Carthama, the Marquis of Cales led the vanguard with two thousand horse and as many chosen foote-men. Those of Alozagra yielded vpon condition, they might bee mayntayned in their consciences, and religion, the which the King graunted; then they besieged the towne of Caçaranouelle where the Moores made incredible resistance, killing in diuers skirmishes greates numbers of Christians, as namely Don *Gutierrez de Sottomajor* Earle of Benalcaçar, a young Noble-man, of foure and twenty yeares of age, hardy and valiant; who was shot throw the body, with a poysoned arrow, for whose death the king and the whole army were very sorry, because these braueries of the Moores, did make them become obdurate, and encouraged others, which would haue yielded, to make resistance. The Army, with this losse, & without performing any other exploit, then burning the country, did returne backe to Antiquera, where the King receaued letters from the Queene his wife, which caused the whole army to blush for shame; for shee lett them vnderstand how that so goodly an army, ought not to liue vnprofitably, nor returne without doing some notable exploit: wherefore, being encouraged by a woman, they retired againe into the enemies country, and spoiled it euen to the mountaine called, Sierra Neuada; the King being lodged with a great body of an army, within halfe a mile of the Citie of Granada, to oppose him selfe against the sallies, which they of the towne might make vpon those that did forrage, the Duke of medina, and the Earle of Cabra, being in another place, where as much as in them lay, they spoiled the country; and made it vnfit to beare frute, the sooner thereby to starue them. The Queene had laden 5000. beasts of cartiage with victuals which by the helpe of this army, entred into Alhama where the King left Don *Gutierrez de Padilla* gouernour, who was nephew to Don *Garcia Lopes de Padilla*, Master of Calatraua, in regard the Master had promised to defend that place, with the forces of his iurisdiction. After wards the army returned to Cordoua, where the Queene being demanded if shee were pleased with what they had done, shee answered, that it was not fit they should spend the rest of the yeare in idleness: where-vpon the King returned, and marched against Septenil, which for three daies space was battered, and afterwards the Moores yielded it vpon composition; that they might depart with their liues, goods and liberty, the place was committed to the keeping of D. *Francisco Henriquez*: from thence the army went to ruine the country of Ronde, and because winter did draw neere, it did attempt nothing else, and was brought backe to Siuill, whether the Queene came. The garrisons of Alhama, Alora, and Septenil, were commanded by the King and Queene to aide King *Mahomet* the little with all their power against *Muley Albohacen* his father.

Wee will here for a while lay by the affaires of Castile and Arragon, and speake of Portugal, and of the raigne of *Iohn* the 2. who succeeded *Alphonso* 1481. being fixe and twenty yeares of age. This Prince was a great Iusticer, and it may be, ouer rigorous

Hhhh 3

Portugal.  
King Iohn a  
grete iusticer,  
namely against  
the nobilitie,  
with other of  
his qualitties.

in

in the execution thereof, especially against the Nobilitie and great Lords of his kingdom, whom he did punish, and reclaime from many oppressions which his father had tolerated: this caused him to be hated, and gaue cause vnto some who were very neere vnto him in blood, to practise against his life and state.

Mediocritie is  
to be observed  
in the aduance-  
ment of Vertu  
cessantibus.

Discovery of  
Manicongo.

Genealogie of  
Portugall.

The Duke of  
Bragança  
practises dis-  
served by his  
Secretarie.

A gentle admo-  
nishment made  
by King Iohn  
to the Duke of  
Bragança.

He was of a quicke and sharpe iudgement, and of an excellent memorie, he could discusse eloquently of all matters, and would haue those that did talke with him, to consider how and what to speake, and he would ordinarily say, that it was impossible but that Kings should be wise men, because euery one that spake to them, whether they were foolish or wise, did strue to speake well and wisely. He shewed great wisdom in all his actions, not suffering himselfe to be carried away by Court-flatterers, and if hee did fauour any one, hee would aduance him but to a certaine meane and no further, giuing authority to no man more than was needfull: hee was a louer of good counsell, very true, firme, and constant in whatsoeuer he graunted or denied, liberrall aswell to strangers as to his owne seruants: he was religious according to those times, and charitable towards the poore, for whose ease and comfort, hee builded the royall Hospitall of Lisbonne, in the honour of all Saints: he shewed himselfe very obedient towards his father, and had the good hap, to haue the kingdom of Manicongo discovered in his raigne, at which time with great care and diligence, the nauigation for spices did beginne, for which things, hee was furnished the Great. When hee beganne to raigne, hee was already father to the Infant Don *Alphonso* begotten on Queene *Elenor*, daughter to Don *Fernand* Duke of Viseo his Vncle, and to the Infanta Donna *Beatrice*, shee who had procured the peace betwixt Spaine and Portugall: the Infant was seauen yeares old when his father came to the Crowne, who the yeare 1481. had a sonne by a Mistris of his called Donna *Anne de Mendoza*, whose name was *George*, Master of Saint Iames and Auis, Duke of Coimbra, Lord of Auerro and Montemajor the old, who was brought vp openly as the Kings sonne, by his Aunt the Infanta Donna *Isabe*, a Nunne in the Monastrie of Iesus d'Auero: hee was father to Don *John* Duke of Auerro, a worthie Prince in our age.

This King *John* of whome wee speake, was the first King of Portugall that entitled himselfe Lord of Guiney, the nauigation into which country hee mayntained and continued, and builded the Cittie and Castle of Saint *George*, the fort of Tanger and others. Hee called a Parliament in the Cittie of Eborá, there to receiue the oath of fealtie and homage due to the Kings his progenitors: at the same time it happened, that Don *Fernand* Duke of Bragança, being at his house of Villa-viciosa, did search for certaine records and titles of lands with other letters of priuiledge, to haue them renewed and confirmed by the new kings: his Secretarie whome hee employed in this businesse, found certaine letters of intelligence and practise in a chest, betwixt the Duke his master, and the King and Queene of Castile, contrarie to his allegiance to King *John*: Wherefore this Secretarie, whose name was *Lope de Figueredo*, being moued either with zeale towards his Prince, or with hope of some good reward, did embezell those writings, and gaue them to the King, who hauing copied them, re-delivered the originall to *Figueredo*, who layd them among the rest of the papers which hee had found, his Lord not perceyuing in the Duke neuertheless was still fauoured and welcomed by the King, who in matters of Duke neuertheless was still fauoured and welcomed by the King, who in matters of weight could very well dissemble, and was continually at Court accompanying and seruing the King and Queene: vntill vpon some time the Court being at Almerin, where the Queene was brought a bed before her time, and in great danger of her life: the Duke of Bragança came to visit her, with Don *Dominique* Duke of Viseo, one of his complices, who was brother to the Queene: the King entertained them with a pleasant countenance, and vpon a certaine day hee tooke the Duke of Bragança aside into his chappell, within the with-drawing Curtaines, and did brotherly admonish him of his fault in these tearmes:

„ Cousin, I haue vnderstood a matter, which I must acquaint you with in this holy place, where I stand in the presence of God, before whom I will not dissemble: therefore beleeue it, I speake nothing but truth: I heare that you haue secret intelligence and practise with the Kings of Castile, against my State and seruice, greatly forgetting therein the

A the honour faith and loyaltie which you owe vnto mee: in regard whereof, considering the reasons on both our sides, I for my part hauing giuen none occasion to your selfe or any other, and seeing no cause why you should hope for more honour and fauour of any other Prince then of me, I can not but be very much troubled, and I know not whether I may firmly beleuee it or no: yet notwithstanding, howsoeuer it is, I thought good to admonish you, that if vpon any false surmise, you haue entered into this vnreasonable imagination, to giue it ouer: protesting to you that I meane to forget, and graciously to pardon your offences, requesting you, seeing it hath pleased God to make me heire to his crowne to stand stedfastly to me, and to acknowledge this fauours towards you, and the place and rancke which you hold in this Kingdom, wherein by your owne deserts, and those of your ancestors, you are the chiefe person next vnto my selfe, the which should stirre you vp to maintaine and procure the safety and greatness thereof, especially considering, that God hath as it were parted the faculties and riches of this royall patrimony betwixt vs two: and that of two sisters borne of the noble race of the Infants Don *Fernand* and Don *Beatrice*, Dukes of Viseo, I haue married the one and you the other. It may be that I am taxed with some fault, common to Kings newly come to their crownes, as to proceede our rigorously against some persons, and to shew small liberality and meekenesse in certaine matters, which could not be otherwise managed: but if it were so that some bee offended with my new government; you before all men, ought to tolerate it, and to be a singular president of loyalty and obedience vnto others. If my Iudges and Commissioners sent into your iurisdiction haue exceeded the bounds of modesty in their charge, you know very well that they haue had great cause so to doe, and that they haue many reasons on their sides to iustifie their proceedings, in respect of the present state; but if they were in fault, should not you greatly binde me vnto you for bearing with those things? and for your owne part you may be assured, that in regard of your place, wisdom and deserts, I can not refuse you any thing that you should craue of mee. Now, you are bound, in regards I am planted in the royall seate of Portugall, to aide mee both with counsell and armes if need were, and whensoeuer I shall craue it; therefore I intreate and command you both in heart and will to dispose your selfe thereto euer hereafter.

When the Duke heard these words, he would haue excused himselfe, and entreated the King not to beleuee those reports, which (he said) were contrary to his meaning, and that whilst hee had a heart, a hand and meanes, they should all bee employed in his seruice. And so the King left of hoping that the Duke would amend, and that he should no more neede to speake vnto him concerning it. But the Court being not longe after remooued from Almerin to Saint Iren, *Isaper* and *Peter de Iuhartes* brethren and seruants to the Duke of Bragança, came to the King, and certified him that the Duke their Maister did continue his practises with Castile, and that *Isaper* had bene twice sent as messenger to the Kings of Castile, and that the Marquis of Montemajor, and the Earle of Faro the Dukes bretheren, were consenting to those practises. The King did largely recompence these two bretheren for their aduertisement, and did resolute to punish the Duke of Braganças treachery, and hauing a fit occasion by his coming to the court, which lay then at Eborá, whether hee accompanied the Prince Don *Alphonso*, hee caused him to bee arrested of high treason and to bee committed to prison in May the yeere 1483.

The Kings Atturney General pleaded against him, & he was found guilty of treason, and was iudged and condemned by the Lords, to haue his head cut off, and all his goods to be confiscate to the crowne: the which sentence was executed; and *Fernand* Duke of Bragança was brought to the publike place of execution in the city of Eborá, where he was beheaded and made a pittifull spectacle to all men. Six other gentlemen were likewise beheaded with him, and diuers banished, in which number, was the Constable of Portugall. The Dutchesse *Isabella* the Queenes sister, as soone as she heard of her husbands imprisonment, sent her three children Don *Philip*, Don *James*, and Don *Dennis* into Castile who were kindly receiued and welcomed by Queene *Isabella* their Aunt: the poore Lady their mother, hauing no other comfort in her widow-hood but a little daughter

The Duke of  
Bragança be-  
headed at E-  
borá.

daughter called *Marguerite*, whose company she enioyed not long, for within a while after she died. *D. Philip* her eldest sonne died in Castile: the second *Don James* returned into Portugall, and *Don Denis* this third sonne, did marry the Countesse of *Lemos* in Castile.

The Marquis of Montemajor, and the Earle of Faro, the Dukes brethren, did likewise flie into Castile, where they spent the remainder of their daies beeing honoured and maintained by King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella*. Now *Don Dominico* the Queenes brother, was one of the conspiracy as hath bene already said; and the King the next day after the Duke of Bragança his execution called him into his presence, and knowing him to be young both in yeeres and discretion, he did admonish him as a father, to behaue himselfe discretely, and told him diuers things which concerned his honour and wel-fare, and did freely pardon him all offences past: to which speech of the Kings, *Don Dominico* could not answer one word but onely kissed the Kings hand in signe of thanks. This young Prince had aspired to reigne, and being young and inconsiderate, he did oftentimes permit his hand to bee kissed, and would receiue other honours belonging to a foueraigne Prince, the which in the end bred his ruine.

After all these things the King being gon to visit the townes and fortresses vpon the frontiers of Galicia and countries neere adioyning, *Don Ramir Nugnes* de Guzman arriued in Portugall, of whose quarrell to the Admirall of Castile and his sonne we haue amply spoken heretofore. This Lord came to the Court at Saint Iren, where hauing a time appointed him to come into the Kings presence, as hee was going to masse in Saint Iames his Church, he kneeled downe at the great doore with his traine and seruants; the King presented him his hand to kisse with his gloue vpon it, but *Don Ramir* thinking that the King did either contemne or scorne him, and being a knight of an high and courageous spirit, he did plucke the Kings gloue off, and so, kist his bare hand, then the King said, I could haue done that my selfe if it had pleased me; but *Don Ramir* did not heare him in regard he was some-what deafe: for this cause he was called euer after in Portugall *El de la luba*, which is as much to say, as He of the gloue. Yet neuertheless the King vsed him very graciously; and did assure him that he was in a place of safety, and therefore willed him to be merry and not to feare any danger at all. *Don Ramir* gaue him many humble thanks, and excused his boldnesse in plucking off his gloue, beseeching him not to take it as done vneruerently, in regard it was the custome of Spaine to kisse the Kings bare hand. Not long after, done *Ramir*, had some ielousie of the Marquis of Villareall a friend and kinsman to the Admirall of Castile, King *John* hauing notice thereof, called the Marquis before him, and told him that his pleasure was, that *Don Ramir* should liue safe and secure in Portugall, free from feare either of the King of Castile or any else, and therefore if any euill did happen to him, his life should answere it: the Marquis answered, that for him *Don Ramir* should liue in all safety, and that he neither had nor would procure him any displeasure.

But the Duke of Bragançaes death did displease diuers great Lords of the Kingdome of Portugall, in regard whereof, new conspiracies were made against the Kings life. The chiefe of the conspirators were *Don Garcia Meneses* Bishop of Eбора, and *Don Fernand de Meneses* his brother, *Don Lopo de Albuquerque* Earle of Pegnamacor, and *Don Pedro* de Albuquerque his brother, *Don Aluaro* de Arayde, and *Don Pedro* d' Arayde the father and sonne, *Don Guttiere Contino* Commander of Cezumbra tonne, to the Marshall, and *Fernand Selueyra*, who againe did draw *Don Domingo* the Duke of Viseo into their practises, determining to make him King, and they watched for a fit time and occasion to kill King *John*, who being at Setuball did discover the treason, by the relation of one called *Diego Timoso*, who knew it by the means of a sister of his who was concubine to the aboue named Bishop no lesse secret then chaff and faithfull, and this *Timoso* came of purpose disguised in a Friers habit, to discloase it to the King, who in recompence of his good service, gaue him five thousand Cruzados in ready money and fixe hundred thousand Marauedis of yeerely rent, the which hee did not long enioy, for soone after he died. Within few daies after, the King receiued the same aduertisement from *Don Vasco Contino*, vnto whom *Don Guttiere* his brother, one of the

The Kings fatherly aduertisement to *D. Dominico* Duke of Viseo.

*D. Ramir Nugnes* de Guzman commeth into Portugall.

A the confederats had revealed it, thinking that without any danger he might haue spoken it to him by reason that he was in disgrace with the King, and ment to haue fled into Castile; but he was therein deceiued; for *Don Vasco* by this meanes made his owne peace, was created Earle of Barba with hereditary right, and besides the Castle of Estremoz, hee receiued many other aduancements. The same day that the confederats should meete the Duke of Viseo at the Court, the King hauing visited a Church neere to Setuball, he went a boord of a little fisher-boote to see them take fish, hauing with him onely foure of his faithfull seruants, namely *Fernand Martinis Mazzerenas* captaine of the genets or light-horse, *Diego d' Almeida*, *Don John* de Meneses, and *Don Ramir Nugnes* de Guzman: In the euening, as he was returning to Setuball, thirty of the confederates stood vpon the banke of the riuer, with intent to haue executed their treason, whereof the King being aduertized at his landing, by a Groome of his Chamber named *Anthony Faria*, who told him in his care that it behooued him at that time to dissemble, and to shew his Kingly courage, expecting a fitter time and opportunity to punish them according to their deserts: the King who could very well dissemble, being leape on horse-backe, called the Duke of Viseo to him with a smiling and pleasing countenance, and gaue him and the rest of the conspirators, many gracious and louing words, so as for that present they had not the hearts to proceed in their determinations: in the meane time, the King who was weakely accompanied, went into a Church called Our Lady the Old, waiting for his guardes arriual, and beganne to talke with them leaning his back against the wall, the better to keepe his enemies from comming behinde him, among whom was *D. Vasco Contino*, whom he called vnto him and made a shew to diuert him from going into Spaine, the better thereby, vnder colour of this talke, to draw the whole conspiracy from him. By these meanes it was Gods pleasure that the King should escape that daies daunger, and returne in safety to his pallace. Certaine daies after, the King being more sufficiently aduertized of these Lords conspiracy against his person, sent to commaund the Duke of Viseo, who was then at Palmela with his mother the Infanta *Beatrice*, to come to him to Setuball, who forthwith did so, not doubting any thing, and he was no sooner arriued and come into King *Johns* presence, but hee was stabd to death with a poniard by the Kings owne hand, in the night, in a Chamber in *Don Nugno* d' Acugna house where the King then lay, in the presence of *Don Pedro* de Vega, *Diego d' Açambuya* and *Lopes Mendez*, with no other words but these, *Thou shalt die, and goe carry newes to the duke of Bragança in what state the treason stands which hee beganne.*

In this manner the Duke of Viseo died a young Prince of twenty yeeres old, by following naughty counsell, and giuing credit to the vaine predictions of Astrologers, who had assured him that hee should bee King. The Dutcheffe his mother was by the King certified of what had happened, who excused himselfe, in regard that hee was constrained by necessity to commit so sodaine an execution, and intreated her to beare it patiently: and in some sort to comfort her, the very same night he called *Don Manuel* ether other sonne into her presence, who was more wife and discret then his brother vnto whom hauing told the Dukes death, and the causes wherefore he died, hee gaue all that his brother did possesse and more, and conferring with him, with a fatherly affection, hee promised to cause him to be sworne and acknowledged for Prince and heire to the crowne of Portugall, after his death and *Don Alphonso* his sonne: but hee would not permit him to name himselfe Duke of Viseo as his brother had done, but Duke of Beja, Lord of Viseo, and Maister of the Order of Christus, and hee made him Lord of the Ile of Madera, and gaue him other lands.

The Duke was at the same time onely seauenteene yeeres of age, and the King gaue him a Sphere for a diuise to beare in his armes, the which the Kings of Portugall doe yet at this day beare in their armes and royall scutcheon: the same was a lucky preface vnto him of the conquests and discoveries which were afterward made in his reigne and name vnder both the Poles: the same was likewise fore-told by the Bishop of La Garde a great Mathematicien; in regard of his Horoscope, and position of the heauens at his Natiuity, being in the yeere 1468, albeit that such iudgments are deceiuable and vnlawful,

The young duke of Viseo seduced by King John's owne hand.

The Duke of Viseo seduced by Astrologers.

A Sphere vpon the armes of Portugall.





Profitable  
was for to  
redresse super-  
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the Kings thought to redresse those matters by two courses, both profitable and milde, A namely, by admonishments which they themselves made to the noblest, and to others by religious persons of credit, and afterwards by their owne example shewing in their appaill, traine and manner of life great modesty, wherein neuerthelesse some Maistty did appeare, as was fitting for their degree.

As concerning the warre the opinion was, that Malaga should be besieged, and by the way they laboured (but in vaine) to take the castile of Montefrio. Passing forward, they did ouer-runne, spoile and destroy the country neere to Carthama, where the common opinion was to seeketo take Carthama and Coin before they did attempt any thing against Malaga, to the end to haue the country more at their commandement, the which was not the worst counsell: and because the army was great, part thereof was sent to besiege Carthama vnder the conduct of the Maister of Saint Iames, the Constable, and D. *Alphonso* D' Aguilar, and the other part to Coyne which was commanded by the Marquis of Cales, the Earle of Crugna, and D. *Hurtado* de Mendoza, with the Cardinals people. The King with some part of his forces was lodged betwixt both these sieges, to succor either of them as need should require. In the mean time the towne of Benamex yielded as it had done in time before: but it did reuolt when the Earle of Benalcaxar was slaine, into the which fault it fell againe after it had yielded, and was now taken by assault, the Inhabitants were taken or slaine, and the place razed to the ground: the King did choose out one hundred of the principall prisoners C and caused them to be hanged for a terror to the rest, chiefly for an example to them of Carthama, Coin and Ronde; yet notwithstanding they were not negligent in their owne defence.

Exigred by  
affluence of  
the reuolted.

Certaine African Moores of Velez de la Gomera, being moued with zeale to their religion, came ouer into Spaine, and espied a fit occasion whereby to enter into Coin, which they did at such time, as a great and large breach was made, which the Christians did assaile, who by this new aide were rudely repulsed with great slaughter: there were slaine *Ferro Ruiz Alarcon*, a most wise and valiant capitaine, and *Tello* D' Aguilar likewise, whose death did greatly grieue King *Fernand*, whereupon hee caused the battery to bee redoubled and did so presse the besieged, as they beganne to take of composition. The King being highly displeased for his losse received at that assault, would not receive them at the first vpon any condition, but at the last he granted them their liues and goods, and so the towne was yielded vp. Coin was a great towne and very hard to be kept, wherefore it was razed. Those of Carthama hauing notice that Coin was yielded, did compound in like manner, whose example was followed by *Cariana*, *Pasiana*, and others. The garde and defence of Carthama was committed to the Maister of Saint Iames vpon his entreaty, who left there for Lieutenant vnder him a Gentleman of his owne, named *John de Céspedes*. About the same time, Don *Alphonso Henriquez* high Admirall of Castile died at Valodolit, in whose place and dignity Don *Frederike Henriquez* his sonne succeeded. The Queene being at Cordoua tooke care to provide the army of money and victuals, wherein she vied incredible diligence and dexterity.

Coin, Carthama, and other places taken by composition from the Moores.

D. Frederike Henriquez Admirall of Castile.

After the taking of the places aboue mentioned, the King passed on with a great number of men at armes and came within sight of Malaga, a strong towne and exceeding well furnished with men and all things necessary for a towne of warre. The Moore King who lay within it made a sally with a thousand horse, which were the floure of his cavalry, where they skirmished valiantly on both sides, where D. *Fernand* D' Ayalos the eldest of that family was slaine. And because the army wanted water, the King went backe to Carthama, where sitting in counsell what was best to bee done, it was concluded to goe and besiege Ronde. D. *Pedro Henriquez* Marquis of Cales and capitaine of the frontiers of Andalusia with other capitaines marched on before with three thousand horse and eight thousand foot to inuest the place, and the King followed them at the heeles with the rest of the army. The towne was stronge and defended by very warlike Moores, being besieged and furiously battered, the Christians in a few daies won the suburbs thereof, where *Alphonso Fajardo* shewed great prooffe of his worth and valor. The battery continuing against the towne albeit the Moores which were sent to the succor thereof, did

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A did their best to enter into it and did put the campe in continuall alarmes, the Christians neuerthelesse did so presse them as the besieged were faine to yeeld, vpon condition that their goods and liues might be saued, with liberty to liue in their owne sect in any place of Castile where they pleased. The King entred into the towne of Ronde vpon Whitsunday; D. *Bernardin* de Velasco, sonne to the Constable hauing first seized vpon a tower of the castle, and as soone as the Moore gouernor was gonne forth of it with his people to retire himselfe into the King of Castiles country to a place in the territory of Siut, the towne was repleoted with Christians drawne from the same city, from Cordoua and other places of Andalusia. The Queene made prouision for the ornaments of the Churches, and things necessary for their seruice, and the gouernment of the towne B was giuen to *Antonio* de Fonseca. The Moores of that country hauing made themselves Mudejares, that is to say, vassals to Christians, were at that time religiously maintained and preferred, according to the capitulations and promises, by means whereof, diuers other townes did voluntarily yeeld themselves to the Kings, namely, Burga, Lunquera, Monda, Ganfin, Caferes, Montija, with other castles and fortresses of the mountaines of Ronde, Villalonga, and Carthama, who were permitted to liue in their owne religion, paying the same tribute which they were wont to giue to the Moore Kings. The places which did yeeld were more then forty in number. And because *Casaramonella* did make delaies, King *Fernand* caused the Inhabitants thereof to bee summoned to yeeld, vpon paine of tasting of all the rigour of warre: wherevpon they submitted, vpon the same conditions as the rest had done, and the garrison thereof was giuen to D. *Sancho* de Rojas. Those likewise of Marbela, a sea towne, being summoned to yeeld, made answer that they were contented so to doe, and they sent their gouernor or *Alguazil* Major to the King, who desiring to bee present at the yielding thereof, brought thither his army by the way of Antequera, fetching a long circuit but easie and commodious: By the way hee received letters from the Moores of Marbela, who demanded new capitulations, the which were not answered till the army was in sight: wherewith they being amazed, deliuered vp the town, and retired themselves, some into Affrica, and others into the Kingdome of Castile: Montemajor and other places of the country of Marbela did likewise yeeld. And because the army beganne to want victuals by reason that the tempests and stormes at sea did hinder the ships of burthen from sayling, the King was aduised to make retreat to Cordoua, so the army marched within sight of Malaga once againe, from whence the Moores came forth and skirmished, but to no purpose, the siege whereof had not bene in vaine nor without effect, if victuals had not wanted. The army being returned neere to Antequera, it was abundantly refreshed with victuals sent thither by the Queene. The King afterward entred into Cordoua with great ioy and applaud of the Queene, Prince and Infantes of the Court, the people, Clergy, and sundry Ambassadors: there were sollemne processions made, where the King in manner of a triumph caused great number of Christians to bee led in pompe, and in a glorious shew, which were redeemed from captiuitie, whose shackles and irons were afterward sent to Toledo, and there hung vp against the wal of the Monastery of Saint *John* of the kings, which are to bee seene at this day.

Ronde taken, and the Moores liues, goods, and religion granted unto them.

Equity of the King and Queene of Castile.

For the maintenance and preferuation of what had bene wonne and conquered, *John* de Torres, a knight of the Kings house, was sent vnto the frontiers with a Prouost or Alcayde of the Court, named the Licenciate La Font, who distributed the lands to the new Inhabitants, for the ordinary garrisons were vp in the country of the Moores more then twenty leagues; and because diuers Pirates had robbed sundry Moores as they passed out of Spaine into Affrike, contrarie to the capitulations, informations being made therevpon, the Licenciate recovered all that had bene taken away, who demanding a safe conduct for his passage ouer into Affrica to restore to euery one what was his owne, the Moores made him answer that hee needed none other safe conduct then the greatnesse and renoune of the Kings of Castile his Maisters: wherevpon the Licenciate made himselfe ready to passe ouer, yet diuers of his friends counseled him not to giue ouermuch credit to the slight faith of the Moores, whereto with great boldnesse and constancy hee replied, that God forbid, that the power

Equity of the Kings of Castile.

and greatnesse of his Kings honor should be impaired or diminished thorow his feare: A  
a courageous speech of a most faithfull and affectionate subiect and seruant. And so he paf-  
sed ouer and restored the Moores their goods, and promise was kept with him. In the  
meane time the garrisons of Alhama hauing ouer-runne the country neere to Grana-  
do, as they returned with great quantity of cattail and other booties, they met on a fo-  
daine and unloked for the King of Granada who came from Malaga thither, accom-  
panied with great numbers of horse, by whom they were charged and pursued vnto the  
very gates of Alhama with great losse of their people, beside the spoiles which were re-  
couered from them. There remained yet some small season of this yeere 1485. fit to  
make warre in, the which the Kings would not haue vnprofitably spent, without exte- B  
prizing some matter of worth: therefore they caused the forces of Andaluzia, Extre-  
madura, and the Marquisate of Villena to bee assembled (for they had licenced the men of  
warre of the farthestmost prouinces of Spaine to depart as soone as they returned to  
Cordoua ) wherafter diuers consultations, they resolved, at the perswasion of the Earle  
of Cabra to goe and beseege Moclin: the Earle with Martin Alphonso de Cabra Lord  
of the house of Montemajour, was sent before to shut in those of the towne with the fo-  
ces which he had in Baena, then their followed him with foure thousand horse and o-  
ther forces the Maister of Calatrava, the Earle of Buendia and other Knights; the King  
with the rest of the forces came after, and the Queene with the whole Court came to  
Baena. C

Those that went first with the Earle of Cabra being arrived on a morning neere to Moclin fell vntwaires vpon the King of Granados army which was come to Moclin consisting of twenty thousand Moores as well horse as foote, who neuertheless began to flie as soone as they did see the Christians whom they thought to be farre more in number then they were : but hauing better viewed them they returned and charged them so brauely as they disordered and put them to flight: diuers were there slaine and taken, the Earle escaped being hurt in the hand with a Harquebuz shot, his horse hauing receiued foure wounds with a lance, his brother D. *Gonzalez* of Cordoua was slaine, the Moores following the chafe were staid and constrained to turne their backs, by the troups of the Maister of Calatraua and the Earle of Buendia. This newes did greatly displease the Kings, who altering their determination left Moclin and turned their forces against Cambill and Alhabar, very strong places on the confines of Ialen, and within three leagues of the city, alwaies well kept and defended by the Kings of Granado. The Marquis of Cales with the vanguard did approach neere vnto their forts, whether the Artillery was brought with great difficulty, and the battery made with all diligence: but they yielded forthwith and the Moores which were within it were sent away free with their goods into Granado: the Queene gaue these two forts to the city of Ialen, where the King with the Maister of Saint James did determine to strengthen Alhama with foure thousand horse and fise thousand foote which were appointed for the same purpose. The Treasurer of Calatraua being gouernor of Alhama, was solicited by a Moore of the garrison of Salea, to come thither with his forces, and hee did assure him that he would find means to cause him to enter into it: the Treasurer hauing first of all well examined the Moore, and being assured that he ment no deceite went on a night to Salea, where the traitors brother did let downe a rope from the walles, and helped to erect the scaling ladders by which the Christians mounted, who after a dangerous fight made themselves Maisters of the place, the Inhabitants whereof were all made slaves.

Pope *Innocent* the eight being daylie aduertized of these goodly victories, graunted this yeeare to the Kings to raise certaine subsidies vpon the Clergy, the which were moderated by the Cardinall of Spaine to one hundred thousand golden florins of the coine of Arragon. About the end of the yeeare the Court leauing Andalusia, came to Alcala de Henares, where *Queene Isabell* was brought in bed of a daughter named *Catherin* who was wife to *Arthur* Prince of Wales: heire to the crowne of England, and afterward married to his brother King *Henry* the eight of that name.

In Alcala which was a place belonging to the Archbishop of Toledo, the Alcaldes and

A Pronots of the Court executing their offices, were hindered by the Cardinall, who was Archbifhop of Toledo, who made greuous complaints to the Queene, how her Officers did vsurpe upon his authority: the Queene told him, that ſhee being Soueraigne in Caſtile, and in all other her realmes, might execute iuſtice in any place: The matter being debated on both ſides, it was referred to the compromise and iudgment of five perſons of the counſell, whom the Queene would name, and to five Channons of the Chapter of Toledo for the Cardinall: but the other affaires of Court, the ſhort ſtaye thereof at Alcala, with other hinderances, did end this ſtrife, the which remained undecided. Then were the Iudges of the Court diſcharged of part of the Proceſſes which did abound in all places where the King and Queene went, the which were turned over to the Chancery at Valiedolit, where Don *Alphonſo de Fonſeca* Archbiſhop of Saint Iames was made Preſident, with eight Doctours for his Counſell.

During all these warres and businesse Don *Ramir Nuyges de Guzman*, of whom wee have often spoken heretofore, had remained in Portugall, greatly honoured by King *John*. His understanding of the Admirall of Castils death, his ancient enmy, procured his friends to obtaine his pardon of King *Ferdinand* and Queene *Isabell*, but being aduertised that the matter was now harder to bee effected then before, by reason that Don *Frederick*, sonne to the deceased Admirall, who had begonne the quarrell, was made Admirall in his Fathers place, and highly fauoured, hee desperately resolved to kill him: and to effect his purpose, hee departed with leaue from the Court of Portugall, and came to Bragança. Don *Frederick Henriques* being aduertised by his friends what his enmy did intend, hee thought, like a wife man, that it was not good to hold him still in dispaire, and therefore hee sent to *Mary Oforio*, Don *Ramir Nuyges* mother, to let her vnderstand, that if shee would come to Valadolid to sue for her sonnes relickition, hee would assist her therein, provided that shee would take order that Don *Ramir* should returne back from Bragança, to the Court of Portugall.

This Lady being desirous to haue her sonne restored to his lands and goods, did not looke for fit and vnlooke for an occasion, but came to the Admirall, with whom after long conference, she went to the court being at Alcald de Henares, where she obtained, but not without difficulty, the goods of Don Ramir as depositarie, and that hee might returne into Spaine, vnder the keeping of the Earle of FERIA. Don Ramir hauing notice hereof, tooke his leaue of the King of Portugall, and came to the Earle of FERIAS house, where hee remained three yeares, vntill his businesse were brought to this conclusion; that hee might enioy his goods, and marry with his promised wife, the daughter to the Earle of Luna: but that hee might not goe to his owne lands, vntill the King and Queene gaue him leaue. Afterward hee was permitted to come into his owne houses, vpon condition, that during his life he should not come ouer the riuer of Duero: such was the end of the quarrell caused by the Ladies of the Court, betwixt Don Ramir Nunez de Guzman, and Don Frederick Henriquez.

E Before the Court departed from Alcala de Henares, Don *Inigo Lopes de Mendoza* Earle of Tendilla, and Doctor *Iohn de Medina*, both of them of the Kings Council, were sent Ambassadors into Italy, about the warre which was betwixt *Ferdinand* King of Naples, and Pope *Innocent*; the which Ambassage they performed so wisely, as they made peace betwixt those great Potentates. These Ambassadors did in open Consistorie performe the obedience and submissiōs due to the Pope. King *Ferdinand* and *Queene Isabell* did in the meane time cause diligent search and punishment to bee made, upon converted Iewes and Moores, which did returne to their old superstition. In the beginning of the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, eighty and sixe, the Court remooved to Medina del Campo, with intent to punish Don *Rodrigo Osorio* Earle of Lemos, who did disquiet the countrey of Galicia, and had surpris'd the Castle of Ponserrada, driving thence the garrison which Captaine *George Abendaño* held for the King, and had broken in all forts the truce which the King had made betwixt him and the Earle of Benauent. In regarde whereof hee was commanded to repaire in person to the Court, but hee durst not, and adding crimes to crimes, hee committed sundry excefles and robberies in Galicia.

The Christians  
defeated at  
Moclin.

Birth of the  
Infanta Ca-  
therine.

Contention be-  
twixt the  
Archbishop of  
Toledo and the  
Queen.

Sentences of the  
 quarrelling  
 twixt Don  
 Ramir Nagues  
 de Guzman,  
 and Frederick  
 Henitques.

The Queene being busied about the warres of Granada which she so much affected, and not being able to goe in person into Galicia, gave commission to the Earle of Beaumont his vtter enemy to repress this insolent Earle of Lemos.

The spring time drawing neere, the city of Cordoua began already to be filled with souldiars sent for by the Kings out of all the Prouinces of Spaine for the Moorish wars: wherefore the Kings parted from Medina, and passing along by Toledo came to Cordoua. There, did hourly arrive many troupes, not onely of Spaniards, but of Frenchmen, English and other forraigne nations. Amongst the Lords of Castile, *D. Inigo Lopez de Mendoza* Duke of Infantazgo made the bravest and gallantest shew. The army being mustered amounted to the number of twelue thousand horse, and forty thousand able fighting footmen, great number of Cannoniers and peeces of Ordinance of all sorts, thirty thousand beasts of carriage, two thousand waggons with their equipage and ment to drue them. With these forces *Loxa* was besieged. Into this towne *King Mahomet the Little* had shut him selfe, breaking his faith giuen to the Kings of Castile, for to reconcile himselfe to his vncl: for the Moores perceiuing, though to late, that their ordinary diuisions and strifes had plunged them into extreame ruine, they did to handle the matter, as they made these two Princes friends, who diuided the foweraigne aucty it betwixt them, the city of Granada remaying neuertheless to *King Maury Bosbellin el Zagil*: in such sort as communicating their counsels and forces together to annoy the Christians, *Mahomet the Little*, did vndertake to defend *Loxa*, from whence diuers sallies and hot skirmishes were made vpon the Kings vanguard, so as *King Mahomet* receiuing two wounds there, the Moores were shut in, the place was besieged, and the battery furiously begunne. The Duke of Infantazgo being one day vpon the garde, did take certaine Moores of Granada who would haue entred into *Loxa*, by whom he had notice that *King Maury Bosbellin* came with a great power to the aide of the besieged, wherevpon the guardes were doubled in all places of the campe, and preparation was made for whatsoever might happen. The suburbs being opened with the Canon, they were sharply assailed and well defended, neuertheless they were taken, with great effusion of Christian blood, where the Lord Scales General of the English was hurt. There was found in the suburbs a Moore that was a Weaver, who was so obstinate, as seeing the place to bee taken, and that the other Moores with-drew themselves into the towne, would not for all that leaue his owne house, saying, that hee had rather die by iron then die in irons, seeing that *Loxa* which was wont to defend the Moores and offend the Christians, was now the repaire of the enemies, and the grave of her owne citizens, and in this obstinacy hee was slaine. The suburbs being wonne, they beganne to batter the towne in such sort as in a short time, the walles, towers, and defenses were ouerthrowne, so as the Moores which defended them, lay open and exposed to the Cannons mouth, which did so terrifie and discourage them as they craued parley and composition vpon these conditions: That *King Mahomet the Little* should be pardoned for his disobedience passed: that hee should giue ouer the title of King of Granada, and intitle himselfe thence forward Marquis of Guadix, if so bee that hee could recouer the place within fixe monthes next ensuing, and that it might be lawfull for him to goe into Africa, or to liue in the country of Granada or else in Castile as hee should see fit vnto him, and that the Moores which were within *Loxa* might doe the like. These things agreed vpon, *Loxa* was yielded, and the government thereof committed to *Don Aluaro de Luna* Lord of Fuente Dueña, processions and figures of ioy were made at Cordoua and else where for the taking of this towne. The Melquites being purged, the Queene provided them of ornaments after the accustomed manner.

From thence the King sent the Maister of Saint Iames and the Marquis of Cales, with four thousand horse, and twelue thousand foot to beginne the sege of Illoraa very strong place and well defended, distant three leagues from Granada: whither the rest of the army being come, the quarters and lodgings appointed, and well fortified hauing ser warches, and sentinells in the fields, vpon towers and high eminent places, to discover from a farre off, (for being so nere Granada, they feared some sodaine and vnlooked

The King of  
Castile's army  
at the siege of  
Loxa.

Loxa yielded.

A for assault of the Moores) the suburbs were beaten and assailed, where the Duke of Infantazgo with his troupes, had the honour of the first assault: but he perceiuing his souldiars, who at the mutter made the gallantest shew in brauery of armor and apparell above all others, to goe coldly to the fight, cried out vnto them, How now my fellows, shall men say of you, that you are of the number of those braggarts which are of no other worth then to make a shew in the streetes and in a muster, where men are out of danger and farre from blowes; and that you are courageous in nothing but spending of your money in brauery like vnto women, no, no, souldiars, your honor consisteth in being valiant in fight, and therefore if you be men, preferre it before your liues, and doe not endure, that being beaten backe from this place with double shame, other men should carry away the glory from you: for mine owne part rather then I will blush at your baseness and cowardize, I am resolu'd not to suruiue such a shame, but forgetting the place which I hold, I will cast my selfe into the breach amid the greatest throng of the enemies; and whoeuer loue their honour let them follow me.

The souldiars being ashamed, at this speech reiterated by the Earle of Cabra and others, they tooke courage, beseeching their captaine to command them what they should doe, and they marched with such fury against the enemies, as entering into the suburbs, they made a pitifull slaughter of all those which could not soone enough get into the city; against the which, the cannon being planted, the flanks and curtains were soone ouerthrowne and infinite numbers of houses perced thorow: so as the Moores fearing to bee sooner forced by the enemies, then succoured by their friends, yielded themselves and went forth of the towne with bagge and baggage, and without their armes. The King gave the garison of Illoraa, to *Don Gonçalo Hernandez de Cordoua* brother to *Don Alphonso d' Aguilar*, who was afterward surnamed the great captaine.

The army after that, marched to Moclin, whether Queene *Isabella* came to ioyne with the campe at *Loxa*. The towne had bene newly fortified with towers and bulwarks, more then in former times, but the battery was made with such store of ordinance, as nothing could resist it: the Christians besides did vie diuers kinds of artifice, the which did great hurt to the besieged, and burnt all their store of gunpowder, by means of a pot of this wild fire which flew in the ayre, and did stick fast in a tower where the said powder lay, which was blowne vp into the ayre; wherewith the Moores being amazed, they did compound to depart with their liues and goods saued. Moclin being taken, part of the army was sent to beate Montefrio, they were the troupes of Suill, Xeres, and Carmona, whilst the King with the residue thereof made spoile vpon the confines of Granada, not without diuers encounters and sharpe skirmishes with the Moores, who came forth of the head city. The King being returned to Moclin, the captaines of Montefrio and Colomera presented themselves vnto him demanding composition, which was granted them, and the Moores went forth of those two places to Granada with their goods, but they left their armor, weapons and victuals behind them. All these places which were taken were rampired and fortified with good garisons, victuals, and other necessities, and hauing left *D. Frederike* de Toledo, sonne to *D. Garcy Aluarez* of Toledo Duke of Alua, captaine generall of the who country newly conquered, the King and Queene returned to Cordoua.

Not long after, they marched towards Leon, to order the affaires of Galicia, which was greatly troubled, by the insolency of the Earle of Lemos, who neuertheless appearing before the Kings, did humbly craue his pardon and obtained it, being fauoured by diuers great Lords of the Court: Hee was notwithstanding enioyned not to entred into Galicia for a certaine time, and the places of Ponferrada, Sarria and Castro were taken from him and were applied to the crowne, the Kings neuertheless giuing a certaine summe of money for the marriage of his aunts.

These things thus ordered, the Kings went to visit Saint Iames his Church, in the which city they builded a goodly Hospitall, for the releefe of the poore and of pilgrims, from thence fetching a circuit round about the country of Galicia, they redressed diuers tyrannies which were there committed, restoring diuers monasteries and Churches, which were

thus yielded  
to King Fer-  
nand.

Moclin taken.

The Hospitall  
of Saint Iames,  
built by King  
Ferdinand and  
Queene Isabella  
for the releefe  
of pilgrims.

were by force dispossessed of their goods, lands, and reuenues by certaine Knights and Gentlemen. To containe whom and all others in their duties, they established a Iudgement seate of foure Auditors, which was the beginning of the Royall Audience of Galicia, and they confirmed Don *Diego Lopes Earle* of Haro in his dignity of Viceroy of the country, as he had beene in time before. And the better to procure the peace of the country, they caused diuerse strong houses to be ouer-throwne and razed to the ground which serued for the repaire of theeues and robbers, and carried away with them out of Galicia diuerse mutinous and quarrellous Gentlemen, to the end they should employ their strength and courage in the warre against the Moores. The Court beeing returned to Benauent, the Earle shewed himselfe very liberrall and magnificent in the entertainment of the Kings and the great Lords: from thence they came to Salamanca, where they spent the remainder of this yeare 1486.

It hapned this yeare in the towne of Trugillo, that the Iudge or Corrigidor of the place, hauing laide hands vpon a Priest for committing some notorious crime, and not sending him soone enough to his ordinary Iudge, the prisoners kin folke hauing taken a Crosse in their hands, ranne vp and downe the City crying out for helpe, and said that the holy Catholicke faith was trodden vnder foote, the which did so stirre vp the brutish multitude, as they ranne to rake Armes, and came in tumultuous manner to the Corrigidors lodging, who was glad to make hast to deliuer the prisoner, whereof the King and Queene had notice, who were greatly displeased with such feditious, and sent certaine Iudges and Commissioners to Trugillo with forces, who executed diuerse of the mutiners according to lawe.

This yeare, *Christopher Columbus* borne at Cugurco vpon the riuer of Genoa, came to the Court of Castile, who made offer to searce the Occidentall Ocean, where hee did undertake to discover a great land, riche and abundant in gold and other commodities, crauing ayde of the King and Queen of money and shippes, to furnish him out on such a voyage. *Columbus* was a man very expert in Navigation, and vntill that time hee had gotten his living by making Sea Cardes. Hee beeing married, and dwelling in the Isle of Madera; a shippe of Biscay, which had for many dayes beene driuen vp and downe by tempests, and cast vpon the same coasts, whereof hee did then speake, did happen to arriue in the Island, *Columbus* brought the Pilot thereof and three other Marriners home to his house, who hauing endured much misery at sea, did there dye, and in recompence of their kinde entertainment, they did amply informe their host, whereabout these lands lay, and with what windes a man might saile thither. *Columbus* being a man of a quick apprehension, and great courage, came to King *John* of Portugall, hoping to perswade him to undertake that Navigation, offering him his seruice therein, and after that to King *Henry* the seauenth of England; in the end to Don *Henriques de Guzman* Duke of Medina Sidonia, and to Don *Lewis de la Cerda* Duke of Medina Celi, who held commodious Hauens in Castile, beseeching them to ayde him in so worthy an enterprise: but all his traualle was to no purpose, for they esteemed him as an Italian, who by bragges and vaunts of matters which hee knew not, endeouored to recleeue his pouerty. Now this yeare hee came to Court with letters from Frier *John Peres de Marchena*, one excellently learned in all humane learning, who dwelt at *Ruیدا*, which gaue good testimony of *Columbus* skill, yet all this was to small purpose: and without the assistance of *Alphonse de Quintanilla*, hee was at the point to haue giuen ouer all: *Quintanilla* hauing brought him to his house, and well founded him, gaue him access to the Cardinal of Spaine, and after that, to diuerse of the Kings speciall fauourites, by whose meanes hee was sundry times heard discourse, in so much as his speech beganne to please, and the Kings promised him ayde and employment for the discouerie of a new world, so soone as the warres of Granada were ended: In this manner *Columbus*, full of hope and courage, did constantly pursue, for the space of sixe whole yeares, the effects of the Kings promise, till at last it was performed. Hee was a man firme and constant in what hee vnderooke, strong and able in traualle, seuer, and chollerick, bigge of limbes and stature, redde faced and full of pimples.

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The first com-  
mission of *Chris-  
topher Columbus*,  
by the King  
and Queen  
of Castile.

Qualities of  
*Christopher  
Columbus*.

A The Court lying at Salamanca, the Kings caused the Court of Chancery to remooue from Valliolid into their owne pallace there, which was the Bishops house, to the end they might be eye-witnesses, after what manner they ended suites, and did administer iustice, in regard many complaints were made of them. And beeing aduertised that the Marshall Don *Pero d' Ayala* had caused a Scriveners head to be cut off, who was one of his tenants, for giuing his mother Donna *Maria*, with whom hee was at strife, a coppie of his fathers will, they sent to take him prisoner, and to seize vpon his goods.

When he was brought to Court, the Constable, who was allyed vnto him, (for hee had married a Niece of his, daughter to the Earle of Miranda) would haue departed, saying that he would not be present at the iudgement of one so neere vnto him: but the Queene assuring the Constable, that the Marshall should not bee touched neither in life nor member, stayed him there. The controuersie betwixt the mother and the sonne, was referred to the Kings Councill, as also the difference betwixt the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and the Earle of Alua de Lissa, about the Earldome of Niebla, which the Earle said did belong vnto him in right of his mother, which controuersie remaynes at this day vndecided. The country of Biscay beeing at this time somewhat troubled, in regard the Kings Officers did seeme to inroach vpon their priuiledges, the Licenciado *Garcy Lopez* of Chincilla, one of the Kings Councill, was sent thither, who did iustice, and reformed many matters: but he could neuer obtaine of the people, that the Bishops should come into the country to visit the Churches, who sayd, that it was against their priuiledges. In regard of the warre against the Moores great leauies of souldiers were made as well in Biscay, Alaua, Guipuscoa, Asturia's, as Galicia, who marched into Andalusia towards Cordoua.

The state of the Moores, which was the other day vnited, became on a sudden diuided; it being an impossible matter for two Soueraignes to commaund in one country. King *Muley Boabdellin el Zagal*, which possessed the citie of Granada, with a great part of the country, began a fresh to pursue his Nephew *Mahomet* the Little; putting all those Moores to death which tooke his part, confiscating the goods of such as he could catch: and laboured by all meanes to procure King *Mahomet* death by payson or otherwise, who after the taking of Loxa, had withdrawn himselfe into the towne of *Velaz* the white. To that place there came to him a very dangerous Ambassage from his vncle *Muley*, sayning to treat of peace and concord, with too great submissions, the better to disguise his intent, which was to kill *Mahomet*, and the Ambassadors had expresse charge so to do, who brought him some paysoned presents, to the end that if they failed in the execution of the one, yet the other might take effect. King *Mahomet* beeing aduertised by his friends of the Ambassadors intents, would by no meanes heare or see them, nor yet receiue their gifts, but sent them word to tell his vncle *Muley Boabdellin*, that he was sufficiently warned of his proceedings, and that he would accept of no other conditions from him, but onely to throw him out of the royall throne of Granada, which was his true inheritance, and did in no sort belong vnto him, who was a tyrant and a murderer of the Princes of his blood, for the which hee did hope shortly to chastise him, and to cut off his head.

Now was King *Mahomet* ayded and assisted by the commandement of the kings of Castile, by *John de Benauides*, Gouverneur of Lorcia, and by Don *Frederick* of Toledo, Gouverneur of the new-conquered countreys, and other Christian Captaines, who did often enter into the lands and territories of Granada, and were sundrie times constrained to beate backe the enemies, and to defend their owne gouernements from their inuasions. This assistance notwithstanding, King *Mahomet* the Little was euill intreated by the contrarie partie, dispossessed almost of all, and brought into depayre, by which he was driven to a marueilous hazard, either to lose all, or winne all: for hee went secretly to Granada, not hauing any intelligence there, and arriuing in the night at the gate of the Albaycin, he called to the guards, by whom he was knowne and brought in, hauing but foure or five men in his company: there he assembled diuers of the inhabitants of the Albaycin, and did so well lay open the tyrannies and wrongs which King *Muley* his vncle had done to him, and did so perswade them by forcible reasons to fauour his right to the Crowne.

Principle core  
full of iustice.

Bishops transla-  
tion of Biscay.

Moores.

Refutation of  
of *K. Mahomet*  
the Little.

Great Edition  
in Granada.

Crowne of Granado, as every one being moued with pittie towards him, and rage against the tyrant, did take armes in his behalfe, and raised a great tumult in the City, crying out, that *Mahomet* was lawfull King. In the morning King *Muley Boabdellin*, who lay in the Forte of *Alhambra*, vnderstanding that his Nephew had frazed on the Albaycin, caused his people to arme themselves; and came forth into the City, where hee likewise had many partakers, where this cursed nation made such hauck and spoile one vpon another, as imagining the streetes not to bee spacious enough for their furie, they went forth into the fields, and fought a fierce combate, wherein dyed multitudes of men, and then returning every one into his owne Forte, they renewed the skirmishes and assaults a fresh: but *Mahomet* the little, perceiving his party to be the weaker, hee sent to Don *Frederick de Toledo*, eldest sonne to the Duke of Alua, who was Generall of the Christians in the next garriſons, to entreate ayde and succour from him. Don *Frederick* who was wise and discret, gathered together all the forces hee could, and came neere to Granado, but would by no means enter into it, to meete whom King *Mahomet* sent a Moore Capitaine named *Aben-Comix* with certaine troopes of horse, hee himselfe remaining in the City, fortifying himselfe in certaine places. King *Muley* vnderstanding of Don *Fredericks* coming, sent to offer him battaile, but hee would not accept thereof, saying, that the Moores feigned to haue quarrels among themselves, by that meanes to entrappe him and his souldiours, and to enclose them: wherefore keeping his forces in good order without stirring, hee placed the Moores horsemen ledde by *Aben-comix* in the Front to sustaine the enemies skirmishes, which were furious and bloody. King *Muley Boabdellin el Zagal*, perceiving that the Christians kept themselves in order, and that by no meanes they would come to battaile, hee did re-enter the City, and began to assaile the Albaycin, which was courageously defended, in regarde that Don *Frederick* stayed more then an houre after, in order of battaile before the City: but afterward hee returned into his Fort, leaving the Moores to murder one another, and because hee knew that vpon *Mahomet* the litle's victory, King *Ferdinand* and Queen *Isabels* content and profit did depend, hee sent him certaine Harquebuziers vnder the conduct of *Ferdinand Aluarez* Gouverneur of Colmera, by whose valour the Albaycin held out, and the assaults and combates continued fifty dayes after, D King *Boabdellin* people being vexed within by King *Mahomet*, and abroad, by the Christians of the next garriſons.

Castile.

Whilest these troubles continued in Granado betwixt the two factions, King *Ferdinand* hauing assembled and reviewed the troopes, which from all parts were arriued at Cordoua, hee went to field with an Armie of twenty thousand horse, as well men at Armes, as Genets, and of fifty thousand foote: the chiefe Commanders were the Masters of Saint James and Alcantara, the Duke of Nagera, the Marquis of Cales, and Villena, the Earles of Benauent, Vregna, Cabra, Oropesa, Feria, Cileuences, Olorno, Medellin, and Ribaden. Don *Alphonso d' Aguilar*, the Treasurer of Calatrava, with the Capitaines generall of the Frontiers of Andaluzia and Murcia. Those which sent their forces thither, were the Cardinal of Spaine Archbishop of Toledo, the Archbishop of Siuill, the Bishops of Burgos and Cuenca, the Dukes of Medina Sidonia, Alua, Playfance, Medina Celi, and Albuquerque, the maister of Calatrava, the Marquis of Astorga, and Aguilar, the Earles of Caltro, Gragna, Saint Steeuens, Miranda, Nieua, Priego, Fuenfibia, Alua de Lusa, Montague, the Constable, the great Commanders of Calatrava and Leon, with other Lords and Knights of Castile. There came likewise from Arragon diuers great Lords, among whom was Don *Phillip* of Nauarre, bastard sonne to the late Prince *Charles* of Viana, whom King *Ferdinand* his Vncle had newly made maister of the order of Montesa in the Realme of Valentia, hauing obtained it of the Pope, and deposed *Philip Boyll* from the duke dignity, who had bene elected maister thereof conuently. Don *Lewis Borja* Duke of Gandia was likewise there, with many others of Arragon, Valentia, Sicill and Sardinia. With these great forces they undertooke to goe and beseege Malaga, but first of all it was thought fit to remooue all lets and impediments that *Velez Malaga* might do vnto them, which place was beseege in April 1487. And the king being desirous to lodge certaine companies of footmen vpon a rising hill, which

1487.  
Velez Malaga  
beseege.

A which did greatly import the safte of the armie, the Moores making a furious salley forth of the cittie, did beate them from thence, and the King was the same time armed with a Cuirasse, his sword in his hand, exposing himselfe that day to the enemies arrows and shot, which fell round about him as thicke as haile, being in great danger of his person: neuertheless his people by his presence were encouraged, and forced the Moores to turne their backs, and to shut themselves into the towne.

Albeit, that this valour of the kings be prayse-worthie, and highly to bee extolled as a singular example, yet notwithstanding it may be reproofed, in regard of the consequence of a mischiefe which might haue happened, therefore they besought him, no more to hazard his person in such dangerous attempts. The next day they assayed the suburbs, where the Moores had barricadoed themselves, who defended it for the space of fixe whole houres with such obstinacie, as the Christians could not get one foote of ground from them, vntill that the Duke of Nagera, and the Earle of Benauent came with fresh succours, who caused the enemies to leaue the place, but to the cost of diuers: for *Nugno d' Aquila*, and Don *Martin* of Acugna were slayne there, Don *Carlo* of Gueuara, *Garcy Laco de la Vega*, *Fernando de Vega*, *Iohn de Merlo*, with diuers other men of note were hurt. The Artillerie was not yet come to the campe, therefore King *Fernand* caused diuers forts to be made against the citie, wherein he lodged diuers companies of souldiers, and being well acquainted with the Moores pollicies, he placed in all the wayes that led to the campe, in the mountaines and vallies, which might any way be an hinderance to the armie, diuers watches and sentinels, with places for them to retire vnto, which were well furnished and defended by valiant souldiers, vpon which occasions, sundrie profitable things were ordained necessarie for martiall discipline, the Moores neuer ceasing from coming downe from the Mountaines, and making many enterprises vpon the armie which they kept in continuall alarme.

King *Muley Boabdellin* on the other side, being importuned by the Affricane Capitaines, and old Moores of Granado to succor Velez Malaga, he went to field with great numbers of horse and foote, and passing thorough sharpe and narrow places, hee sent part of his forces from Bentomnix against the Master of Alcantara, who conducted the Artillerie, but hauing intelligence, that King *Fernand* had sent the great Commander of D Leon for his conuoy, he called backe the Moores, and with all his forces hee beganne the very same night to come downe from the hilles, and presented himselfe in order of battell in the view of the Christian armie, making shew as if they would succour the beseege, or else dye in fight. This sudden and vnlookt-for arriuall of the enemies, made diuers at their wits end, and did in a manner terrifie them: wherefore it behooued King *Fernand* to vse his best skill and discretion, so to order matters, as he might not receiue a disgrace: but Don *Diego Hurtado* de Mendoza, brother to the Cardinal of Spaine, a brane and resolute knight, being in the foreward with the Cardinals forces, did put them out of feare: for he gallantly opposed himselfe against the front of the Moores battalions, and made them to stand still. They perceiving the Christians valour and boldnesse, did dislodge by breake of day, like runaways in such amazement, as many of them flung away their weapons and armor, to be the lighter to run. This notwithstanding, the king would not be ouer confident, but caused every man to stand still in his order the whole day long and the night following, vntill he had certaine notice that the Moores flight was not fained but true.

King *Muley Boabdellin* by this shamefull retreat lost his reputation amongst his own people, so as they beganne to detest him, and to incline to his aduersarie *Mahomet* the Little. This Moorish armie did disperse it selfe into sundrie places, and *Muley* withdrew himselfe to Alnumegar, and then to Almerie, from whence he went to Guadix. By this disgrace of his, King *Mahomet* the Little found meanes to recouer the Alhambra, and all the strong places of the Cittie, where hee cut off the heads of foure Moorish knights of the noble family of *Aben Carrax*, because they had opposed themselves against him at his returne from prison. By this meanes he remayned King of Granado alone, and making vse of the king of Castiles friendship, hee obtained two truces for his vassals, and sufferance to go and trafficke in their dominions, and to buy all kind of merchandizes, armor,

Shamefull  
retreat of the  
Moores.Moores.  
Muley Boabdellin  
overwhelmed  
by Mahomet the  
Little, recouered  
the Alhambra  
and the  
Granada.

armor, and victuals excepted: and hee did not nor onely obtaine it for those Moores, A which were now obedient vnto him, but for all those that would submit themselves to his Crowne hereafter, and besides that, souldiers, artilerie, and all other prouision to pourfue his Vncle, and to annoy those places which were vnder his subiection, publishing declaratorie letters of his loue and good will towards all such as within fixe moneths after would submit themselves to him, and threatening grieuous punishment to the obstinate and rebellious.

Castile.

The Moores within Velez Malaga hauing scene the flight of their King *Muley Boabdil* lin el *Lagal* were out of all hope to receiue any succour from him, and fearing that as soone as the artilerie was come, they should be enforced to yeeld, they compounded by the meanes of the Earle of Cifuentes, and yeelded vp the place, their liues and goods beeing saued, their victuals and armor excepted: and they had licence to depart into Africa, or else-where, or if it pleased them, they might remaine in Castile. The towne of Bentomunx followed the example of Velez Malaga, and the gouernement thereof was giuen to *Pietro Namarro*, who from a poore youth, (although a gentleman) and from being a mariner, as it is reported, attained to the degree of a Capitaine, and afterward became one of the most famous men of his time, as well in the warres of Spaine as Italy, and was created Earle of Alberto. The towne of Comares, and diuers other Castles of the Countrey called las Alpujares, hearing of the Kings of Castiles good successe, did at the first summons without any resistance submit themselves to their obedience, paying the same tribute to them which they did vse to pay to the Moore kings; and vpon other conditions which were imposed vpon them, to the end to be the better assured of them, till such time as they did become Mudejares, whereby they might liue in their vaine superstition. The gouernement of Velez Malaga was giuen to the great Commander *Don Gutiere de Cardena*, Superintendent or high Treasurer to the Kings.

Malaga besieged.

The neighbour Countries being thus cleared of the enemies places of retreat, the armie marched to the seege of Malaga, a citie, as hath beene sayd, exceeding strong, and well provided of men, victuals, and all other necessities: within the which a valiant Capitaine called *Hali Duax*, had the command of diuers valiant Moores, as well of the Realme of Granada, as of Affricane Gomeres, but vnderneath a Generall, or Alcayde major, who was as Constable to the King *el Lugal*, whose name was *Amir-zeli*, who was then at Guadix, from whence the King made warre vpon his Nephew, and from thence, at the earnest entreatie of his subiects, hee intended to succour Malaga, if neede were; which the Kings of Castile sent to summon, promising libertie to the Moores, and assurance of their liues and goods: but they answered that their king had placed them there, not to giue the towne to the Kings of Castile, but valiantly to defend it, whereof they meant to shew sufficient proofes.

This answer being made, they consulted whether it were best to batter it, or else to beseege it a farte off, cutting off their victuals, and annoying them by the neighbour garisons, vntill they were enforced to yeeld: the king remained firme in his opinion, which was to beseege it roundly neere hand, notwithstanding, that they prayed him to consider the great strength thereof, as well by nature as by art: for the citie of Malaga stand vpon a plaine on the sea side, which beates vpon the walles, wherewith it is well rounded: and it was flanked with strong towers according to those times, hauing two Castles seated vpon a little hill, one of which is called *Alcaua*, and the other *Gibraltar*, which is the highest of the two, whereunto men go from the one to the other, by a way about fixe foorthe broad, betwixt two great walles, wherewith it was couered, and these two fortresses were likewise compassed with strong walls and high towers, furnished with Artilerie, engines of defence, and great numbers of valiant souldiers, who were all of them determined rather to dye then to yeeld.

Now for the more easie and commodious lodging of the armie, it was needfull to winne a little hill, seated a stones cast from the fort of Gibraltar, betwixt the same and an high hill: there the Moores made great resistance, notwithstanding it was wonne, and foureene thousand footmen, and fixe and twenty hundred horse were placed there, vnder the command of the Marquis of Cales: the next day after, they disposed the quar-

ters

ters round about the towne: the Marquis had the first, with whome were *Don Gutiere* of Sottomajor, *Don Aluaro Bagan*, *Fernand de Vega*, and the Pourueyvor of Villafraanca, *Don Pedro Vaca*, and *Garcy Bravo* Capitaine of Atienza, with other Capraines and Knights, namely, *Charles Arcellan*, *Hernand Carillo*, *Don Francisco* of Bouadilla, *Don Diego Lopes d Ayala*, *George de Peteta*, Gouernour of Soria, and *Michel d Abassa*. The next quarter belonged to *Don Diego Fernand* of Cordoua, hauing charge of the forces of the Dukes of Albuquerque, and of Medina Sidonia, and so consequently euery man had his quarter disposed to him round about the citie, the Earle of Cifuentes, Capitaine of the men of Siuill, *Don Lorenzo Suares Figueroa*, Earle of FERIA, and *Don Gutiere* of Padilla, Treasurer of Calatraua with the forces of Eccia, those of the Earle of Benauent, those of *Pero Carillo* of Albornos, and of the Arch-bishop of Siuill, then the companies of the Earle of Vregna, those of *Don Alphonso* of Aguilar, of the Duke of Nagera, of *Don Fredericke* of Toledo, of *John Aluarez*, and of *Alphonso Oforio*: *Don Diego Hurtado* of Mendoza followed after with the forces of the Cardinall his brother, the Earle of Caba, the great Commander of Leon, with the men of Cordoua, those of *Don Garcy Lopes* of Padilla, Master of Calatraua, of *Don Antonio* of Ponseca, of *Antonio d Aguilar*, of *Don Alphonso* of Cardegna, Master of Saint Iames, those of *Don Lewis Fernand Portocarrero* Lord of Palma, and of *Don John* of Estuniga Master of Alcantara.

Malaga being thus beseege, the Kings teur was knowne by the Moores, who bestowed many cannon shot vpon it from the citie, so as they were constrained to remove it behind a little hil. The batterie planted to the most conuenient places was great and furious from the Marquis of Cales quarter against the Castle of Gibraltar, the which in many places was pierced and ouerthrowne in many places, and as soone repaired by the Moores. The Marquis hauing taken away the towers which did offend him, advanced his lodging a stones cast neare to the fort, but hee was constrained to returne to his former quarter by the continuall sallies which the Moores made vpon him and his people, fighting with such furie, as they came to the poynnyard, and slue the Capitaine of Atienza, and *Inigo Lopes* of Medran, Lord of Catagunillas, *Gabriel* of Sottomajor, and other valiant men, besides diuers hurt, in the number of whome was the Marquis, who was shot into the arme with an arrow, for the Moores fought from a place of great advantage. At this seege, two great shippes of warre arrived on the coast of Malaga, commanded by *Don Ladrón de Guevara* sent from Flanders by *Maximilian* of Austria king of the Romanes, husband to the heire of Bourgondie, and father to *Philip* which was sonne-in-law to the Kings of Castile, who for the seruice of this warre did send these two vessels laden with diuers peeces of brasse Ordonance, and barrells of powder, bels for the use of the Churches of the places newly conquered, great store of mettrall, with workmen to worke it, with other instruments and things necessarie for the warre, being desirous for his part to partake in some sort the honour of this great conquest which his posteritie enioyeth at this day. A tower of the citie being wonne with great royle and effusion of blood, was quickly recovered againe by the Moores, who grew more obstinate in their defence, by meanes of a false rumor raised by certain cowards of the campe, which desired to returne home againe, who sayd, that *Queene Isabella* did sollicite the King her husband to rayle his seige, because the plague was within and about diuers places of the Citie, and in this hope the Barbarians did valiantly resist all assaults. The King to let them vnderstand, that his intent was otherwise, sent for the Queene to come to the campe, who was accompanied thither by great numbers of voluntarie Knights: and then hee sent word to the beseege, that if they would yeeld, he would vse them gently as hee had done others, if not, he gaue them to vnderstand, that he would not depart thence, till the citie were taken, and that then they should expect nothing but rigor; to the which they made no answer, but did straightly command that not any one amongst them should dare, vpon paine of life, to talke of any agreement or composition with the kings of Castile: and they did indeed kill diuers vpon the same occasion; being resolved to hold out till their last breath, the which did greatly prolong the seege, where powder beginning to fayle, the gallies were sent to Valencia, Barcelona, yea into Sicill, which brought thither great quantitie.

The Emperor Maximilian sends Artilery and powder from Flanders to the king of Castile.

The

The King of Portugall being entreated to send some thither likewise, did it willingly, A  
& with great speed. There was no part of the day almost, which was free from skirmishes,  
where many men of either side dyed daily: wherefore certaine Moores of the Cittie be-  
ing displeased with the losse of their friends, and fore-seeing the danger whereinto they  
were likely to fall, yet not daring to speake of composition, did secretly send a messenger  
to the campe, to tell King *Fernand*, that if he would promise to save their lives and  
goods, they would give him entrance, whereunto the king consented, and as this Moore  
returned, he was taken by certaine Gomeres of Affricke, who assailed him with their  
swords in such sort, as he returning hurt to the campe, dyed there, and so the treaty ended.  
As the land skirmishes were continuall, so were those at sea, where the armie of Castile B  
did hinder, as much as in them lay, any entrance of comming forth of the cittie, and to  
redresse the sallies by land, there were by the diligence of *Garcy Lazo de la Vega*, *John d'Es-*  
*turniga*, and *Diego* of Tayde, diuers forts made, and great trenches drawne, where diuers  
great Corps de gard were placed, so as the Moores in that manner shutt in, could not  
do so much hurt, nor vex the armie as before it had done, the Moores being neuer-  
theless constant in their resolution to hold out to the last man, notwithstanding that  
viſuals did greatly decrease in the cittie: for they were aduertised by diuers traitors of  
the campe of what fouer was done there good or bad, and oftentimes they told them,  
that which was false, in such sort as they were not discouraged, but did beleue, that the  
king and Queene would shortly bee constrained to depart thence, and there were some C  
that left the cittie, vnder color of yeelding themselves to the King, and to become Chris-  
tians, who falsely reported, that there was great and incredible abundance of viſuals,  
and all other necessaries in the cittie, to the end thereby to cause the Christians to leaue  
the sege, the which report did put the King and his Councell into a studie, whether they  
should cease the batteries and assaults, and keepe the sege by sea with certaine gallies,  
or else by land with certaine forts to starue them by little and little: but weighing the na-  
ture of that nation, who live with so little meate, as it is to be wondered at, this counsell  
was rejected as vnfruitfull, wherefore the batteries were renewed, and to that end diuers  
artificiall engines were made of excellent inuention, and mynes were wrought in diuers D  
places, which being discovered by the industrious and vigilant Moores, were cause of  
the death of a great number of braue souldiers. King *Basbellinel Zagal* being daily sol-  
licit to succour Malaga, went forth of Guadix, with certaine troupes of horse  
and foote, but being met and encountered by the army of his nephew *Mahomet*, which  
came forth of Granada for the same purpose, hee was vanquished and put to flight,  
whereof King *Fernand* had speedie intelligence, to his great contentment. Within the  
besieged cittie were certaine Moores that were esteemed holy men, who with mad and  
idle prattle went about to encourage the souldiers, saying, that the dead did greatly de-  
sire to rise againe, for to helpe them to driue the Christians thence, with other such like  
words, which were of great force to animate that superstitious race. There arrived at the  
campe fresh supplies of horse and foote from Arragon, Valencia, and Cattalonia, E  
which did much encourage the assaillants, who had this aduantage, not to want viſuals.  
The King of Tremessen being aduertised by the Moores which daily past into Affricke vnder  
the Kings safe conduct of their great good successe in those warres of Granada, sent his  
Ambassadors to them with rich presents, who did request their friendship and protec-  
tion, and permission for their Kings subjects to saile vpon the seas without hurt or feare  
of the Spanish gallies, the which was graunted them, so as the King their maiesty did not  
give ayde and assistance to those of Malaga, and other Moores of Granada their enemies.  
Matters standing at a stay, a certaine Moore borne at Tunis, leading a solitarie life nere  
to Guadix, called *Abraham Algenri*, a man of a low stature, and aged, began to preach  
how that their Prophet *Mahomet* had revealed to him, that if Malaga were this one time  
relieved, it should neuer more be in danger to be taken: therefore vnder the conduct of  
this Hermite, who was reputed a holy man, foure hundred horsemen did hazard to enter  
the towne, who making way thorough the guards and trenches of the campe, two hun-  
dred of them passed into the cittie, and the rest of them were cut in peeces.

The Hermite in the meane time had withdrawne himselfe aside, and looking as if hee  
had

A had beene rauished in spirit, was at his prayers in great deuotion: the Christian souldiers  
which pursued the Moores did finde him, and brought him before the Marquis of  
Cales, who askt him what he was, hee made answer that hee was an holy man, vnto  
whom God revealed his great secrets, which should happen in that sege, and end by  
the taking of Malaga, which the number of seauen; and what signifies seauen sayd the  
Marquis, are they yeares or moneths? they are neither yeares nor moneths, quoth the  
Hermit but weekes, daies, or howers, but enquire no farther of mee, for *Calla* (that is  
God) hath commanded mee, to tell the rest in secrete to the King and Queene, and to  
none others. The Marquis although hee made a iest of that hee heard the Moore say;  
B did neuertheless send him to the King, by a renolted Moore; for hee would not leaue  
his owne quarter, especially so soone after the fight: when hee arrived, the King was  
asleepe, and the Queene taking no delight to behold such manner of foolish peoples, hee  
was brought into a tent, where Don *Beatrix* de Bouadilla was in talke with Don *Aluaro*,  
Son to the Duke of Braganca who was fled from Portugall, and *Ruy Lopez* de Toledo, the  
Queenes Treasorer. The Marchiones looking vpon this old Hermit, bad them giue him  
some meate: hee seeing her to bee richly appparelled, and that they were with her in like  
manner, asked those that were next him, if it was the King, and Queene, they to mocke  
him, told him it was they. Then the villaine, who of purpose came from his cell with an  
intent to kill them, layd hand vpon a short Cimeter, that hee wore vnder his habit, and  
C therewith gaue Don *Aluaro*, such a stroake vpon the head, as he had well nere flaine him;  
and being ready to doe as much to the Marquis, the Treasorer there present did hold  
him backe, and the rest runne out of the tent, yet at the noyse diuers of the Marquis ser-  
uants, came running in and hewed the wicked Hermit in peeces. The King being a-  
wake and hearing what was done, did greatly wonder at his boldnesse, and was after-  
ward better guarded. The peeces of the Moores body, were with engines throwne into  
the City, in reuenge whereof the Moores did kill a Christian prisoner, who was a man of  
note, and setting him vpon an asse, they draue it towards the campe, where at the same  
instant Don *Henriques* de Guzman, Duke of Medina Sidonia with his trayne did arriue,  
who besides the supply of soldiours, which hee brought, did lend the King twenty thou-  
sand golden doubles, and the very day of his comming, more then a hundred shippes lo-  
den with viſuals and munition did arriue in the roade nere to Malaga, where with the  
army was greatly refreshed, and the Duke highly honored and esteemed, for such a ser-  
uice: Soone after, there arrived other succors from the Duke of Infantazgo. The Moores  
being againe summoned to yeeld, and not to attend the merities, which a victory gotten  
by force doth bring with it, being still obstinate, and hauing notice of certaine disca-  
ses in the campe, they would by no means hearken there-vnto: wherefore they were as-  
sayled a fresh, and did as valiantly defend them-selues, killing many Christians. The  
citty being in great want of viſuals, the Moores did already beginne to eate roasted  
skins, and other such like things, but they had still some idle Prophet or other which con-  
firmed them in there obstinacy: yet notwithstanding, two of the chiefeſt Moores in the  
citty, whose names were *Amet*, *Aben-Amar*, and *Ali Dudax*, and with them an *Alfagui*  
called *Abraham Albaris*; with diuers Marchants, officers, and men of quality, being ioy-  
ned together, came and besought the gouernour to take some order, for the people of  
the City, which dyed for hunger, who without any hope of releefe, could not auoyd  
the enemies rigor, and that hee needed not to thinke it a disgrace to him to yeeld the  
citty of Malaga, seeing that other places as strong as it in the realme of Granada had  
yeilded to the Christians: if hee thought to better their estate by a battayle, they wisht  
him to march forth to the fight, for they were not able any longer to liue, in so great  
necessity: but all this serued to no purpose. The King perceauing the obſtinacy of  
F this wretched people, caused certaine peeces of ordonance to be bent against the tow-  
ers of the bridge, the first of which was wonne by assault, *Francisco Ramiers* of Madrid  
Captaine of the artillery, halting and increasing the battery to prepare entrance for the  
soldiours was by the king made knight the same day for his good seruice. The besieged  
being brought to the last dispaire, a great troupe of horse and foote animated by one of  
their Prophets, made a furious sally vpon the quarters of the masters of Saint Iames, and  
Alcantara, where at the beginning they caused great disorder comming vnlookt for,  
Kkkk but



but at the last they were repulged and beaten back with great slaughter, and the Moore Prophet was the first man that was slaine. By this overthrow the Alcaide or Gouvernor being excused from making any more resistance, gaue the inhabitants leaue to capitulate as well as they could with the Kings of Castile : wherefore they sent *Amer-Aben-Amar*, and *Ali Duda*, and three other principall Moores to the Campe, who besought the Kings to receiue them for Mudejares or vassalls, and to giue to them and the rest of the Citizens, the towne of Coin to dwell in, and to permit those that would, to passe in to Affrick with their goods : the King told them that the great Commander of Leon should make them an answer, the which was, that for as much as the extremity of hunger had constrained them to yeeld, and not any good will to the Kings, it behoued them to yeeld to their mercy. Those of the towne hauing vnderstood the Kings resolution by their deputies, did say, that in regarde they went about to take away the liberty of their persons, they were resolu'd to hang five hundred Christian prisoners on the walls, and then to come forth every man with his sword in hand, and to dye fighting : the King sent them word that if they did put one Christian to death, hee would without any mercy, put them all to the edge of the sword. These of Malaga once againe sent foureteeen Moores of euery quarter of their City to the Campe, who brought with them a writing which they shewed for an example of the deceased Kings of Castiles clemencie vsed to the subingated Moores, and with great humillity they begged for mercy. Diuers of the Lords and Captaines were of opinion to put all that rashly obstinate nation to death, who were enemies to the name of a Christian : but the Queenes more iust and Christian-like opinion was followed, which was to saue all their liues. Then the King wrote back to them, that their liues were only granted, and no more : whereat the Moores being much astonied, were at strife amongst themselves, some being of opinion to make a desperate fall vpon the Christians with their weapons, and to set fire on the City, and all the wealth thereof, following the examples of certaine townes of Spaine in antient times; but they who thought it better to become slaues, did preuaile. Thus was the City of Malaga yeilded: the great Commander of Leon entring first into it with his troops in armes, by means of hostages, who seized vpon the City, towers and Fortes thereof, and hauing disarmed the Moores of all their weapons and munition, all people of both sexes and of all ages were assembled in the two base Courts of the Castle of Alcauao, where most lamentable cryes of Morish men and women were heard, lamenting their liberty, and goodly City lost, with their Fortes, Towers and Castles, which could not defend her Citizens liues, nor giue them buriall after their death. Among the multitude, twelue renegades Christians were found, who serued as spies for the Moores, who were stricken thorow with Darts, and so slaine : the Christian prisoners were deliuered and sent home to their houses, fauoured and rewarded by the Kings. Two other Sea townes neere to Malaga, were likewise taken, and the Moores made slaues, by *Pedro de Pera* whom the King had sent thither.

After that all things were surely possessed by the Christians in Malaga, the Bishops and Clergie made their entrance, who performed the accustomed ceremonies, purifications, dedications, with such other solemnities, as wee haue heretofore written : and the Kings hauing at the same time receiued a Bull from Pope *Innocent*, by the which hee granted them and their successors, authority to name and appoint Bishops and other Ecclesiasticall dignities needfull in the Realme of Granada, it was thought fit to restore the Bishops See to the City of Malaga, as it had beene in times past, and Don *Pedro de Toledo* was chosen Bishop of the same, who was a Channon of Siuill, a man of great learning and merit, who was confirmed therein by the Pope, vnto whom the Kings sent a hundred Moores Gomerers of Affrick for a present, and to Queene *Isabel* of Naples the Kings sister, fifty Morish maides, and thirty to the Queene of Portugal : of all the other slaues, the third part of them was diuided among the Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and Captaines of the Campe: an other third part was employed for the redemption and exchange of Christian Captiues: and an other third part remained to the Kings, to wards their great costs and charges sustained in that siege, the which lasted three moneths and one day, which was the eighteenth of August this yeare 1487.

The

The City of  
Malaga yei-  
del.

Don Pedro de  
Toledo Bishop  
of Malaga.

A The order and gouernment of the Cittie being disposed, the commaund thereof was giuen to Don *Garcia Fernandes Manrique*, who had beene Corrigidor of Cordoua. The Iudges, Rectors, and Iurates, with other Officers of iustice, being established, the goods were distributed to such as were receiued for new inhabitants, who were prouided of good and wholesome lawes, though fit and necessarie for those times.

These matters with others being dispatched, the King and Queene returned victor-ious and triumphant to Cordoua; where they were no sooner arriued, but they began to thinke vpon necessarie prouisions for the next yeares warre : for, seeing they had had fo happy successe already, they were very loth to giue it out by any interruption what- soeuer.

B In the interim of these great busineses, the strifes of diuers Arragonois did still trouble the Kings eares, for that in regard of his long absence, all appeales coming before the Magistrate, whom they call Iustice of Arragon, all euident wrongs, excesses, and outrages committed by the great ones, were with partialitie drawne out in length. The Kings left Cordoua and came to Sarragossa, where they assembled the Estates to redresse those insolencies which were complained of. The Estates being perswaded by the Vice-chancellor of the Kingdome, whom the King had appoynted to speake vnto them, did relinquish diuers poynts of their pretended rights and liberties, and did suffer many things to be reformed, and namely, they were content to establish the Courts of iustice of the Hermandades or brotherhoods, after the manner of Castile, a most profitable and

Hermandades  
in Arragon.

C necessarie matter for the whole countrie, and did besides that obtaine great subsidies of money for the King towards the wars of Granada. And because the Inquisition brought great profite to the Kings coffers in Castile, of the goods of the Iewes and Moores, which were reuolted to their foolish superstitions: it was decreed, that like proceeding should be vsed against them in Arragon, and Iudges appointed to make their definitiue sentence. One of the sayd Commissioners had like to haue beene slayne, by those manner of people, on a morning in the Church of Sarragossa, which gaue them occasion to enquire more diligently of such as were faulty: wherein, choller, greedinesse of gaine, and desire to fill the kings coffers, made them greatly to exceed, the which the practise of D their successors at this day can very well witnesse: the obstinate were burned, and those which did reconcile themselves, or were in any fault at all, were fleeced to the very quick.

Inquisition in  
Arragon.

The Kings passing into the Realme of Valencia, which was troubled with the same diseases, did call the Estates to Orihucla, where they made diuers goodly Edicts. Whilest the Court lay at Valencia, there entred into Cattalonia an Ambassador from the French king *Charles* the eighth, sent to King *Fernand*, who sent to meete him, and to let him vnderstand, that vnlesse he brought with him the restitution of the Earledome of Rossillon, he might returne from whence hee came, and for ought that the Ambassadour could say or do, he could not be suffered to come to Valencia, but was enforced to returne without being heard or sene. King *Charles* at the same time was troubled with ciuill warres against the Duke of Orleans, Duke *Francis* of Brittain, and the Lord of Albret, who was dispossessed of his lands, father to *John* of Albret who was king of Nauarre, and with others.

King *Fernand*  
refuseth to  
heare or see the  
French Am-  
bassadour.

Kkkk 2

Iohn

John of Albret, and Katherine of Nauarre, Kings  
of Nauarre, accounted for the 35. in the  
order of the Kings.

Nauarre.

John Vicount  
of Narbon  
quarrels for  
the Earldome  
of Foix, and  
Suzerainty of  
Roussie.

JOHN of Albret, the sonne of *Alain*, of whom we haue made mention heretofore, was married to *Catherine* the heire of Nauarre: but before we come to the declaration thereof, it shall be needfull to speake of the state wherein the late King *Francis Phœbus* left the succession to his sister *Catherine* who reigned after him. *John*, Vicount of Narbone, vnkle to her, and to the deceased King, did forth-with quarrell with the Lords of Foix and Bearn, saying, that for those lands, lying vpon the limits of the Realme of France, where women do not succeed, that Queene *Catherine* his Neece was incapable of enioying them, and therefore shee ought to content her selfe with her inheritance of Nauarre, which is gouerned by other lawes, and to leaue those two Lordships to him. Vpon this strife great warre arose betwixt the parties the Vicount of Narbonne, being fauoured by *Isper* of Villemur, Seneschall of Foix, and the Lord of Calmont, *John* of Castel Verdin, and others; who the year 1484. leading with them forces of horse and foot, tooke, through the trecherie of one called *Romengat*, the towne of *Maçeres*, and then they seized on Monthault, and in the end they came to assaile Pamiers, where the citizens would willingly haue receiued the Vicount, whom they acknowledged to be a son of the house of Foix, but not his souldiers, whereat the Vicount being enraged, went to *S. Antonies*, which is the Cathedral church, and the Bishops place of residence, from whence he draue away *Palschal*, who was Bishop and possessor thereof, and enthronized *Mathew Artigala* therein, who pretended and pleaded the sayd Bishopricke against the other: the Vicount moreover, doing his best to enter into Pamiers, but the inhabitants persistering in their resistance, he was constrained to retire to *Maçeres*, from which place he continued the war against his Neece, and the princeesse *Magdalen* her mother, who sent in the year 1485. *John* of Lautrec to keepe and defend the countrey of Foix with diuers troupes leaued in Bearn, and in the Earldome of Bigorre, as also to recouer that which *John* of Foix Vicount had vsurped. *Lautrec* marching on to execute his commission, was preuented by the way by *Raymond Lordat*, Lord of Rodet, who intreated him, from those of Sauardun, who some few dayes before had yielded to the Vicount, to pardon them, in regard they did it to auoyd the present danger, and to appease the Vicounts furie, against whom they were not strong enough to resist, they being desirous with all their hearts to serue queene *Catherine* their naturall Princeesse, and that if her pleasure were to receiue them, they would obey her, and most willingly would cast off the Vicounts yoke: therefore the Lord of Rodet intreated him to make all the haste he could to Sauardun, assuring him that hee should be kindly welcomed, and let into the towne. *Lautrec* accepting this offer marched thither, and arriued at the bridge gate, at the same instant, when as the Vicount of Narbone, who was aduertised of all their practises entred at another gate called *Vlmet*. These two Lords being met together in this fort, did in stead of assaying one another, performe offices of complement, and they fell into discourse of peace, which grew to this conclusion, that *John* of Foix should enioy Sauardun, *Maçeres*, Monthault, and *S. Elspartio*, with the church of *S. Anthony*, the castle of *Heremen* and *Montagu*, with other places and forts, the which agreement, as being vnlawfull, was not obserued: for within a few dayes after, *Odet* Cardinall of Carcasson, recouered *Montagu* and *S. Antonies*, and restored them to Queene *Catherine*. *Lautrec* likewise on the other side took *Montagu*, *S. Elspartio*, with the castle of *Heremen*, which he ouerthrew. In those busineses was queene *Catherine* entertained in the beginning of her raigne, to the great contentment of the chief Lords of the factions in Nauar, who in the meane time managed their owne affaires by the intelligences which they had in Castile, notwithstanding any impediment that the Lord of *Aubenais* was able to giue them, who was Viceroy in that Kingdome.

The year following, which was 1486. *John* Vicount of Foix in recompence of the losses he had sustained, did by intelligence with certaine of the Inhabitants surprize the towne

A towne of Pamiers, and left the Lord of *Lauellane* with certaine companies of souldiers there: but Captaine *Peter Banfiere*, did, by the selfe same meanes, and by the helpe of a Locke-smith who made false keyes to the gate of Conserans, being sent thither by the Princeesse *Magdalen*, and the Queene her daughter, recouer the sayd towne, slew diuers of the Garrison with *Lauellane* their Captaine, and carried thence whatsoever hee found: yet for all this, the warre ended not; but continued to the great hinderance and preiudice of the countreys of Foix and Bearn: during which tymoiles, the Princeesse *Magdalen* reiecting the great and profitable match which was offered by the Prince of Castile, married her daughter to *John* of Albret, which caused many troubles in the Realme of Nauarre: For it was no easie matter to bring the factious to any reason. Those which had any intelligences with Castile, were so farre off from desiring this marriage with Prince *John* of Castile, as they hindered it to their vttermost power, because they would not be subiect to a Prince that was mightie, and had means to punish their crimes, and yet neuertheless, they could make vse of the occasion, why that match was not accomplished, by resisting their Princeesse and *John* of Albret her husband, and by that meanes vpheld themselves in their tyrannies. The absence of the Cardinall of Foix, the Queenes Vnkle, was a great hinderance to her affaires: For this year 1486. he was sent for to Rome by Pope *Innocent* the eighth, to be employed for the pacification of Naples, which was troubled with ciuill wars betwixt the Barons and their King *Fernand*, the same king being at great strife with the Pope, who sent this Cardinall to Naples with power as Legate *à latere*, where in some sort, he composed those differences: but he dyed at Rome, and neuer returned more into Nauarre: the state of which Kingdome being thus miserably distracted, *Amand*, Lord of Albret, father to the new king, did resolute to enter into Nauarre, where hauing had conference with the Lord of *Aubenais* his brother, who was Viceroy there, and then with *John de Ribera*, who spoiling the countrie for the King of Castile at the same time, vnder color of defending and vpholding the Constable *D. Lewis* of Beaumont, Earle of Lerin, and who had taken certaine townes, hee delt in such fort, as he perswaded him to go with him to Valencia to king *Fernand*, where being arriued, the Lord of Albret being welcomed and kindly entreated, did beseech the King to accept of the desire he had to do him seruice, in stead of the effect, for so much as he was a poore Knight, vnjustly expelled from his countrie by the French King, who was moued against him, and *John* of Albret his sonne, whose person with his kingdome of Nauarre, hee came to offer vnto him, requesting him to receiue them into his protection: and also that he had commission to make the like request for the Dukes, *Francis* of Brittain, and *Lewis* of Orleance, pursued and assisted by the same King *Charles*, each of whom promised him seruice and ayde for the recouerie of his Earldome of *Rossillon*, and in all other occasions. The Lord of Albrets speech was fauourably and attentively heard by King *Fernand*, who granted all that which hee demanded in the behalfe of the king his son, commanding *John de Ribera* to restore to him or his Lieutenants *Viana*, with all the rest of the places, which he held in the Realme of Nauar. And did moreover giue order for the rigging forth of an army by sea in *Guipuscoa* and *Biscay*, against the French King for the aide of the aboue-named Princes, who had likewise solicited *Henry* the seventh King of England to take their part, who inclined thereunto, so as a great number of Spanissh shippes did lye vpon the coasts of Brittain, whose Admirall was Monsieur *Gralla*, with whom *Alain* of Albret returned, and an armie out of England was likewise sent, conducted by the Lord *Scates* to the hurt of the French-men, who by meanes of a victorie obtained by *K. Charles* or his Lieutenants, at *S. Aubin*, did deliuer themselves from all danger, the D. of Orleance, and Monsieur *Gralla* being taken prisoners: the Lord of Albret escaped, and the D. of Brittain died for griefe of mind, leauing two daughters, *Anne* the eldest, albeit that she was promised to *Maximilian* King of the Romans, who was of the D. of Orleance faction, was won by King *Charles* to be his wife, who was desirous by such a marriage to vnite the Dutchie of Brittain to his Crowne. And because he was betrothed to *Marguerite* of Austria, daughter to the king of the Romaines, who being very young, was brought vp in France, in hope of the future marriage, he sent her home againe, and she was afterwards married to Prince *John* of Castile.

The factious of  
Nauarre under  
their Princesse  
marriage.

Castilian foile  
the scales of  
Nauarre.

Amand of Al-  
bret, succedeth  
the K of Foix  
to woe upon  
K. Charles the  
eighth.

King Fernand  
sues for aid  
of Alret  
against King  
Charles.

K. Charles his  
victorie at S.  
Aubin.

The Britons  
oppose them-  
selves against  
the French  
King.

The Britons ever hating the French government, keeping their Princeesse in the Castle A of Nantes, made new practises with the Kings of Castile and England, and obtained great ayde from both of them, Don *Diego Peres Sarmiento* Earle of Salinas, being Generall of the Spanish Armie on the coast of Brittain, with Don *Pero Carrillo de Albornos*, and other renowned Captaines, having two hundred men at armes, and great numbers of footmen, Crosbowes, Pikes, and Harquebuziers, who were called in those dayes Elpingardiers. King *Charles* in the meane time came with a mighty Armie, and besieged Nantes, and by intelligence with some, hee obtained the Citie, Castile, and the Dutcheffe whom hee married in the yeare 1489. and made her French Queene, making himselfe Maister of her inheritance, in despite of the Britons. This faire and gracious Princeesse *Anne*, was daughter to Dutcheffe *Marguerite*, and grand-child to Queene *Leonar* of Navarre, as hath beene already said, and coosin germaine to Queene *Catherine* of Navarre, of whom we now treat.

Castile.

Wee will now returne to the Kings of Castile. After the assembly of the states of the Realme of Valencia at Orihuela, where diuerse ancient customes were reformed, and many notable orders received and established, they came to Murcia, with an intent to warre vpon the Moores from that part. There did Don *Frederick de Toledo* Capitaine of the Kings guards, aske leaue to visit Don *Garcy Aluarez de Toledo* his father, who lay deadly sick; in wole dignities, to wit, the Dutchie of Alua, the Marquisat of Cortia, and Earldome of Barco, his sonne succeeded him. This yeare likewise dyed Don *Aluaro d'Esuniga* Duke of Playfance, leauing his sonne of the same name successor in his Dutchie. The Bishop of Altorga likewise dyed, in whose place *Bernardin de Carnajall* was substituted, who was afterward Cardinal of the Sea of Rome, of the title of the holy Crosse. The companies from all parts of the kingdome made their Rendez-vous at Lorca, whether King *Ferdinand* marched, hauing in his company the Duke of Albuquerque, the Marquis of Cales, the Earles of Lemos, Saint Steeuens, Castro, Cabra, Montagu, Buendia, and Don *Henry Henriquez* the great Maister, Don *Pero Lopes de Padilla* Capitaine of the frontiers of Castile, Don *John Chacon*, Capitaine of the frontier of Murcia and others. The Army being ready to march, the Marquis of Cales, and the Capitaine of the frontier of Murcia leading the foreward, marched against the Citie D of Vera, the inhabitants whereof, who were Moores, being assured that they came towards them, would not fall into the like mischiefe as those of Malaga, wherefore they sent out before to the Marquis, offering to yeeld their Citie to King *Ferdinand*, if hee were there in person: wherefore the King made hast, and the Citie submitted vnto him on condition that their liues, liberties and goods might bee saued, with promise to liue in their religion in the next townes, or else where they should thinke good. *Garcy Lasso de la Vega* Maister of the Kings Hall, was made Gouvernor of Vera. Diuers others strong townes and castles on those marches, being moued by the reports of the Kings clemency, and fearing likewise their great power, sent their Alfaquins or wise Counsellors and deputies, to offer them obedience and tribute, as they were accustomed to pay to the Moore Kings, and namely the two Velez, the white and the redde, Muxicar, Cucuas, Telleque Huefcar, and Porchena, Tabara, Alborca, Serena, Torilla, Monjcar, Tabernas and Benamauel: the inhabitants of which places and diuers others, made themselves Mudejares or vassals to King *Ferdinand* and Queene *Isabell*, keeping their ceremonies and fest. The Armie after this marched towards Almerie, the which towne was then onely lookt vpon by certaine light skirmishes with the Moores of the garrison: then part of the army marched on forward within the view of Baza, where King *Muley Bosadelin* was then in person, who came forth with certaine troopes of horse and foote, and made a great skirmish, where D. *Phillip* of Navarre and Arragon dyed, who was maister of Montezca, nephew to the King, and sonne to Prince Don *Charles* of Viana, by vs oftentimes heretofore mentioned, with other men of note, the which caused the Christians to make their retreat, who were insolently pursued in the Rere by the Moores, who notwithstanding were afterward beaten back by the Capitaine of the frontier of Murcia. King *Ferdinand* leauing for that time Almerie and Baza, two strong places, marched towards Huefcar which yeelded, and Don *Rodrigo Manrique* was made Gouvernor thereof.

Whilest

Death of Don  
Garcy Aluarez  
and of D. Al-  
uaro d'Esuniga.

Vera yeelded  
by com. offision.

Places yeelded  
to the King  
and Queene  
of Castile.

A Whilest the warre continued in these quarters, the Capitaine of Alua de Tormes, and the gouernor of the Duke of Aluas lands, did Bastonado one of the Kings Collectors of his rents, which the King hauing notice of, the Licentiate *Lewis de Polanco* Prouost of the Court was sent thither to doe iustice therevpon, who tooke the Capitaine of Alua in his owne Castle, and caused him to bee hanged in the same place where hee had done the deed: As for the Gouvernour of the Countrey, hee was brought to the Chancery at Valiodolite, and there condemned to haue his hand stricken off, and to bee for euer banished out of the Kings dominions. In the which place of Valiodolite the Court came and wintered: there was an Edict made concerning the moneys, that the siluer I coyne should bee thenceforth made of the same sterling as that of Paris.

It was enacted not long before in Portugall, to coyne certaine kindes of gold of two and twenty Carates, of the golden mine of Guiney, and likewise certaine siluer money, called, Twenties, of the worth of twenty Res, which were equivalent to the Maraudis of Castile: for thirty six Res, were at that time worth a Real, as thirty six Maraudis in Castile and Nauar: The affaires of which kingdome since the execution of the Lords made by King *John* were quiet and peaceable; for eury one seeing that hee had not spured his owne blood, kept himselfe still, and this King was not onely reuerenced in Portugall, but likewise in Affricke, where hee possessed much land: in so much as the Moores of Azamor, who had beene in times past vnder the subiection of Portugall, and were now revolted, did againe this yeare submit themselves vnto it: about which time hee built the Fountaine at Setuball. And hauing no busineses to hinder him, hee went about to pursue new enterprises, no lesse profitable for mankind, than honorable to the house of Portugall: Hauing had the opinion and aduise of diuerse great personages skillfull in Cosmographic, and all other Mathematicall sciences, and especially good Mariners, hee sent away *Bartholmew Dias*, with a certaine religious Frier, named *Anthony*, inioyning them to coast the shoares of Affricke of the Ocean sea, till they could bee able to relate vnto him how farre that land stretched, and how the voyage which hee conceiued in his owne vnderstanding, might bee made by the South into the East, to the countreys and Islands where the spices growe: *Bartholmew Dias* and the Fryer arrived at the Cape of *Bona speranza*, or good hope, which is the farthest stretched out point of Affricke beyond the Equinoctiall winter Tropicke, and doubting againe the East, they came to the mouth of the Iland termed by them, of the Infant, which is a hundred and fifty leagues farther then the Cape of good hope. There Fryer *Anthony* with the consent of *Bartholmew Dias* landed, and trauielled with such turnings vp and downe this vnknowne world, as hee brought himselfe with great labour and danger, as it is credible, into Palestine to the Citie of Ierusalem, taking a carefull note of all things.

*Bartholmew Dias* returned by sea into Portugall, the same way hee came, and informed the King of all that hee had seene or knowne of the shoares and sea coasts: as Fryer *Anthony* did the like of his land voyage, being returned a good while after, the which encreased King *John*'s desire to execute his praise-worthy enterprise, esteeming, and not without reason, that by the knowledge and practise of that Nauigation great profit might redound to his kingdome. Now the better to vnderstand the costs and charges of this trafficke for Spices brought from the Islands of the Moluccoes, and to be able to reckon what the commoditie thereof might come to, following the passage of the Ocean sea: hee sent *Pedro de Couanilla* and *Alphonso de Payna* into the East, who were wise and discrete persons, and very skillfull in the Arabian tongue, to bring him word of the traffick of these countreies: Hauing then furnished them with money, credit, and other necessaries for so long a voyage, they went to Naples, and from thence by Rhodes to Ierusalem, from whence they passed by Alexandria to Cairo, then they went to Aden, to Ormuz, and at last came to Calicut, and other places of the Indies, carrying with them for their conduct, a Carde or Compass made by the licentiate *Caladilla* Bishop of Viseo, the Doctor *Rodrigue*, *Pero d'Aluaga*, and *Moses* a Jew, who had drawne it after the description of *Martin* of Boheme the great Mathematician, taking information of all the parts of Ethiopie, Arabia, Persia,

Fauiury done to  
one of the Kings  
Receiue of  
his moneys, and  
punishment of  
the offenders.

Moneys.

15  
Portugall.

Nauiga-  
tions of  
the Portugals  
into the Ocean  
sea, vntill by  
the command  
ment of King  
John,  
Cape de Bona  
Esperanca,  
Ruer of the  
Infant.

Frier Antho-  
nie, long and  
dangerous  
journey.

King John  
diligence to  
know the way  
to the East  
by the Ocean  
sea, and the  
Iland of Mo-  
luccees.

Perfia, and of the Indies where there is any trafficke, faires or assemblies of people. **A**  
*Alphonso Paywa* died in this voyage: *Pedro* de Couanilla was deteyned by *Prester Iohn* Emperour of Ethiopia, so as the King could haue no relation from any of them concerning their voyage: yet Couanilla found meanes to write a discourse of what hee had learned, and sent it afterward to the King, by one *Rabi Abraham*, and *Ioseph de Lamego*, who hauing bene already in Persia, were sent backe againe by King *Iohn* to heere some newes of the said *Pedro* de Couanilla. This discourse did whet on the Kings desire to effect this voyage, for the which purpose he did arme certaine Carauels this yeere 1488. at the same time the marriage of his sonne Prince *Alphonso*, and the Infanta *Isabella* eldest daughter to the King of Castile, whereof mention was made in the treaty of peace betwixt Spaine and Portugall, was wholly agreed vpon, albeit the Prince was then but thirteene yeeres of age: For the charges of which marriage the Estates of the Kingdom gaue to King *Iohn* the sum of a hundred thousand golden cruzados: at which time the King being desirous to aduance to wealth and honor *D. Pedro* de Meneses Earle of Villareal and Lord of Almeida being at Beja, he created him Marquis of Villareal, and Earle of Oren.

Castile.

There came now into Castile a great Ambassage from *Maximilian* of Austria King of the Romans, who in the city of Valiodolid propounded to King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella*, the desire which that Prince had to ally himselfe more streightly with them by marriages, demanding the Infanta *Isabella* for himselfe, and the Infanta *Joane* their daughters for his sonne *Philip*, setting downe diuers commodities which such a coniunction might bring with it, namely in making warre vpon the French. These Ambassadors being come by sea, their charges borne thorow the Kings countries, and highly honoured, they did returne with an answer, conteyning very gracious and pertinent excuses: to wit, that the Infanta Donna *Isabella* was promised to Prince *Alphonso* of Portugall, but as for the Infanta *D. Joane*, who was a young child, considering that the long attendance for such a marriage might weary the Archduke *Philip*, they could say nothing, but that as soone as she should be of age, if the occasion should serue, they would esteeme the alliance and friendship of so great Princes as most honourable and highly to be desired, and that they being at that instant greatly busied in the warres of Granado, could hardly thinke as yet vpon the French warres. Whilst the Court staid at Valiodolid, *Isabella* caused the city of Playfance to bee surprized and taken from *Aluaro d'Estuniga* who bare the title of Duke thereof, where shee established officers of the crowne: and because the castle made some resistance, shee caused it to be besieged by those of Salamanca, Ciudad-Roderigo, and the men of Extremadura: but the Duke knowing it to be to no purpose to make resistance did forth-with command to yeeld it vp: so this city was reunited to the crowne this yeere 1488. The Dukes of Playfance did then and afterwards intitle themselves Dukes of Bejar. Those of the family of Carauall did chiefly assist the Queene in this enterprife. The same yeere died Donna *Beatrice Pimentell*, who was wife to Don *Aluaro* de Luna Constable of Castile and Maister of Saint James, who was executed by order of law, shee liued fife and thirty yeeres in honest widow-hood, and lies buried in the Cathedrall Church of Toledo in the Chappell of Saint James neere to her husband. The Kings passed this yeere in the aboue named businesses about prouision of necessary things for the future warre of Granado, doing iustice, and in persecuting the new conuerter returned to Iudaisme, who were oftentimes ouerthrowne by false and slanderous accusations, whereof inquiry was principally made at Toledo, where diuers false witnesss were punished.

Playfance taken from D. Aluaro d'Estuniga.

James and Isabella married. Monies conuerted by Iudasme into repaite.

Moore.

During this stay in old Castile farre from the Moores, they taking aduantage of the occasion, did freely ouer-runne the country and surprized the city of Nixar, carefully kept by capitaine *Bernard Francisco*, where they slew three score gentlemen, and preuailed against the Christians in diuers other encounters, killing many, in number of whom the Commander *Ruy Diaz Maldonado*, sonne to Doctor *Roderic*, Lord of Aquila Fuente was one, who was a valiant knight, they tooke and burnt the towne of Cuellar, constraining the Christians that kept it to saue themselves within the castle, the

A the which they defended by the space of fife daies against the enraged assaults of the Moores by the discretion and valour of *Iohn d'Aualos* Lieutenant to capitaine *Charles* de Viedma who was absent.

In the spring of the yeere 1489. King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella*, departed from Valiodolid, and came by Guadalupe not without great deuotion, to Iaca, with intent to goe and beseege Baça: for this purpose they had leauied thirteene thousand horse, and foure and twenty thousand foote, who hauing mustered at Sottogordo, the army beganne to march, the Maister of Saint James conducted the vanguard, and had for fore-runners, according to the ancient custome, the capitaine de los Donzelles, with the Prouost Marshalls, whose charge was to prouide the lodgings of the campe: King *Fernand* knowing that the seege would bee long and difficult, and that the Moores of Guadix and Almeri, which held King *Boabdelsin el Zagall* part, would destitute them as much as in them lay, did place guards and watches in fit places, as well to withstand surprises, as to secure the victuallers and other people which serued and followed the campe. The first attempt which the army made, was at Cujar, a strong place, and furnished with all manner of munition for the warres, by reason whereof being summoned, they answered with armes, sallying forth to skirmish: but it was to their losse, for being put to flight they lost their suburbs, which they had intrenched and fortified, from whence they were afterward so pressed, and vexed, as abating their courage, they would gladly haue yeilded vpon any reasonable conditions, the which the King refused, being highly displeased that they had resisted his mighty army: whereat they became so enraged and desperate, as in the next skirmish they made such slaughter of the Christians, as the King resolved to grant them whatsoever they demanded: so they yeilded vp the towne, and retired themselves with all their baggage in safety to Baça: soone after the fortress of Bensalema yeilded it selfe, with others. The Earle of Tendilla receiued Canillas by composition being a league distant from Baça. The taking of these forts prepared the access to Baça, within which place, King *Zagall Boabdelsin* had put tenne thousand souldiars as well horse as foote, with diuers expert capitaines, taking the greatest care he could for the well fortifying and keeping thereof, being the D of most importance, and the chiefe Bulwarke of the small state that was left him: for that being lost, hee was no more able almost to make any resistance. The Christian army being re-enforced with new troupes diuided it selfe into two parts, which lodged round about Baça a farre off, which gaue libertie to the Moores to goe out and in at their pleasures without any difficulty or danger: wherevpon the King taking counsell, he caused the campe to remooue, and to place the quarters neerer to the towne: The Moores who thought it was not for their profit, comming forth to fight, did maintain it for the space of twelue houres with a wonderfull resolution, and it may well bee termed a battaile, for the whole forces almost of either side, came to ioyne, and a great number of valiant men were there slaine: the conclusion was, that the Moores were glad to retire, and were in despite of them shut in, and the Christian army lodged in their gardens. Yet notwithstanding, this feat of the campe being not thought to bee very commodious for diuers respects, the King caused the lodgings to be removed where they were at first: and in this retreat the besieged failed not to annoy their enemies by all meanes possible.

The difficulty being great to hinder the furious sallies of those barbarous people, the opinions therevpon were sundry and vncertaine, so as the King was at the point to raise the seege, and to cause great forts to bee raised round about it, furnished with strong guards, and to strengthen the neighbour garrisons, and by these slow meanes to raze the enemies and make them yeeld: but because Queene *Isabel* did greatly desire to see an end of this warre of Granado, to whose constancy the pursute thereof and the conquest of that Kingdom, so long time held by the Infidel is to be attributed, the King craved her opinion: who being wonderfully displeased that so dishonorable a resolution should be taken, did entreate the King to thinke better thereon, and for modesties sake would not utter her opinion: but perceiving that want of victuals and money was the greatest hindrance they stood vpon, which in so long a seege might disaduantage the army, shee

17  
Castile.

Dispaire some times brings help.

Serge of Bistia.

The conquest of Granado attributed to Queene Isabella's constancy.

saide,

said, that they needed not to doubt any such matter, for shee would provide in such sort, A as there should be no want of either of them: The King knowing the Queenes diligence in such matters, and the desire shee had that Baga might be taken, commanded the siege should be continued with all vehemency, wherewith the whole army in generall was well pleased; wherefore the two camps were disposed and placed, a miles distance the one from the other & a great trench drawn from one to an other fortified with piles and fiftene sorts of timber and flags, where great numbers of souldiars were lodged, and by this means the city was more streightly shut vp. An other trench was drawne from the hills side of two miles long, so as the place was environed round about, in which workes they spent two monethes, in all which time they neuer left skirmishing. And as B diuers Moores, distrustful the successe of the siege, fled to the Christians campe it was knowne by their meanes how that the city was not well provided with victualls, wherein King Zagal had greatly failed, and besides, how that they had their water from a fountaine at the foote of the hill called *Albohacen*, which being taken from them they would be in great want: wherefore the King hauing resolved vpon this intelligence to build a fort vpon that hill: The Moores being aduertized thereof by some spies, did prevent him, and they themselves made a fort there for the garde of their fountaine. In the meane space Don *Antonio de la Cueva* and others, ranne vp and downe the country, and spoiled the townes and villages neere to Guadix, from whence bringing great numbers of cattails of all sorts, the Moores came forth to the rescue of them, and therethe Christians beganne to stand at a stay, and knew not whether it were best to leaue their booty C to betake themselves to flight, or else to tarry still and defend it valiantly. The valour of *Hernand Peres de Pulgar* encouraged the rest, who hanging an handkercher vpon the toppe of a pike, cried out aloud, let those that are no cowards follow this Enseigne, and in this fort marching against the Moores, they beate them backe with great slaughter, and returned victorious to the campe: in regarde whereof the King made *Hernand Peres* Knight: and permitted him to beare a white handkercher in his armes in token of his valor to his posterity.

King *Muley* did oftentimes attempt to victuall Baga but it was in vaine: and foreseeing that the end of the Moores reigne in Spaine was at hand, his last refuge was, D by the counsell of his friends, to haue recourse to the Soldan of Egypt, who in a manner commanded ouer all the petty Kings of Affrica, vnto whom hee complained of the greedinesse of the Christian King, who did vniufully dispossesse him from the Kingdome which his Ancestors had enioyed so long a time: whereat the Sultran being moued, sent two friers Ambassadors to Pope *Innocent*, of those that dwelt in the Temple of Ierusalem which they call our Sauours Sepulchre: to let him vnderstand how that the Kings of Castile did deale vniufully in vexing the Moores that dwelt there by warres, wherein if they persisted, hee would vse the Christians in the same manner that liued in his countries and dominions: the Pope gaue notice thereof to King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella*, yet they for all that would not leaue of their designe, but E satisfied the Pope with reasons wherefore they pursued that warre: and being deuout and charitable Princes they gaue and assigned a yeerely stipend to the friars of a thousand ducats, which they enioy and is the fairest reuenuie they haue at these daies: Besides that, the Queene sent a vaile wrought with her owne hand to hang ouer the Sepulchre at Ierusalem.

During the siege of Baga, this yeere 1489, Don *Garcia Lopes* de Padilla the last Maister of the Knights of Calatrava died: for the Maisterhip was then incorporated to the Royall crowne of Castile by the Popes authority, as not long after those of Saint Iames and Alcantara were: remanaying euer after in the Kings hands with title of perpetuall administrators thereof: for in truth these masters did draw after them, by reason of the authority which they had ouer so great a number of Knights, all gentlemen of great houses, to great a power and to be suspected by the Kings, as pernicious to a state, where in conclusion they were heads of factions, by whom, Spaine was many times torne in peeces.

The

A The Knights of this order were permitted to marry the yeare one thousand, fise hundred and forty, by Pope *Paul* the third. From the first institution of this order, vntill this time, and the death of Don *Garcia Lopes de Padilla*, eight and thirty maisters of the same order are reckoned.

The siege of Baga had already lasted foure whole moneths, without hope of winning it, against which the Artillery wrought no great effect: for that men in those dayes were not skilfull in the approches and neere batteries, as they are now in these times: Neuertheless King *Ferdinand* thinking it would bee a great blemish to his reputation, if hee should raise the siege, would by no means giue it ouer, being assured that B continuance of time would bring the Moores to reason: the besieged on the contrary, knowing that the losse of Baga would carry with it Almerie, and Guadix, and so consequently the whole ruine of the Moores state in Spaine, did all of them resolute to dye rather then to yeeld. And because the trench on the hills side was a great hinderance to them, they went out vpon a day to breake and fill it vp, where they gaue a very furious assault, wherein great numbers on both sides were slaine. Wherevpon the King commanded that no man should goe forth to skirmish without leaue, and caused all the Moores to depart out of the Campe, commanding that all those that should flye forth of the City should be made slaues, but they had rather vndergoe that condition then to starue. Being besieged so farre of, the sallies were the easier and oftner; C but the Moores commonly had the worst: At one of these skirmishes Don *Iohn de Luna* was slaine, a yong Knight, and heire to the noble houle of *Luna* in Arragon. Winter drawing on, gaue some hope to the besieged that their enenies would shortly dislodge, and therefore they meant to hold out a little longer: but when they saw that King *Ferdinand* caused Carpenters to build small houles and cabins for the Souldiours, they then perceived that the King meant not to leaue them so soone. The season being wette and rainie, did greatly trouble the Armie before Baga, and that which was worst of all, the wayes were so deepe and full of water, that no victualls nor munition could be brought to the Campe, but with incredible difficulty. But the diligence of the noble and courageous Queene surmounted all these inconueniences, D for shee hired foureteene thousand ordinary beasts of carriage, besides those which went vp and downe to the Campe for their priuate gaine, taking marueilous paines and care to provide all things necessary for the reliefe of the Armie, not sparing for any cost. For to defray which charges, shee engaged part of the Royall patrimonie, and assigned penctions: shee borrowed money of Citties, and of priuate men and women, and pawned her owne lewels; and for an argument of her great pietie and charity, shee kept foure great tents in the Campe, which were termed the Queenes Hospitall, for the reliefe of hurt and sicke Souldiours, seeing for that purpose, diuerse Physicians, Surgeons, and Apothecaries, and provided for all other necessities, with such care, iudgement and diligence, as the conquest of the kingdome of Granada, E and expulsion of the Mahometan Moores forth of Spaine, may more iustly be attributed to this Princeesse then to any other.

It was thought fitte that the Ordinance which was in the Maister of Saint Iames and the Duke of Nageraes quarter, should be brought neerer to the enemies fortes and defenses: the which was done with many bloody encounters: the Moores continuing still more obstinate, were diuerse times aduised to yeeld, and to enioy the fauour and bountie of King *Ferdinand*, who promised them the liberty of their religion, and not to take away their goods, lawes, and customes, notwithstanding that they were in great want of victualls and money for the payment of the Souldiours, for whose wages, the Captaines tooke away the Rings and Jewels from the women, to F the end to auoyde sedition and rebellion in the towne. The continuall miseries of that siege did likewise trouble diuerse that were abroad, who cunningly did counsell the King, who was resolute not to rise from thence, to cause the Queene to come to the Campe, saying, that it would cause the Moores utterly to dispaire: but indeed they thought that the Queene, seeing with her owne eyes the traualle and miserie which the Armie endured, would bee a meanes to dislodge, and that the rejected opinion

The Soldan of Egypt diligence in the behalfe of the Spanish Moores.

The King of Castile, gaue a thousand ducats yearly rent to the friars at Ierusalem.

18

The Master of the Order of Calatrava incorporated to Castile.

The Queenes Hospitall in the Campe.

Queene Isabella best great diligence.

opinion of besieging them by Fortes, would bee then renewed. The King wrote diuerse letters to the Queene who lay at Iaen, to cause her to come to the Campe, the which shee did, being accompanied with the Cardinall of Spaine, and other Prelates, leaving the Prince her sonne at Vbeda with the Archbishop of Siuill, and some others of his Councell. Her coming caused most of the Souldiours to forget their misery and trauaile, and brought forth an effect contrary to that which some of them, who had bene the occasion thereof, did imagine; But the Moores were wholly confounded thereby, and discouraged to make any longer resistance. Wherefore their chiefe Commander, whose name was *Mahomet Abenahazan*, began to hearken to that which had bene so often propounded by the King and Queene, and craued a parley. Don *Gutierrez de Cardenas* great Commander of Leon, had Commission to treat with him, hee being an eloquent and discrete Gentleman, shewed him what fauour and good hee might expect and hope for from these victorious Princes, and that there was nothing more plaine, then that God had giuen an end to the Moores happinesse in Spaine: The Moore apprehending sufficiently what the Commander told him, did with very humble speeches desire to become their vassall, but hee sayd, that it behooued him to conferre with the inhabitants of *Baza*, before hee could giue any resolute answer: which being granted him; those people of iudgement which consented to the yielding of the towne, were of opinion to let King *Muley* vnderstand vpon what termes they stood, to the end they might hee able to iustifie the yielding thereof.

During this negotiation, a suspence from Armes was granted, and King *Muley* being aduertised and perswaded by *Mahomet Abenahazan*, did not onely consent to the yielding of *Baza*, but compounded likewise for the rest which he held, and for his state hereafter: Namely, that *Almerie* and *Guadix* should bee deliuered into the Kings hands; the which was effected assoone as the Gouernour returned back. The Moores of the garrison of *Baza* came forth with their Armor and baggage, and the inhabitants were permitted to liue in the neighbour townes, or else where in Spaine, where they thought good, without any molestation in their belife and superstition: and the Gouernour *Mahomet Abenahazan* with all his kindred, was receiued into the Kings fauour as their subiect and vassalle.

The Christian Souldiers entred into *Baza* the fourth day of December, the seauenth month of the siege. The yielding of that place being diuulged all ouer the country, the Captaines and Gouernours of the townes of *Almunecar*, *Porchena*, *Tabernas*, and others of the country of *Alpuxarras*, from *Almerie* vnto *Granado*, came and presented their keyes to the Kings, remaining their vassalls and Mudejares, the Captaine of *Porchena* excepted, who reiecting all entreaties, gifts and offers, would needs passe ouer into *Affricke*. King *Ferdinand* went from *Baza* to *Almerie*, where King *Muley* lay, who came and met him, hauing layde by the royall Diadem, and like a priuate man, alighting from his horse, would in signe of homage haue kissed his hands: but King *Ferdinand*, considering the alterations whereto humane affaires are subiect, would not permit it, but caused him to remount his horse, and so receiued him neuertheless for his vassalle. The City of *Almerie* being receiued, and the same conditions granted to the Citizens as was to others, namely, to liue free, and to enioy without any molestation their goods, and the exercise of their religion, in paying the same tribute which they were accustomed to giue to the Moore Kings, the Kings went to *Guadix*, where the like was done. This was in the beginning of the yeare one thousand, foure hundred and ninety. The governments of these places were giuen by the King, that of *Baza* to Don *Henry Henriques* his Vnckle; *Almerie* to the great Commander of Leon, and *Guadix* to Don *Diego Hurtado de Mendoza*, the Cardinalls brother. The Gouernor of *Solobregna* and other Moores, did likewise yeeld their Fortes and Castles to the Kings, and did taste of their mildnesse and clemencie. The towne of *Andaraz* was assigned to *Muley Bosbelin* for his residence, with a thousand Mudejares to his vassalls, and foure millions of Marauedis for his pension, which hee enioyed but a yeare: for disdaining to liue as a subiect, there where hee had reigned, hee went ouer into *Affricke*. By meanes wherof *Mahomet Bosbelin* the little, remayned sole King of *Granado*,

The Moores  
of Baza be-  
gin to parley.

Baza, Guadix,  
and Almerie  
yielded.

Muley Bosbelin  
submits  
himselfe to the  
Kings of Cas-  
tile.

1490.  
Moores.

A *Granado*, who not long after, was brought to the same passe like his vnckle, as shall appeare. The Bishops and the Clergie did in these cities performe the accustomed purifications and ceremonies: and *Almerie* and *Guadix* were after that erected into Episcopall Sees.

The power of the Moores after the taking of these places was in a manner brought to nothing: the city of *Granado* with a few other places remayning to *Mahomet* the Little: but all that was done was to no purpose vnlesse *Granado* were taken, which had bene the chiefe of that rich and mighty Kingdome for many yeeres: wherefore *Mahomet* was entreated by the Kings to giue them the city of *Granado*, alleading a certaine agreement and promise which he had made vnto them, that vpon the conquest of the cities of *Baza*, *Guadix* and *Almerie*, by the King and Queene, they should giue them to *Mahomet* the Little, with certaine other places, vpon condition, that hee should liue vnder them as their vassall, and that hee should enioy the rents and reuenues of those places, and hee in regarde thereof should deliuer the city of *Granado* into their hands. But the said *Mahomet* thought it an hard matter from a Master to become a seruant, and from a King a subiect, therefore some times excusing himselfe, by the resistance of the Moores of *Granado*, from performing his promise, and at other times demanding more townes and reuenues, this last was graunted him, with promise to amplifie and enlarge his dominion, and as for the rebellious Moores, hee was enioyned to disarme them.

C Some, who saw that it must needs bee so, did yeeld vp their weapons, others who could not endure such basenesse, did stirre vp King *Mahomet* in such sort as hee rebelled openly with them: wherefore this yeare 1490. the Moore King beganne the warre againe, and tooke diuers castles neere to the city, driuing away the Christians from thence: by reason whereof the garrisons of *Alhama*, *Loxa*, the townes of *Illora*, *Moclin*, *Montefrio*, *Alhedin* and *Colomera* were fortified by the Kings: who contenting themselves for that time to haue secured the frontiers, and the new conquered cities, they went to *Cordoua*, and from thence to *Siuill*: where receiuing newes how the Moores spoiled the country, they appointed Don *Inigo Lopes de Mendoza* Earle of *Tendilla* General, who abiding at *Alcala* the real, did giue and take many defeats: but it was not long after, before King *Fernand* came in his person, with an army of fise thousand horse and twenty thousand foote, and spoyled all the territory of *Granado*, where hee left nothing for the Moores to liue on, or to yeeld them any ease or commodity, not without sharpe resistances skirmishes and dangerous and deadly encounters as well on the one side as the other: in the camps retreat the Marquis of *Villenas* brother called *Alphonso de Pacheco*, *Stefano de Luxon*, and an other captaine of the Marquis, did amongst others loose their liues: the Marquis of *Villena* himselfe was hurt in the arme, which hee felt euer after during his life, but at that time hee purchased the fame of a braue, generous, and charitable Knight towards his seruants: for perceiving that a groom of his Chamber was hand to hand in fight with fise Moores who had the odds of him, hee not being able to endure to see his seruant in that danger, did not feare to hazard his owne person in his rescue, but spurred his horse against those Moores fise two of them with his owne hand, and put the other to flight: and there he receiued that hurt.

After that King the had made his retreat and was gonne to *Cordoua* with the army, sending them home to their houses (for they were all of *Andaluzia* and the neighbour Prouinces) the Moores hauing gathered together some forces in the city and out of the hill called *Sierra Neuada*, came and planted their seige before *Alhedin*, which was kept by *Mondo* of *Quesada*, where they did assaile furiously seuen daies and seuen nights, in such sort as the Christians, hauing no leisure to eate or sleepe, were constrained to giue ouer the place, except a strong tower wherinto they shut themselves where they made the best resistance they could.

The King hauing notice of the danger they were in, did forthwith assemble forces for their succour, but it could not come soone enough, for the besieged Christians, hauing done as much as men could doe in their owne defence, were at

LIII

the

King Mahomet the Little  
enforced to re-  
bell.

Sharpe resis-  
tance of  
Moores.

The Marquis  
of Villena was  
hurt and abso-  
lutely  
rubbled.

Exploit of the  
Moors.

the last constrained to yeeld to the enemies discretion, who carried them all away for  
slaves to Granado: when the King heard this, hee turned back againe: but the Moores  
proud of their victory, proceeded on in taking of places, as Marchena and others: and  
because there was nothing to bee had in the territory of Granado, they provided their  
viſtualls out of Affrick, hauing procured the Moores Mudeiares of Solobregna, a ſea  
towne, againſt their faith giuen and ſworne to the Kings of Caſtile, to giue them ſafe  
acceſſe in their harbor, with viſtualls, money, and other commodities, and they receiued  
King *Mahomet* into their towne, who a great while beſieged the Caſtle, which was  
defended by *Franciſco Ramirez* of Madrid, till ſuch time as hauing intelligence of the  
comming of the Chriſtian Armie, hee was constrained to abandon it, and to returne  
to Granado: whether King *Ferdinand* came to make an end of his former ſpoile. And  
because hee vnderſtood that the Moores who remained in Baſa, Guadix, and Al-  
merie, had intelligence with King *Mahomet*, hee went thither, and cauſed that  
curſed race to bee expelled and diſlodged out of all the walled townes and Caſtles,  
permitting them to dwell in the Villages thereabout if they would, and then went  
back to Siuill.

21  
Portugall.

In that City in the moneth of March this yeare one thouſand, foure hundred, and  
ninety, were celebrated the promiſes of marriage, betwixt the Infanta *Iſabell*, and Prince  
*John* of Portugall, Don *Fernand Siluera*, and Doct<sup>r</sup> *John de Taxeda* high Chancelor  
of that kingdome, being ſent thither Ambaſſadors for that purpoſe, the Cardinall of  
Spaine performing the ceremony. The feaſts, coſts, gifts and preſents, were great and  
magnificent, and the Kings being at Conſtantine, vpon their returne to Siuill, they  
ſent the betrothed Princeſſe into Portugall, who was attended on by the Cardinall of  
Spaine, by Don *Lewis Oſorio* Biſhop of Iaca, *Alphonſo de Cardega* Maſter of Saint  
Iames, *John de Eſtuniga* Maſter of Alcantara, Don *Rodrigo Alphonſo Pimentell* Earle of  
Benauent, Don *Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa* Earle of Feria, Don *Pedro Porto carero* Lord  
of Palma, *Rodrigo de Villos* who went as Ambaſſador, with other great numbers of no-  
bilitie. With this company the Princeſſe arriued at Badajos in the beginning of No-  
uember, and paſſing on to the bridge of Caia, ouer a little ſtreame which deuided Caſtile  
from Portugall, ſhee was deliuered into the hands of Don *Manuell* Duke of Beja,  
couſin germaine to the King, who being accompanied with the Biſhops of Eboa  
and Coimbra, with the Earles of Monſanto and Marialua, and diuerſe other Knights,  
they brought her to Eſtremos, where King *John* and the Prince his ſonne met her, and  
in that place they were married by *George d' Aceſta*, Archbiſhop of Braga: after that  
they went to Eboa, where they feaſted with great pompe and magnificence. Don  
*George*, baſtard ſonne to the King, was preſent at the wedding, who was newly come  
from the Monaſtery of Ieſus d' Auero, where hee had till then bene brought vp, vnder  
the government of Don *Joane* his Aunt the Kings ſiſter, who dyed not long before. At  
theſe feaſts the King maintained the tilt againſt all knights that would runne, furniſhing  
them with horſe and armor.

Caia a ſmall  
ſtreame diui-  
ding Caſtile  
from Portugall.

Marriage of  
the Infants  
D. Alphonſo of  
Portugall and  
Iſabell of  
Caſtile

22  
Caſtile.

This yeare one thouſand, foure hundred, ninety and one, the kings of Caſtile being  
at Siuill, they began to giue order for the ſiege of Granado, ſending for the Knights and  
men of warre from all places of the kingdome, as well on this ſide as beyond the hills,  
commanding them to meete at Alcala the reall, to which place they went in the moneth  
of Aprill, hauing in their company, the Prince and the Infantas their children, who with  
the Queene remained at Alcala. The king paſſing on into the plaine country of Grana-  
do with the Armie, conſiſting of ten thouſand horſe, and about forty thouſand foot-  
men, in the which were in perſon, the Maſter of Saint Iames, the Marquis of Vil-  
lena, hee of Cales, and his brother in lawe Don *Rodrigo Ponce de Leon*, who did be-  
gin this warre, the Earles of Vregna, Cabro, Ciſuentes, and Don *Alphonſo de Aguilar*:  
diuerſe great Lords which came not themſelues ſent thither their forces. The Conſta-  
ble remained Viceroy in Caſtile the old.

The Campe hauing marched as farre as the place called Los ojos de Hueſcar, ſtayed  
there, and the Marquis of Villena was ſent with 3. thouſand horſe, and 5. thouſand foot,  
into the valley of Aletin & to other places and paſſages of the country called Alpuſarras  
to

A to ſpoile it, and because the King was aduertized that in the ſame country were a great  
number of Moores able to make reſiſtance, he followed the Marquis, and paſſing along  
by Granado he maintained ſkirmiſh with diuers Moores which came forth for that pur-  
poſe, who with great loſſe were repulſed; the King went forward, and by the way met the  
Marquis and his troups as they returned, who had burned and deſtroyed nine townes,  
and ſlue more then ſue hundred Moores, whom they found careleſſe and ſecure, think-  
ing themſelues ſafe from any ſearch in thoſe ſharpe and ſtony places: ſo their forces  
being ioyned together they returned againe into Las Alpuſarras to make an end of  
ſpoyling what was left. And King *Fernand* hauing notice that three capaines of the  
Moores were come forth of Granado, and had made themſelues maſters of a paſſage, he  
ſent the Marquis thither, who fought with them and draue them thence, hee ſlue  
about one hundred of them and tooke three ſcore priſoners, and they deſtroyed ſiſteene  
townes more in the country, beſides thoſe nine. about mentioned with great ſtore of  
ſpoile which they carried away with them: for the Moores did alwaies thinke that their  
goods were ſafer in thoſe places then in the city of Granado: After which exploit the ar-  
my was brought backe to Pradal & from thence marched to a place called Goſto: There  
ticking by the aduice of the Lords which were with him, cauſed the compaſſe of a city  
to be measured out which was called Saint Foy, with an intent to build houſes in that  
place for the beginning of the army if it ſhould be constrained to winter there, and if the  
ſiege of Granado ſhould bee drawne out in length, as it was greatly feared: they gaue it  
the title of Saint Foy, in regard that warre was vndertaken for the augmentation of the  
Holy Chriſtian faith. Round about the ſoreſaid compaſſe, the campe was lodged, being  
fortified and rampired with trenches and walls for feare of ſurprizes, in which workes the  
Moores failed not to hinder them by comming forth of Granado with continual ſkir-  
miſhes. The Queene with her children came from Alcala to the campe; the Maſter of  
Saint Iames and the Marquis of Cales went forth to meet them, and the ſewer her Ladies  
were lodged in the ſafeſt place of al the campe, and they did oftentimes ride about the  
quarters, where for their diſport they did many times behold the fights and ſkirmiſhes,  
which were almoſt euery houre made a farre off, and one eſpecially among the reſt where:

D as the Moores in great troups being come forth with two peeces of Artillery, did looſe  
them, with 600. of their men ſlaine vpon the place, and more then fourteen hundred  
of them hurt, the Marquis of Cales leading the Chriſtians, who attributed that victory to  
the Queenes good hap, and hee aſcribed it to the Marquis his good fortune. Now thoſe  
of Granado were not long able to hold out: for the greater numbers of horſemen which  
were wont to ſally forth of the city, were ſo diminished as they hardly had 300. horſe of  
ſervice, the reſt, were loſt and conſumed in the laſt wars: and beſides this, the city which  
contained about 200. thouſand perſons was very ill provided of viſtualls; ſo that diuers  
cavaliers and men of great note began to deſiſe means how to treat with the Chriſtians  
for their ſafety: to be ſhort, al of them conſidering the ſtate whereinto they were brought,  
and that they had no hope or expectation of reliefe from any place, they were glad to  
hearken vnto compoſition and agreement in yielding vp the city to the Kings of Caſtile:  
wherefore King *Mahomet* the Little reſolved to giue place to neceſſity, and to receiue  
this fatal wound, to fall from his crowne and regall dignity, and to become vaſſal and  
ſubiect to his enemies, and to that purpoſe he ſent to entreat the Kings to appoint com-  
miſſioners to treat and compound with him. This newes was pleaſing to the Chriſtians,  
who did not thinke to haue gotten it ſo good cheape: therefore D. *Gonſall Hernandez* de  
Cordoua, and the Secretary *Hernando de ſeſra*, were appointed to capitulate with him;  
who after diuers goings and commings, did conclude with the Moores and their Prince  
*Mahomet* the Little, vpon theſe conditions following.

F 1 That King *Mahomet* ſhould no more terme himſelfe King of Granado: vnto whom  
the Kings of Caſtile ſhould giue an honorable ſtipend for his entertainment, who might  
lue in the cities, lands, and other reuenues, ſpecified, which hee had held in the daies of  
his father King *Maley Albohacen*; and the like to bee done to his mother Queene *Aixa*,  
his wife, ſiſters, and children.

2 That their traine, ſtuffe, ſeruants and purueiours ſhould be free from al tax and tribute.

Seige of Gra-  
nada.

The city of  
Holy ſaith.

A great ſkir-  
miſh wherein  
the Moores are  
deſeated.

Great neceſſity  
in the city of  
Granado.



3 That the Moores should bee iudged according to their owne lawes and customes, A which they call Xaira, and if any Christian were a party, by Iudges that were one halfe Moores, and the rest Christians.

4 That their Armes should not be taken from them (their Harquebuses excepted) the which no Moore might keepe without speciall licence.

5 That all Moores should bee suffered to liue in Spaine, with free liberty of their ceremonies and religion: and if they would goe ouer into Affricke, they might do so, and carry with them their mooueables, money, marchandise, and all other commodities, excepting Armor and munition for the warres, without paying any tribute for three yeares together, and they should bee furnished with shipping for their passage: After three yeares were expired, those that would depart should pay a Ducat for euery head. B

6 That all Moores which possessed immouable goods in Spaine, might enioy them, albeit they shewelues were in Affricke, and they might sell, let out, and accommodate them, and for that purpose they might keepe factors and Attorneys in the King and Queenes dominions.

7 That no Renegada Christian should bee constrained by force to returne to the Christian faith.

8 That within certaine dayes after the conclusion of this treaty, King *Mahomet* the little, or his Alcaides, should deliuer vp the Fortresse of Alhambra, with all the towers and other strong places of the city into the Kings hands.

9 That those of Granado should giue foure hundred principall Moores for hostage. As these matters were handling, the Queenes tents were set on fire by the negligence of one of the Queenes women; so as the whole Armie was in an vprore, and fell into order of battaile, thinking it to bee some Morish stratagem: but when the cause was knowne, all was quieted. The like inconuenience of fire hapned at the same time at Medina del Campo, by meanes whereof more then two hundred houses were burned. Now after that the aboue-named articles were agreed vpon, a great sedition was raised in the city of Granado, by more then twenty thousand of the common people, who tooke armes, gaine-saying the yeelding vp of the city, in such sort as King *Mahomes* was glad to take the Fortresse of Alhambra with a strong garde, looking euery houre when they would haue assailed him: but their fury being appeased, he shewed them, that there was now no more time to make resistance, and gaue them many reasons for it: Neuertheless, hee perceiving that there was euer some frantick Prophet or other among that nation which did put the people in those tumules, he wrote to the Kings, that without staying for the day appointed for the deliuey of the Alhambra, they should send to take present possession thereof, which King *Ferdinand* did forth-with, and marched with his forces against that Fortresse: from whence *Mahomes* the little, no more a King, went out to meete him, who with a sorrowfull and dejected countenance, presented him the Keyes, saying, that they were the Keyes of the Royall Pallace of Granado, the which, with himselfe, and all the men that were in it, were at his seruice. He pronounced these words with a broken and sorrowfull voyce, and would haue alighted from his horse to haue kist the Kings hand, who moued with pity and compassion, would not suffer him so to doe, but did very gently and graciously comfort him. King *Ferdinand* gaue the Keyes to the Queene, thence to Prince *John* her sonne, and he gaue them to Don *Inigo Lopes de Mendoza* Earle of Tendilla, who with three thousand horse, and like number of footmen, entered into the spacious and royall fortresse of the Alhambra, with the Marquis of Villena, and other Knights: & *Frier Hernando de Talavera* Bishop of Auila (who was afterward Archbishop of Granado) did forthwith goe vp into the highest Tower there, and set vp the Crosse, which was the very fame that the Cardinall of Spaine did vie to haue borne before him as Archbishop of Toledo and Primar, and the which is at this day kept in the Vestrie at Toledo: and then were the banners of Saint Iames and King *Ferdinand* and Queene *Isabell* set vp, with performance of the accustomed ceremonies: and soone after, other forces were sent to seaze vpon the gates and towers of the city, where the people were disarmed, and the armor carried into the Alhambra, sauing those which were hidden and afterward found, which cost diuers their liues, who were executed by course of lawe. The

Castilians  
cruelty  
towards  
the  
Moores.

Liberty of  
religion  
granted  
to the  
Moores.

VP regards  
the  
people.

The Alhambra  
of Granado  
yeilded  
the  
year 1492.

Granado  
yeilded  
vp.

A The city was yeelded vp the first day of January 1492. the 675. yeere of the reigne of the Arabians there: and thereby ended the warre of Granado, which lasted tenn yeeres, and gaue end to the Arabians and Moores dominion in Spaine; but the most part of the Knights would not tarry there but went ouer into Affricke: the greedinesse, inconstancy, inidelity, and desire to rule which that Nation had, brought them to this misery. King *Fernand* aduertized Pope *Innocent* and other Christian Princes his friends of this great victory, and hee staid a great while in the city of Granado, to giue order for the government thereof, as also of all that they had newly conquered: where in Queene *Isabells* constancy and magnanimity deserves the first place, then King *Fernand* valour, wildome and good conduct, with other Lords and chiefe Knights of their Kingdomes: the cities of Suill, Cordoua, Iau, Ecchia, Xeres, Vbeda, Baeza, Murcia, Cartagena and Lorca did not spare any of their publike and particular goods.

The same day that King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabell* made their entry into the city of Granado, D. *Pero Fernandez de Velasco* Earle of Haro, Viceroy and Constable of Castile died, whom D. *Bernardin de Haro* his sonne succeeded as well in the Earldome as Constableship, who this yeere was made Earle of Frias and married to Donna *Isabelle* of Arragon the Kings daughter.

A little before the viceroys death, the President and Auditors of the Kings Chancery residing at Validolid, did greatly forget themselues, by receiving an Appellation to Rome, for a certaine cause depending before them, for which the King and Queene depriued them of their offices, and placed others therein: they that were disposed, were D. *Alphonso de Valdunisso* Bishop of Leon who was president, and Doctor *Martin de Auila*, the Licenciat *Cinchilla*, Doctor *Caro*, and Doctor *Olmedilla* Auditors: In their roomes were placed Doctor *John Arias del Villar* Bishop of Ouedo for President, the Licenciat de Villena, Doctor de *Palacios*, the Licenciate *Vile Mariell*, the Licenciate *Palacios Rabal*, and Doctor de *Villouela* Auditors. The Iewes did also grant a generall subsidy to the Kings, which was the last subsidy raised vpon that sect: for soone after they were all driuen forth of Spaine. The King and Queene hauing begunne to take the best order they could for the government of the new conquered Prouinces, in the month of March this yeere 1492. they came to Cordoua to intend the affaires of the rest of the Kingdom: there they made a statute, whereby all gentlemen of the Kingdomes and Lordships, subiect to the crowne of Castile and Arragon, were enioyned to come and make proofe of their pedigrees and nobility: and because it was made at Cordoua, it was called the statute or law of Cordoua.

Whilest the King and Queene were busied in the warres and sege of Granado, the ioy and feasts in Portugall were sodainly turned into teares and lamentations: the marriage betwixt *Alphonso* of Portugall and D. *Isabells* of Castile being celebrated with great magnificence at Eбора, and the feasts and triumphes continuing at Saint Irén, whether the new married couple were gonne to auoide the great heate: the Prince on an Euening accompanying the King his father, and being mounted vpon a very ready and swift horse, would needs runne a race against an other horse, whereon Don *John de Meneses*, Commander of Algezir, did ride, but the Commander excused the matter by reason it was late and almost night, the Prince commanded a Mule to bee brought vnto him, and in the getting vp the stirrop brake, wherefore hee tooke his former horse, and continuing in his determination to runne, hee tooke the Commander by the hand, and giuing (putres to his horse, hee constrained him to runne the race with him: but the mishap was that the Princes horse stumbling at the races end, ouer-threw his rider vnder him, and did so bruze him, as hee lay speechlesse and almost dead vpon the ground. The King and all the standers by being very sorrowfull, caused him to bee carried to the next cottage which was a fisher-mans, where the Princesses, the mother and the daughter in law, hauing vnderstood this pitifull accident did come on foote, where finding this poore Prince in such state as for no speech nor any thing else that could be said or done, hee did make any sign or shew of vnderstanding out: They did all melt into teares, vntering forth very strang cries and lamentations. Great and sundry were the diligences and remedies though superfluous, which the Physitions

The end of  
the  
Arabian rule  
in Spaine.

The President  
and Auditors  
of Validolid  
deposed and  
their names.

Subsidy raised  
vpon the Iewes.

1492.

Statute of  
Cordoua for  
the Nobility.

24  
Portugall.

A pitifull  
accident  
happened  
to Prince  
Alphonso of  
Portugall.

Prince  
Alphonso.

Princess. Is-  
bella lamenta-  
tion.

and Surgions vsed for his recovery: the Physicians telling the King that his sonnes end A drew nere, he brought the Queene and the Princeesse to the houses of Vasco Pallas, which are vpon the riuer of Tayo, and the Prince died seuen and twenty houres after the accident, who was lamented and bewailed by all men, for the great hope and expectation which he gaue of himselfe in those young yeeres, hauing hardly attained to seuentene yeeres of age: and that which did more encrease the sorrow, was that he left the Princeesse Isbell a widdow euen almost as soone as shee had bene a wife: for they had not bene married fully eight monthes. The Princes body was laied in a herse and carried to the Monastery of batraile. The Princeesse in token of sorrow, did cut off her heire, and clothed herselfe in garments besitting her griefe, and hauing remained fiftene daies in the house of Vasco Pallas shee went to the Kings pallace one euening without any light, where the King, Queene, and shee, kept themselues shut vp a long time, giuing themselues to much ouer to griefe, and forgetting the health of their owne persons: and being in this estate they were visited and comforted on the Kings of Castiles part. After this manner King Johns Court remained desolate, and it may bee, that God caused this losse to fall vpon him, for ouer hastily destroying the great houses of his owne Kingdome, especially that of his Aunt D. Beatrice Dutcheffe of Visco, whose sonne D. Dominigo a Prince of his blood, hee had slaine with his owne hand. The obsequies and funerals being ended, where the King and the great Lords and Ladies of the Realme were present, Queene Elenor, and the Princeesse Isbell excepted, shee being sorrowfull and a widdow was brought backe into Castile the same time King Fernand and Queene Isbell were about Granada in the New towne of Saint Foy which they builded. King John being in this anguish went backe to Lisbone, where this yeere 1492. the two Maisterships of Saint Iames, and Auis, fell to his sonne D. George: for whose gouernor hee appointed D. Diego Almeyda sonne to the Earle of Abrantes.

*The end of the three and twentieth Booke.*

THE

A



B

## THE FOVRE AND TWENTY tith Booke of the Generall History of Spaine.

C

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In

A



B

In this foure and twentieth Booke followeth in  
the Line of Portugall,

14. Don Manuel the first.



**C** Hristians in the conquest of the occidental Indies: which their owne Histories beare witnesse of, with terrour to those which reade it, and as a publike scandall to the vnbeleeu-  
**D** ing Nations which haue heard tell of their dealings, for the Christian Religion: the which they thinke by reason thereof, to be a bloudie Religion, which seekes nothing but gold and wealth with an insatiate desire of rule. But wee may easily beleue, that the ex-  
**E** cesse committed by the euill ministers in these searches of the Weſterne Indies, was not by their Kings consent, whose zeale herein is rather prayſe-worthie, but their negli-  
gence in redressing and punishing such mischiefs can hardly be excused. Of which voy-  
ages and discoueries we intend not to pursue the Historie at large, as wee did protest in the beginning of this Worke, but wee will content our selues with the declarations of  
the decrees and ordonances made in the Courts and Councils of the Kings of Spaine,  
for the regard of things executed and done in their names and authoritie in those far-  
ther Regions, and to handle, by the way, that which hath followed thereupon in gene-  
rall: for such matters require particular and distinct Treatises.

Wee haue heretofore declared, how that *Christopher Columbus* hauing beene diuers  
times heard to discourse of the navigation which hee had conceiued in his mind to bee  
made towards the West, with knowledge of new lands, whereof there was no memory  
in precedent times, had hope and promises of *Fernand* and *Queene Izabella*, to giue him  
meanes to effect it at a time conuenient; the which beeing offered vpon the time that  
Granado was taken, hee obtained three Caruels rigged and furnished with sixe-score  
**F** men, souldiers and mariners: for the setting forth of whome, the Councillor *Lewis* of  
Saint Angell did lend the King fixeene thousand Duckets. Hee departed then from Pa-  
los de Moguer in Andalusia, vpon a Friday the fourth of August, in the yeare 1492.  
and hauing sayled two moneths and eight dayes, hee discouered the land which hee so  
much desired, that is to say, vpon the eleuenth day of October of the same yeare.

The first man which cryed, Land, was one called *Rodrigo de Triane*, who descried the  
Iland of Guanahami of Lucaios betwixt Florida and Cuba, where they first landed, and  
tooke

*The Spaniards  
as a vice and  
cruelly toward  
the Indians,  
make Christian  
religion actions  
to the vnbele-  
uing nations.*

*Christopher Co-  
lumbus his first  
voyage to the  
Indies.*

*An. 1492.*

rooke possession of that new world, in the name of King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella*: then they sayled to Barucoa, the port of the Isle of Cuba, where they tooke certaine Indians, and afterward they turned towards the Isle of Hati, since then called Hispagniola, and entered into the port by them named Rayall.

There the Indians, at the beginning sterne and rough, at the view of such new people, did in such manner become tractable, courteous, and gentle, as they came and brought gold, with such victuals as they had to the Spaniards, exchanging them for bables and toys of small worth. One of their Kings whom they call *Cachiques*, whose name was *Guacanagari*, did shew himselfe so kind, tractable and obedient to these newcomers, as they lovingly receyved from him what commodities they would, so as it was lawfull for them, being ayded by the Indians and their *Cachique*, to build a fort in that countrey, wherein *Columbus* left eight and thirtie Spaniards with a Captain of Cordoua named *Roderigo d. Arana*, and with his two Caruels which were left, (for he had lost the third) he returned to Spaine from whence he came, carrying some Indians with him, with gold of the Countrey, and other singularities, which he brought to the aforesaid place of Palos de Moguer within the space of fiftie dayes: before *Columbus* departure, King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella* did graunt him the twelfth part of all the royall rights of the lands which he should discover, with this reservation, that he should not in his discourie, do any thing that might prejudice the King of Portugals navigation.

There was a matter resolved vpon in the Kings Councell of Castile, as soone as they found themselves to be Masters of Granado, as faile in shew, but of a pernicious consequence: For they made an Edict, whereby all Iewes, which inhabited in Castile and Leon, were enioyned to turne to the Christian Religion, and to be baptized within three moneths, on paine of hauing their goods confiscate, and perpetual banishment. This decree was receiued, published, and executed by an inconsiderate zeale, and without the knowledge of the King and Queene, thinking thereby, as it is likely to augment Christian Religion, and to confirme vnto themselves the name and title of Catholike Kings: whereunto they were incited by the Prelates and slothfull Pastors, who condemned their charge of teaching good and wholesome doctrine, and likewise by the Monkes and other seditious Church-men, who desired rather to destroy, then to feed those miserable creatures, vnto whom they were in perpetuall detestation and skandall, by means of their wicked and corrupted liues, whereby it came to passe, that the name of God was prophaned and blasphemied among the Iewes and Mahometans of those times, who would rather haue retired a thousand leagues, then to draw neere to receive any religious instruction, from so irreligious people, whose pietie was but childish ceremonies, and external seruises, their knowledge meer cunning and deceipt, to maintaine and increase their riches, ease, and vnuly appetites, and their ayme and end, honours and worldly glorie, with a popular opinion of wisdom in the affaires of this world: the which was playne and euident to people of vnderstanding among the Infidels: therefore it behooued such cuill-affected persons, and no way disposed to amend, as were the Prelates of those daies to set forward such counsels, and to cause the Kings of Spaine to practise courses fit and pleasing to the Diuell, who is a murthrer from the beginning of the world, and author of all ruine and desolation: the which hath beene since practised in all places of Christendome with very bad success: for torments, death, confiscations of goods, and such other like violences, cannot beget a graine of fayth in the heart of man, whose seed is the word of God; the watering, the holy workes of vnfeined charitie, by the example of the heavenly Father, and the increase thereof, the spirit of the Lord: but they may well bring forth Atheisme, Hypocrisie, and despair in abundance, which are the offerings which the enemy of Christ Iesus doth demand.

Now the poore Iewes, at the publication of this Edict, were maruailously perplexed, and afflicted with sundry passions, for their religion, liues, and goods which were very great: whereunto perhaps, the Kings Councell had regard, thinking by their obstinacie, which is a vice proper and peculiar to that nation, to find meanes to fill the treasure emptied in the last warres, by the confiscation of so great wealth as they possessed in Spaine, and to redeeme the alienated reuenues of the Crowne, and the Queenes ingaged Jewels.

Now

A Now the most religious Spanishe Iewes, tooke counsell in these three moneths (space of delay before they were to leaue the countrey, and found meanes, to send away their money and chiefe goods out of Spaine, wherein they were ayded and befriended by many honest-minded Christians, who being moued with pittie and humanity, did helpe to hide them, and to conuey them into Portugall, Affricke, Italy, and Macedon, Greece, and other Regions possessed by the Turkes, whom they taught to make Ordinance and Artillerie, and the art of making Gun-powder, Harguebuzes, and such other engines, which they haue sufficiently vied to the hurt of Christendome.

B The rest of them who loued their ease, did value the countrey where they were borne, and their goods, about all other matters, and were baptized, and made profession, either true or fained, of Christian Religion, such as they could learn and comprehend in so short a time, the which did cause another inconvenience: for in processe of time the noble families of Spaine, allying themselves by marriage to that race, did wholly contaminate and pollute themselves both in blood and beleefe. These are the effects which this violent law of King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella* did produce, by the which the Spaniards ended in the 2082. yeare of the Iewes habitation in Spayne, if so be they faile not in their account. The same rigour was obserued against them in Arragon, Valencia, Catalonia, Sicill, and other places vnder the Kings obedience, who from Cordoua went into Arragon to order the affaires of that kingdom.

C Being in the Cittie of Barcelona, God sent them a small aduertisement: for as King *Fernand* on a morning came forth of the towne-house, where himselfe in person had assisted at the pleas of iustice, and being come downe to the foot of the stayres towards the kings house talking to his Treasurer, a certaine mad man borne at Remensa, whose name was *Iohn de Cagnamates*, drew neere vnto him, and lifting up a short sword, hee gaue him such a blow from the eare downe to the shoulders, and lifting up a short sword, hee strake not off his head: Whereat the King being astonished, as it was a wonder that hee should not off his head: Whereat the King being astonished, and thinking it to be some conspiracy, hee cried out, *Saint Marie helpe me, oh what treason, oh what treason*; thinking that some others would make an end of what that foolish fellow had begunne: but when hee perceived that no man stirred, but that euery one stepped before him, to the end the other might not redouble his blow, and that a Gentleman that was his Caruer, and one more had stept to the offender, meaning to haue stabbed him to death with poyards: hee commanded not to kill him; therefore they ledde him to prison, and dressed his wounds: being afterward examined who had procured him to commit that treason, they could neither then, nor after that hee was healed, by any torments whatsoever, get any thing out of him, but that the diuell had assured him, if he would kill the king, to be king himselfe.

The cittie of Barcelona being highly displeased, that this act had beene committed in their iurisdiction, and beleeuing verily that there had beene some conspiracy, did put themselves in armes, and the tumult could not be appeased, vntill the king, whose wound was newly dressed, and stitched vp with seuen stitches of a needle, did come and shew himselfe out of his lodging windowes to the people, to assure them that hee was aliue: and then euery man went home to his own house. The foole who had comitted the deed, was by law condemned to haue his hands and feete cutte off, his eyes pulled forth of his head, to bee dismembred, with burning pincers, and to be drawn on a cart to the common dung-hill, where his bodie was burned, hauing bene first strangled, by the Queens clemencie.

In these businesse the yeare 1492. was spent, in which the Brotherhood of the Court beganne, and the building the stately Colledge of the holy Croffe at Vailliodolit was ended, and the same yeare dyed Don *Pero Fernandes*, Generall of the frontier of Andalusia, Don *Henrique de Guzman*, Duke of Medina Sidonia, Don *Rodrigo Ponce* of Leon, Marquis of Cales, by whose deceale without children, the cittie of Cales returned to the Crowne: Don *Pedro of Estuniga*, Earle of Miranda of Duero, and Don *Bertrand de la Cueva*, first Duke of Albuquerque.

Pope *Innocent* the eight dyed likewise at Rome, in whose stead was chosen *Rodrigo Borgia*,

The Indians gentle and tractable.

2  
He is against the Iewes.

Negligent Pastors stirre up persecutions.

The child of those who persecuted the Jewes.

Humanity of Christians towards the banished Iewes.

The Turke and Infidels make profit of the Iewes banishment.

The Nobilitie of Spaine contaminated by the aliyances with the converted Jewes.

3  
King *Fernand* hurst at Remensa.

Cales reunited to the Crowne of Castile.

*Borgia*, Cardinal of Saint Nicholas in *Carere Tulliano*, Bishop of Alba, Porto, and S. A. Ruffine, Vice-chancellor and Deane of the Church of Rome, sonne to Don *Jeffrey Lasgoli*, Lord of Canales, and to a sister of Pope *Calixtus* the third, who was of the family of *Borgia*, from whence this man did take his name, and he was called *Alexander* the sixth, who soon after his assumption to the Papacie, made two Cardinals of his Blood, the one his Nephew, named *John Borgia*, and the other his owne sonne called *Cesar Borgia*, of whom we shall have occasion to speake in this Historie.

The same yeare the sonne of Don *Pero Gonçales* of Mendoza, Cardinall of Spaine, whose name was *Rodrigo*, was by King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella*, honoured with the title of Marquis of Zenete, and they made an end of building the vaults of the Cathedral Church of Toledo, which were begunne in the dayes of King *Fernand* the third, and of the Arch-bishop Don *Rodrigo Ximenes*: the Court remaying still at Barcelona about the beginning of the yeare 1493. *Christopher Columbus* arrived there, being returned from the West Indies, whose fame, for the discouerie of those new lands, was spread abroad over all Spaine: he presented the Kings with gold, beafts, and other things brought from those Regions, making an ample relation of his voyage, the which did greatly content them, who gaue him the title of Admirall of the Indies, with armes, wherein he vied this Motto: *For Castile and Leon, Columbus hath gotten a new world.* If the finding out of the wealth brought from the Indies hath brought any commoditie to the couetous negotiators of our Regions, the euils which did accompanie them, did farre surmount and exceed them:

For then first of all, was the abominable Venerean disease known, which in France is called the great pockes, brought by the Spaniards, which went with *Columbus*, who having had to do with the Indian women, which were infected there-with, as with a disease proper and peculiar to the Country, did communicate it to the women of Seuill, and of the Court, who distributed it to others: running on with such contagion and horrible accidents of knobbes and rotting soares, as in the beginning, when our Physicians knew not the remedie for such a disease, diuers did miserably perish, or remayned lame of their members, with a villanous and strange change of their forme and fauour, the reward of whoredome, ouer common then in Spaine and else-where, which neuertheless could not chastise the world in such sort, but that this sinne is at this day more in vse then ever it was, to the dishonour of God, contempt of his lawes, and confusion of all good order. The Spaniards in recompence of this euill brought brought from the Indies, carried thither the Kings euill and madnesse by the biting of dogges, which they brought thither with them, of which diseases the Indians had no knowledge at all.

The right remedie of this contagious infirmittie, are Guaiaci, China, and Salsaparilla, which nature bringeth forth in abundance in that new world, where they haue daily need thereof. Another euill hath the desire of gold, pearles, and other high prized things found in those Ilands, brought with it, namely, that the Spaniards haue giuen ouer all honest and profitable exercises, the ground remaying vntilled in diuers places of Spaine, and other arts condemned, the people of Spaine making none account of any other matter, but onely of the voyage to the Indies: so that ever since, it hath had continuall need of the commodities of the neighbour regions.

King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella* did forth-with send the desired newes of this discouerie to Pope *Alexander*, betwixt whom diuers discourtes did passe by their Ambassadors, and letters to reduce the brutish and idolatrous people of that country, to the knowledge of the true God, and the benefite of Iesus Christ, which would haue bene a memorable worke. This Pope, in the Conuention of the Cardinals did approve this enterprise and conquest for the Kings of Castile, granting and giuing to them and their successors by Apostolical authority, the Indies, Ilands and firme land of the West, and did charge and enioyne them to cause the Gospell to be preached: the which moued the kings to furnish forth the number of eightene shippes, vnder the conduct of *John Rodrigo* of Fonseca, Deane of Siuill, who was afterward Bishop of Burgos, and superintendent of the Indian affaires: of which vessels, manned with fiftene hundred men, they gaue the charge to the Admirall *Columbus*, and to a brother of his named

The Indies  
haue diuered  
the Spaniards  
from husband-  
rie and arts.

The Pope giues  
the west  
Indies  
to the  
Kings of Castile

The great  
Pockes, the dis-  
ease of the In-  
dies, brought  
into Europe.

A named *Bartholomew*, the dignitie of Gouvernour of those new Countries, who departing from Cales, did againe cut thorough the Ocean sea, and landed at the Iland called by them the Desired, from whence without staying they passed to the port of la Plata in the Iland Hispaniola, and came to the royall port, where they found their tort to be overthrowne, and the eight and thirtie Spaniards with their Captaine, whom they had there left, to be slaine by the Indians, who were enforced to fall vpon them for the spoiles and robberies which they had committed.

There came in this second voyage with the Admirall *Columbus*, Friar *Bayll*, a Monke of the Order of Saint Bennet, a Cattelan by nation, with authoritie of the Popes Vicar, and twelue learned Clerkes of good and holy life, according to those times, diuers artificers, beafts, as well horse as neate, with others, store of victuals, stufes, and necessary and profitable matters for the life of man: with these provisions the better to be furnished for future times, the Admirall *Columbus* caused a new towne to be measured out, which he named *Isabella*, after the Queene's name, the which he peopled, and pursuing his search, hee discouered Cuba and Iamaica, and other smaller Ilands: wherein being buised, the Spaniards, left with the Friar, beganne to enter into mutinie, and to commit many disorders, the Governours authoritie, nor the Friars exhortations and interdictions, not being able to containe them within their bounds, whom the Admirall punishing according to their deserts, at his returne it procured him enemies and hatred, who did vnruly vexed and pursue him, as shalbe hereafter declared.

Don *Alphonso de Cardenas*, Master of Saint James, being dead this yeare, King *Fernand* retrayned the Masterhippe, not suffering any new election to be made, as hee had done the like to that of Calatrava with the selfe same considerations and reasons, who by the Popes authoritie, remayned Administrator of them. Don *Alphonso* was then the Master of the same Order, and the three and fortieth in order and continuance the same was done to the Order of Alcantara: the which three dignities were since that incorporated to the Crowne by Pope *Adrian* the sixth, in the time of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, who was heire to the Kingdomes of Castile.

The same yeare the Kings of Castile were altogether rid of King *Mahomet Boabdellin* the Little, who being impatient of the daily solicitations which were made to him, for to become a Christian, and to receiue the water of Baptisme, did sell all the lands and rights which had bene giuen him by the capitulations, at such time as hee deluded vpon the Citie of Granado, for foure-score thousand Duckets, and with his family retired himselfe into Affricke. There were new teares and lamentations renewed, when his owne mother vbraying him, sayd, That it well became him to put finger in the eye and weepe like a woman, for the losse of his dignitie and pallaces, seeing that hee could not defend them like a man. He was kindly welcommed and receuyed by the King of Fez, but within a few yeares afterwards he was slaine in his fierce and intestine warres against the Xerifs.

The Spanishe Authours set downe for a memorable matter, that the Kingdome of Granado beganne and ended, two kings of Castile of one selfe same name reigning, namely *Ferdinand*, and the first and last King of Granado were call'd *Mahomet*. At the same time the Earldome of Rossillon was restored to King *Fernand* by the French king, *Charles* the eighth, who hauing vnderaken at the entreatie and request of *Lewis Sforza*, named the Moore who did usurpe the Duchie of Milan, the Conquest of the Kingdome of Naples, did feare least the King of Castile should in his absence enterprise vpon France, in regard of the strife and contention about the sayd Earldome: Wherefore to free and acquit himselfe from that feare and suspicion, hee yielded it vnto him, and renewed the peace and alliances betwixt the Kingdomes of France, Castile and Arragon, but it was euill and vnfaithfully kept: Wherein the Kings chiefe Councellours did greatly stand him in stead, namely, *Stephen Batis de vers*, and Friar *Alphonso* of Albi, and namely, the holy man Friar *Francis de Basile*, who died at Plessis les Tours, certaine of whose letters are yet extant, which he wrote therevpon, and to the same effect to King *Fernand*.

Friar Bayll the  
Popes Vicar in  
the Indies.

The Masterhip  
of S. James was  
the Kings hands  
in quality of  
administrator.

The Earldome  
of Rossillon was  
restored to King  
Fernaudo.

King Ferdinand  
and Isabella.

It was concluded in this agreement, that King Ferdinand of Castile should not give any aid nor assistance to the King of Naples: whereby it appeareth that this Catholike King knew well how to use the vcharitable rule, which sayes, that Charity begins by it selfe. For he to recouer the Earledome of Rossillon, without restitution of the money which King John his Father had borrowed of King Lewis the eleventh, did not greatly care to leaue the honour, state, and life, of his cousin germane, and brother in law Ferdinand King of Naples for a prey to the French, or at the least hee promised it, and swore so to the French King, notwithstanding that hee afterward changed his minde. King Ferdinand and Queene Isabella hauing remained for a while in Cattalonia, and afterward at Saragossa, they came to Valiodolit, where Don Rodrigo d'Vlloa being deceased, who was one of the superintendents of the treasure which they call *Cantador mayor*, they suppressed that superintendencie, retaining no more but the two that remained, namely, Don Gutierrez de Cardenas great Commander of Leon, and Don John Chacon gouernor of the frontier of Murcia. Being departed from Valiodolit to Medina del Campo, they receiued newes of the death of King Ferdinand of Naples, whom his sonne Don Alphonso Duke of Calabria succeeded. The King at the same time had called in the towne of Tordeillas, a Chapter of the order of Saint Iames, and reformed certaine abuses, and there the differences were compounded, betwixt Castile and Portugall about the Indian navigation.

6  
Portugal.  
1493.  
The Pope limits the Spaniards and Portugals navigation.

The Portugals  
navigation  
towards  
the VVest.

The Moluccas  
found to be  
within the  
navigation of  
the Castilians.

The King of  
Moncong  
receives the  
Christian reli-  
gion.

W<sup>e</sup> have declared how that Pope Alexander had granted by his Bull, dated at Saint Peters, this present year one thousand, foure hundred, ninety and three, and the first of his Popedom, the west Indies to the Kings of Castile. Now for to limit the Streights, betwixt Castile and Portugall, he did draw a line or a meridianall in the Globe from the Poles of the North to the South, leauing a hundred leagues distance to the Portuguese towards the West, from one of the Isles to Cape vert, to make their navigation of Africk, and the East Indies: wherewith the King of Portugall was highly displeased, and complained in such sort to the Pope, that the Kings of Castile entreated that the navigation might be left free to him towards the west, of foure hundred leagues, and the Isles and lands within the same reputed for his conquest, wherewith the King of Castile was not only contented, but added to it threecore and ten leagues more, so as the Portugalls navigation in all, did stretch from the Isles of Cape vert, towards the west, foure hundred and seauenty leagues, passing the meridianall by that point round about the globe: but time made it manifest, that the King of Portugall thereby did finally better his condition: for the riche Islands of the Moluccos, from whence the spices come, are found to be within the streight of Castile: this Transaction was passed the seauenth day of Iune in the year one thousand, foure hundred, ninety and foure.

Now King John thinking that the Moluccos were his part, hee sent certaine Caruels this year to seeke a passage by the African sea towards the East, but they went not farre beyond the Cape of Good hope: wherefore the King being very desirous, that in his dayes this vnkowne navigation might be practised, could not haue that good hap, for hee did not liue this year. In his time neuertheless the kingdome of Manicongo in Guiney was discovered, the King whereof with the most part of his nobility were Baptized. King John being oppressed with continuall melancholy for the death of his sonne Prince Alphonso, hee fell into a dropsie, which by little and little brought him to his end, not without suspicion that his disease was procured or augmented by poyson: hee neuertheless made his abode in the City of Lisbon, and attended the affaires of his kingdome: but his minde was, above all other matters, set on this navigation, the which hee did set downe according to the opinions which hee had receiued from diuers places, which did confirme and verifie the discourse which Pedro de Cobamillas had sent him, who remained in Prester Johns Countrey Emperour of Ethiopia, from whence there arrived at Lisbon, a little before the Kings death, a learned and discrete Monke, who informed the king more particularly of diuers matters, which serued afterwards to great purpose.

Now King John feeling himselfe neere his end, made his Will, and hauing no lawfull children, hee knew that the kingdome was to fall to Don Mannell Duke of Beja: hee

A Hee was therefore desirous to giue Don George his base sonne a portion, vnto whome hee gaue the Cittie of Coimbra, with the title of Duke, and Montmajor the old, and the lands of the Infantsalga, in the same forme, as his Grandfather the Infant Don Pedro, father to Queen Isabella, his mother, had possessed them: hee gaue him moreover, the Ile of Madera, Beja, and Visco, which was not performed afterward.

This will and Testament was signed by Don Manuel, and D. George, and by fine other personages of great place, who made vp the number of seven witnesses. After this hee went into Algarbe to the Bathes of Monchiz, in the moneth of October the season being cold, and visit for his disease: and hunting the wild Bore vpon a wet rainie day, hee got a fluxe: Wherefore as soone as he came to Albor, assured tokens of death beganne to appeare vpon him, wherof he was admonished by D. Diego Ortiz Bishop of Tanger, and Don Diego Almeyda, Prior of Saint Iohns, who was Gouernour to Don George: then disposing himselfe to dye, hee appoynted certaine things, out of a litle Booke, to be read, and accomplished at such time as he was readie to giue vp the ghost. First, hee craved pardon of the Dutchesse Donna Beatrix his mother-in-law, of Queene Leonora his wife, and of the Cardinal Don George of Acosta, who then was at Rome: he likewise craved pardon of the whole Estates of his Kingdome in generall. And to the end that his sonne Don George should not grieve and trouble his mind, hee caused him to be ledde forth of his chamber, and there stood round about his bed, Don George of Almeyda, Bishop of Coimbra, and his brother Don Diego of Almeyda, Prior of Saint Iohns, Don John de Silva Bishop of Silues, Don Diego Ortiz Bishop of Tanger, and Don Iohn de Vasconcelles, Barke of Penela, with certaine Chaplens, who exhorted him for his foules health. In this manner this King died, hauing held the scepter of Portugall foure tene years and two moneths in the year 1495, and in the sixe and fortieth of his age: his bodie, by his owne appointment, was layd in the Cathedral church of Silues, and was afterwards transported by the commandement of the King his succesor to the Monastrie of Battaile, being the last king that was buried there, and it is reported that yet to this day his bodie lyes whole and vnconsumed. He was an excellent King, and esteemed to be so by the other Princes of Christendome.

D Returning to the affaires of Castile, King Ferdinand and Queene Isabella departing from Tordeillas, went to Arealuo to visite the old Queene Isabella, mother to Queene Isabella then reigning, from whence they came to Segouia, and afterward to Madrid, where by the aduice of their Councell it was decreed, that the king, should take the Master-ship of Alcantara into his owne hands, as well as those of Saint Iames and Calatrava, for to be perpetuall Administrator thereof, and to the end that there might be no more masters in Castile, then the King and Queene: the which was approved by authoritie Apostolick: Don Iohn of Estuniga being bereft of his Mastership, was otherwise recompenced. This year also, the new Chancerie and royall audience at Cité reall was erected for pleas and eauls depending beyond Tayo, this riuer separating the bounds of the two Chanceries: namely, of this, and of that at Valiodolit, from this Spring in the mountaine of Cuenca, where it enters into the lands of Portugall, Don Alphonso Carrillo Bishop of Catania, and afterwards of Auila, was the first President thereof. Now the King and Queene had sent some few dayes before Antonio Fonseca Ambassadour to the French king Charles the eight, to the end to diuert him from the warre of Naples, enterprized against King Alphonso their Nephew, and to declare plainly to him (now that they had gotten the Earledome of Rossillon) their meaning. And king Charles being already come into Italy with a mightie armie, the Ambassadour mette him at Villiri neere to Rome, where he deliuered his Ambassage, and did protest, notwithstanding the agreement and promises made at the restitution of the Earledome of Rossillon, that if hee did persist to pursue by armes his pretended right to the kingdome of Naples, king Ferdinand his master could do no lesse then shew himselfe his enemy, and take vpon him his Nephewes defence, and therefore he entreated him to thinke of it, and to referre all their differences to the Popes iudgement, who could very well iudge whither the kingdome of Naples did belong to the French or to the Arragonois.

The Ambassadour wold haue sayd more, but hee was interrupted in his speech, by certain

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Death of King  
John of Portugall.  
1495.

7  
Castile

8

Peace betwixt  
France and  
Castile broken.

hotte and fierie French Lords, who made him hold his peace, and told him that he spake A too arrogantly and impertinently: therefore the Ambassador following his instruction, tooke the Articles of the last agreement betwixt King *Charles* and King *Ferdinand* (which he brought with him) and tare them in peeces in the presence of the King, Lords, and Knights of his Armie: and hee warned at the same instant, *Charles de Arreilan*, and *John Petit Cernillon*, Spanish Captaines, who served in King *Charles* his Armie: that as subiects to King *Ferdinand* they should depart thence within three dayes, and giue ouer the French Kings seruice, on paine of being held rebels to their Prince: From the same time was the friendship betwixt those two Kings broken, and warre in a manner denounced. King *Charles* pursued his defence, and without any difficulty made himselfe maister of B the Realme of Naples, King *Alphonso* before hee had fully reigned a yeare, hauing giuen ouer the kingdome to his sonne *Ferdinand*, went into Sicill, and there ledde a monastick life: but not long after, the Kings of Castile beeing at Tortosa in Catalonia, did openly and by effect declare themselves enemies to the French, as well for feare least they being already Maisters of Naples, should seaze vpon Sicill, where they pretended like right, as also at the entreaty of Pope *Alexander* and other Potentates of Italy, being in the same feare of their owne estates, and would not permit the power of the French to grow so great in Italy: therefore they set forth a Naue of Gallies and other ships, with five thousand Spanish footmen, and fixe hundred horse, vnder the conduct of *Gonsalo Hernandez* of Cordoua: the which forces departing from Carthagea, arrived C safely in the Porte of Messina, this yeare one thousand, foure hundred, ninety and five, making a shew as if they would haue succoured the new King *Ferdinand* driuen from Naples. These troopes of Spaniards among other memorable matters, brought the great Pockes into Italy, wherewith they of the country were soone possessed, and did communicate it to the French men, which were scattered heere and there in the kingdome of Naples, and they afterward brought it on this side the Mounts, and did distribute it to their neighbour nations, so as this disease being indeed of India, was called the Spanish, Neapolitan, and French disease, according to the next subiect where it was discovered, and from whence the contagion was perceived to come.

The Great  
Pocke in Italy.

Death of the  
Cardinal Don  
Pero Gonsall  
de Mendoza.

About the same time in the City of Guadalaxara, dyed Don *Pero Gonsales de Mendoza* D Cardinal, and Primat of Spaine and Goike France, Archbishop of Toledo, Patriarke of Alexandria, and Bishop of Siguença (such were his titles) who beeing visited in his sickness by the Kings, and being demanded whom hee thought worthy to succeed him in the Archbishopricke of Toledo, hee named *Frier Francis Ximenes* of Cisneros the Queenes Confessor, Prouincial of the order of Saint Francis in the Prouince of Toledo. This Cardinal had a singular affection to holy Crosse, who besides that it was his hap to haue the holy Crosse in Ierusalem for the title of his Cardinalship, hee builded a Colledge at Valodolit, and an hospital at Toledo neere the place of Codebece, called *Holy Crosse*: hee re-edified the Church of Santa Cruz at Rome, where they lay the original title written by Pilate on our Saviours Crosse in Greeke, Hebrew, and Latin, E was found in an vnfitte place, the which remains as a famous relique in that Church. Besides, it is reported, that beeing neere his end, a great white Crosse of more then forty Cubits length appeared ouer the house where he lay sick, which beeing reported to him, hee did reioyce, and hauing caused a Masse of the Holy Crosse to be said, hee gaue vp the ghost: these things are written for wonders by the Spaniards: his body lies buried in the chiefe chappell of the Church of Toledo, in a sumptuous Marble monument. As concerning *Frier Francis Ximenes* of Cisneros his successor in the Archbishopricke of Toledo, hee was sonne to a solicitor of causes in the towne of Tordelaguna, called *Alphonso Ximenes*: his first rising was to the Arch-priesthood of Vzeda, and hee was great Chaplaine of Siguença, and the lxxi. in the order of the Archbishops, and hee was afterward created Cardinal by Pope *Alexander* the sixt, of the title of Saint Balbine: but *D. Bernardino de Carvajal* Bishop of Carthagea, was preferred before him to the dignity of a Cardinal by the title of Santa Cruz in Ierusalem, and was likewise admitted to the Bishopricke of Siguença vacant by the Cardinals death, and at the last obtained that of Playfance. *Frier Diego de Deza*, of the order of Friers Preachers, Schoole-maister to Prince

Pilate's original  
title set on the  
crosse of our  
Saviour kept  
for a relique in  
Rome.

A Prince *John* of Castile, was likewise made Bishop of Salamanca.

The affaires betwixt Castile and Nauarre, since the time that *Alain* of Albret came to Valencia to King *Fernand*, were peaceable: but the kingdome of Nauarre was still vexed by the factions: those of Beaumont, had euer for their chief the Constable *Lewis* of Beaumont, Earle of Lerin: those of Grammont ioynted themselves with the Lord of Abenas, Viceroy and Governour of the Countrey, waiting with great desire for the coming of King *John* and Queene *Catherine*, vnto whom they protested: all obedience. Now the great affaires which these Princes had on this side the mountaines, detayned them a long time there: for besides that they were in no sort fauoured by *Charles* the eight, the pursuits of their vnkle *John* Vicount of Narbonne had continually disquieted them, vntill the yeare 1493. that they fell to agreement with him: and to secure the countries of Foix and Bearne in their absence, from his surprizes and vsurpations, they had made ouer to him the townes of Sauardun, Maseres, Monthault, and Gibel.

This Vicount was a widow, by the death of Donna *Marie* of Orleans, sister to *Lewis* the French King, who left him two children, namely, *Gaston*, who was duke of Nemours, and *Germaine*, which was afterward wife to King *Fernand* of Arragon after Queene *Isabella*'s death. Having then contented the Vicount, and King *Charles* busied in his iourney to Naples, *John* Lord of Albret, and Queene *Catherine* his wife, went into Nauarre, leading with them great troupes of souldiers, for feare lest the Constable should rebell, who C held the citie of Pampelona in such fort at his command, as he disposed of all matters there, as if he had bene King: and when the Princes came to the gates thereof, their entrance was denied, and they were constrained to lodge at Egues, where they remayned certain dayes, vntill the Constable and his Faction were pleased to giue them entrance. In that Citie were the Estates assembled, and the King and Queene were crowned with the vsuall ceremonies, in the presence of diuers Prelats, Knights, and the Ambassadors of diuers Princes. It was the last Coronation which was made in Nauarre in our time: for this kingdome beeing soone after in the Kings of Castiles possession, they would no longer continue such ceremonies, being content to receiue the oath of the Estates after the manner of Spaine. The titles of King *John* and Queene *Catherine* of Nauarre, were D Kings of Nauarre, Dukes of Nemours, Gandia, Mombanc and Pegnaffel, Earles of Foix, and Lords of Bearne, Earles of Bigorre, Ribagorça, Pontieure and Petigort, Viscounts of Limoges, Peeres of France, and Lords of the citie of Balaguer.

The yeare 1494. *Cesar Borgia*, who was after Duke Valentinois, Cardinal and sonne to Pope *Alexander* the sixt, did by his procurators take possession of the perpetuall administration of the Church of Pampelona, by the decease of Don *Alphonso Carrillo* the Bishop, and by the grant of the Pope his father: and the yeare following 1495. *Princess Magdalen* of France dyed, who was mother to Queene *Catherine*, in the same citie of Pampelona, who accompanied her daughter to her coronation, and had euer virtuously employed her selfe about the conseruation of her childrens estates for the space of five E and twentie yeares, all which time she had liued in holy widow-hood: her bodie lies buried in the great Chappell of the Cathedral church of the same citie. About that time Queene *Catherine* visited the King and Queene of Castile at Alfaro, by whom she was greatly honoured and welcommed, as bestirred so great a Princess: and we reade of none other occasion of her coming thither, but onely for to see them.

Now after that the King and Queene had made themselves masters of the Citie of Pampelona, the chiefe of the Kingdome, and of many other places which they feared, they were obeyed and reuerenced by the most part of their subiects, and strongly accompanied with Knights and men at armes, they did call to remembrance many rash actions committed by the Constable *Lewis* of Beaumont, as well against King *John* of Arragon, and Queene *Leonora* their Grandmother, as against King *Francis Phelips* and themselves, namely, that the Beaumontois had denied to open them the gates of Pampelona, with other such recent occasions, whereupon they began to persecute him very sharply, so as the Realme of Nauarre was againe in as great confusion as euer it had bene: the two old Factions not forgetting to make vse of any occasions that might hurt one another: the which stormes were in some fort quietly calmed by the mediation of King *Fernand*

to  
The last Coronation at Nauarre.

*Cesar Borgia*  
Cardinal Bishop  
of Pampelona.



of Castile & Arragon who procured this agreement, that the Constable *Lewis* of Beaumont his brother in law should withdraw himselfe into Castile for a certaine limited time, in which meane space either part should lay by their armes, and that the said Constables goods and lands should be laied in *deposito* in King *Fernand*'s hands. And in this sort the Constable left Nauarre, but he lost nothing thereby, for King *Fernand* gaue him twice as much reuenue as he had before, and made him Marquis of Huefcar in Granado. The name of open warre ceased in Nauarre, but they left not of committing of many murtheres and robberies without feare of law, for that nation had beene a long time accustomed to such outrages in contempt of the law; the which waxed still worke thorow King *Iohn* and Queene *Catherines* negligence, who by euill counsell, and particular affections, vnworthy of soveraigne Princes, did at the last bandy themselves in leagues one against the other, the King taking part with those of Beaumont, and the Queene with the Grammontois whereof infinite miseries ensued.

*Lewis of Beaumont made Marquis of Huefcar.*

11  
Castile.

During these troubles *Gonsalo Fernandes* de Cordoua, surnamed the Great capitaine, hauing ioyned the forces that hee brought from Spaine with those that King *Fernand* had, who was driuen forth of Naples, and being accompanied with *D. Hugo Cardona* the Sicilian, did so handle the matter as after that King *Charles* was departed forth of the Kingdome hee recovered Calabria from the French, and draue thence the Lord *Aubigni* who was gouernour in those marches, notwithstanding that soone after hee received an ouerthrow by him neere to Seminara, where King *Fernand* of Naples had like to haue beene taken prisoner: after which *Gonsalo Fernandes* hauing made his retreat to Rijoles, where he stood a certaine time on his defence, and being afterwards re-enforced with new supplies out of Sicile, and a nauy of three score and twene ships brought from Messina by King *Fernand*, hee had courage and meanes to beseege and make himselfe Master of the city of Naples, with her castles, and draue thence Lord *Guilbert* of Montpensier, whom King *Charles* had left there for gouernour and Lieutenant General, making such sharpe warre vpon the rest of the French that were left there, as King *Fernand* in short time was restored to his Kingdome, by the valour, prowesse, and discretion of this great capitaine: which when Don *Alphonso* vnderstood, who of a King was become a Monke in Sicile, hee laboured to recouer his former dignity: but his sonne who was in possession thereof, and who had valiantly employed himselfe in the recovery of that which his father had carelesly lost, would not giue it out: wherefore Don *Alphonso* did not liue long after in his monasticke state, for hee died this yeere 1495.

Exploits of  
*Gonsalo Fernandes* de  
Cordoua surnamed  
the Great  
captaine.

*D. Alphonso*  
from a King  
becomes  
a Monke,  
with in uaine  
from a Monke  
to become a  
King.

The successfull exploits of the Spaniards in the Kingdome of Naples did greatly reioyce King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella*, who being at Tortosa, did agree vpon the marriage of Prince *Iohn* their sonne and heire to the Kingdome, with *Marguerite* of Austria, daughter to *Maximilian* then Emperor, who was sent home, as hath beene said, by *Charles* the French King: and by the same meanes the marriage was concluded betwixt *Philip* of Austria sonne to the said Emperor and Donna *Isabe*, second daughter to the King and Queene of Castile and Arragon. These Princes and Princesses which were married, brother and sister to the brother and sister, were very neere of kinne by the line of Portugall: for Donna *Isabella* of Portugall, wife to Duke *Philip* of Burgondy, was mother to Duke *Charles* father to *Mary*, who was mother to *Philip* and to *Marguerite* of Austria.

Aluices be-  
twixt the  
houses of Au-  
stria and Ca-  
stile.

12

And on the other side *D. Leonora* of Portugall the Empreffe, wife to *Frederike*, mother to *Maximilian*, father to *Philip* and *Marguerite*, was cousin germain to King *Fernand*, daughter to Donna *Leonora* of Arragon, sister to King *Iohn* his father, the which Donna *Leonora* was wife to King *Edward* of Portugall. These treaties being made, the King made some stay at Tortosa, and then returned into Castile: but they were not long there, till the King was constrained to returne to Tortosa to take order for the warre which the French had raised in the Earldome of Rossillon: for King *Charles* being highly moued that the King of Castile, contrary to the agreement and promise which hee had made him, had sent aide to the King of Naples, fought against his armies and townes which hee had conquered, had sent a mighty army to

*VP* auices  
twixt the  
French and  
Spaniards in  
the Earldome  
of Rossillon.

13

A to the Pirenean hills, the which did assaile *Sauffes*, defended by Capitaine *Bernard Francis*, who was ouercome and taken, and almost all the Spaniards were cut in peeces in the sight of the Spanish Armies, commanded by Don *Henry Henriques* Earle of Alua de Lita, and by the King himselfe, who was come as farre as Gyrone, thinking by vaine shewes to cause the French to retire: the which they did, but it was because winter drew on, and for want of victuals, the enemies Armie being in the like necessity. *Sauffes* being forsaken, dismantled and burnt by the French, a truce was taken for foure moneths. Among other men of name which dyed at the taking of *Sauffes* were Don *Diego de Acevedo*, and *Pedro de Solis*: the same hapned the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, and ninety and sixe.

*Sauffes taken by the French.*

1496.

Queene *Isabell* remaining at Burgos, gaue order for the Iourney of her second daughter Don *Isabe* into Flanders to *Phillip* of Austria, vnto whom shee was promised, and for the same purpose shee caused a great Nauie to bee rigged in the Port of Laredo, whether shee came in person, after shee had celebrated the obsequies of Queene *Isabell* her Mother, who dyed at the same time at Areualo, hauing liued a widow the space of two and forty yeares, troubled with sicknesse both of body and minde, whose body being then laide in the Monastier of Saint Francis of Areualo, was afterward transported to the Carthusians in the City of Burgos, called Mirefleur, where King *Iohn* her husband was buried. The same yeare dyed in Guipuscoa Don *Iohn de Gamboa*, a personage full of yeares and honour, who was Maister of the horse to the Kings of Castile, and of their Council, Capitaine generall of the frontiers of France and Nauarre, and gouernour of Fontaraby. This Knight left only two daughters, one of which was married in Guipuscoa in the family of *Sarauz*, and the other into Biscay into that of *Arteaga*: the Queene gaue the conduct of the Nauie, and of the Infanta Donna *Isabe* her daughter, to Don *Frederick Henriques* high Admirall of Castile her Vnckle, being accompanied by Donna *Maria de Velasco* the Admiralls Mother, with other Lords, Ladies and Gentlewomen, who being shipped, the Queene went back to Burgos, and from thence into Catalonia to ayde the King her husband.

Queene *Isabell*  
the Dowager  
sick both in  
body & minde.

Death of Don  
*Iohn de Gam-*  
*boa.*

The Infanta  
Don *Isabe*  
voyage into  
Flanders.

In the meane space, the great Capitaine continued the warre on the one side, and King *Ferdinand* on the other in the kingdome of Naples, who were resisted in Calabria by *Eberard Stuard* Lord of Aubigni, assisted by the faction of *Aniow*, and with a few French forces which were left him, and in the territorie of Lauoro by the Lord *Guilbert* of Montpensier Lieutenant general to the French King, in the same kingdome, who was besieged in the City of Auerfa by King *Ferdinand* and the great Capitaine both together, and was brought to such extremitie, as hee promised, if within thirty dayes hee were not succoured, to yeeld up all that the French men held in the kingdome of Naples, excepting *Gaieta*, *Venosa* and *Tarentum*, which were in the hands of strangers, vpon condition that they would furnish him with shippes to carry him and his people into France: there fell afterwards great sicknesse among the men of warre on either side: and Lord *Guilbert* of Montpensier dyed at Pozzuolo with other French Lords, and there dyed likewise on the enemies part diuerse men of note, as namely King *Ferdinand*, who had for successeur his Vnckle Don *Frederick* of Arragon, brother to Don *Alphonso*. King *Frederick* stayed not long ere hee besieged *Gaieta*, during which siege the Lord *D. Aubigni* rendred the places which hee held in Calabria, by whose example *Gaieta*, *Venosa* and *Tarentum* were yeilded, and King *Frederick* by that meanes recouered all the realme of Naples.

In this warre all the Potentates of Italy shewed themselves enemies to the French, the Florentines excepted, who thought by the meanes of the Frenchmen who held *Pisa*, to bring that Citie into their subiection. And the warre being ended, Pope *Alexander* did sharply persecute the Vrsins, friends and seruants to the house of France, and the chiefe of that family *Virginio Vrsino*, an excellent Capitaine, of all which matters, King *Ferdinand* and Queene *Isabell* of Castile were aduertized to their great contentment.

All the Potentates of Italy  
enemies to the  
French except  
the Florentines.

The beginning of the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, ninetie and seauen, the Kings being in the City of Burgos, they received aduertisement that the Armie of Castile

1497.

Frier Francis  
Ximenes Arch-  
bisp. of To-  
ledo.

Castile was returned, which had conducted the Infanta Donna Joane, wife to Philip of Austria, and brought *Margueret*, sister to the said Philip, betrothed to Prince John, who were married in the same City, Frier *Francis Ximenes* of Cisneros Archbishop of Toledo and Primar of Spaine doing the ceremony: and they had for their God-father Don *Frederick the Admirall*, and Donna *Maria de Velasco* his mother for their God-mother. The feasts and magnificences were great and pompous, whereat died Don *Alphonso de Cardena* second sonne to Don *Gonzalez de Cardena*, great Commander of Leon.

The wedding being ended, the Court came to Medina del campo, where *Christopher Columbus* arrived as a prisoner by the slanders and accusations of the Spaniards his enemies, who were impatient of discipline, the most envious of whom was Frier *Bail*, who came back the same time into Spaine: neithertheless the Kings thinking it an unlikely matter that such a personage should yeeld account of his actions in quality of an offender, they did absolue him of the great rigor which hee had executed by justice on the Spaniards, with commandement thence-forward to vse those more gently, who did crosse so many seas to doe them service, and they willed him to returne to the Iudges, they being highly contented with the reports which hee made of the great riches and wealth which those countries yeilded: whereof hee brought them proofes of golde, Brazil, mother of Pearle, Amber, pretious Feathers, Indian raptric, and other strange things: They did againe rigge forth eight ships for him, furnished with men and victuals, two whereof hee sent away before laden with victuals and weapons to his brother *Bartholomew Columbus*, who had begun to builde the Cittie of Saint Domingo, vpon the riuer of Oryama in the Island of Hispaniola: hee with the other fixe parted from Saint Lucar de Barameda, and being arrived at Madera, vnderstanding that there were French Pirates at sea that watched for him, being drawne thither by the renowne of the wealth of the Indies, hee sent onely three of his shippes directly to the Island of Hispaniola, and hee with the other three sayled towards the Isles of Cape vert, tending to the Equinodiall, and after great trauaile of heates, and calmes, hee arrived at Paria the firme land of those West Indies: then coasting three hundred and thirty leagues vnto Cape de Velas, hee discovered and tooke note of all that country, D where are Cabo Anegado, the point of Salinas, Cubagua, otherwise called the Isle of Pearles, the point of Araja, Cumana, Chiriuichi, the Gulph of Cariari, Curiana, Saint Roman, Venezuela Coquibocoa, and other places, from whence hee passed to the new City of Saint Domingo, and there was receiued for Governour, to the great grieve of diuerse.

This was the third voyage that *Columbus* made to the Indies, and then they had already begun to trade and negotiate with the Indians by force of armes: for the violent viage of them had made them become strange, and enemies to the Spaniards, so as they left off tilling of their grounds, and sowing of their Maiz, to the end to constrain them by hunger to leaue the contrey, and at the same time as these shippes arrived, E great number of Indians being gathered together, did besiege the Spaniards of the Forte of Saint *Thomas du Ciabo*, who were put to flight by *Alphonso de Hoiedo*. Having then gotten the Cachique *Coanabo* into the Forte, keeping him prisoner for the death of diuerse Christians, more then five thousand Indians assembled themselves, being conducted by a brother of his, for to deliuer him, who were likewise defeated by *Horeda*, hauing but a hundred Spaniards in his company, and some amongst them were horsemen, the which made the Spaniards to be greatly feared, and much more afterward when *Bartholomew Columbus* by night defeated fiftene thousand Indians, tooke fiftene Cachiques, and a Generall aboute all the rest named *Garrimex*, all which hee set at libertie vpon their words and promises to continue subjects to the Kings of Castile.

Besides these conquests in the Indies, the Spanish Nobilitie, who seeing that there was no more warres in Spaine against the Infidells, began to enterprize vpon the neighbour shoare of Affrick, and this yeare the City of Melilla, neere the sea in the kingdome of Tremessen, was taken by Don *John de Guzman*, Duke of Medina Sidonia, who

A who led a sufficient army thither, at his owne costs and charges. This was the first place which the crowne of Castile did possesse in that country beyond the sea, which gaue beginning to the warres of Affrike, which continued afterward, and whereof wee will speake in his place. This exploit of the Duke of Medina was acknowledged and rewarded by the King, who lying at Valencia of Alcantara did treat the marriage of their daughter, the Infanta *Isabell* the widdow, with the new King D. *Manuell* of Portugall, of whom we must discourse.

## D. Manuel the fourteenth King of Portugall.

THIS Prince succeeded King *Iohn* his cousin and brother in law in the crowne of Portugall the yeere 1465, being seven and twenty yeeres of age: hee was sonne to Don *Fernand* Duke of Visco, and of the Infanta Donna *Beatrice*, grand-child to King *Edward*, and great grand-child to King *Iohn* the first, whose advancement to the royall crowne had bene fore-told by certaine Soothsaiers and Astrologians: he obtained it by right of lawfull succession, and by the testamentary appointment of King *Iohn* his predecessor: in whose life time hee did in no sort take vpon him the title of Prince and heire of Portugall, but onely of Duke of Beja and Master of Christus. Hee was a iust King, and loued honour, religious and zealous in the faith which had bene taught him, vnto the Nobility kindly, the which hee increased and advanced in his dominions as much as hee could: he was gentle, liberrall and a great giuer of almes, especially to religious friers as well of his owne Kingdome as to strangers, diligent and careful in the administration of justice, an enterprizer, lucky in voyages, nauigations and discoveries of countries, whereby hee greatly augmented and amplified his Kingdome and Siegnories: hee was beloued and esteemed as well of his owne subjects as of strangers: magnificent and sumptuous in buildings, which the royall monastery of Belen or Bethlem, of the order of Saint Ierome doth beare witness of, edified for the buriall of the Kings: the castle of Belen, which stands almost in the riuer of Tayo, for the garde of the Port of Lisbon; the Monastery of Saint Mary de la Pegna of the same order of Saint Ierome neere to Sintra, and that of Saint Clare the New in the towne of Estremos: all which workes were by him built from the foundation; and hee did moreouer restore and augment the couents of Saint Francis of Lisbon, Eborra and Saint Iren. The bridge of Coimbra, and that of Oliuenga vpon Guadiana are likewise of his structure, with diuers others publike buildings and reparations: all which vertues and magnificencies were blemished by one vice, wherevpon Princes and great Lords doe often stumble, namely, he was to light of beleefe. Whereby hee shewed himselfe inconstant and variable, retracting on euery small occasion his decrees, orders, gifts and priuiledges by contrary commandments.

This King Don *Manuel* was thrice married, and all his wiues were Infantes of Castile, and the two first were sisters: his first wife was Donna *Isabell*, widdow to the Infante Don *Alphonso* his Nephew his sisters sonne, on whom hee begat a sonne named D. *Michel*, who was borne in Arragon in the city of Saragozza at such a time as shalbe set downe hereafter, who if hee had liued, had bene heire to all Spaine: Donna *Isabell* being dead, his second wife was her sister, called the Infanta *Maria* of Castile, third daughter to King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabell* by whom hee had a great issue. First of all, D. *Iohn* heire of Portugall borne at Lisbon in the palace of the Riuer, the Infanta Donna *Isabell* borne in the same city, who was Queene of Castile, Leon, Arragon and Nauarre, and Emperesse of Germany, married to *Charles* the fifth. Donna *Beatrice* who was Dutchesse of Sauoy, wife to *Charles* the ninth, and mother to Duke *Emanuel Philibert* of Sauoy, D. *Lewis* borne in Abrantes, father to D. *Antonio* who was at first for the kingdome of Portugall with *Philip* king of Spaine in our time; next D. *Henry*, who in our time was a Cardinall, borne likewise in Abrantes on the riuer of Tayo, D. *Alphonso*

15  
Portugal.

Qualities of  
King Manuel.

buildings of  
King Manuel.

Genealogie of  
Portugal.

14  
Columbus his  
third voyage  
to the Indies.

Enterprizes  
vpon the Aff-  
rican Moors.

Earldomes  
erected in  
Portugall by  
King Manuel.

*Alphonso* who was borne in the city of Eborā, and was likewise made Cardinall at seuen yeeres of age by Pope *Leo* the tenth; Don *Catherine* who died young, then *D. Fernand*, Don *Edward* and Don *Antonio*. His third and last wife was Donna *Leonora* daughter to *Philip* of Austria, Infanta of Castile, and sister to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, by whom he had a sonne named *Charles* who died young, he had moreover by her a daughter, borne after his death, named Donna *Maria*, who lived in great chastity in our daies: So as this King had by his three married wiues thirteene children liuing, namely nine sonnes and foure daughters: This Prince comming to the crowne hee erected diuerse Earldomes for the ornament of the Nobility of Portugall, hee gaue that of Portalegre to *Diego* de Silua his gouernour, who enioyed but the title only, for the Inhabitants of Portalegre did defend themselves, by reason of their priuiledges: hee made Don *Vasco* de Gama Admirall of Portugall Earle of Bediguera, Don *Martin* de Castil-blanc Earle of Villanoua, Don *Iohn* de *Meneses* Earle of Taroco and prior of Saint Iohns, Don *Rodrigo* de *Merlo* Earle of Tentugall, Don *Pedro* de Castro Earle of Montfandio, Don *Francisco* de *Sofa*, sonne to the Bishop of Eborā Earle of Bemiofo, and Don *Antonio* of Portugall Earle of Lignare, honouring in that manner, by liberality and royall bounty the Nobility of Portugall.

At the instant entreaties and requests of the widow, Queene *Leonora* his sister, and of the Dutchesse Donna *Isabel*, widow of Bragança, hee restored to the honours and goods of the deceased Duke, *D. Iames*, vntill then in exile in Castile, who was the Dukes second sonne, for Don *Philip* the eldest died in Castile, because the Princes of his blood should not liue in such calamity, and that so noble a race might not faile in Portugall: he shewed the like grace and bounty to diuerse other Lords, who were absent, for offences committed against the crowne, albeit that the new Duke *D. Iames* had for his owne part no way offended, but had run into his fathers disgrace who was executed by law. For a notable and religious act, as he and his counsel thought, he gaue commandement that all Iewes and Moores should voide forth of Portugall, vnlesse they would be baptized, confiscating their goods, and children of euery sex, excepted vnder thirteene yeeres of age, whom by force he caused to be baptized, but being afterwards better aduised, hee retained onely the men and women of those sects by force, causing them to be receiue baptism, and to confesse Iesus Christ with their mouths, but, as it is to be presumed, without beleeuing it in their hearts, and people constrained, and not well instructed, the which did beget infinite apostacies, sects, and heresies in Portugall, as it could not fall out otherwise.

Following the steps of his predecessor King *Iohn*, hee sent men into the parts of the East to make ample and certaine information of the traffike of spices, and hee caused Don *Vasco* de Gama to pursue the navigations and discouery of the shores of Affrike, who departing from Lisbon this yeere 1497. with two ships, the one named the Angel *Gabriel*, the other the Angel *Raphael*, manned with a hundred and forty men, coasted about Affrike, and touching at the Isle of Saint Iames, and that of Saint Helen, places by him so named, hee came into Maçambuque a country of the Moores, and from thence, by a long and tedious journey passing hard by a rocke, which hee called Saint George, and by the shelles and sands of Saint Raphael hee arrived at Mombaza a land fertile, pleasant, and of great trade and commerce, then going forward he came to the city of Melinde, in the which hee had not only some rest and refreshing from his painful journey, but did likewise contract peace and alliance betwixt the King of Melinde, and King *Almanuel* his Master: at the last sayling farther, he came to Calicut the place so much desired which was the aime of his enterprize. He found Calicut to be a great and wel peopled city, and of great trade for spices, he saw in the haueen more then a thousand fine hundred saile of marchants ships, great and small, but ill built and vnserviceable for long voyages, without art in their sailes, anchors and tackling, not vntill the compasse, and wholly vnfit for sea fights, not being able to saile vnlesse they had a fore winde.

17  
Calicut.

Now King *Manuel* being such an one as wee haue described him, and in his flourishing age, the marriage betwixt him and the Princesse *Isabella* of Castile; who was

A was a widow was concluded at Valencia of Alcantara, at the same time as Prince *Iohn* of Castile newly married to *Marguerite* of Austria fell sicke of the disease whereof hee died at Salamanca: the which caused king *Manuel* to hasten the effecting of this marriage: because that after Prince *Iohn*, the succession of the Realmes of Castile and Arragon fell to Donna *Isabella* as to the eldest. Therefore hee vsed such diligence as the marriage was accomplished before the Prince his death, who deceased to the great griefe of the kings his father and mother, and of all their subiects, hauing not fully attained to the twentieth yeere of his age, and was buried in the Monastery of St. Thomas of the frier preachers in the city of Auila. All the Gentlemen, Knights, Lawiers, and other men of note in all parts of Spaine, did in signe of mourning for his death cloath themselves in blacke frise, or such like course cloath of meane price. The Princesse *Marguerite* his widow, who was with child, was brought in bed soone after in the towne of Alcala de Henares of a dead daughter. King *Fernand* being the first that received these lamentable newes, fearing least the Queene his wife would fall into some great perplexity for the losse of an onely sonne, heire to so great a state and of such young yeeres, did determine to send her newes that he himselfe was dead, and then when shee should enter into teares and lamentations, to come into her presence at the same instant to comfort her, and then plainly to tell her the truth of their sonnes death, imagining that a sodaine consolation betwixt two extreame griefes, would greatly moderate both the one and the other: the which tooke good effect, by the good reason and examples which hee alledged vnto her. By Prince *Iohns* decease, Donna *Isabella* his sister was Princesse of the Asturias, and eldest heire to the Kingdomes of Castile and Arragon.

This yeere died Don *Iohn Arias* de Villār, who was Bishop of Ouiedo, the which place was giuen to Don *Garcia Ramires* de Villa Eclesia, last perpetual prior of Saint Markes of Leon, and euer afterward the Priors of that place were but from yeere to yeere. There died also by a lamentable chance, the Court being at Alcala, Don *Lewis Pimentell* Marquis of Villa-franca, eldest sonne to Don *Rodrigo Alphonso Pimentell* Earle of Benauent, who fell downe to the ground out of a gallery. Don *Diego* of Castile great commander of Calatroua did likewise die, and his commandery was giuen to Don *Gutierre* de Padilla Treasurer, and his place to Don *Alphonso* de Silua, brother to the Earle of Cifuentes. Now the new Queene of Portugall, Infanta of Castile and Arragon, hauing right to so great a succession by the death of Prince *Iohn* her brother: reboued the King her husband and her selfe to passe into Castile, to receiue, in quality of future heires to those Kingdomes, the oth of the States: therefore leauing the widow Queene *Leonora* Regent in Portugall, they came to the city of Toledo the yeere 1498. where Queene *Isabella* of Portugall was sworne, and acknowledged Princesse of the Asturias, heire to Castile and Leon: then going into Arragon, the like was done for the succession in those Kingdomes. But this Princesse being with child, shee was brought in bed and died in the city of Saragossa, leauing heire to all her fathers and mothers dominions, the child newly borne if he had liued, who was called *D. Michel*, who in that infancy was sworne Prince of Gironne and heire to Arragon and Sicile. With this sorrow *D. Manuel* returned a widdower into Portugall, leauing his onely sonne in Saragossa. The dead Queenes body was brought to Toledo and buried in the Monastery of Saint Antolm, which is a parish Church where were Religious Nuns, which was builded by Don *Agnes d Ayala*, wife to the Admiral of Castile, grand-mother to King *Fernand*. And afterward because of this Princesse, which was there buried, it was called the Monastery of Saint Elizabeth, and the parish remoued to Saint Markes which was of the number of the Musarabes.

F About this time *Lewis* the twelfth of that name, before Duke of Orleans hauing succeeded *Charles* the eight in the crowne of France, and hauing his thoughts wholly bent to dispossesse Duke *Lewis Sforza* of the Duchy of Milan, which hee said was the ancient maternall inheritance of the house of Orleans; peace was granted to King *Frederike* of Naples, and an agreement procured betwixt France and Castile: therefore

Death of  
Prince Iohn of  
Castile.

General mourning.

A good means  
to comfort an  
extreame sorrow.

An. 1498.

D. Michel that  
was borne the  
first borne  
heire of Arragon.

On to the In-  
fant D. Michel  
for the future  
succession of  
Castile.

D. Mencía de  
Mendoza wife  
to Earle Henry  
of Nassau.

18

The brothers  
Columbus  
brought back  
against pris-  
oners into  
Spain.

Pero Nugno  
voyage.

The voyage of  
Vincent and  
Arias Pinson.

Portugal.

fore Don *Gonzalo Hernandez* surnamed the great capitaine, returned out of Italy into Spaine, full of victory and honor. The Court being come to Ocagna, where Queene *Isabella* found her selfe somewhat well at ease the yeere 1499. the Infant Don *Michel* was sworne Prince of the Asturias, and heire to Castile. There arose a great quarrel in Ocagna amongst the courtiers, wherein Don *Alphonso Pimentel*, sonne to Don *John Pimentel* was slaine.

The Court comming to Madrid, the marriage was celebrated betwixt D. *Rodrigo de Mendoza* the first Marquis of Zenete, a widower by the death of his wife D. *Leonora de la Cerda* Marquise of Zenete, onely daughter to the Duke of Medina Celi, and Donna *Maria de Fonseca*, daughter to D. *Alphonso de Fonseca*, of which marriage was borne a daughter and heire called *Mencia de Mendoza*, who was wife to *Henry* Earle of Nassau.

The affaires of the Indies grew worse and worse, the Spanish arrogancy not being able to endure a bridle to restraints in their disorders, for *Rowland Ximenes* from a servant being become great Prouost and President of iustice in the Indies, by the fauour of the Admirall *Christopher Columbus*, did openly mutiny against *Bartolmeu Columbus* the gouernour, and with threecore and tenne of his confederates, hee sequestred himselfe and went into Xaragua, protesting that hee did not forsake the Kings seruice of Castile, but onely his obedience to the Geneuois, whose pride he could not beare: the Admirall endeavored by all means to appease this tumult, but he could not, wherefore they fell to writing one against an other into Spaine, and to lay great offences to each others charge, so as the Kings sent *Francis de Bouadilla*, a Knight of the order of Calatrava with foure caruels, with ample power and authority to the Indies to make information of these matters, who being arriued in the Island of Hispanuola, found, after enquiry made in the city of Saint Domingo, that the two brothers *Columbs* were in the fault, therefore hee apprehended them, and sent each of them in a caruell prisoners in fetters into Spaine.

Being landed at Cales, the Kings hauing notice of their arriual, caused them to be set at liberty and to come to Granado where the Court then lay, where notwithstanding their iustifications, the gouernment of the Indies was taken from them. And so the Admirall remained three yeeres in Spaine, without returning to the countries by him discovered. The Kings the same yeere gaue leaue to *Pero Nugno* borne at Palos de Moguer to goe to the Indies with a ship and thirty mariners, on condition that he should not land, nor come neere the lands discovered by *Christopher Columbus* by fifty leagues: who being arriued at Parias, and hauing well noted the coast euen to Curiana, which is nere to Venezuela, he landed in Curiana, where he found the people to be simple, with whom he exchanged his pedlery ware of smal value, for very precious pearles. This *Pero Nugno* being returned into Galicia was accused by his own fellowes, and had a long suite before *Hernando de Vega* Lord of Grayales viceroy in that country. Other inhabitants of Palos Moguer, who had bene in the voyages of *Christopher Columbus*, and had enriched themselves were desirous to saile againe to the Indies, as namely, *Vicont James Pinson*, and *Arias Pinson* his nephew, who at their owne charges, hauing victualled and riggd foure caruels, they passed by Saint James his Isle, one of those of Cap-vert, and arriued at the Cap of Saint Augustin, a country very thicke of trees, amongst the which they found one that sixteen men could not fadom, where they wrote their names, and those of their King and Queene in token of possession: then coasting along the shoares (not without danger) where they thought to land, in regard they found there very fierce and barbarous Indians, they came to the mouth of the great riuier Maragnon, in the gulphes of Parias, and to that of the riuier Oreillana, which are the greatest in the world, and doe runne almost euer vnder the Equinoctiall: the which riuier of Oreillana the *Pinsons* hauing failed, and spent tenne monthes in those nauigations; they returned into Spaine with two caruels onely laden with brail and drogues, but no gold nor pearles.

Don *Vasco de Gama* arriued likewise this yeere in Portugal from his voyage of Calicut laden with spices, which hee had bought at a cheape rate, from which place he departed

A parted in the month of September of the precedent yeere, capitaine *Nicholas Coelho* going before from the Cap of good hope to bring the King of Portugall good newes thereof, after whom the said *Vasco* arriued, who was most graciously welcomed, and largely rewarded for his trauaile which lasted six and twenty monthes, and of all the men which he carried out with him hee brought home fifty onely. The Portugalls from that time, did ordinarily saile to the East Indies.

This yeere the Princeesse *Margueret* of Austria widdow, parted from Spaine to re-  
turne into Flanders, afterward shee was married to *Philibert* Duke of Sauoy, by whom  
B hauing had no children, after his death shee remained a widdow, and gouerned the country of Flanders a long time: the Monastery called Bruns neere to Bourg in Bresse, was builded by her. The Court being at Granado, Queene *Isabele* of Naples, widdow to the late King *Fernand* the first came thither, shee was sister to King *Fernand* of Castile. In her company was the Cardinall *Lewis* of Arragon, sonne to Don *Rodrigo* of Arragon bastardo to the King her husband: and in Flanders the Infanta Donna *Isabele* wife to *Philip* of Austria was brought in bed of a daughter named *Leonor*, who was Queene of Portugall, married to the King Don *Manuel* and afterward to the great King *Francis* of France.

King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella* being come from Granado to Siuill, being moued with zeale to religion, and the better to obtaine the title of Catholike Kings, by the counsell also of the Prelats, and namely of frier *Francis Ximenes* de Cisneros Archbis-  
C hop of Toledo, frier *Thomas* of Torquemada, the chiefe Inquisitor of Spaine being de-  
ceased a while before, they vnderooke the voluntary and forced conuersion of the Moores, contrary to the promises and capitulations made vnto those which yielded during the warres, whereof great troubles ensued.

The Archbisshop *Ximenes* was at Granado to assist frier *Hernand* of Talauera a lit-  
tle before made Archbisshop of Granado, who laboured to procure that conuersion to  
bee voluntary, without vsing constraint. But hee of Toledo imagining that the o-  
ther had proceeded ouer gently, did beginne to presse the Moores that were inhabi-  
tants of the Albayzin after his owne humor; giuing hard speeches to such as would  
D dispute of religion with the Monks and Curats, who thought to conuert them: and  
then comming to deeds, hee laid hands vpon a chiefe Moore of the familie of Zigri, who  
was descended from the Kings of Granado, and kept him so long in prison as to reco-  
uer his liberty, hee said that hee was contented to beleue in Iesus Christ, and that hee  
had had a vision which did assure him that it was the right way of saluation. Hee sent  
after that, one of his household seruants named *Sazedo*, with a Prouost that was very ill  
beloued to apprehend a woman dwelling in the same Albayzin, but both of them were  
there slaine. Diuers Moores being gathered together at the womans cries, who af-  
ter the deed ranne to the Archbisshop of Toledos lodging to haue done as much to  
him: but hee and his people did valiantly defend themselves vntill the Earle of Tendil-  
la the Gouernor came and freed him from them: the which Earle with the Arch-  
E bisshop of Toledo delt in such sort as the mutinous people were appeased, and their Al-  
guazils were heard, who protested that they did not rise against the King, but onely  
to binder the breaking of the Articles agreed vpon, which were, not bee enforced to  
change their religion.

This was the first attempt of the Moores conuersion, with no small danger and  
tumult, which lasted tenne daies. The King hauing notice of what was done, was  
highly moued against the Archbisshop of Toledo; but hee contented him with  
reasons wherewith hee was not vnfurnished, and caused him to allow and approue  
to haue them conuerted by force: for at the report of what the Moores of Albayzin  
F had done, those of the mountaines, and of the country called Alpuzarres did fall in-  
to a mutiny, to chastise whom they were constrained to proceed by armes the yeere  
following 1500. In the same yeere Pope *Alexander* the sixth, celebrated the  
tenth Iubiley at Rome, whether people of sundry Nations went in great numbers:  
and they beganne to conuert the Moores of Granado, this yeere where diuers of them

N n n

did

19  
Moores shew  
declares enfor-  
ced to change  
their religion.

did mutiny : neuerthelesse more then fifty thousand of that sect receiued the water of Baptisme, and their Mosques were blessed and consecrated to ceremonies and rites accustomed amongst the Christians of that age : those amongst them who would not change their religion at the Kings command, were constrained to doe it by force of armes, and because the townes of Huescar, Lanjaron, and Andarrax in the country of Alpuarras did make the greatest resistance, the inhabitants being enforced were made slaues. And the same yeere was borne in the city of Gaunt vnto Philip of Austria and Donna Joane of Castile vpon Saint Mathias day, a sonne named Charles, who was heire to all the Kingdomes of King *Fernand*, and Queene *Isabella* his grand-father and grand mother, and Emperour of Almaine, the fifth of that name, a great and an excellent Prince. It is reported that when the newes of his birth was brought to Queene *Isabella* his grand-mother, she in a prophetical spirit of his future vniuersal succession in the great dominions of Spaine, spake these words, taken out of the Acts of the Apostles, *The lot is fallow vpon Mathias*, noting thereby, that Don *Michel* of Portugal then liuing should not inherit, but that it should bee hee who was borne vpon Saint Mathias day : the which in deed fell out to be happy for the Emperour *Charles*, it is the foure and twentieth day of February.

Birth of Charles of Austria who was King of Spaine and Emperour.

Saint Mathias day lucky to Emperour Charles.

Nauarre, 20 King John of Nauarre his journey into Castile.

King *Fernand* being returned from the Catholike warre of the country of Alpuarras in the Kingdome of Granado vnto Siuill, hee was visited by *John d'Albret* King of Nauarre, whom hee welcomed with great honour and curtesie, for the space of seuentene daies that hee remained there. Diuers businesse moued this Prince to come into Castile, but there were two of greatest importance, for hee imagined to get againe the townes of La Garde, Arcos, Saint Vincent, and Bermedo, the castles of Toro and Herera, and other places of La Soterra which the King of Castile possessed of the antient patrimony of Nauarre; hee did moreover, in the right of the late Queene *Blanch* of Nauarre, first wife to King *John* of Arragon, and great grand-mother to Queene *Catherine* then reigning, and by grant made in the contract of her marriage, demaund the Infantaigo of Castile, the Duchy of Pegnafel and Lordship of Lara, with many other lands, and therewith all the somme of 420112. florins, sixe shillings eight pence of the coine of Arragon : for which matters King *John d'Albret* and Queene *Catherine* of Nauarre being at Pau, had not long since sent two Franciscan friers in Ambassage to the Kings of Castile, who were men of vnderstanding, namely frier *John de Padre* Warden of Corella, and frier *John de Ro*, warden of Tafalla, with ample instructions to obtaine them : but they brought away nothing but pleasing words and dilatory excuses. Besides this businesse, the suspicion which they had of the Earle of Lerin did greatly trouble them, who was newly come into Castile, and was much honoured and aduanced there, and it was reported to them that King *Fernand* had often times solicited him, to make ouer vnto him all the lands, goods, rights and actions which he had in the Realme of Nauarre, promising him treble recompence for them in Castile; the which the Earle had neuerthelesse refused, either for the naturall loue which he did beare to his country, or else that hee did better esteeme the place which hee held, almost as King of Nauarre, then to bee in Castile, where diuers others tooke place before him as it was fit: These two chiefe occasions caused the King and Queene of Nauarre to depart from Pau, whether they were goone as soone as they had newes of King *Charles* the eight his death, and to returne into Nauarre, where the Queene remained gouernesse assisted by frier *Pedro Eras* Abbot of the Monastery of Oliua : King *John d'Albret* went to Siuill to bee resolued by King *Fernand* concerning these businesse, to prevent the inconueniences which he feared, and to renew the peace, friendship and alliance betwixt those two Kingdomes : Hee was highly honoured, as hath beene said, by the Kings of Castile, and lodged with them in the fort of that magnificent city : and the more to gratifie and reuerence him the Constable, the Earle of Lerin, was forbidden to come into the castle.

King Fernand desired to get the Kingdome of Nauarre.

It is reported that King *Fernand* caused the King of Nauarre to bee founded whether he thought well of the exchange which hee desired to make with the Earle of Lerin

of the lands which he possessed in his Kingdome, for other recompence in Castile, and that hee would giue King *John d'Albret* a good summe of money, if hee would consent that those lands should remaine to Castile : who notwithstanding the euill will that he did beare to the Earle of Lerin, uttered his opinion concerning it, which was, that a man should neuer exchange lands and reuenues for money. King *John d'Albret* got no other matter by this journey but good cheere, and diuers presents of rich plate, hangings, horse, jewels, and other such like things : wherefore hee returned into his Realme of Nauarre, leauing the matters hee went for vn-effected. The Earle of Lerin Constable of Nauarre being at that meeting reconciled to him did follow him and staid in Nauarre, certaine monthes in good quiet. We haue made mention how that Cardinall *Cesar Borgia*, sonne to Pope *Alexander*, had the Bishoprike of Pampelona in nature of perpetuall administrator thereof, hee resigned the same to the Cardinall of Saint Praxede : he laide aside likewise his Cardinals hat, and followed the warres where vnto he was more inclined then to Church matters, and was made by his father Duke of the country called in old time Flaminia, and Gonfaloner and captaine Generall of the Church, this was the Duke Valentinois.

A man should neuer exchange lands for money.

Cesar Borgia, made Duke Valentinois.

In these daies beganne the warre which in proceesse of time did subiect the state of Milan vnder the dominion of the Kings of Castile. King *Lewis* the twelfth, of the house of Orleans, pretending that the right of that Duchy belonged vnto him as the proper inheritance of the Duchesse *Valentine* his grand-mother, lawfull daughter to Duke *John Galeas* Viscont, and heire to her two brothers *John Maria*, and *Philip*, successefull Dukes on after an other, who died without children, hee gaue ouer all thought of the conquest of Naples, the right of the house of Aniou, and turned his forces against the Duke then reigning, *Lewis Sforza* vsurper of that state, whereat not onely the Potentates of Italy, hating the French dominion, were discontented, but they drew the Spanish forces to the defense of Prince *Sforza*, wherein chiefly King *Fredरिक* of Naples employed himselfe, soliciting King *Fernand*, and Queene *Isabella* by continuall messengers and letters to oppose themselves by all means against the greatnesse of the French in Italy, who if they should obtaine the Duchy of Milan, hee did assure them that they would passe on to Naples, and after that into Sicilie which they their antient right : Therefore it was concluded in the counsell of Castile, to send backe Don *Goncal Hernandez* the great captaine; who tooke shipping at Malaga the eight of Iuly, this yeere 1500. and led into Italy, eight thousand foot, and twelue hundred horse, where being arriued, to auoide idleness, hee went ouer with his army into the Isle of Zante in old time *Zacinthium*, in the Illiri an sea, to the end to aide the Venetians oppressed by the Turkes army, which had taken from them Modon, Coron, Crisse, and Pila in Morea, and the Island of Cephalonia, in which the Spanish army ioyned to the Venetian, commanded by *Benedetto Pezaro*, did land, and there behaued themselves so valiantly, as they brought againe that Island vnder the Venetians power, the army of the Turke *Bajazet* then reigning, being gonne to Constantinople. The Venetians in acknowledgement of that seruice did honour the great captaine with the title and priuiledge, of a Gentleman of their commonwealth, a thing rarely granted by them vnto strangers, who brought backe his army victorious to Messina, wayting for an occasion to employ it to the preiudice of the French.

During these stirres, the Court being at Granado, there died the Prince Don *Michel* heire to these Kingdomes, to the great grieft of the Kings of Castile his grand-father and grand-mother, and of King *Manuell* his father, having not exceeded the age of two yeeres, who lies buried in the chappell of the Kings, since then builded in the same City : By his decease the Infanta Donna *Joane*, wife to the Archduke *Philip* had right to the succession of these great Estates; and so consequently the lotte fell vpon her sonne *Charles* borne on Saint Mathias daie, as Queene *Isabella* had fore-told, the Archduke and Donna *Joane* his wife being called vpon that occasion, prepared themselves for their journey into Spaine. The same yeere died Don *Inigo Lopes de Mendoza*, second Duke of Infantaigo, who was buried in

21 Castile.

War of the French against Lewis Sforza.

22 Portugal.

D. Joane wife to the Archduke Philip, presumptive heire of Castile and Arragon.

Consent of Saint Francis at Guadalajara, King *Manuel* being a widower and without children, contracted marriage with the other sister of his deceased Queene named Donna *Maria*, third daughter to the King and Queene of Castile, by whom he had many children, as hath beene heretofore declared. The new Queene of Portugal departed from Granado in the monthes of September this yeere 1500. and was conducted to the King her husband by D. *Diego Hurtado de Mendoza* Archbishop of Siuill and Patriarke of *Alexandria*, who was afterward Cardinall, with diuers other Lords and Knights.

Castile.

23  
The Moores  
persecuted in  
Spain, so  
cast them to  
Christ  
their religion.

The conuersion of the Moores of the Kingdome of Granado, begunne by King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabel*, was so greatly by them desired as they would not depart out of that country till they had brought it to such passe as they intended: the Moores on the other side not being instructed, and seeing diuers contempts of religion, and infinite euill examples amongst the Prelats and in all the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchy of the Christians; they thought it a strang matter to be enforced to change their religion which they thought to be holy, and that they should so perfidiously breake the agreements and promises, vpon which they had yielded themselves to the Kings of Castile: wherefore they made all the resistance possible: Neuerthelesse the inhabitants of Las Alpuxarras, those of the cities of Almerie, Guadix and Baza, did in some sort fashion themselves to the Kings religion: but those of Benefique, Nixar, and Gujjar, ranne to armes and resolved rather to die then to bee so euill intreated: wherefore they were constrained to send an army thither, by which those townes were taken by force and cruell slaughter made of the inhabitants: namely after the fury of the fight, the Kings caused all the male children, which were of age to beare armes, to be executed by law, and as for the women they were all sold for slaues; and this was done to quench the bloody thirst of the prelats and monkes, counsellors and solicitors of that ill vnderstood conuersion. Yet for all that, after the fury was past, the King caused the children of either sex amongst those miserable people vnder eleuen yeeres of age to bee separated and baptized, giuing them their liberty as innocent of their fathers obstinacy. This rigour was so farre off from fearing or abating the courage of the rest as they thereby became more stubborn: their being no spur in the world more sharpe, then religion, to make men giue ouer and contemne life, and all other things to be beloued in this world, when they are constrained to take armes for that respect: for diuers Moores dwelling vpon the coast of Ronda, La Sierra Vermeille, and Villa longa: being brought to the last hope of being able to liue in the freedome of their consciences, and to keepe their old religion, did arme themselves, to the number of twelue thousand persons, which caused the Kings to thinke that they were entred againe into a very difficult warre, and that the conquest of the kingdome of Granado was not yet ended.

Cruel execution  
of the  
Moores at  
Benifiqua,  
Nixar, &c.

Warren  
by the perfect  
and Moores.

And because it behoued them to giue a present remedy to this fire which kindled, they dispatched away Don *Alphonso d' Aguilar*, and the Earle of Vregna, with as great forces as the present necessity could furnish: but Don *Alphonso* who was old, and a well experienced captaine, protested that with so small a number he could doe the King no seruice, but should receiue losse and dishonour; for the Moores were foure to one of his people: neuerthelesse being vrged to it, he marched against the enemies, who keeping themselves close together, and in strong places, would not giue the least advantage to the Christians; for whom they laide waite in the valles and streight places of the country, well knowne to themselves, to the end to surprize and defeat them, the which came to passe: for the Christians being lodged one night at the foote of Sierra Vermeille, in such a place as Don *Alphonso's* troupes were separated from those of the Earle of Vregna by a great botome which was betwixt them, the Moores at the shutting in of day light fell vpon Don *Alphonso* and his people with such fury, as they cut them all in peeces; Don *Alphonso* himselfe lay dead vpon the place: his sonne Don *Pedro*, hauing his teeth beaten out with the blow of a stone, and hurt with an arrow, with great difficulty escaped at the beginning of the fight, the Earle of Vregna beholding the slaughter of his friends, not being able to succour them by reason of the

A the botome that lay betwixt them, or else because hee would not, as diuers did thinke for euer among great Lords, and chiefe commanders vnder one Prince are enuy, lealozie, and emulation found, which cause such effects to the losse of their Prince and commonwealth.

King *Fernand* did greatly apprehend this losse, as also Don *Alphonso's* death, the which could not bee imputed to rashnesse: for he had protested that such resolute men as those Moores were, who were in their forts, ought not to haue beene assailed with such weak forces: and that they knew very well, the common prouerbe, which saith, that for to fetch a dead man out of his owne house, there must alway bee foure, how much more then did it behouue them to goe strongly accompanied against those with whom he had to doe, who were liuing men, fouldiers, and well aimed: It is reported that he was assailed, diuers Knights were of opinion to turne their backs and to flee, but he would needs make head, saying, that neuer any of his race did turne their backs to a Moore. Wherefore being kept backe by shame and dishonour hee sustained that conflict, whereas hee might haue made an excusable retreat. Now the King being in a mercurious choller, departed from Granado against these Moores, with an intent to punish them rigorously: but perceiuing that it is euermore harder to execute then to counsell, hee was content to permit them to passe ouer into Atrike, and to leaue the country: by this meanes after sundry defeats and slaughters on either side, he obtained his desire, and returned to Granado, where the marriage of D. *Catherine* his fourth daughter with *Arthur* Prince of Wales, heire to the crowne of England, was treated of. This Princesse tooke her iourney towards her husband the yeere 1501. accompanied by Don *Alphonso* de Fonseca, Archbishop of Saint Iames, Don *Antonio* de Rojas Bishop of Majorque, who was afterward Archbishop of Granado and President of the royall counsell, and D. *Diego Fernandez* de Cordoua Earle of Cabra: and at the same time Queene *Joane*, the widow of Naples, sister to King *Fernand*, tooke her leaue of him and withdrewd herselfe to Valencia: The Archduke *Philip* of Austria making preparation for his voyage into Spaine, was father of his third child, Donna *Joane* his wife being brought in bed of a daughter named Donna *Isabella*. This Princesse was wife to *Christiane* King of Denmarke, hee who was deposed by his vnckle *Christiane* King of Sweithland, taken by him, and kept in perpetuall prison: by which *Christiane* shee had two daughters, that is to say, *Dorothy*, future wife to *Frederike* Earle Palatin, and Elector of the Empire, and *Christine*, who was married to *Francisco Maria Sforza*, Duke of Milan the yeere 1534. who died the yeere after, shee was secondly married to *Francis* Duke of Lorraine, father to Duke *Charles* who liues in our time. After that King *Christiane* was deposed from his owne Kingdome, for inuading that of Sweuia: this Princesse D. *Isabella*, went into England, where her Aunt Donna *Catherine* was married, and then she died being six and twenty yeeres of age.

Whilest these things passed on in Spaine, the French King *Lewis* the twelfth, did luckily end his enterprise of Milan, and did shut vp into close and perpetuall prison Duke *Lewis Sforza*, surnamed the Moore, the Author of all the warres and ruines of Italy in his time: the which King *Frederick* of Naples considering, hee was moued partly by feare, least he should againe haue to doe with the victorious French armies, partly not to oblige himselfe ouer much to the Kings of Spaine, and not to giue occasion to the Spaniards insolvency to grow ouer saucie in his Kingdome: and namely because King *Iohn* of Arragon, and Don *Fernand* his sonne, had at one time called in question the late King *Alphonso's* his testamentary decree, whereby hee had left that Kingdome to his bastard sonne, incapable thereby (as they said) of so great an inheritance: wherefore hee beganne to haue secret intelligence with the French King, whereof King *Fernand* was soone aduertized: who thought, that hee was very ingratfully dealt withall and ill requited for all his cost bestowed in the recovery of that kingdome out of the French mens hands: and he imagined that hee should not transgresse either diuine or humane lawes, if he reputed that conquest to belong to him selfe; and if hee should ioyne this action to that which his father and hee pretended in the said Kingdome by

Nnnn 3

reason

Particular  
crimes a-  
mong captiues  
and Iulie  
sister of a  
certaine  
cause the  
probable  
cause of  
the  
long  
warre.

Postposabile  
ma, unanimity  
of D. Alphonso  
de Aguilar.

24  
Sforza taken  
by the French.

The King of  
France and  
Spaine, divide  
the Realme of  
Naples, and  
divide King  
Frederike.

reason of the illegitimate succession of Don *Fernand* bastard to Don *Alphonso* of Aragon: wherefore, he vising the selfe same pollicy, did practise with King *Lewis*, in such sort, as they parted the Kingdome of Naples betwixt themselves, and disposed King *Frederike* thereof, whom they condemned for light and inconstant: vnto King *Fernand* were assigned, Calabria, and Puglia, as countries neere to his Realme of Sicile: to the French King, Abruzzo, and Terra di Lauor, where stands the city of Naples: on condition that King *Fernand* should intide himselfe, as hee was wont to doe, King of Sicidion: and the French King should adde to his titles, King of Naples and of Ierusalem, cile; and the French King should be King of Naples: That these diuisions should be conquered from King *Frederike*, at the particular costs, and by the forces of either of these great Kings; with condition that the one should not hinder the others conquest. This agreement and diuision, made and concluded in great secret, was afterward allowed and confirmed at Rome by Pope *Alexander* the sixth, the two Ambassadors of France and Castile requiring it: and the French King did presently set his hand to the worke, sending a mighty army vnder the conduct of *Lewis* of Armignac Duke of Ne-mours, who enuaded the portion assigned to the King his Master, and tooke the cities of Naples, Capua, and other strong places, being assisted by *Cesar Borgia* *Lansol* Duke of Valentinois, who from a Cardinal was become a souldier, and murderer of his owne brother Don *Francisco Borgia* *Lansol* Duke of Gandia. The great captaine on the other side, pressing King *Frederike* very hardly, who being amazed to see him selfe shut in betwixt two such mighty enemies, being not prepared, nor strong enough to resist, at the last giuing place to necessity, hee resolved to make an agreement with the French King, making ouer to him all his right, and the forts which he held, on condition that he might be Duke of Aniou, and receiue in France where hee would remaine thirty thousand ducats of yeerely rent.

This agreement was concluded to *Frederikes* great losse; who contemned King *Fernand* of Castile, or at the least did distrust his friendship, perceiving that contrary to the hope which he had to be aided by him at his need, and wherein hee had entertained *Prospero Colonna* with great numbers of souldiers, he did shew himselfe to bee his enemy: It may be that the feare which he had of his owne souldiers did hasten him to this conclusion, on hauing no meanes to pay them their entertainment, the fauor of Spaine failing him, and fearing least they would haue plaide him the like trick, as the Switzers, defrauded of their payes, had done to the Duke of Milan, whom they deliuered to the French King their enemy. He went into France with his wife and children, his eldest excepted, and carried with him his moueables and money, receiuing of Duke *Valentine* a great sum of glod for his Artillery and munition which he sold to him. This King *Frederike* was the fifth of the house of Arragon, who had successiue held the crowne of Naples, counting from King *Alphonso* of Arragon, adopted by Queene *Isaane*, who deceassing at Naples the yeere 1458, left it to his base sonne *Fernand*, hee to his sonne *Alphonso* *Alphonso*, in the yeere 1458, left it to his base sonne *Fernand*, by whose death the Kingdome fell to *Frederike* his vnckle, who hauing reigned foure yeeres, made it ouer to King *Lewis* of France, and died in the city of Tours; leauing his eldest sonne D. *Fernand* of Arragon, Duke of Calabria, heire to all that he possessed, whom he had left fortified in the inexpugnable city of Tarentum, with D. *Iohn* de Gueuara Earle of Potentia, and other Knights, who neuertheless being beleaged and assailed by the great captaine, did yeeld, vpon condition to bee set at liberty: the which was not performed; for the great captaine to prevent the inconueniences which might happen, detained and sent them prisoners into Spaine.

About the time of the agreement betwixt these two Kings, not long before. *Claude* daughter to King *Lewis* was borne, shee was presumptiue heire to the Duchy of Britan: There was motion made of marrying her, when she should come to age with *Charles* of Austria, sonne to the Archduke *Philip*, and to the Infanta D. *Isaane* his wife, who pursuing there voyage into Spaine, went thorow France, and were by King *Lewis* his command greatly honored in all places, and namely in the city of Paris.

Among

King *Frederike* of Naples, gives into France.

The great captaine makes more account of keeping his wife and young wife.

A Among other poynts and articles of this Treatie of marriage, it was concluded (as the Spaniards write) betwixt the Emperour *Maximilian*, pretending right to the Duchie of Milan, and King *Lewis*, who then possessed it; that hee, by whose fault this marriage was not accomplished, should forfeit all his right in the sayd Duchie. The Archduke and the Infanta his wife being at Paris, were required by the King to do him homage, as to their Soueraigne, for the Earledome of Flanders, and other lands belonging to the Crowne: whereat the Infanta Donna *Isaane* was so displeased, as albeit shee were in the Kings dominions, shee did obstinately contradict it, and would neuer consent therunto. These two houses by the iust iudgement of God were appoynted to vex one another by long warre in time to come, for to scourge the world. It is an hard matter to entertaine the friendship of great men, or when it is disioyned, to set it firmly together againe.

The houses of Spayne and France, in former times vnited by holy concord, and most profitable friendship, did first of all disagee about the Earledome of Rossillon, pawned to King *Lewis* the eleuenth by King *Lohn* of Arragon for 3. hundred thousand crownes, about the restitution whereof, pernicious warres ensued, the which in some sort being composed, they were afterward renewed concerning the Kingdome of Naples, and either part did not let to search, and take all occasions lawfull, or fained, to hurt one another, and to violate and breake all agreements procured betwixt them: in such sort as there is no Region on the earth, which hath not bene troubled with their quarrels, or felt the miseries and calamities of their warres.

C The agreement made betwixt the two Kings, diuiding another mans Kingdome, did not last long: for before the yeare was ended, there arose a great quarrell betwixt the two Kings: Gouvernours and Lieutenants in the Kingdome of Naples about a bitte of ground lying betwixt Puglia and Abruzzo, called the Capitanato, the which each of them pretended for his owne, and maintained it for his part, because that otherwise they should be deprived of a taxe rayfed vpon cattell in that countrey, the which in lesse then a months space afforded more then fourescore thousand Duckets: and the French men did particularly challenge it, because this Capitanato did abound in corne, wherewith the countrey of Abruzzo and Terra di Lauor was furnished, thinking it to bee a very great losse, if they should leaue it to the Spaniards. Howsoever it was, their claime was ambiguous, each others limits being not plainly specified in the diuision, so as they fell to armes more fiercely then before, wherein for that time the French-men preuayled, and made themselves masters, not onely of the ground that was in strife, but likewise of many places of Calabria and Puglia for which there had bene no contention at all.

In the meane space, the Arch-duke *Philip* and Donna *Isaane* his wife arrived at Guipuscoa, where Don *Bernard de Rojas* and *Sandoval*, who was afterward Marquis of Denia, with great numbers of Lords and Knights of name, waited for them at Fontarabie, by whome they were conducted, and these Princes passing by Saint Adrians mount, did christen *Philip de Lascan*, sonne and heire to the house of Lascan. From thence by Alaua, Bureua, Burgos, Vailliodoli, Medina del campo, Segobia, and Madrid, in all which places they had sumptuous and magnificent entertainment, they came at last to the citie of Toledo, where the three Estates of the Realmes of Castile and Leon were assembled.

King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella* departing from Seule, came likewise to Toledo, where after they had bene feasted, and entertayned with disports for the space of fifteen dayes, *Philip* of Austria and Donna *Isaane* were sworne and acknowledged Princes of the Asturias, and eldest heires to the Kingdomes of Castile and Leon, in the right of Donna *Isaane*: This was done in the presence of King *Fernand* and Queene *Isabella*, the Primate F. Friar *Francis Ximenes*, Arch-bishoppe of the same citie, Don *Diego Hurtado* of Mendoza, Arch-bishoppe of Seule, Cardinal of Saint Sabine, and Patriarke of Alexandria, the Bishops of Calaoorra, Palence, Osmia, Cordoua, Salamanca, Iuen, Cité Rodrigo, Malaga, Mondognedo, and other Prelates: of *Bernardin de Velasco* Constable of Castile, the Dukes of Infantazgo, Alua, Bejar, Albuquerque, and the Marquis of Villena, the

Earles

Homage for  
Flanders and  
Artois refused  
to the French  
King.

25  
Arriuall of the  
Archduke &  
D. *Isaane* his  
wife in Castile.

Ceremonies at  
the swearing  
to the Prince  
*Philip* & *Isaane*



Earles of Oropeſa, Miranda, and Benalcaſar, Crugna, Siruella, Ribadeo, Fuenſalida, Ajamonte, and others, with the Procurators, and Commiſſioners of all the cities and provinces of Spaine, which haue place in ſuch aſſemblies. This oath being made for Caſtile, King *Fernand* was deſirous to haue the like done for the Kingdome of Arragon and dependancies thereof; ſo he iourneyed towards Sarragoſſa, leauing the Queene with the Princes at Toledo, who went to paſſe away the hotte time of Iuly and Auguſt at Ocaña, recreating themſelues in the pleaſant foreſt of Aranjues neere to the riuer Tayo: and from thence they departed to Sarragoſſa, where by the Eſtates they were like-wiſe declared and ſworne Princes of Girone, heires to Arragon, Valence, Catalognia, Sicill, and other Countries belonging to that Crowne. The Queene in the meane time ſtaying at Toledo, remooued to Madrid, where ſhe beganne to be euill diſpoſed of her perſon, which cauſed king *Fernand* to haſten his returne to her, the Princes deſiring to follow him, did ſeparat themſelues, becauſe the Princeſſe was with child, wherefore ſhee remayned at Sarragoſſa, and the Prince went to Madrid. Theſe matters fell out, the yere 1502. wherein dyed the Cardinal *Diego Hurtado* of Mendoza in the ſame citie of Madrid. Don *Iohn* of Eſtuniga, who had bene Maſter of Alcantara, and afterward was Cardinal ſucceeded him in the Arch-biſhoppricke of Siuill. The Marquis of Denja dyed like-wiſe. The precedent yere, about the time that the Princeſſe *Catherine* departed into England, Don *Iohn* d *Arias del Villar* dyed, who was Preſident of Vailladolid, and Biſhop of Segobia, in whoſe place ſucceeded Doctor *Iohn* de Medina, Biſhop of Carthageña. There dyed alſo D. *Lewis de la Cerda*, fiſt Duke of Medina Celi, ſonne to Earle *Giſton*. The Prince of Wales, huſband to the Infanta *Catherine*, died likewiſe this yere; and the Citie of Gibraltar was re-uni- to the Crowne, and another perfection was raiſed againſt the Moores.

Before the Kings of Caſtile departed from Siuill to come to Toledo, they had ſent an Ambaſſadour to the Souldan of Egypt, who was as Emperour of Arabia, acknowledged then for Soueraigne ouer all the Kings of Affricke, who had bene informed by the Kings of Tremellen, Fez, Bugie, Tunis and others, of diuers rigors and inhumanities exerciſed vpon the Moores and Iewes dwelling in Spaine, which that Prince did greatly reſent. The Ambaſſadour ſent thither was called *Peter Martyr Angleria* of Milan, Deane of Granada, a learned and well-experienced perſon, vnto whom were letters of credite and inſtructions giuen, how to appeale the Souldan, and to perſwade him otherwiſe, then he had bene before informed: Wherefore he went by Venice, where the Seigneurie provided him of a ſhippe to carrie him to Alexandria: there he found diuers Chriſtian Merchants, with a Conſul, who was a Cattelan by nation, by whom hee was well enter- rayned. The Warden of the Monafterie of mount Sion beeing aduertized, ſome few dayes before of his coming, ſent him word, that he would meete him at Cairo: therefore *Peter Martyr* ſent certaine Friars before to Cairo, whom he had brought with him, for to receiue that Friar Warden: and to obtaine a ſafe-conduſt for his owne perſon and trayne from the Souldan, to the end to declare his Ambaſſie vnto him. The father Warden and his Friars beeing arriued at Cayro found a Truch-man or Interpreter there who was a Spaniard borne at Momblanc in the Realme of Valencia, vnto whom hauing giuen notice of the Ambaſſadors arriual at Alexandria, and demanded the ſafe-conduſt, the Souldan granted it, and ſent word to the Gouernor of Alexandria, whom the ſaid Admirall, to cauſe him to be conduſted in ſafetie. But the Monkes hauing vnderſtood by their conferences with the Truchman, how ſiniſterly the Souldan was poſſeſſed againſt the Kings of Caſtil, by the reports of the Moores of Granada, and the Iewes which were expelled out of Spaine, they did aduertize him to be well aduiſed what he did, and to foreſee the danger he had put himſelfe in, by committing to the preſence of that angry Prince, whoſe anſwer, perhaps might be death: but the Ambaſſador was no whit amazed therat: but ſayd, that it would be a great happineſſe for him to die in ſo honourable a cauſe: ſo he rooke his iourney, going againſt the ſtream of the riuer Nilus, accompanied by diuers Mameluke ſouldiers, which were Chriſtians renied, or children of bought Chriſtians, in whoſe hands lay the gouernment of al the affairs of Egypt, and namely, out of their bands was the Souldan choſen.

Being

A Being come to Caire, he was longed in the ſayd Truchmans houſe, and then the day following, he was ledde to the Caſtle to the Souldans pallace, and paſſing thorough diuers galleries full of Mamelukes, he was brought into an hall where the Souldan taried for his coming: Hee found him ſitting vpon a bed of State, like vnto women, made in faſhion of an altar, clothed in a gowne of ſcarlet with large ſleeues ſurred with Marſins, and vpon his head a rich Turbant, with two hornes after a ſtrange faſhion, and a ſword neere vnto him, being compaſſed about with diuers Gouernours of Provinces, which they called Admirals. Before this Emperour, the Ambaſſador preſented himſelfe, appa- relled in a coate of blacke ſattin, and a gowne of purple veluet, kneeling vpon one knee, the Monkes and other Chriſtians which followed him, kneeled on both their knees and hands, as though they would haue kiſſed the earth, then riſing vp, and going on neerer by two and two paces, they made three ſuch reuerences: then ſtanding vpon their ſeete, the Ambaſſadour went a little forwarder neere to the Prince, and hauing made a fourth reuerence, he ſtood vp, and preſented the Kings of Caſtils letters of credit to the Truch- man, the which beeing opened and read with diuers ceremonies, the Souldan told him, that hee was welcome. Then the Ambaſſadour ſaid a great reuerence, told him, the Kings his Lords and Maſters had ſent him thither to ſalute and viſit him in their name, and to offer him whatſoever was in their power, excepting that which belonged to Chriſtian Religion, and that he had commandement and inſtruction to communicate diuers buſineſſes with him, Wherefore he beſought him to be pleaſed to giue him audience in a more priuate manner: the Souldan answered him, that he was contented to do ſo, and told him, that if in the meane time he wanted any thing, he ſhould ſpeake, and that whatſoever he demanded ſhould be giuen: The Ambaſſadour hauing againe thanked him, and ſayd, that he could deſire no more fauour and courteſie then hee had already receiued, then tooke his leaue and returned to his lodging; whether the Souldan ſent him diuers preſents of meates.

Three dayes after, the Ambaſſadour accompanied by the Truch-man, was brought againe to the Pallace early in the morning, before the Ambaſſadors of the Kings of Affricke and the Moores were riſen, and finding the Souldan at leiſure, he gaue him ſecret audience, where he answered vey pertinently to all the Souldans demands, and did highly content him, and this conference betwixt them laſted till two of the clocke in the alter-noone, all the contrarie Ambaſſadours beeing come to Court, in hope to ſee the Spaniſh diſgraced: but they were deceyued, for they beheld him returne to his houſe vey honourably accompanied. Afterward, the Moorish Ambaſſadours in two ſeueral audiences, preſſing and accusing the Kings of Caſtile, *Peter Martyr* did ſo well diſguiſe and handle the matter, as he perſwaded the Souldan, that whatſoever his aduerſaries had ſaid, was but meere vntruths: Wherefore hee beeing ſent backe againe the ſame time, the Truchman procured a fourth audience, wherein the Ambaſſador of Caſtile being heard almoſt an whole day, did in ſuch manner content and ſatiſfie the Souldan, as hee procured his fauour and friendſhip for his King and Queene. And as hee was going footth of the Souldans preſence, two Admirals clothed him with a gowne of Damask ſurred with very rich Ermines, (it was in the moneth of Februarie) for which hauing giuen thanks, and made his vſual reuerences, hee returned with his trayne. In this manner are the faults of great men excuſed by great men. Before *Peter Martyr*s departure, he feaſted and banqueted the Admirals and chiefeſt Mamelukes, ſo as they were highly contented with him: and departing from Cayro, he went to viſit the notable places of Egypt and Syria: of which voyage and ambaffage hee wrote a diſcourſe at his returne. This is hee which wrote an hſtorie of the Indies by Decades in Latin, which he entitled, *The Ocean*, vnto the yere 1526. He returned into Spaine with honour, and gaue good account to the Catholicke Kings of his Legation.

The nauigations to the Indies were this yere very common, diuers particular perſons, tickled with a deſire of gaine, vndertaking thoſe dangerous voyages at their owne coſts, by the Kings permiſſion notwithstanding. *Rodrigo de Baſſida* was one of thoſe aduenturers, who ſet forth two Caruels at his owne coſts, and *Iohn* de *Leſelma*s and others, carrying with him *Iohn* de la *Coſa*, an excellent Mariner borne in Saint Mary port,

Admirals Go-  
uernours of Pro-  
vinces.

26  
The king of Ca-  
ſtile ſends an  
Ambaſſador to  
the Grand  
Caire.  
Peter Martyr  
of Angleria,  
Ambaſſador.

Mamelukes in  
Egypt.

27  
Voyages of di-  
uers particular  
perſons to the  
Indies.

port, who departing from Cales, sayled neere to Cape de Vela, and ranne one hundred A three-score and tenne leagues vpon the coast from that Capeto the Gulph of Vraha, and Darian, in which are found Caribana, Zenu, Carthagen, Zamba, and S. Marth, places inhabited by people called Caribes, who feed on mans flesh, without law or naturall honestie, being armed with darts and poysoned arrowes. *Rodrigo de Bastida* being afterwards come to the cittie of Domingo, did lose his Caruels there, and was committed to prison by the Commander *Francisco de Boudilla*, Gouvernor of the Iland of Hispaniola, laying to his charge, that he had trafficked with the Indians for gold, defrauding the king of his right: wherefore he sent him prisoner into Spaine: but the kings let him at libertie, knowing that this voyage was for the publike good, and gave him 200. Duckets of rent. *Nicholas d'Onando*, Commander of Larez, of the Order of Alcantara, a valiant Knight, did by the kings commandement, set sayle, with thirty shippes, and a great company of souldiers, to succed the Commander *Boudilla*, taking along *Rowland Ximenes* in his company, the enemy and accusers of the breethren *Columbus*, did embarke himselfe in the same vessell, which had brought the new Gouvernour, whereof *Antonio de Torres* was Captaine, hauing with them more then an hundred thousand Duckets weight of gold, and among others, a graine of pure gold to present vnto the Queene, weighing 3. thousand, three hundred Castillans: but their hap was such, as both they and their wealth perished by sea: the Admirall *Columbus*, and his brother being by that meanes reuenged of the great rigour that *Boudilla* had vsed towards them, by sending them from the Indies in yrons into Spayne, and of *Rowland Ximenes* ingratitude and rebellion, with whom were drowned more then three hundred men, so as of those thirty ships, hardly fixe escaped. *Nicholas d'Onando* remained in his gouernement of the Iland of Hispaniola, the space of fixe yeares, all matters succeeding well and prosperously with him, by reason of his humanity and gentleness: he conquered the Prouinces of Higney, Zauana, Guaycarima, he pacified that of Xaragua, and vning all his authoritie with such courtisie and modestie, he got honour and wealth for himselfe and the Kings his masters, vnto whom hee sent great treasures, in recompence whereof he was made great Commander of Alcantara. Then was the Admirall *Columbus* permitted to go to sea, who departed with foure Caruels set forth at the Kings cost, with an hundred, three score and ten saylers: but being come to the mouth of the riuer Ogman in the Iland of Hispaniola, the Gouvernour *Nicholas d'Onando* would not suffer him to come into the city of S. Domingo: wherefore he sayled to the port Escondido or hidden, and after came to the riuer and cape of Figueres: from whence he ran more then three hundred and seuentie leagues along the Southerne coast, desirous to find a passage beyond the Equinoctiall, he came to a place called Nombre de Dios, and from thence returned to Cuba, and forth-with passed to Iamaica where he lost two Caruels.

In this Iland the Admirall had many crosses, for most of his people fell sicke there to the death, then they mutined, and would haue slaine one another, *Francisco de Porras*, Treasurer of his naue being author of that sedition: and besides that, the Indians refused to giue him victuals, which did greatly trouble him: for this he found a present remedie, and being a good Astronomer, he knew that the day following, there would be a great Eclipse of the Moone, he told the idolatrous Indians, that if they gaue him not victuals, they should all of them die of the plague, and for a true token thereof, they should the morrow after see the Moone appeare all bloudie, the which by reason of the Eclipse, became duskie and spotted: the Indians were to greatly amazed thereat, as they besought the Admirall to pardon them, and to reconcile them to the Moone, and brought him more victuals: then he had need of. Hauing remained a yeare in Iamaica, the Admirall *Columbus* returned into Spayne, from whence he neuer afterwards did stirre: this was his fourth and last voyage to the Indies.

The same course held king *Manuel* in his nauigation to the East Indies, wherein hee spared no cost: for hauing had ample information of the whole voyage of Calicut by *D. Vasco de Gama*: he had sent thither in the yeare 1500. a Naue of twelue Carauels, vnder the command of Captaine *Pero Aluarez Cabralde*, a Gentleman of Portugal, followed by other Gentlemen manned with fiftene hundred souldiers, carrying along with him

*Nicholas d'Onando* Gouvernour of the Iland.

The Gouvernour *Boudilla* drew neere, with three hundred Spaniards.

*Columbus* his fourth and last voyage to the Indies.

*Columbus* foretold an Eclipse of the Moone to the Indians to scare them.

28 Portugal.

A five Friars, and good store of merchandize, to exchange for spices, and other things which the East produceth, all of it according to the order and appointment of *Don Vasco de Gama*.

These Caruels hauing sayled in view of the Ilands of the Canaries, and arrived at S. James, as they discouered the Isle of Bresill, there appeared to them a Comet with long and fearefull beames towards the East: continuing their voyage, there arose so great and strange a tempest, as by day the water of the sea seemed as blacke as pitch, and in the night like to fire, which swallowed foure of those shippes, the rest of the Navy sayling on in great danger, came in sight of Cape Double, and from thence arrived at Molambique, then sayling towards Melinde, and beyond that to Anjauina, they came at last within a league of Calicut: from whence he beganne to contract with the King of the same countie: but afterwards they fell at odds, which caused losse to either of them. Vpon this occasion, *Pero Aluarez Cabralde*, went into the land of Malabar, belonging to the King of Cochim, with whom he agreed, and found meanes to lade his ships with spices: and so returning homewards, he touched at the cape of Good hope, and from thence to Lisbon, where he arrived in Iuly, in the yeare 1501. with fixe Carauels of twelue, that hee carried out with him, hauing bene in that voyage neere sixteen moneths.

Before his returne *John de la Nueva Gallego*, departed from Lisbon with three shippes and a Caruell for the selfe same voyage of Calicut: but King *Manuel* conceyuing in his mind to find a way to the Isles of Moluccos, and those countie where the spices grow, he sent the same yeare 1501. a skillfull mariner called *Americus Vesputius* a Florentine, with foure Carauels, who passed not much farther then Saint Augustines Cape, and without taking notice of the great riuer of fluer, or Rio de Plara, he returned home.

The yeare 1502. *Don Vasco de Gama*, Admirall of Portugall, was againe sent by the King into the East, with thirteenth shippes, and three Caruels, manned with great numbers of Gentlemen and souldiers, with Merchandizes, munitions and victuals, and all other things necessarie for so long and painefull a voyages and within few dayes after, hee sent other five shippes to follow *Don Vasco*, commanded by *Stephano Gama*. By these were new lands discouered, to the great profit and commodity of the nations of Europe. D This same yeare King *Manuel* had by his wife Queene *Mary*, a sonne called *Iohn*, who succeeded him in the Kingdome, the day of whose birth was rainy, and such thunder and lightning on the day of his christening, as the Royall pallace was in danger of being burned.

And the yeare following 1503. his daughter the Infanta *Isabella* was born, who came to be Emperesse of Germany, and was mother to king *Philip* the second deceased. *Don Vasco* being returned from his luckie and prosperous voyage, king *Manuel* gaue no intermission to that most profitable and honorable nauigation: but the Portugals hauing raised warre in the East betwixt the Kings of Calicut and Cochim, tooke the King of Cochins part, being by him receyued and welcommed into his countie and hauens: so as hee of Calicut did in short time know, that he had greatly erred in wronging his guests.

E The yeare 1504. King *Manuel* hauing notice of this warre, was displeased therewith, and set forth a Navy of twelue great shippes, *Don Lopes Suares de Meres* being Admirall of the same, who arrived in safetie at Cochim, by means whereof they did greatly encrease the renowne of the Portugals, and established the trafficke, purchasing their King friends, not onely among those Easterne people, but also tributarie Princes for his seruants. These conquests were pursued by *Ferdinand* of Almeida, and *Aphonso* of Albuquerque, and other vertuous and valiant Captaines, which haue continued those voyages since, and by means thereof haue carried some knowledge of the name of Iesus Christ to those barbarous and vnbeleueing people.

F The Court of Castile lying at Alcalá de Henares, the yeare 1503. the Princeesse D. Isabe was there brought in bed of a sonne, who was named *Don Ferdinand*, who was king of Hongarie and Bohemia, and at the last Emperour. In Alcalá dyed *Don Gutierre de Cardena*, great Commander of Leon, a most faithfull seruant to the Kings, who would haue giuen the great Commanderie to *John Lopes* of Leárraga their Treasurer, but he refused it, saying, that he had already too much wealth: hee likewise refused the place

1501.

Voyage of *John de la Nueva* a Portuguese.

An. 1502. *Don Vasco de Gama* his second voyage.

Birth of prince *John* of Portugal.

An. 1503. Birth of Infanta *Isabella*.

An. 1504. Voyage of *Lopes Suares de Meres*.

29 Castile.

place of generall Superintendent of the Kings revenues, and left behind him the report A  
of a loyall, faithfull, and iust man in all his affairs: he was borne in the towne of Ognate.

The affaires of Italy not succeeding prosperously for the Kings of Spaine, they began  
to resolute vpon somewhat that might bee hurtfull to the French: The great Captaine  
kept himselfe in Barletta, being constrained to retire himselfe thither, and wanting all  
necessarie things: so as the French foraged the countrey at their owne pleasure: but at  
the last hauing new supplies, as well from Sicill, (from whence *Hugo de Cardona* entred  
into Calabria, with certaine companies of Spaniards, which had serued the Duke Valen-  
tinois, when hee warred vpon the Vrsins, with intent to haue made himselfe Lord of  
Romagnia) as also from Spaine, from whence the King sent Don *Manuel de Bonarides* B  
with certaine numbers of horse and foote: with which troupes *Antonio de Leus* did first

*Antonio de Leus*  
his first poss-  
sessione Italy.

passed into Italy, who was a famous Captaine in the warres of Lombardy and Piedmont,  
betwixt France and Spaine, and likewise after that other Spanish companies arriued vnder  
the conduct of Don *Pedro Puerto Carrero*, who dying in Italy, hee left his men vnder the  
command of *Ferdinand* of Andrada, who hauing receyued by the gulph of Venice  
some Germanes, which had bene leauied by him, hee employed these forces in such  
sort, being sometimes diuided, and sometimes vnited, as hee soone restored all things,  
and suppressed the enemy by the winning of many victories, Spayne hauing alwaies af-  
ter that time the advantage. Yet they had treated an accord betwixt the two Kings, *Lewis*  
and *Ferdinand*, and had sent Ambassadors to that end, but without any effect: vntill that C  
the passage and the returne of the Arch-duke *Philip* Prince of Spayne, into Flanders,

Prince Philip  
in Flanders.

gave some greater hope of an agreement. This Prince passing thorough France in his  
returne, as he had done going, was honorably receiued in all places, especially at Blois,  
whereas King *Lewis* attended him, who, to vse the Arch-duke with greater courtship, and  
to assure him the more, had sent certaine French Noblemen into Flanders for hos-  
tages, vntill he were arriued, the which the Arch-duke caused to returne, being loath to  
yeld vnto the King, in demonstrations of friendship and ceremonies. Being at Blois,  
they treated an accord betwixt the French King and him of Spaine, the Arch-duke *Philip*  
hauing an ample Commission, with this onely restraint, that hee should communicate  
all things to the Ambassadors of Castile, which were sent expresse with him, and shold D  
gouerne himselfe by their counsell.

Matters being debated, in the end they were concluded, by the confirmation of a fu-  
ture marriage betwixt the Ladie *Claude* of France, the Kings eldest daughter, and Don  
*Charles* of Austria, sonne and heire to great Estates which fell to the house of Austria:  
capitulating, that the Lands which were in question in the Realme of Naples, should be  
left in *deposito*, in the Arch-dukes hands, and the future spouses should from that time in-  
tittle themselves Kings of Naples, and Dukes of Calabria. That the French king should  
enjoy that portion which did belong vnto him in the sayd Realme, and appoint whome  
he pleased, to gouerne it in the names of the Princes *Charles* and *Claude*, and that the ma-  
riage being consummated, he should giue it in dowrie with his daughter. E

This peace was solemnely sworn in the Church at Blois, but yet it procured of no  
effect: for notwithstanding that the Arch-duke gave speedie aduice vnto the Kings Don  
*Fernand* and Donna *Isabella*, yet they did not forbear to make warre in the Realme of  
Naples, whence they had daily intelligence that their great Captaine prospered: where-  
fore hee being required by the Duke of Nemours, Lieutenant for the French King, to  
stay all acts of hostilitie, he answered, that hee had no such commandement from the  
King Don *Fernand* his master, but continuing to make warre, as well in Calabria, as in  
other parts of the Realme, the French had alwaies the worst, hauing had two Armies de-  
feated in lesse then eight dayes, one in Calabria, led by the Lord of Aubigny, who was  
then taken, with many other Noblemen: the other at Cirignole, whereas *Lewis* of Ar-  
maignac Duke of Nemours, their Generall, was slaine with many French. By means of  
which victories the great Captaine tooke Naples, Capua, Auerlo and Melfi, by com-  
position, and in the end the two castles of Naples by mynes and other practises inuented  
by *Peter* of Nauarre: so as the French had nothing but Guyette, and some other small  
places remayning in the Realme of Naples.

The

Treaty of peace  
betwixt  
France and  
Spaine.

A The kings of Castille being aduertised of these things, they little regarded the accord  
made by the Archduke their sonne in law, alledging for excuse, that he had exceeded his  
charge, and had not gouerned himselfe by the aduice of the ambassadors which went in  
his company: Yet they sent embassadours into France, to treat a new peace, in a more  
honest forme than before, propounding that the realme should be restored to king *Fre-  
deric*: But king *Lewis* holding them but moderies, and that the kings of Spaine had no  
wills to dispossesse themselves, seeing that all things succeeded wishfully for them, he sent  
backe their ambassadors without any other answer.

1504  
Excesses of the  
Catholicke kings  
for not main-  
taining of the  
peace.

30 Before that the Court of Castille came from Alcalá, *D. John Chacon*, gouernor of  
B the frontire of Murcia, died. From Alcalá the queene came to Madrid, and from thence  
to Segobia, where she had news of the death of Pope *Alexander* by poison which had bin  
prepared for certaine cardinals, by the duke of Valentinois, his sonne, she which he also  
dranke, through the negligence of the cup-bearer, or butler, who tooke one bottle for a-  
nother. Cardinall *Francisco Theobaldus Piccolomini* of Siena, succeeded him, who was cal-  
led *Pius* the third; but hauing held the See but six and twelue dayes, there was chosen  
Pope *Julian* of Rouere, bishop of Alba, and then of Ostia, cardinall of S. *Peter ad uincula*,  
whom they named *Iulio* the second. In these elections of Popes, which are made through  
the fauour of the princes and great monarches of Christendome, for the interest of their  
temporall estates, the citie of Rome was in great feare and ielousie, that the great cap-  
taine would approach with his victorious armie on the one side, and on the other the lord  
of Tremouille being sent into Italie, by the French king, with great forces, and assisted by  
Florentines, Siennois, the duke of Ferrara, and the marquisse of Mantoua, either of them  
to fauour the cardinals of their faction, and to make a Pope by force, to the prejudice of  
the citie, and of the whole territorie. This yeare there were sixteene solits of Moores  
Routed the coasts of Valencia; who landing, were vnto the riuier Xucar, assailed the  
towne of Cullera, carried away seuentie prisoners, and committed other spoils. The duke  
of Valentinois, at his fathers death, was so ill with this drinke which he had taken, as he  
was constrained to be a neuter; as he had carried himselfe in the warres betwixt France  
and Spaine, yet adhering more to the great captain, for the designe which they both had  
D to invade Tuscanie, when as the warres of Naples should be ended. Hauing entertained  
himselfe in fauour with Pope *Iulio*, at his aduancement, they fell afterwards to quarrell, for  
certaine places in Romania, held by the duke of Valentinois, which the Pope would haue,  
so as the duke was staied at Ostia, meaning to imbarke, & to go to Specie, and from thence  
by Ferrara to Imola. Afterwards hauing in some sort satisfied the Popes desire, and being  
set at libertie, he retired to Naples, hauing a passport from the great captain, thinking to  
beverie safe there: whereas propounding many great enterprises, euen vpon Tuscanie,  
and beginning to make preparation to put his designe in execution, the great captain staied  
him prisoner, saying that it was by the commandement of the king *D. Ferdinand*, to  
whom he ought more reuerence than to the passport he had giuen him, and so he sent him  
E into Spaine, where he was lodged in the castle of Medina del Campo, called la Mote. By  
this means the great captain kept this turbulent man from troubling the affaires of Ita-  
lie any more. The armie led by the lord of Tremouille, being come into the realme of  
Naples, did nothing but increase the glorie and reputation of the great captain, who by  
a memorable victorie gotten at the riuier of Garillan, did there settle the Spaniards com-  
mand: for soone Gajete, which was the onely hope of the French, yielded, vpon condi-  
tion, that all prisoners should be deliuered, and that the French might retire safely into  
France, who being naked, and vnprovided of all things, perished in a manner all by the way  
of hunger, cold, and other extremities. At the same time king *Lewis* hauing appointed  
two armies to invade Spaine, one by Guipuscoa, the other by Catalonia, that which  
F marcht towards Fontarabie, where of the lord of Albrét had the charge, could neuer come  
together; the other led by the marshall of Rieux, entred by the countrey of Rossillon,  
and besieged Sausses, but not being able to take it, he was forced to retire, both for that he  
fell sicke, as also for that *D. Frederic* of Toledo, duke of Alua, Generall of the Spanish  
armie which was raised at Perpignan, began to march to raise the siege, king *Ferdinand* be-  
ing also come in person into Catalonia, to giue order for the affaires of this warre, the

Death of Pope  
Alexander the  
first.

Signall be-  
twixt Pope Ju-  
lio and the duke  
of Valentinois.

Duke of Va-  
lentinois sent  
prisoner into  
Spaine by *D.*  
*Gonsalo*.

Retreat of the  
French out of  
the realme of  
Naples, with  
miserable.

Two armies of  
French in Spain

1504

which afterwards had some intermission, by a truce of five monethes, which was made at the instance of king *Frederic*, who was not out of hope to returne into his realme: Which conceit was grounded vpon the demonstrations of fauours, were made him both by France and Spaine; which was but a vaine content, and a comfort to him in his miserable estate. This truce was afterwards continued for three yeares, both by sea and land, with free trafficke for all their subjects, except the French in the realme of Naples. For the great seruices which *D. Gonzalo Fernandez* sumamed the Great Captaine, had done to the kings *D. Ferdinand* and *D. Isabella*, in this warre, he obtained the duchie of Terra noua, and of Sicilia, besides the duchie of S. Ange, which king *Frederic* had giuen him, when as he had captured him, and the Constablership of the realme of Naples: *Pedro Nauarro* had also for his good seruices, and in recompence of his great industrie during the warre, the countie of Albeto, in the same realme of Naples, neere vnto Aquin. This man from a small condition came to this greatnesse by his vertues: for his beginning being scarce knowne, he first of all went to sea, and was a mariner, after which he was a footman to the cardinall *D. John* of Arragon, then a souldier, and in the end a famous captaine, and an earle. After the swearing of the said truce, there was a great earthquake throughout all Spaine, so the great terrour and amazement of all men, by the which many houses, churches, forts, and other buildings, were shaken and ruined.

At that time, they say, the testament of the deceased king *Henrie* the fourth, was found by the diligence of *Hernando Gomes* of Herrera of Madrid, who having notice from the curat of S. Croix, of the same towne, that this testament was in the towne of Almeyda in Portugal, whither he had transported it with other writings of importance, he aduertised the queene, and by her commission went to Almeyda, with the curat, found these writings, and brought them away: In recompence whereof, the king made the bachelor *Hernand*, Alcaide, or Prouost of the iustice of his house and court. The queene did not for this testament, as it is probable, for she fell extremely sicke, and after foure monethes languishing died, at Medina del Campo, in the yeare 1504, being 53 yeares old, and seven monethes, and the thirtieth yeare of her raigne. A princeesse adorned with great vertues, which may couer some excesse of ambition, & her other imperfections: she was zealous in religion, chaste, liberall, and courteous: Her bodie was transported to the citie of Granada, and remained long there in the Alhambra, in the habit of a Franciscane Friar, as she had ordained: And after the decease of her husband, which was twelue yeares after, it was layed with his, in the royall chappell of that citie. Thare ye died *D. Magdalena*, Infanta of Nauarre, in the same towne of Medina del Campo, being daughter to the king *D. John* of Albret and *Katherine*, then raigning. *D. Henrie Henriques*, vncle to king *Ferdinand*, and his lord steward, and *D. Pedro* of Eshuniga, cardinall, and Archbishop of Seuille, did also leaue this world: which Archbishopricke was giuen to *Diego* of Deza, borne at Toro, being then bishop of Palence, a doctor in Diuinitie, and afterwards Inquisitor general, Confessor to the king, and founder of the colledge of S. Thomas of Aquin, at Seuille.

*D. Gonzalo Fernandez* made duke of Terra noua and Sicilia.  
*Pedro Nauarro* made earle of Albeto: but being young.

Earthquake in Spaine.

Death of the *Q. Isabella*.

Death of the *Q. Isabella* in a Friars weed.

THE



## THE 25 BOOKE OF THE Historie of Spaine.

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D. Philip I. and D. Ioane, 21 Kings of Castille,  
and 42. of Leon.

1504



He Castilians and Leonis, for want of their Queene proprietarie, D. Isabella, began to accustomethemselues to theyoke of German princes, hauing presently set vp in Castille the Armes of the Archduke Philip of Austria, and of D. Ioane, heire of these realmes in her mothers right; and D. Frederic of Toledo, duke of Alba, advanced these banners in their name: yet the king D. Ferdinand continued lawfull gouernour vntill the coming of these princes, who had aduertisement sent them presently into Flaunders of the Queenes death. The Archduke Philip was then six and twentie yeares old, faire of face, well proportioned of his members, of a good grace, mild and courteous in speech, of a great spirit, active, quicke, and learned: by reason whereof being in him more then ordinarie, hee was sumamed the Great. Whilest that he made preparation to come and take possession of this great inheritance, king Ferdinand, after the royall and stately obsequies of the deceased Queene, and the bodie transported to Granado with a great traine, he retired himselfe to the monastirie of Mejorada, and from thence hee past to Toro, being accompanied by D. Francis Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, Diego de Deza, Archbishop of Seuille, and others of great qualitie and learning, to conferre about the execution of the deceased Queenes will.

Voyage of Iohn  
de Costa.

In the meane time Iohn de Costa, a good sea-man, rigged forth foure Carauels, out of port S. Maria, at his owne charge, and by Iohn de Ledesma of Seuille, and others, desirous to enrich themselues, vnder taking the conquest of that countrey at the Indies, which was held by the Caribes: Whereupon setting sayle he came and toucht at a place called Carthagena, there being joynd vnto him captaine Lewis Guerres who beginning to make warre together, they tooke sixe hundred of these Barbarians in the island of Codigo: then coasting along the shore, desirous to barter wares, and to buy gold, they entred into Vraba, where they found some little gold in the sands and from thence they returned into the island of Hispaniola, and the citie of S. Domingo, laden with men, but scant of victuals, and of all other things, especially of gold, whereof they were exceeding greedie.

Fernando Cortez  
first voyage to  
the Indies.

The same yeare 1504, there went vnto the Indies Fernand Cortez, borne at Medellin in Estremadura, one of the most famous men that hath bene in these conquests vnto our dayes. He arriued at S. Domingo in a ship belonging to Alphonso Quintero of Palos of Moguer, where he was well entertained by the Secretarie Medine, the gouernour being then absent, and afterwards by the gouernor Nicholas d. Ovando himselfe, being returned. This was he which conquered Noua Hispania. Of the manners of the Indians, their idolatries, and damnable superstitions, the curious may be more amply informed by the particular histories of the Indies, written by Peter Martyr of Angleria, Goncal Fernandes of Ouidedo, Francisco Lopes of Gomara, and others.

1505

During king Ferdinands gouernment in Castille, the Estate began to be troubled by some noblemen, who thought that queen Isabel being dead, they might lawfully tyrannise: but the king hauing called the Estates to Toro, in the yeare 1505, he caused a new oath to be taken to the queene D. Ioane his daughter, and to her husband, as kings of Castille, Leon, Granado,

A Granado, &c. and by his wisdome pacified those tumults and disorders which were likely to grow: Which yeare, for many reasons, the Chauncerie which was at Cité Royall, was transported to Granado, where since it hath remained. And by the persuation of D. Francisco Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, and Primate of Spaine, there was an expedition attempted against the Moores of Africke, nothing concurring with the ambassage which had bene sent to Caire, whereof mention hath bene made.

1505  
Chauncerie  
transported to  
Cité Royall  
to Granado.

The Primate had had sundrie discourses with a Venetian, called Ieronimo Vianello, an industrious man, and knowing the countrey of Africke. His designe was vpon the citie of Oran, well peopled, free, hauing priuat lawes, rich, a common haue for all nations trafficking into Barbarie, who entertained an ordinarie garrison for the safetie of their marchandise, and payed some tribute to the king of Tremessen, for protection; and they say, that it contained about 6000 families. This citie is seated vpon the descent of a high hill, enuironed about with wals and towers: the sea is within a stones cast on the one side, and on the other side they haue pleasant gardens, & store of fountains. The countrey men call this citie Madaura, Aera, Auran, Guhara, all names signifying a place hanging, and exposed to the winds: but we call it Oran. The Archbishop Ximenes did easily conceiue by Vianello discourse, that it were labor lost to assaile that citie, if they were not first masters of the coast about it, whereof Vianello made him a model in wax, which represented vnto him the hauens, ports, hills, vallies, rownes, rocks, forts, and other particularities of that

Description of  
Oran.

country, namely, of the warch called the Lampe, which is set vpon the top of a high mountaine, the which is inaccessible, but by one difficult passage, whereby they must necessarily passe that will goe to Oran. This watch hath on the one side the citie of Oran, and on the other the port called Mercalabir, or Marfael-quibir, great and famous, the which they must first get, to make the expedition of Africke profitable and easie. Hauing acquainted king Ferdinand with these designs, and seeing that there wanted money to effect it, the treasure hauing bene wasted in the warres of Granado and Italie, the Archbishop offered to lend money to pay the armie two monethes; whereupon they began to make readie for the voyage, whereof the young courtiers were verie desirous. The charge of Generall was given to D. Diego Fernandez of Cordoua, who afterwards was marquisse of Comares, who had for assistants D. Raymond of Cordoua, Generall of the gallies, Diego Vera, master of the ordnance, Goncal Ayora, captaine of the gards, Ieronimo Vianello, conductor of the enterprise, Pero Lopes of Orefco, and other old captaines and of great experience: Who parting from the port of Malaga came within few dayes neere vnto Mercalabir, whereas the Moores being aduertised of their coming, had prepared to receiue them. Wherefore as soone as the armie was discovered, they gaue signes in such fort as all Africke had soone notice thereof, and all the countrey was full of soldiers of that nation, which came to succour them. Notwithstanding the Spaniards woon the port, and landing, had meanes to campe, and to fortifie themselves from so great a multitude of enemies which came running from Oran and other neighbour places.

Mercalabir  
a great port in  
Africke.

To gard the port there was a fort built vpon a rocke enuironed by the sea but of one side where it joynd to a mount that did commaund the fort; which the Spaniards seeking to win, and to plant their batterie thereon, they found a sharpe and bloudie resistance made by the Moores: notwithstanding they planted their ordnance there, and began to batter the fort furiously, both from thence, and from the gallies, vntill the captaine, who employed himselfe veriously for the defence thereof, was slaine with a bullet. In the meane time the king of Tremessen had sent an armie, against the which the Christians had many skirmishes, sometimes with gaine, sometimes with losse; yet the siege of Mercalabir continued still, whereat the souldiers being discouraged, by reason of the losse of their commander, and also for that they saw the passages both by sea and land were stoppt by the Spaniards, so as they could neither be releued with men nor victuals, they did capitulate, after some resistance, That if within certaine dayes the king of Tremessen did not come and succour them, they would yeeld the place to the Spaniards; the inhabitants and souldiers departing with their wiues, children, and baggage. No succours appearing, the fort was yeilded the fiftieth day after they parted from Malaga. The Moores went forth, the Christian

Mercalabir  
taken by the  
Christians

Oooo iij

armie

armie being in battell, and proclamation being made, that no man should goe out of his rank, to offer them any violence vpon paine of death: the which a Spanish souldier tried, who for that he had offered to spoile or rauish a Moorish woman, was by the commaundement of *D. Diego Fernandes* laine with darts. This conquest being made to the great contentment of all men, the king *D. Ferdinand*, and the Archbishop *Ximenes* were instantly aduertised, where attending the kings pleasure, the fort was rampared and furnished. They say, that most of the men of quality and wealth, which dwelt at Oran, being amazed at the taking of Mersalcahir, retired to Tremessen, thinking that the Christians would not stay long to come and besiege that citie, as it fell out: But four yeares being past, and nothing attempted, they all returned to their losse, except one Moore, who was verie rich, who was still constant to remaine at Tremessen, and foretold the ruine of the rest. *D. Diego Fernandes* having well manned his conquest with good souldiers, he sent back the rest of his armie into Spaine, which was full of joy for so important a victorie, whereby not onely the coasts of Spaine were assured from the spoiles of pyrats, Moores, but also there was a faire way made for the Spaniards to inuade Africke. *D. Diego Fernandes* stayed still in Mersalcahir, vntill he had a new commaundement from the king. In the meane time *Diego de Vera*, *Gonzal Agora*, and *Pero Lopes Orozco*, fumamed by the Arabians *Alcagul*, past into Spaine; and there was presented vnto the Primate *Ximenes*, by *Pero Lopez*, a statue of Ebene, which the Cadis or high Priests of the Arabians were accustomed to carrie, the which he carried many dayes for his sake, and then he sent it to his Academie at Alcalá de Henares, for a monument of this Africane victorie. The king sent *D. Rodrigo Diaz* of Roia, a man of great worth and valour, for the gard of the fort and port of Mersalcahir, with one hundred light horse, and foure hundred foot, and called home *D. Diego Fernandes*, whom he honoured with the gouernment of his conquest, & other fauours, *D. Rodrigo Diaz* being his lieutenant, who ouerran the countrey, & kept the Moores still in alarme during his aboad there. There is one of the strangest blowes reported of him, that euer was giuen of any; who with an Azagay, or lauelin, pierced a man thorow the pommel of the saddle and the horse necke. The fort of Mersalcahir hath beene much fortified by the kings of Spaine, especially by *D. Philip* the second, who made it impregnable.

The same day that Mersalcahir, or Mafalquiuir, was won, which was the 13 of September, Queene *Jane* was brought in bed in Flaunders, of a daughter called *Marie*, who was Queene of Hungarie and Bohemia, married to king *Lewis*, sonne to *Ladislaw*, after whose decease, remaining a widow, she gouerned the Netherlands, and then came and died in Spaine, in the towne of Cigales, neere to Vaileadolid, in the yeare 1558, and lyes in the monastier of *S. Benedict* of Vaileadolid.

3 Whilest that the Queen *D. Isabella* liued, they did still practise some meanes of peace betwixt France and Spaine, and to this end the kings of Castille and Arragon had their embassadors in the French kings Court, making shew that they would restore king *Frederic* to his realme of Naples, or giue it to *D. Ferdinand* duke of Calabria, his eldest sonne, who was resident in Spaine: but it was not credible, for that is not the custome in our age, to giue away kingdomes which they doe quietly enjoy, especially hauing gotten it with so great charge, neither did he any thing: But the yeare of her decease there was a peace concluded betwixt the Emperor *Maximilian* and his sonne *Philip*, and king *Lewis*, by the which it was the third time agreed, That prince *Charles* of Austria should marie *Claude* of France, with the consent of the princes and noblemen of France, by the kings commaundement, and namely of *Francis* duke of Angoulesme, who was next in degree to the Crowne. It was also concluded, That the Emperor *Maximilian* should grant the inuestiture of the duchie of Milan to king *Lewis*, for him and his heires and successors males, and for want of males to his daughter, and to her future spouse prince *Charles*, who dying before the consummation of the mariage, she should be giuen in mariage to the Infant *D. Ferdinand* his brother, and they & their descendants should enjoy the said duchie of Milan. For the expedition of which priuiledge and donation, king *Lewis* should pay vnto the Emperor 70000. ducats vpon the deliuerie of the letters, and the like summe six moneths after, and euery yere vpon new-yeres day a paire of gilt spurs, in signe of honor.

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A Betwixt the Pope, the Emperour, king *Philip* his Sonne, and the French king, there was a league made against the Venetians, to recover the townes, and Lands which either of these Princes pretended to belong vnto him, and had bene viurped by this Common-weale, into which league *Ferdinand* king of Arragon might enter if he pleased, and there was no mention made of the realme of Naples; in expectation whereof king *Frederic* ended his daies that yeare 1505. at Tours. That yeare the truce betwixt *D. Ferdinand* king of Arragon and the French king, was conuerted to a peace, vpon condition that king *Ferdinand* should marry *Germaine* the kings neece, daughter to his sister and to *Iohn* of Foix and of Nauarre, Vicount of Narbone, which Lady was allyed to King *Ferdinand* in the third degree, the Vicount of Narbone being bottie of queene *Leonora* of Nauarre his Sister: by reason of which consanguinity they had a dispensation from the Pope, and in consideration of this marriage it was agreed, that the part which the French king might pretend in the realme of Naples, should stand in stead of a dowrie for his Neece, the future queene of Arragon; vpon condition that the king *D. Ferdinand* should pay vnto the French king seven hundred thousand ducats for the charges hee had bene at in the warre of Naples, and moreover should indowe his spouse with three hundred thousand ducats: and in regard thereof a peace being concluded, the Noblemen and Barons of the Realme that were prisoners in the Spaniards hands, should be deliuered, and the banished men restored to their estates, all confiscations being void.

C That queene *Germaine* dying without children before the king *D. Ferdinand*, her dowrie should remaine to him, but if she furnished and had no children, it should returne to the crown of France: That king *Ferdinand* should be bound to assist *Gaston* of Foix, brother to his future spouse, to conquer the realme of Nauarre which he pretended to belong vnto him, and not to queene *Katherine* his cousin: That the French King should giue leave to queene *Elizabeth* widowe to King *Frederic*, to retire into Spaine with two children which shee had in France, to whom the king *D. Ferdinand* should giue honest meanes to liue: and if she should refuse to goe, that the French king should not giue any entertainment to her nor her children. That for a stronger bond of peace and assurance of the two realmes, the king of Spaine should be bound to aide him of France with two thousand light Horse, three hundred men at armes, and six thousand foot, the French king him of Spaine with a thousand Lances, and six thousand foot in their warres.

The king of England was caution for both of them for this peace, whereunto and to the marriage king *Ferdinand* did easily incline to quiet his minde in regard of the realme of Naples, being also aduertised that his sonne in law king *Philip* contentining the will and testament of queene *Isabell* his mother in Lawe, did not meane that hee should gouerne the realme of Castille. The widow queene of Naples, being chased out of France according to the accord, she desired rather to retire to Petara vnder the protection of Duke *Alfonso* of Este: then to go into Spaine, fearing, it may be, that king *Ferdinand* would put her children to death, that there might not be any to pretend to the realme of Naples. King *Ferdinand* hauing remained most part of the yeare at Segobia, and hunting at Cerezuela, hee came to Salamanca there to spend the remainder,

in which yeare there dyed many great men of Spaine: *D. Alfonso* of Fonseca Bishop of Oms, to whom these succeeded an ignorant and vicious Prelate, base Sonne to the Admirall *D. Frederic Henriques*, called *D. Alfonso Henriques*, borne of a slave, of which promotion the king did often repent him, and was much blamed for it by other Prelates, namely of *Antonie de la Perna*, who preached before him: There dyed also *D. Pero Aluarez Osorio*, Marquess of Altorre, who left for successor his Sonne *D. Aluar Peres Osorio*, Di. *Simon Suarez* of Figueroa, Earle of Peña, to whom succeeded *Don Lawrence Suarez* of Figueroa his Sonne, who hauing married *D. Katherine* of Cordoua, eldest Daughter to *D. Pedro* of Cordoua, and neere to the great Capitaine, came by her right, to be Marquess of Priego, *D. Alfonso* of Fonseca, Lord of Coca and Alaxos, and *D. Francisco* of Velasco, Earle of Simela, *D. Hurtado* of Mendoza gouernour of Caforla, brother to the deceased Cardinall *D. Pero Gohfalez* of Mendoza, did also end their daies this yeare. The plague did also carry away infinite numbers of people in the citie of Burgos, so as it was in a manner left desolate.

Birth of the Infanta Marie, who was queen of Hungarie.

League made against the Venetians.

Peace betwixt France and Spaine.

Treatie of marriage betwixt Ferdinand and the Lady Germaine of Foix.

Isabell widowe to Frederic of Naples chased out of France.

Death of many Gentlemen in Spaine.

1506

Difference between D. Ferdinand king of Aragon and D. Philip king of Castille for the government.

D. Philip & D. Joane driven into England by a storme.

King of England forceth king Philip to deliver him the duke of Suffolke.

Marriage of the king of Arragon with Germaine of France.

Death of Christopher Columbus.

4 In the year 1506, vpon the controuersie growen betwixt the two kings father in lawe and sonne, touching the gouernement of Castille, Leon, Granado, and other the hereditarie lands of the deceased queene D. Isabella, and for the which king Philip had sent embassadors into Spaine, it was concluded that the kings, D. Ferdinand, D. Philip, and D. Joane should be all three gouernours, and that all letters should be dispatched in their name, whereupon their armes and Ensignes were againe set vp, according to the ancient custome; and this accord was proclaimed in the Citie of Salamanca, on Twelſe day: and soone after the kings, D. Philip and D. Joane parted from Flanders with many Ships, who were suddenly dispersed by a violent storme, and many of them driven into diuers parts of England. That wherein the kings were and two other ships came to Hampton, where they caused some alteration in the towne, the inhabitants fearing they had bene enemies, but being knowne they did them honour, as was fit for so great Princes. Many knights and men of experience of their traine, perswaded them not to land, foreseeing that which did happen; but king Philip hauing bene extremely sicke, and seeing the queene and noblemen which did accompany him in the same estate, would not beleue them, but was the first who leaping into a boate caused himselfe to be carried to land. It being bruted abroad that a storme had driven the kings of Castille vpon that coast, a knight, whose name was Thomas Trenchard, hauing his house there nere adioyning, came to doe him reuerence, offering him his lodging, with other commodities, and entertained him vntill that king Henry the seventh then reigning, was aduertised by messengers, sent in post: then many men drew thither in armes, with a captain called John Carew, who in the company of Thomas Trenchard besought king Philip not to depart out of England, vntill that hee had seene their king, who was his friend. Then did king Philip find that hee had erred, in not beleueing the counsell of his followers, and the queene more, who notwithstanding carryed this crosse courageously: wherefore seeing that this intreatie was a commendement, and that hee must obey it, hee flaid, alleging in vaine that his voyage was verie hastie, with much other excuses. Soone after there arrived many English noblemen, who conducted them with great honour to the castle of Windſor, whereas king Henry attended them. There king Philip was required by the king of England, to deliuer vnto him Edmond de la Poole duke of Suffolke his Competitor, who was then a prisoner in the castle of Namur: and so great was his desire to haue this duke, as forgetting the lawes of hospitality and the friendship which princes allies should beare one vnto another, hee forced the king of Castille, notwithstanding all excuses, to giue him the duke, vpon a promise that hee should not put him to death: whereupon men were sent into Flanders to fetch this poore duke. In the meane time king Henry led his guests to London, where hee entertained them with great and stately feasts, and royall sports; and the prisoner being arrived, they had libertie to depart at their pleasures. So as these kings hauing renewed the league with the king of England, they imbarked and continued their voyage towards Spaine.

In the meane time Germaine the new queene of Arragon came to Duegnas, whereas king Ferdinand came and married her. There passed many noblemen of therealm of Naples of the Angeuin faction, with her out of France into Spaine, who soone after did accompany the king D. Ferdinand to Naples. After the consummation of the marriage, the king led the queene his wife to Vailladolid, and there leauing her with D. Joane his sister, the old queene of Naples, and one of her daughters, hee went to Burgos, to receiue the kings, D. Philip and D. Joane, thinking that they had landed at Laredo, or some other place of Biscaie, but it fell out otherwise: for they tooke port at Corunna, or the Groine in Galicia, whereof king Ferdinand being aduertised, hee tooke the way to Leon, and then to Torquemada, to goe and meete his sonne in law and his daughter.

5 At that time there dyed in Vailladolid the admirall Christopher Columbus the discoverer of the Indies, whose body was carryed to Seuille, and was buried in the monasterie of las Cueuas of the Carthusiens. To him his sonne Diego Columbus succeeded

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1506

Library gathered together by Diego Columbus

Order seueing the government of Castille.

King Ferdinand returns into Arragon.

1506

Death of Philip King of Castille.

Voyage of king Ferdinand into Italy.

A faithful servant.

A in the Admiraltie of the Indies, who married D. Maria of Toledo, daughter to D. Ferdinand of Toledo great Commander of Leon: hee left another Sonne called D. Ferdinand Columbus who was neuer married. Among many deeds worthe of commendation, of this Admirall D. Diego Columbus, hee gathered together in the citie of Seuille, one of the greatest and goodlyest Libraries in Christendome, seeking out with great care and charge, all goodly books, in what language soeuer: so as there were about twelke thousand volumes: for the keeping, maintenance and increase of which library, he left and assigned sufficient monies.

6 At the arrival of the new kings of Castille, the king D. Ferdinand found by experience that princes seruantes doe most commonly follow them for profit; and not for love and affection: for many of those that were with him in this voyage, left him without leave, and went before to offer their seruice, and so accompany their new maister, the which discontented him very much. These princes met betwixt the Poble of Sababria and Asturie, where hauing conferred together touching the manner of gouernment, they did not agree: whereupon the king D. Ferdinand came to Tordesillas, much distast of the king his sonne in law, who with Queene D. Joane past to Benacut: The diligence and care of the Archbishopp of Toledo, to redouble king Ferdinand and his children, was such, as they concluded that the king of Arragon should inioy the three masterships of Castille, Saint Iaques, Calatrava, and Alcortina, with the reuenues of the Indies, and eight millions of Mazauidis, off yearly rent during his life, which queene D. Isabella had left him; in regard whereof hee should be contented to remaine in his countrie of Arragon: to confirme which accord, the two kings had an enterview within a league of Vailladolid, in the vestrie of Renedo, whereas the archbishopp himselfe kept the doore: There they say king Ferdinand gave much counsell to his sonne in law, by whome hee was intreaced, notwithstanding their accord, to remaine in Castille, and to helpe him to gouerne, but he refused him, and went away this year 1506, in Iuly, leading his wife Queene Germaine with him into Arragon. The kings D. Philip and D. Joane entred into Vailladolid, wher they had called the estates of the realm, and there took a new oath, causing their eldest sonne D. Charles to be sworn heire to the crown of Castille, Leon, & Granado. In these princes were inuited vnto the realms of Castille and Leon, and there dependances, the great estates of the low countries and Burgundy, and afterwards Arragon, Sicile, Sardynia and Naples: At Vailladolid there were many noblemen honored with the order of the golden fleece. The gard of the castle of Segobia was taken from the marquesse of Moya, & giuen to D. John Manuel, who was much fauored by the kings, who being at Tudela of Duero, the appeared a strange comet in the firmaments, foreshewing (as they said afterwards) the approaching death of king Philip, which happened soon after in the citie of Burgos, to the generall griefe of all his subjects, the comet still reigning, whereunto hee did attribute his death, saying often in his paines and agonies, *Ha cometa, ha cometa*: He died in the floure of this age, in the comfortable house, this year 1506, hauing reigned 7 yere and ten monethes: his body was laied many yeres after by the commendement of the Emperour Charles his sonne, in the royal chappel of Granado, hauing remained in diuers places. This summer which was very drie, there died in Castille D. Gutierre of Toledo bishop of Plaisance, to whom succeeded D. Gomez of Toledo, sonne to D. Gutierre de Solis earle of Coria.

7 At the time of the death of the king D. Philip king Ferdinand was at sea going towards Italie for after the enterview of these two princes, & the order taken for the gouernment of Castille, he went to Cattelonia, where hauing caused a goodly fleet to be made readie at Barcelona, he imbarked to go and visit the realms of Naples, & of Sicilie, hauing conceived a ieaalousie that the great captain did fauor the designs of the king of Castille his son in law: for hauing sent often for him to come into Spaine, hee had full delayed it with excuses, as he thought. At his departure out of Castille, he was abandoned by all the great men, except the duke of Alua, who did accompany him to the frontiers of Arragon. He who shewed himselfe most faithfull of all the noblemen, was D. Bernar d'of Rojas and Sandoual marquesse of Denia, who neuer abandoned him, neither alive nor dead: for hee retired many of his officers and household seruantes, which had no maintenance. It was concluded

Princes servants follow for profit and not for affection.

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Smotherie of the  
great Captaine

cluded by the last accord made betwixt him and king *Philip*, that the realme of Naples, although it had been conquered by the means and forces of Castille, more then by those of Arragon, should remain to the crown of Arragon. Being therefore ready to set sail towards his realme of Naples, he received letters from the great captaine, by the which hee did assure him of his sincerity and service, and did advertise him of the estate of the country, wherewith he was so well satisfied, as he did confirme all his former gifts vnto him, & added new, yea he was much more pleased with him, for that contrary to the opinion of many he came and met him at the port of Genoua: for both the Pope and all the Potentates of Italy, thought that he was gone from Naples, with an intent to restore himselfe into Castille, and not to see king *Ferdinand*, as if he feared to looke on him. The king being staied here some daies by reason of contrary winds, he had news of his son in laws death, for the which he seemed verie sorrowful: & notwithstanding that he was presby the widow queen *D. Joane* his daughter to returne into Spaine, yet he went on his voyage to Naples, where he entered in great pompe, vnder a canopie of cloth of gold, the city wal being beaten down for the more state, hauing all the honors and ceremonies accustomed at the receptions of new kings: he staied 7. months there to the great content of the whole realm, and of all the Potentates of Itake, who posselt with an opinion of his iustitie and equity, sent vnto him by ambassadors, and made him arbitrator of many contoueries, that were amongst them. The Neapolitanes offered him great summes of money and other commodities, but he would not accept any but 30000 ducats, for the charges of his voyage. He would not at that time breake with the Venetians for the Popes pleasure or of any others, and yet they detained certain places from him, referring that quarel to a more convenient time. He pacified and ended many quarrels, and pretensions of Barons, yea, of the Angevin party, who were yet disposselt of their goods, which had been confiscated, & past into priuatemens hands, so whome they had been given in recompence of their feruice; and that which he could not end, he left in charge to the Viceroy *D. John* of Arragon earle of Ribagorça, whom he left in the place of *Gonçalo Fernandez* of Cordoua, the great Captaine, whome he caused to imbarke with him at his returne, and carried him into Spaine, being iealous of the honor which he had gotten in the conquest of the realme. In regard of the realm of Sicilie, he made many good lawes, but he could not goe thither in person, being presby the queen *D. Joane* his daughter, the counsell, cities, and communalities of Castille to returne into Spaine: for this poore princeesse, besides her affliction for the death of her husband, had other infirmities, which she did inherit from her grandmother by the mothers side *D. Isabella* of Portugall, wherefore finding her selfe vnable to gouern so great a state, she put all ouer into the hands of *D. Francisco Ximenes* Archbishop of Toledo & primate of Spaine, & of doctor *D. Alfonso Suarez de la Fuente del Sauc* bishop of Iaca president of the kings counsell, *Garcia* of Muxica licentiate in the laws, born in the prouince of Guisquicoa, doctor *Pedro* of Orepesa, a most religious Baron, the licentiate *Fernando Telles*, doctor *Lawrence Galindez* of Camail, & the licentiate *Lewis* of Polanco, with others of the counsell, who took charge of the affairs in the absence of the king *D. Ferdinand* her father, the Prince *D. Charles*, who was then bred vp in Flanders, being yet a child of 7. yeres old. Pope *Julius* staied many daies in the castle of Ostia, thinking that *K. Ferdinand* would land there to see him, but he excused himselfe by reason of the final intelligence that was betwixt them: for the king hauing demanded of him the confirmation & ineffectuall of the realme of Naples; he would not graunt it, but with heavier conditions then other kings of Arragon his predecessors had held it. Queen *Germaine* did accompany the king her husband in this voyage, who sailing towards Spaine, they toucht at Sauone, which place was assigned for an interuiew, betwixt them and *Lewis* 12. the French king, who was already arrived with a goodly train of his nobilitie. At the coming of the Spanish army king *Lewis* shewed so great a confidence in the vertue and generosity of king *Ferdinand*, as he made no difficulty to enter into his galley, without any gards, by a bridge of wood made to that end, and there hauing conference awhile together, they entred all into the city; queene *Germaine* going betwixt the two kings, the king her husband being on the right hand, and the French king on the left, who were immediately followed by the Cardinall of Rouan, and the great captaine, and then by many noblemen, ladies and gentlewomen, richly attyred

*D. Joane* queene  
of Castille  
tousht in her  
feruice.

Counsell of Ca-  
stille.

Interuiew be-  
twixt the french  
king and him of  
Arragon.

1507

A red: king *Ferdinand* made shew of as great confidence to the French king, entering into Sauone, a towne held by him, where hee was lodged in the Castle, and king *Lewis* in the bishops Palace. For three daies space that these great Princes were together, they treated of many matters of importance, in the which the Cardinall of Praxed, the Popes Legate, was a great dealer: king *Lewis* spake much concerning the renewing and strengthening of their leagues, and the friendship which he desired to entertaine with the emperor *Maximilian*, who was greatly discontented with him, for many reasons, but especially for that the Ladie *Claude* the eldest daughter of France, so often promised to prince *Charles*, had bene lately made siute to *Francis* duke of Angouleme: the which king *Lewis* excused, saying, that he had done it at the instant request of the estates of his realme: They did also treat of many things concerning Italy, and yet neuer entred into any speech of the realme of Naples: but the French king shewed great hatred to the Venetians, and little loue to the Pope, against whome hee presumed to haue a generall Council called, being animated thereto by the Cardinall of Rouan, desirous to finde a meanes to attaine vnto the dignitie of Soueraigne bishop, wherof he had some hope, when the sea was voyde, by the death of *Alexander* the first, wherein there were resolutions then taken, to the contentment of both kings: becaus for a Council, king *Ferdinand* excused himselfe, saying that it was a dangerous thing for the common weale of Christendome. The French king, hauing often desired to see and know *Gonçalo Fernandez*, called the great captaine, he intreated him with much honour, and could not be satisfied in looking on him, as admiring those great matters which hee had heard of him, getting leave of king *Ferdinand* that hee might eate at their table, whereas Queene *Germaine* sayed (it may bee indiscreetly) that he which had vanquished kings, should eat with kings: Some say, that at that time onely hee purchased the surname of Great, for that king *Lewis* did so call him, saying freely vnto king *Ferdinand*, that hee did enuie him for so worthy a man, whome hee honoured with praises and great titles in all his discourses, and taking a chaine of gold of great price from off his owne neck, he put it about his: The fourth day of this interuiew, the kings parted one towards Proutice, and the other continuing his course towards Spaine, where the fleets arrived in mid August 1507, at the port of Valencia: from whence, without stay, the king and queene went to Almasan, a towne of Castille, nor without discontentment of the Arragonois, who found his short abode amongst them verie strange, to buse himselfe with the affaires of a realme where hee had found so much ingratitude. The great Captaine was receiued in Spaine with great fauour of all men, being held the honour and ornament of Castille, but hee neuer saw Naples more: where he was exceedingly beloued, and desired. They say that at his departure from Naples, hee gaue a great part of his meates to such as had bene faithfull companions vnto him in the warre, to performe the which hee sold some of his lands.

E 8 Whilst that the king *D. Ferdinand* was in Italic, the duke of Valentinois, who was prisoner in the Castle of Medina del Campo, being ill garded slippe downe by a rope, and escaped going towards Guisquicoa in a disguised habit, whereas he found in the towne of Mondragon, one *Lewis Lauregui*, who had serued him in Italic, and was then one of the chiefe of the place, who gaue him meanes to passe into Nauarre, towards king *John* of Albret, whose sister hee had married. *D. Joane* queene of Castille being with child at her Husbands death, had bene deliuered of a Daughter in Torquemada, who was named *D. Catharina*, future wife to *John* the third of that name, king of Portugall. This yere one thousand five hundred and seuen, there was a change of Bishops in Spaine from lesse to greater, after the accustomed manner: for by the death of *D. John* of Medina Bishop of Segobia, *D. Frederic* of Portugall was advanced to that Bishopricke, and that of Calaoña, which hee held, was giuen to *D. John* of Velasco, who before was bishop of Carthagina, the which was bestowed vpon doctor *Martin* of Angulo, Archdeacon of Talauera in the church of Toledo: The archbishopricke of Granado in like manner being void, by the death of *Hernando* of Talauera, there was preferred to that dignity *D. Anthony* of Rojas, Bishop

Councils are  
dangerous for  
the church of  
Rome.

Counsell *Fernando*  
des honoured by  
*Lewis* the 12.

Honour of the  
great Captaine

Duke of Valen-  
tinois escapes  
out of prison.

Change of bi-  
shops in Castille

1507

Archbishop of  
Toledo made a  
Cardinal.9  
Nauarre.Genealogie of  
Nauarre.Disposition of  
king John of  
Nauarre.

shop of Maiorca, and his Bishopricke was giuen vnto D. *Diego* of *Rivera*. By the decease also of D. *Garcia Ramirez* of *Villa excusa* Bishop of *Ouiedo*, who was the last Prior of S. *Marc* of *Licon*, D. *Valerio Alfonso* of *Villaquiran*, was made Bishop in his place; and the bishopricke of *Villaquiran* & cite *Roderigo*, which he held, was giuen to D. *Francisco* of *Bouadilla*, son to the Marquesse of *Moya*. The same yere D. *Francis Ximenes* of *Cineros* Archbishop of *Toledo*, obtained a Cardinals hat, with the title of *Santa Balbina*: and for that he was primate of Spain, he was called Cardinal of *Spaine*: And D. *Alfonso Fajeca*, was allowed to resigne the Archbishopricke of *Saint Iaques* to his sonne, carrying the same name, for the which Cardinal *Ximenes* did greatly reproach king *Ferdinand*, who had countenanced it, saying, that he made Archbishopricks hereditarie, and that he should see if women were excluded. King *Ferdinand* was then come to *Santa Maria del Campo*, with the queene his daughter, where they made the anniuersarie for the deceased king *Philip*: from thence they went to *Arcos*, where the Queene staying, the king came to *Burgos*, where during his long abode, wee wilketime to the faikes of *Nauarre*. The king D. *John* of *Albret*, who is numbred for the fise and thirtieth king of *Nauarre*, and the third of that name, had by his wife *Katherine* of *Fois*, a great issue, *John* and *Andrew Phelus*, who dyed both yong, *Henrie* who succeeded them in the estates of *Fois* & *Beam*, and in the title of *Nauarre*, and was born three daies after the death of *Andrew Phelus* his brother, in the town of *Sanguessa*, in the yere one thousand fise hundred and three, in the month of *Aprill*: the godfathers at the Christening were two *Germaine* Pilgrimes, which pass by chance at the time of his birth, to goe to *Saint Iaques*, whereof the one was called *Henrie*, and the other *Adam*: the which the king his father did by deuotion: but the Spaniards say that it was an aduertisement and preface of his future condition, that he should liue a stranger and Pilgrim out of his realme: Besides these, hee had *Charles*, named by some *Francis*, who dyed in the Lord of *Lautrees* voyage to *Naples*; *Katherine*, *Anne*, *Quiterie*, *Magdeline*, *Isabell*, and fise other children, whose names are not specified, for they dyed young. Of the daughters, *Anne* was betrothed, but not married the earle of *Candale*, for shee dyed at the assurance making: into which house the Queene of *Nauarre* aunt, called *Katherine* also, had been married; shee was mother to Queene *Anne* of *Hungarie*, wife to king *Ladislavus*: *Isabell* married with the earle of *Rohan* in *Brittaine*. This king D. *John* of *Albret* was full of pompe and state in his court, and house, the which was frequented by the nobility both of *Spaine*, *France*, and other nations, as much as any of the greatest monarchs. His studie and delights were diuers, for he loued learning and books, whereof hee made a goodly Librarie; hee was curious in the search of Genealogies of noble families, and would vnderstand their armes, and blasons; yet sometimes he made some noble, that were of small merit: hee tooke great delight to discourse priuately and familiarly with his vassals and others, as if hee had been no king, but a priuate gentleman: hee daunced willingly, and did so little mainteine his royall grauitie, as hee made no difficultie to come into publike assemblies, and to dance in the streets with wiuers and virgins after the countrie maner: he went familiarly to dine and sup, and to make good cheare in his subiects houses, inuiting himselfe, the which did winne him the loue of some, and made him to bee scorned of others, as not knowing how to hold his ranke: the which hee held of the French humor, whereas the princes doe sometimes make themselves too familiar with petty companions. Hee was so giuen to his pleasures, as many times hee referred matters of greatest importance to others, the which did purchase him contempt and hatred with many: for by this meanes against his oath and promise made at his coronation, many strangers were admitted to estates, offices, and benefices within the realme of *Nauarre*, whereof there were sundrie admonitions and protestations made vnto him in the assemble of the estates by the noblemen of the realm, but he did not regard it: for hee thought to find a great support in the king of *Castilles* friendship: yet notwithstanding king *Ferdinand* did not forbear to capitular with *Lewis* 12 the French king who should help to disposseesse him of the realm of *Nauar*, to inest *Gaston* of *Fois* duke of *Nemours* son to *John* vicom of *Narbonne*, & brother to queene *Germaine*, which D. *Ferdinand* did afterwards seale on vpon

1597

Son of Albret  
king of Nauarre  
& the Queene  
his wife fall into  
factions.10  
Raiselle of the  
Earle of Lerin,  
which caused  
his ruine.Service against  
the Earle of Lerin.Castle of Viana  
besieged by the  
Duke of Valentinois.Viana viualled  
by the Earle  
of Lerin.

A vpon another occasion, as we will shew. About the end of the yere one thousand fise hundred and fixe, the Duke of *Valentinois* hauing escaped from *Medina del Campo*, and being come, as we haue said, into *Nauarre*, he found that the King D. *John* of *Albret*, and the Queene his wife were growne into factions one against another; the King fauouring them of *Beamont*, and the Queene the others of *Gramont*: wherefore the Duke shewing therein both iudgement and affection, hee dealt so as hee reconciled them, making the King his brother in law to fauor the faction of *Gramont*, wherewith the contrary partie was much troubled: yet *Lewis* of *Beamont* the Constable, a man of a great courage, maintained himselfe still proudly in his ranke, so as on a time a certaine Officer coming to giue him notice of some commaundement from the King, hee caused him to be beaten with cudgells, and to be cast into prison in the castle of *Larraga*, making shew that he did not much respect the King, nor his Aduersaries of *Gramont* which were fauored by him, which was the cause of his ruine: for the King being iustly incensed at this audacious fact, hauing by many messages sent for him to Court, and hee not obeying, hee resolved to ruine him quite. He had to friend, although hee were of the contrary faction, D. *Alfonso Carrillo* of *Peralta* Erle of *Saint Stephen*, sonne to *Troilo Carrillo*, and grandchild to D. *Alfonso Carrillo* of *Acugna* Archbishop of *Toledo*, who did aduertise him of all that was practised against him, aduising him by no meanes to come to the Court, vnlesse hee would fall into their ambushes. By reason of this contumacie, the King hauing caused his proccesse to be made, hee was condemned to loose both life and goods, as guiltie of high treason: and hauing sent forth troupes for the execution of this Sentence, hee gaue the charge to the Duke of *Valentinois* his brother in law, to pursue him with all extremite of warre, the which the Duke beganne by the siege of the castle of *Larraga* the eleuenth of *February* 1597. But a Gentleman called *Oger* of *Berastegui* who commanded there, defended it brauely, so as both the King, who was there in person, and the Duke, left it, and went to *Viana*, whereas the towne made not any resistance, but the castle held good, although they were scant for victuals: whereof the Earle of *Lerin* the Constable being aduertised, hee resolved to relieue it; for the effecting whereof hauing gathered together about two hundred horse and some foot, hee came to *Mandauia* to watch some opportunitie to execute his designe, the which succeeded happily, for the same night there did rise a horrible tempest, which made the Duke thinke that the enemy would not goe to field, and that they would not aduenture to succoure the besieged; wherefore he retired his gardes and sentinells which hee did vsually set vpon all the approaches to the castle, wherein hee was deceiued although hee were held for a wise and discreet Communder: for through fauour of the noyfe of the winde, and the great raine, three score horses parted from *Mandauia*, euery one carrying a sacke of meale, and some baked bread, which prouision they put into the castle by a posteme, and were not discouered: Morning being come, in their retreat they discouered certain horsemen vpon the way of *Logroño*, which made them thinke that it was a supply of 300. Castilian horse which the Duke of *Negara* had promised to send vnto the Constable, wherefore they beganne to crie, *Beaumont*, *Beaumont*, which gaue an alarme vnto the Towne. The Duke of *Valentinois* hauing caused himselfe to be richly armed by a groom of his called *Iancos*, who had sometimes serued the Constable; he went forth brauely mounted, and followed by a thousand horse, and a great troupe of foot, and so hee went towards *Mandauia*, saying, Where is this pettie Count? I vow to God I will this day kill him, or take him prisoner, I will not leaue him vntill he be quite ruined, and will not pardon any one of his, all shalbe put to the sword, euen the dogges and catteres. Being thrust on with this violent passion, hee aduanced his troupe, following 60. horse which retired before him. The Constable had sent forth some, adwell to receiue those (if need were) which were gone to viual the castle of *Viana*, as hee did discover what the enemy did, who seeing the Duke whom they knew not come thus alone, and with a great assurance, doubting that he was followed by some great troupes, they retired to the place where the Constable remayned, who wondering what this Knight should be; and at his hardinesse, What? (saies hee) is there no man here that dares affront this gallant, which comes so neere vs? Then there disbanded three gentlemen of his troupe, who went to encounter him in a hollow way like vnto a ditch, whereas

Pppp the

1507

Death of the  
duke of Valen-  
tinois.

the duke could not well vie his force and dexteritie, nor mannage his horse, who ha-  
ving charged their Lances against him, one of them tooke him vnder the right arme pit,  
where hee was vnarmed, as hee did lift vp his arme to charge his lance, and so ranne  
him through, hee falling downe dead to the ground. They saie that hee that gaue the  
blow was one of the Garceles of Agreda: The bodie was presently stript by these three  
companions, and left naked in the way, hauing couered his priue parts with a stone:  
they carried these rich spoiles vnto the Constable who beganne to retire, not knowing  
any thing of him that was laine, but that hee should be some great capitaine, vntill that  
the same morning *Sanicos* the groomer of his chamber, who had followed his master, and  
mist his way, was taken by some and led to the Constable, by whom it was knowne af-  
ter that he had seene his armes and habiliments, that it was *Cesar Borgia* duke of Valen-  
tinois which had benee slaine, whose bodie was found by the army which followed af-  
ter. King *Iohn* himselfe being in person in the reward, who lamented much for the  
death of his brother in lawe, and couering him with a cloake of scarlet he caused him to  
be carried to Viana, and to be buried in the great chappell of the parish church of Saint  
*Mary*, where this epitaph is to be read.

*A qui iace en poca tierra  
El que toda le temia,  
El que lapas, y la guerra  
Por todo el mundo hazia.*

*O tu que vas a buscar,  
Dignas cosas de loar,  
Se tu loas lo mas digno,  
A qui pare tu camino  
No crees de mas andar.*

It is obserued in Spaine for a memorable thing, that the death of the duke of Valen-  
tinois happened in Nauarre the like day that hee had in the same Realme taken possession  
of the perpetual administration of the church of Pampelone, the chiefe of that realme,  
which was the eleuenth day of March, on the which God would shew some testimonie  
of his wrath against him, who in contempt of all religion had quit his Ecclesiasticall es-  
tate, and the Ministerie, to follow the practise of armes: The Constable would  
haue benee more ioyfull if hee had benee taken aliue, to haue presented him to king  
*Ferdinand*. The king of Nauarre by reason of this death fell into such a rage against the  
Constable, and all his house, as euen some of his kinsmen which followed the Kings  
armie were forced to retire, not daring to present themselves before him: against  
whom the castle of Viana did still make resistance, notwithstanding that his armie was  
much increased by certaine troups which had benee sent him out of Castille from D.  
*Bernardin* of Velasco Constable and Duke of Frias, and the Earle of Nieua, with  
whom and with the Earle of Aguilar, the king had alwayes entertained a strict friend-  
ship: but hee past into the Constables lands where hee committed all the spoiles that  
an incensed enemy could deuise: hee tooke the towne of Lerin, where hee ouerthrow  
and ruined the sepulchre or monument of the house of Lerin, and the Constables pro-  
genitours, which was a sumptuous and stately building; hee rased his houses, cut vp  
his vines and trees, then taking the rest of his places and castles, some by a voluntarie  
yeelding, and some by force, where hee caused the captaynes which made resistance  
to be hanged, hee reduced him to that extremitie, as hee was forced to retire him-  
selfe into Castille to D. *Ferdinand* king of Arragon his brother in lawe, being follow-  
ed by many other knights of the faction of *Beaumont* which was then vnderfoote, and  
that of *Gramont* aduanced, amongst whom was the Marshall place; and moreover  
by the Constables retreat they obtained that Office for D. *Alphonso Carrillo* of Peralta  
Earle of Saint Stephen: Then the castles of Viana and Larraga yeelded. And in this ex-  
ile the Constable being old and dispossest, died some moneths after in Arragon,  
in the towne of Aranda: His wife D. *Lewis* of Arragon dyed likewise at the same  
time in the citie of Tortosa in Cartelonia. The Constables bodie hauing benee left for  
a time in the monasterie of Veruela, was afterwards transported to Lerin, where he lies:  
his sonne D. *Lewis* of Beaumont succeeded him after the conquest of Nauarre, made by  
D. *Fer-*

Warre against  
the Constable  
of Lerin.Death of D. *Lewis*  
of Beaumont  
the Constable.

1508

A D. *Ferdinand* king of Arragon, in the office of Constable, and of high Chancellour of  
the realme, and in all his other estate and lands being by his mothers side, nephew to  
the king D. *Ferdinand*, and graundchilde to D. *Iohn* king of Arragon the second of that  
name. There was a bruit, that the Constable and his sonne had treated with *Lewis* the  
twelfth to dispossesse king *Iohn* of Albret of the realme of Nauarre, and to inuett *Gaston*  
of Foix duke of Nemours his nephew, and that *Lewis* of Beaumont, the sonne of D. *Fran-*  
*cis* of Beaumont, and D. *Pedro Menas* of Beaumont went into France to sollicite  
the king in this businesse, assuring him that all things should be easie for him, and fauou-  
rable, but that the king being then busied in other affaires, especially to reduce the ci-  
tie of Genoua which was then rebelled, to his obedience, would not hearken to it:  
wherefore D. *Lewis* of Beaumont, and D. *Pedro Menas* returned into Arragon, leauing  
D. *Francois* in the French kings seruice, where hee continued vntill that hee was called  
home by his father D. *Iohn* of Beaumont, who had a certaine quarrell with *Amador* of  
Lescan, whose challenge hee could not answer by reason of his age, so as hee came and  
presented himselfe to the combat against *Amador*, during the raigne of the kings; but  
there growing a certayne question being ready to fight, vpon the qualitie of the armes,  
they spent the whole day in disputes, and nothing was done. The cardinal D. *Anthony*  
bishop of Pampelone being dead about the end of this yeare one thousand five hundred  
& fuen, there was preferred in his place by pope *Iulio* the second, the cardinal of Sancta  
Sabina, called *Facio*; but the chapter of the church of Pampelone, hauing already cho-  
sen cardinal *Amador* of Albret of the tide of Saint *Nicholas* in carcere *Tulliano*, the kings  
brother, for their bishop, the cardinal of Sancta Sabina was reiected and kept from the  
possession of that bishopricke: whereupon Pope *Iulio* did censure the whole realme of  
Nauarre in the beginning of the yere one thousand five hundred and eight, and did con-  
tinue a whole yere, to free them from the which they were forced to accept of the car-  
dinal preferred by him for their bishop of Pampelone, whereof hee tooke possession  
by his deputy, and the election made by the chapter was declared voyd. This cardinal  
*Facio* liued not long after, wherefore cardinal *Amador* of Albret the kings brother reco-  
uered his right, and was received in the place of the deceased. The archdeaconship of  
D. the table of that church, a chiefe dignitie, and of great reuenues, was giuen vnto D. *Iohn*  
of Beaumont, for his sonne called also D. *Iohn* brother to D. *Francois* of Beaumont a-  
boue mentioned, who being returned out of France into Nauarre, was, notwithstanding  
the hatred and factions of *Beaumont* and *Gramont*, much fauoured by the Marshall  
D. *Pedro*, who was then in greatest esteeme and authoritie with the Kings D. *Iohn* and  
D. *Catherina*.

11 This yeare one thousand five hundred and eight *Muley Mahomet* king of Fez, of  
the family of the Mexins, besieged the citie of Arzilla, in the which the earle of Redon-  
do a Portugall was gouernour, and hauing taken the towne with his great power, be-  
ing about a hundred thousand fighting men, hee also tooke part of the castle, and for-  
ced the Earle to retire into a tower with some souldiers: whereof king *Ferdinand* being  
aduertised, hee sent to the Earle *Pedro Navarro* an excellent capitaine of his time, being  
at Malaga, to goe and succour the Portugalls at Arzilla, appoynting him certaine old  
souldiers which were come from Naples, who were then lodged in the Axarchia of Ma-  
laga. The earle hauing receiued this charge, imbarqued with great speed in a shippe of  
his owne, which was called *Maricette*, with other shippes which hee found readie, and  
soure gallies, about two thousand and five hundred of these souldiers, and so sayled to-  
wards Arzilla, where vpon his first approach hee so terrified the Moores, which besie-  
ged the Tower where the Earle of Redondo was, with his great ordonance from the  
shippes, as they suffered him to land his men, with the which hee entred the citie, and  
fought so valiantly, as hee chased away the Moores, whom hee found lodged, and for-  
tified there, striking such a terrour into the king of Fez his armie, as the same night it  
retired about two leagues from the towne. D. *Pedro Navarro* encouraged with this good  
successe, going forth with certaine field peeces, and setting a countenance on it, hee  
held the enemies in such doubt, as they retired to Fez, and Arzilla was freed, whereas  
within few dayes after the armie of Portugall arrived, being sent to succour it by the king

Pppp ij

D. Ma-

Castile.  
Arzilla besie-  
ged by the  
Moores, and  
the towne  
taken.Exploit of Pe-  
dro Navarro  
at Arzilla in  
favour of the  
Portugalls.

1508

D. Manuel, the which had come too late without the diligence and good office of King Ferdinand, and the Eade D. Pedro Navarro, who having sent backe part of his souldiers in the Mariette, hee ranne along the coast of Barbarie with his foure gallies, vnto Belin or Velez of Gomera, who discouering a rocke in the sea fit to build a fort on, for the defence and safetie of the coast of Spaine, especially for the streit, and the rest of Andalusia hee put thirtie souldiers in garrison there, in despite of the Moores: And being returned to Malaga, hee aduertised the King of the commoditie of this feat, yielding him many reasons to induce him to build a fort there: whereupon the King sent a gouernour thither, whose name was John of Villalobos, capitaine of Trebeja, and rector of Malaga, who entring into this place called Pegnon de Velez, with three score and tenne souldiers, he spent his life there in garrison, and after him his sonne, who put in his place an vnckle of his called Francis of Villalobos, in whose time this fort was taken by the Moores, eight yeres after it had bene first fortified by the earle D. Pedro Nuñar.

Pegnon de Velez fortified.

Trouth of the court troubled in his charge, and the punishment the king inflicted.

12 The king D. Fernando having this yere sent one of the Prouosts of his Court called the Bachelier Hernando Gomes of Hertzera to Cordoua, for certaine executions of Iustice, hee had such a quarrell with D. Pero Fernandes of Cordoua, nephew to the great captayne, as the marquisse caused him to be taken prisoner, and to be carried to Montillo, wherewith the king found himselfe much wronged, and loath to employ anie other, hee went himselfe to punish this disobedience and contempt. Wherefore coming to Toledo, and from thence by Cite royall, Syerra Morena, Pedroche, and Adamuz hee entred into Cordoua, where hee beganne to haue informations made against the marquisse, for whom the great captaine and other noblemen were suiters, intreating him to remember how D. Alphonso d' Aguilar the marquisse's father died, and how his vnckle the great captaine had liued: yet the marquisse was condemned in a great fine, his house of Aguilar rased, and himselfe banished for a certaine time.

Portugall.

Sedition at Lisbon for religion.

13 In Portugall the king D. Manuel attending the gouernement of his realmes, and the navigations to the East Indies, made his greatest residence in the citie of Ebor, whilst that Lisbon was afflicted with cruell seditions, by reason of religion; an ordinarie thing in this later age, whenas most Christians ialous of their owne glorie, worship their opinions, and maintaine their ceremonies by tumults and effusion of blood. It did seeme vnto some women of the ancient families of Christians in that citie, that some of the new conuerts or of their descendants, being in the Conuent of the friers of Saint Dominike had mockt at the hoste, which they are accustomed to keep in their churches: wherewith being moued with a womanish choler, they beganne to cast their pattens at them, saying, Goe you wicked dogges, God forbid that the plague and other miseries should fall vpon vs for you. At this noyse there came two friers running, who moued with a monkish zeale, tooke vp a Crosse, and running vp and downe the streetes, cried, Kill, kill these wicked hereticall dogges, for both plague and famine will fall vpon this countrey for their impieties: with which cries they stirred vp the people, so as falling vpon these new Christians (as they call them) they slue about 4000, regarding the innocent no more then the offender: and that which was the chiefe motive, they spoiled their goods, sackt their houses, and burnt many in the streetes, and publike places of the citie: the which the officers of Iustice could not help. In the end, being tired rather then glured with killing and spoyling, the tumult ceased. King Manuel being aduertised of this excesse, caused the two friers which were the authors to be apprehended, and to be publicly burnt at Ebor, and informations being made against the mutines and spoilers, about 70 of them were most iustly hanged, wherein it is strange how often they were then abused, who leauing Mahumets or the Iewish impietie, came into the bolome of the Romish church, thinking to find a safe refuge, or some mildnes and humanitie there, whereas they did often make triall of the smothered hatred, and crueltie, of these proud and rauishing olde Christians, as they call them in Spaine; men truly vnfit to draw infidels to the healthfull Doctrin of IESVS CHRIST: for this detestable example could no wayes edifie the sonne of the King of Manicongo, who was sent a while after into Portugall, to bee there instructed in the Romish Religion. This King ruling vpon the westerne shore of Africke beyond the Equinoctiall, was vassall and

Lib. 25.

A and alied to the king D. Manuel, the infant his sonne was named Henry, and was bred vp and instructed in the Latine tongue and the sciences for the space of xviij yeres, at Saint Eloy in Lisbon; after the which hee returned into his countrey, being accompanied by many of the monkes of S. Eloy, carrying with him many ornaments serving for the ceremonies of the Romish religion, and many gifts from the King D. Manuel.

1508  
Henry Infant of Manicongo baptized.

14 D. Ferdinand King of Arragon for his part, seeking the propagation of religion, following the aduice of his counsell and of the diuines of Spaine, gaue leaue this yere one thousand five hundred and eight, to some Spaniards dwelling at the Indies to search into the maine land there, to conquer prouinces and people, and to conuert those infidels to the Christian religion, by armes, if they did not willingly submit themselves; sending ample instructions vnto them. The first that undertooke that enterprife was Alphonso of Hojeda or Fojeda, borne at Cuena, having dwelt long at the Indies, who passing from the port of Beate of Saint Dominike with foure shippes and three hundred men, came vnto Carthagea, being followed by an other shippe, in the which there should be certaine mares, swine, and other cattell to breed, being conducted by the bachelier Martin Fernandes of Enfiso with an hundred and fiftie Spaniards. Having landed, Alphonso of Hojeda caused the Caribes a cruell and barbarous nation, which inhabit that countrey, to be summoned, to yeeld obedience to the King D. Ferdinand, and D. Loane of Castille, and to receiue the preaching of the gospel, offering them peace with great priuiledges and exemptions: but they making no regard of all these things, Hojeda made cruell wars against them, killing or making slaues all he could get, according to the instruction of the diuines of Spaine. He marcht about five leagues into the land, and besieged a little borough of some one hundred houses, where there might dwell some three hundred persons of these Caribes, who defended themselves in such fort with poisoned arrowes, and their other armes, as they slew three score and tenne Spaniards, and among them Alphonso de la Cosa of Palos of Moguer in Adalusia, a man expert in navigation, and lieutenant at that time to Hojeda, which was a great losse; and had not Diego of Nicuesa of Baes arrived, they were in daunger to haue receiued a greater losse and affront. Xpiscus parting from the same port of Beate of S. Domingo, had brought foure score Spaniards in seuen shippes and two brigantines. Hojeda hauing ioyned with 780. did easily force the borough, and burnt it with all the Indians, who had no lesoure nor meanes to flic, of the which they retayned seuen prisoners: and hauing gathered vp some little gold in the ashes of this fire, these captaines diuided themselves, Hojeda bending towards Vrabia, and Nicuesa to Beragua.

castile.

Alphonso of Hojeda first discoverer of the firme land at the Indies.

Caribes defend themselves courageously.

15 This was done at such time as the Christian princes made a league at Cambria against the Venetians, into the which D. Ferdinand King of Arragon and Gouernour of Castille entred. The Venetians who alwayes knew how to make their profite by other mens quarrells, held Padena, Vincence, Verona, Friuli and Treuise which the emperor pretended. The French king as duke of Millane demanded of them Cremona, Ghiarada, Brest, Bergamo and Crema, for the pope there was exacted the towne of Fanus, Rimini, Rauenna and Cernaia, and King Ferdinand desired to retire the places and ports of the realme of Naples; which had bene engaged vnto them by the old King D. Ferdinand of Naples: for these considerations all their embassadors met there together, to conclude a warre against the Venetians; but king Ferdinand had no great will to take armes against that common weale, proicting other meanes to recouer his right, but to please the Emperour hee ioyned in this warre, and for that there was some discontentment betwixt the king D. Ferdinand, the emperour and prince Charles, by reason of the gouernement of Castille, it was said, that there should be no speech of it, vntill the end of that war. There were many other particularities treated of and concluded there, every one of these princes seeking more his owne priuate interest then the good of the league in generall. King Ferdinand was then at Tordeussas, whither hee had accompanied his daughter the Queene. D. Ioane, who liued there, and hauing bene a widow eight and forty yeres, ended her dayes there. In May, in the yere one thousand five hundred and nine, queene Germanie wife to king Ferdinand was deliuered

pretensions of christian princes against the Venetians.

1509

Genealogie of  
Aragon.

of a son at Vailledolit, who was named *John*, but he liued not long, after which this prince had not any more children : but the king her husband before he married her had *D. Alphonso* of Arragon by the vicountesse of Ebolihe was archbishop of Saragossa, a prince of singular vertue : he had also *D. Ioune* of Arragon who was wife to the Countesse *D. Bernardin* of Velasco : and moreover by a gentlewoman of Bilbao called *D. Totá*, he had *D. Maria* of Arragon, who was a nunne at Madrigal : and of a lady of Portugall of the family of the *Perreiras*, an other daughter named also *D. Maria* of Arragon, who was in like manner a nunne in Madrigal with her sister ; this was the posteritie of king *Ferdinand*.

Fort built by  
the Spaniards  
in the firme  
land of the  
Indies.Policie of the  
Indians.

16 That yeare *Alphonso* of Hojeda or Fogeda, running ouer the countrie of Vraba, tooke in the strong lland two men and seuen women, and got about two hundred ounces of gold : and hauing landed in Caribana, hee beganne a fort and towne, which was the first the Spaniards made in the firme land of the Indies. The Spaniards being entred foure leagues into the countrie, they assailed a little towne called *Taripi*, whereas the Indians made great resistance, and they had this policie, to draw their enemies on with gold, whereof they knew them to be very couetous, casting it in certaine places, that comming to gather it vp, they might pierce them more easily with their poysoned arrowes, whereof they died like mad men. *Hoieda* prest with these difficulties, and with hunger, raised his siege, and went to another Borough, where he found some small store of victualls, and tooke some prisoners, and among others, a woman, whose husband came before *Hoieda*, and promised by a certaine day to bring her ransom, at which prefixed time hee came, being accompanied with eight archers, who began to shoot many poysoned arrowes among the Spaniards, wherewith *Hoieda* himselfe was hurt, and others died, wherefore the Spaniards slue them all nine. Hereupon *Bernardin* of Taluera armed with a ship laden with victualls and three score and tenne Spaniards to succour *Hoieda*, but this did not much comfort the Spaniards : wherefore *Hoieda* fearing that they would mutine, hee resolved to returne himselfe to Saint Domingo, to make sufficient prouision of victualls and other things necessarie, leauing for lieutenant in his place *Francis Picarro*, who was afterwards marquisse of Atabillos, with an expresse charge, that if within fiftie dayes they had no newes of him, they should make the best shift they could. So *Hoieda* parting from Caribana, hee arriued in the lland of Hispaniola a citie of Saint Domingo, where being tired with the toyle hee had endured, and with the bad successe of his voyage, desperate, wounded, and sicke of his person, he became a Franciscan Frier the remaynder of his life. *Diego* of Nicuesa who had taken the rout of Beragua, aduanced with a carauell and two brigantines, and past the land without discouerie : but one of his brigantines commaunded by *Lope* of Olano, turned backe to consider of that coast, then returning to the other brigantine they went together, to enter in at the mouth of the riuer of Chagre, which they called *Lagartos*, where they found the rest of the army, except *Nicuesa*, who was strayed with his carauell. Being come to the riuer of Beragua, thinking to finde their captayne *Nicuesa* there, but hearing not any newes of him, they were out of hope euer to returne vnto their houles, breaking their vessells in peeces which were halfe rotten, they chose *Lope* of Olano for their captayne, who beganne to make a fort there, and to till the ground, meaning to make his abode there. In the meane time *Nicuesa* who had lost his carauell, was come to Sorobaro in great want of victualls, so as hee and his companie liued some daies with wild fruits, the which was reported to *Lope* of Olano, by those men who had stolne away his carauells cocke-boat : wherefore hee presently sent a brigantine vnto him laden with victualls, in the which he came to Beragua : but there enuying the good successe of *Olano*, he began to charge him that he had incroched vpon his authoritie, intreating him ingratefully, whereat the whole company was much discontented : after which he caused them to dislodge, and to leaue that countrie, where they had soudenly Mays, leading them to Porto Bello, where hee left halfe his men, and led the rest to a place called Mammollor Marble, where hee began a fort, which since hath bene verifamous, which he called Nombre de Dios; there *Nicuesa* and his people were in such extreame necessitie, as they were forced to eatte their dogges, whereof some were sold for

Nombre de Dios

A for fise and twenty ducats of Castile, yea they did eate the flesh of an Indian, whom they found dead and halfe rotten. They which *Hoieda* had left in Caribana, seeing that their captaine returned not at the fiftie day assigned, being opprest with hunger, they imbarqued by the aduice of *Francis Picarro*, and hauing lost one brigantine, they sayled towards Cochibocoa, neere to the which they met with the bachelier *Martin Fernandes* of Enciso, hauing a shipp laden with victualls and men, and a brigantine, who commaunded them to returne backe with him : and hauing landed and watered at Camari, they came to Vraba, in which gulfes they built a Towne, the which they called *Guarda*. The King or Cachique of that countrie called *Cemaco*, being incensed that without his leaue they built vpon his land, hauing hidden all the wealth of his towne among the reedes, hee drew together fise hundred Indians, and beganne to threaten the Spaniards : then was the Bachelier in great distresse, and beganne to make vowes and promises, That if he got the victorie of those men, hee would build a Temple of the Cachiques towne, the which he would haue called, Our Lady of the Ancient of *Darien*, and that he would send a certayne quantity of gold and silver to the church of our Lady the Ancient of Seuille : whereupon a hundred Spaniards did charge these Indians, and defeated them, and their towne was taken and spoyled, and their hidden treasure found, which was not small, & then they began to build the towne and colonie of the Antique of *Darien*.

Extremities of  
the Spaniards  
at the Indies

C 17 Whilest that these men guided by auarice, & by the practise of cruelty, thought to amplify the religion of our Lord Iesus Christ at the west Indies, the cardinal *D. Francis Ximenez* of Cisneros archbishop of Toledo, vnder the same pretext, but it may be thrust on by some other affection, made offer to go in person into Affrike, and there to make warre against the Moores, animated thereunto (besides his owne desire to make that enterprise) by the spoyles which some pyrates Moores had lately made vpon the coast of Spaine, from whence they had carried away many poore slauess of all ages, men and women : and that which did more prick him forward, was, that *D. Diego Fernandes* Gouverneur of Merscalabler had bene lately defeated by the Moores of Oran, importunately prouoked by him; which disgrace hee desired to reuenge vpon that citie. These things happened during the kings absence, whenas he was at Naples, from whence being returned, hee was presently sollicitied by the Cardinal to vndertake this enterprise of Oran, whither hee offered to goe himselfe : wherein hee had many oppositions and crosses, not so much by the king, as by the noblemen of the court, who scorned him, holding him for a man drunke with ambition, and ignorant how to maintaine himselfe in his ranke and profession, saying, That it was a pleasant change to see the great captaine *Gonsal Fernandes* famous for so many victories which hee had obtained, now reling of his beads at Vailledolit, and the archbishop of Toledo to leaue his miter and crosse and to put on armes, hauing no thoughts but of killing and shedding of bloud : but those courtiers which found this so strange, had not perused the Annales of Spaine, where they might haue read warrelke exploits of many other Bishops, equalling the greatest captaines of their time. Notwithstanding all the oppositions of these disdaimefull spirites, yet the cardinal obtained what hee pretended : for the king knew his qualities and vertues better then any other, and could so extoll him to his Councell, and other noble men in Court, as in the end they did allow of the Cardinals proposition, they commended it, and perswaded the youth to follow him into Affrike. This warre being commenced, there was present order giuen, that all the gallies and other vessells of warre, and ships to carrie victualls and baggage which were made ready in diuers ports, should come to Malaga or Carthagen : there was prouision made in diuers places of come and all kindes of victuall, great store of caske to water in the enemies countrie, and of powder in euery part of Spaine : and there was commaundement giuen to all vassalls holding fees, commauderies, and militarie benefices, to be there in person, and no man to be exempted but for a very lawful cause, and for the necessary defence of the Christian commonweale : the souldiers which were in the kings pay, and remaining in ordinarie garrisons were also sent, and new leuiues made. There were also two Alcades or Prouosts of Iustice of the court appoynted to assist the cardinal, which were *Callego* and *Aguirro*, who

Enterprise of  
Oran by Ximenez.

Confidence of  
Ximenes.

Pedro Nanarro  
chiefe con-  
dutor of the Af-  
ricane warre.

Colonels at the  
warre of Oran.

Perseverance of the  
Cardinal.

Magnanimity  
of the Cardinal  
Ximenes.

Sedition in the  
Cardinals camp  
caused by a ref-  
usal.

in the Kings name, and by his authoritie, should containe euerie man in his durtie. <sup>G</sup>  
Herewithall there were given vnto the Cardinall many blankes signed and sealed by  
the King; to vse them when neede should require, namely, to institute and appoynt  
Iudges to punish offenders: wherewith the cardinall would not meddle, for that hee  
was a Franciscan Friar, and a man of the church. These things provided, the great cap-  
taine *Gonsalo Fernandez* did aduise, that the managing of the warre should bee giuen vn-  
to *Pedro Nanarro* Earle of Albeto, who some few moneths before had built the fort of  
Pegnon de Veles against the Moores, and was a captain of iudgement and great ex-  
perience. The cardinall conferred with him of all matters, and did write to *Vargas* of  
the Kings counsell, and to *Villalobos* commissarie of the victualles, that they should  
deliuer the victuals and munition ordaind for this warre, as *Pedro Nanarro* should ap-  
point, and to the colonels to cause their men to march towards Malaga: the chiefe of  
which were *D. Roderigo Moscoso* Earle of Altamira, *D. John Spinosa*, *Alphonso Vaneza*,  
*Gonsalo Ayora*, *Pedro de Arias*, and *John Villalua*, having many good and valiant captains  
vnder them. To *Garcia Villarroello* was giuen the command of the horse: *Ierome Vianello*  
was made marshall of the campe, by reason of the experience and knowledge hee had  
of the countrie of Africke, and therefore held fittest to choose the situation of the camp,  
and the places where they should assaile the Moores. Thus the cardinall drew together  
about foure thousand horse and tenne thousand foot. To this warre, besides the money  
which the king did furnish out of his treasure, and that which the cardinall drew out of  
his coffers, the chanoons of Toledo did also contribute: for the cardinall knowing that  
money is that which maintaines and giues perfection vnto warre, hee would not make  
any iust proportion of the charge of this worke, or what it might amount vnto, but  
fought to gather so much together, as hee might haue an ouerplus. The execution of  
all these prouisions was much delayed, and the voyage almost broken, for many did still  
detract the Cardinall and his enterprize to the king, teaming it foolish and vnfit for a man  
of his coate, so as the king being almost altered, was in a manner resolu'd to referre it  
to another season: the which the commissaries, collectors, captains of galleies, gouernors  
of townes, and others hauing publique charges, perceiuing, there was not anie one that  
cared to doe his durtie, nor to obey *Pedro Nanarroes* commandement; there came  
not a shippe to Malaga, the victuals and munition which was not neere, were made  
deere for the cardinales men, who had not his money yet readie: the which *D. Pedro*  
seeing, he fought himselfe to diuert this expedition by another enterprize which he pro-  
pounded vpon some other parts in Africke; wherewith the cardinall was much perplex-  
ed, but hee must shew his magnanimity and perseverance: for then hee resolu'd to  
employ all his meanes, and friends, rather then to faile in that which hee had vnder-  
taken, which was published to all the world, and had bene a great dishonour to  
the king, to him, and to all Christendome, if after so great a shew of armes, they should  
retire without cause: the which hauing made knowne vnto the king with pertinent reasons,  
and vehement persuations, hee had answer from the king according to his desire, that al-  
though hee were dissuaded, yet hee would haue the armie passe into Africke at the first  
opportunitie, yet notwithstanding there grew new difficulties, the souldiers being  
hardly stayd, and the victuals and other prouisions, through the couetousnesse and  
malice of the commissaries, delaied, and in a manner denied, and many of the men armes  
gone backe: yet hee surmounted all these difficulties, making the rendes-vous for his  
armie at Carthage: he himselfe parting from Alcala, being accompanied with a  
great number of his friends and seruants in armes, where there were many Friars of his  
household, which girded themselues with swords vnder the habite of Saint Francis, hee  
came to Toledo, where hee made knowne vnto the Chapter the cause of his voyage,  
and hauing recommended the charge of the archbishopricke in his absence to *D. John de*  
*Velasco* bishop of Calaozza, he came to Carthage. Many of his chanoons desirous to  
see the world, would haue followed him, but he stayd two onely, and sent backe the  
rest: those two were *Francis Almaraz* learned in the lawes, and *Charles of Mendoza* Ab-  
bot of Saint Leocadie. Being readie to imbarque, the souldiers began to call for money,  
else they would not goe: the author of this sedition was a rascall of Alcala of Henares,  
called

<sup>A</sup> called *Arnold*, who had bene a broker in his youth: the which did somewhat trouble  
the cardinall, not knowing whether it had a further reach, being resolu'd not to giue  
the souldiers any money vntill they were past into Africke. *Vianello* master of the campe,  
caused as many of the seditious as hee could lay hand on to bee hanged, or to passe the  
pikes; wherewith too great severity, the Cardinall sent *Garcia Villarroello* yeto him,  
to admonish him to proceed more mildly for the loue and respect of his person, and  
the religious habite which hee bare, whom so great rigour did not befit, and the ra-  
ther for that manie of these souldiers were raised in his Archbishopricke, and were  
come to the warres for the loue of him, abandoning both wife and children. It is not well  
knowne in what maner *Garcia* deliuered his message to *Vianello*, but he made him a proud  
answer, to the disgrace of *Garcia*, and of the Cardinall himselfe; with which affront *D.*  
*Garcia* being incensed, he could not containe himselfe, but drew his sword and hurt *Vianello* very  
fore, and then he fled into a castle, whereas a kinsman of his was captayne,  
fearing the Cardinales indignation, who was much offended with these actions. *Vianello*  
himselfe hurt did somewhat stay the departure of the armie; in the meane time they got  
the mutined souldiers to imbarke, with promise that they should haue money as soone  
as they were on shippe boord, the which was performed. Being then imbarked, es-  
pecially by the care and policie of *Salazar* colonell of them of Toledo, they sawe in the  
Generales galley manie sakes full of crownes, deckt with bowes, and many barks a-  
bout it, drest in like maner, with a great noyse of trumpets and drummes, which made  
them forget all discontent, receiuing their pay with great ioy. The Cardinall did also  
imbarke, but hee was forced to stay some dayes for a winde, the which turning faire,  
they past happily into Africke, being foure score shippes of burthen, thirteene galleies,  
and many other smaller vessells, carrying tenne thousand foot, and foure thousand horse,  
with many marchants, victuallers, groomes, pioners and other people necessarie in a  
campe. The Spaniards which write of this action, say that the Cardinall at his departure  
from Carthage, had conceiued such a hope of victorie, as hee did sollicite the  
king by his letters to provide for the gard of Oran which he had already conquered, as-  
suring him that he might shortly make vse of the armie which he led, for his affaires of It-  
alie, whither hee himselfe would goe if need required, and that it should please him to  
command him. Hee was not deceiued in his conceit: but comming to the coast of Af-  
ricke on Ascension day, the whole countrey was presently aduertised by the watches and  
fiers which were made by the Moores, and all the Christians shippes came safely that  
night into the port of Mersalcabir, although it were verie darke. Hauing called a Coun-  
cell, it was resolu'd to seaze presently vpon the streit passage which is betwixt Mer-  
salcabir and Oran, whereas the beacon is set, and to bring the shippes of burthen in  
view of Oran, and to plant their batterie speedily, before that the Alarabes being ad-  
uertised from all parts, should gather together to make head, and hinder their descent.  
Vpon this resolution *Pedro Nanarro* caused all the vessells as soone as the souldiers were  
landed, to passe towards Oran, and presently to towle all the barks which should carry  
the horse, holding them vnnessefarie in a Countrey which was rough and vneuen: the  
which the Cardinall not vnderstanding so well as the other, hee held it for a disgrace  
which *Nanarro* meant to doe him, commanding the horse that they should follow by  
land as well as they could, disposing gardes in conuenient places, for feare of the Moores  
surprises, the which did serue to some purpose. The passage was attempted and woon,  
not without great difficultie, being defended by the Moores, and Alarabes, which  
came out of Oran: the which was in the meane time battered from the Christians  
shippes and galleies. It happened that many souldiers landing out of the galleies, they  
hindered the Moores and the Alarabes from flying into the towne, hauing bene cha-  
ged from the passage of the mountayne, and were pursued by *Pedro Nanarroes*  
troupes, so as the Citie wanting men to defend it, it was taken none knowes how:  
the souldiers climbing myraculously ouer the walles and rampiers, with the helpe of  
their pikes: the which being tryed by manie after the taking of it, they could not  
get

Vianello  
master of the  
campe  
hurt by Garcia  
Villarroello.

Army parts  
from Carthage  
generally.

Oran taken  
miraculously.



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get vp by reason of the height of the walles, and the weaknesse of theyr pikes, G  
so as this prise was held miraculous; *Safa* who carried the Cardinales comest was  
the first that mounted, crying *Saint Iago, Ximenes*; and victorie. The Moores say-  
ing both in defence and courage, that themselves into their Mesquites, or into their  
strongest houses; some held the market places, being resolved to die fighting. But the  
citie gates being broke open, and all the armie brought in, all this wretched multitude  
ranne towards the port which is towards Tremessen, to see if they might escape. But  
*Garcia Villarroello* was set there in gard with some horse, to put all them to the sword that  
should seeke to flee away. It happened that neere vnto that port there lay hidden in the  
gardens and other places couered with trees a hundred and fiftie horse *Alarabes*, of those  
which had beene chased from the passage of the mountaine, with no other intent but to  
H  
spoil the people that should flee out of the citie (such trecherous and couetous they pray,  
they bee) when as they saw these Christian horsemen, who watch also for their pray,  
they charged them sodainely and with such fury, as before they had viewed them, they  
slew tenne, and put the rest to flight, whereas *Garcias* horse was slaine. This accident  
gaue many poore Moores meanes to escape. Within the citie the victorious army putt all  
to the sword that they found in the streetes or houses, in hatred of their religion, not  
sparing neyther age nor sex, neyther did the care of the commanders and captaines pre-  
uaile any thing, who causing a retreat to be founded, called euery one backe into his  
quarter, the night approaching: for most of the souldiers being disperfed in the Moores  
houses and streetes, hauing fed well, fell so soundly asleepe among the dead bodies, as  
I  
many of them could not bee awaked the next day at noone: wherefore it was needefull  
that the Earle *Pedro Namarro* and the captaines with troups chosen out of their best men  
to watch that night. *Pedro Namarro* being sufficiently aduertised of the Moores subtil-  
ties, did neuer dilame, neyther did he sleepe, vntill hee saw all things assured, perform-  
ing therein the dutie of a well aduised captaine. The Moores which had fortified them-  
selves in their Mesquites and other places, being summoned to yeeld, and refusing, de-  
felling the conquerors crueltie, were forced. In this slaughter there was a miserable  
spectacle of a little infant which stroue to take the mothers duggie being slaine. There  
were slaine as some write, about foure thousand, and about fife thousand prisoners, or  
K  
only thirtie. The spoile of that citie was esteemed to be worth about 500000 crownes,  
the which is credible, for they hold that there were fiftene hundred store-houses, or  
marchants shoppes. To conclude, all men made themselves rich there, yea the verie  
horse boyes. The cardinall being in the fort of *Mersalcabir* having had intelligence of  
the winning of the citie of Oran, caused himselfe to be conducted thither in the gallies,  
where hee entred with great acclamations, causing a crosse to be carried before him:  
thence hee receiued the keyes of the Alcazaa, that is to say, of the chiefe fort, from  
whence there were drawne about 300 poore Christian prisoners and set at libertie.  
The spoyle being all gathered together, and kept to be presented vnto him, that he might  
L  
dispose thereof as generall of the army, hee retained nothing for himselfe, but onely cau-  
sed certain things to be layd a part for the king: he did separte also a part for the com-  
moditie and vse of the army in generall, leaving the rest to the captaines and souldiers:  
many of the which who had shewed themselves most valiant he honoured with presents.  
It was no small difficultie to cleanse the towne of dead bodies, which did already stinke,  
and were likely to corrupt the ayre, for the number being great, after that they had bu-  
ried many in great and deepe pittes, and burnt many, yet did they many dayes after  
finde some in the streetes and houses; besides, there were few men that would busie  
themselves to bury the dead, for there was not so great gaine, as in killing them that  
were liuing. They found about three score peeces of ordonance, and an infinite number  
of other engins for defence, so as it is admirable, that a towne so well peopled and so  
well fortified made no defence, being assured of succours from the *Alarabes*, vagabonds  
and mercenaries of *Africke*, whereof they had meane to entertaine good numbers. True it  
is that some say this city was taken by practise and treason plotted by the Cardinall,  
and

Treacheries of  
the mercenarie  
Moors.'Duties of a well  
advised cap-  
taine,Number of  
them that were  
slaine at Oran.Distribution of  
the spoyle at O-  
ran.

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Oran taken by  
practise as some  
hold.

A and by the ministerie of *Martin Argoto* of Cordoua, and *Alonso* of Martos prisoners  
in Oran, since the defeat of *D. Diego Fernandes* gouernor of *Mersalcabir*, and that these  
two did corrupt *Hamet Acenax*, or *Aben Canex*, and *Isaël Otaybi* receivers of the reuenue  
which the king of Tremessen had there, and a Iew dwelling at Oran, called *Cetora*,  
who were the cause that the ports were shut against the *Alarabes* which were repul-  
sed, from the passage of the mountaine, of the watch, and gaue entrie to the Spaniards:  
the cardinall hauing had aduice by these traitors, that he must assaile the towne the day after  
his arrival, for if he delayed it, he should be deceived of his expectation, for that the king  
of Tremessen had a mighty army which marcht to succour the city. And they say, that he  
that was captaine of the Alcazaa or fort of Oran, called *Cedrin*, was kinsman to *Acenax*,  
B and a partisan of his treason, the which is probable: for in truth the Spaniards did first  
enter into Oran by the fort. The cardinall hauing cleansed the Mesquites, the chiefe of  
them was dedicated to the Annunciation, and another to *Saint Iaques*: hee made an  
hospital called *Saint Bernard*, and two Couents, one of Franciscan Friars, and the o-  
ther of Iacobins, and hauing ordered all things concerning religion the best he could, he  
left the care of state and warre to *Pedro Namarro*, and so returned into Spaine, for there  
was no good agreement among them. The cardinall spent a whole yeere in these mat-  
ters, for he arrived in Spaine the same day that he parted: He did erect a dignitie with  
the title of an Abbot in regard of this victorie, to the which hee assigned a seate in his  
church of Toledo.

C 18 This yeere, one thousand fife hundred and nine, *D. Catherine Infanta* of Castille,  
widow to *Arthur* prince of Wales, was married to *Henrie* king of England, the eight of  
that name, brother to her deceased husband, who was that yeere come to the crowne,  
by the decease of their father *Henrie* the seventh, and was crowned on *Saint Iohn* Bap-  
tists day, which by reason thereof was solemnized with extraordinary pompe in Cas-  
tille by king *Ferdinand*: who to perform the articles of the league made at Cambray, sent  
at the same time a sea-army to the realme of Naples: wherefore the Viceroy of Naples  
beganne to shew himselfe vpon the coast of Apulia in shew of an enemy, to force the  
Venetians to yeeld vnto the king his master, the townes of *Manfredonia*, *Trani*, *Monopoli*,  
Beindez and Otranto, which had beene engaged vnto them, during the precedent  
D warres with France. The Pope, the Emperour, and the French King did likewise invade  
them, the euent whereof I will forbear to relate, it belonging not to this Historie of  
Spaine.

During the warre against the Venetians, there was a controuersie reconciled betwixt  
the emperor *Maximilian*, and king *Ferdinand*, touching the gouernement of Castille,  
after the death of king *Philip*. The emperor thought, that being grandfather by the fa-  
thers side vnto prince *Charles* the heire of that realme, and of his brother and sisters, *D.*  
*Ferdinand*, *D. Leonora*, *D. Maria*, *D. Isabella* and *D. Caterina*, issued of his sonne and *D.*  
*Isane*, and therefore pretending right in Castille, it was more fit that hee should haue  
the gouernement, than the king *D. Ferdinand*, their grandfather by the mothers side;  
E but king *Ferdinand*'s title seemed to be the better, for that *D. Isane* his daughter, the pro-  
prietary Queene of Castille was yet liuing, and that it was an vnwoorthy thing that the  
gouernement of a realme, which had beene honored and enlarged by him with such great  
conquests, should be taken from him, to give it vnto strangers. This controuersie was  
ended by the mediation of the French king, vpon these conditions, That the king *D.*  
*Ferdinand* should gouerne the realme of Castille, *Leon* &c. in case hee had no sonne by  
queene *Germaine*, vntill that prince *Charles* should come to the age of fife and twentie  
yeeres, at which time hee should resign the gouernement vnto the prince, with this  
charge, that during the life of queene *Isane* his mother hee should not intitle himselfe  
F king of Castille: That during this time king *Ferdinand* should pay vnto the emperor fifty  
thousand ducats yearly, and to prince *Charles* other great summes of money; and that  
persisting in the accords of the league made at Cambray, hee should contribute to the  
warre of Lombardie against the Venetians. After this accord the Emperour and the  
French King vnderstood, to their great grieue, what the Pope and King *Ferdinand* had  
done with the Venetians.

Army of Spaine  
sent to annoy  
the Venetians.Controuersie be-  
twixt the emper-  
our Maximili-  
an & king Fer-  
dinand recon-  
ciled.



*Practises of  
pope Iulio the 2.  
against the  
French.*

19 The pope doubting that the French king who was mighty in Italie, would seeke some reuenge against him, he began to study by what means he might diuert him from Italy, and if occasion were offered to expell him quite: wherefore he drew the Suiſſes vnto him, hee did sollicite the king of England to make war against the French, and did what hee could to cause D. Ferdinand to declare himselfe their enemy; but the Popes practises were then of small effect, for England stirred not, & king Ferdinand seeing that the French king made no shew that hee meant to annoy the pope, hee persisted in some fort in the league of Cambray, saying that hee would according to the treatie made with the emperor, assist him in the warre of Lombardie whither he sent foure hundred horse, and two thousand Spaniſh foote, vnder the command of the duke of Termini. The pope fearing that the Venetians ruine would also cause that of the state of Rome, and of the other potentates of Italy, he fought to haue some pretext to quarrell with the French king, hoping that if hee declared himselfe his enemy, with any colour he should sway the league of Cambray much; wherefore he tooke an occasion for that king Lewis fauored Alphonſo of Este duke of Ferrara, against whom hee had a quarrell, punishing him with his spirituall and temporall armes: and to gratifie king Ferdinand and to draw him to his deuotion, hee confirmed vnto him the possession of the realme of Naples, with the said conditions that the king of Arragon his predecessors had formerly held it: the which hee had before refused, and moreover hee drew a promise from the king, to aide him with three hundred men at armes, if need were, for the defence of the territories of the church. King Ferdinand foreseeing and fearing the miseries that might ensue, if the French king and the pope should grow to an open quarrell, hee did all good offices to reconcile them, but hee could not: for the pope was obstinately bent to oppress the duke of Ferrara, and the king held it dishonourable for him to abandon his allies: whereupon king Lewis moued with a iust indignation, began to treat a new league against pope Iulio, with the emperor and other princes and potentates of Christendome, persuading Maximilian as emperor, to pursue the vniuing of the lands held in Italie by the popes belonging rightly vnto the empire, and that the Germans and French ioyntly should demaund a generall Councell, for the reformation of the pope and clergie: and to giue some forme thereunto for his part, hee called an assembly of the prelates of France, in manner of a Nationall Councell, in the citie of Orleans, to the end they should withdraw themselves from the popes obedience by a decree. The prelates hauing transferred the assembly from Orleans to Towers, they drew some articles to be presented vnto the pope in the name of the French church, and in case hee did refuse them, then to protest that they did not acknowledge him for their superiour, appointing in that respect another assembly within fixe months after, of the clergie of France. To this enterprise the king had drawne some cardinals, namely D. Bernardin of Caruajal bishop of Siguenſa cardinal of Saint Croix a Spaniard, who had bene apostolike legat in the emperours court, hoping to make king Ferdinand to yeeld vnto it, for the respect hee bare vnto the emperor. The pope besides the interest of the Venetians and of all Italy which did moue him, being in heart an irreconcilable enemy to the French, and to all them beyond the mountaines, he desired nothing but troubles, as appeared by his courses. In the mean time king Ferdinand, by reason of an army of Turkes which had bene discovered neere vnto Orranto, was forced to call home his souldiers which he had sent into Lombardie, in fauour of the league of Cambray: which made the emperor and French king suspect that hee would ioyne with the pope; whereupon they sent vnto him to know his intent: whereunto king Ferdinand made a plaine answer, without any ambiguitie, that although by reason of the fee of Naples, hee had furnished the pope with some horsemen, yet hee meant not for all that to leaue the league of Cambray, but would entertaine it more then before: and therefore hee promised to send his souldiers backe into Lombardie: but as for the other league which they treated of, hee could not yeeld vnto it, and much lesse that which concerned a generall councell, for that, sayd this catholike king, it were a scandalous thing, and would trouble all Christendome; being most apparent, that this councell was not propounded but to offend the pope, whom both he and all Christian Princes did acknowledge to be Christs vicar in the church of God: and that peace and vnion should be

*Councell pro-  
pounded to re-  
forme the pope.*

*Cardinal of S.  
Croix a Spani-  
ard against the  
pope.*

*Excuses made  
by king Ferdi-  
nand for not  
yeelding to a  
councell.*

A bee the end of all holy councells, wherefore hee excused himselfe from entering into any other league, then that of Cambray, exhorting them for the tranquillitie of the state of Christendome (tome and dismembred with warre) to hearken to some good agreement with the Pope, notwithstanding which answer the French king and the Emperour made a new League, for the executing of the league of Cambray against the Venetians, leauing libertie for the Pope to enter within fixe monethes, and for the kings of Spaine and Hungarie within foure: and if the Pope should refuse to enter into their league, then they would call a generall Councell: for the effecting whereof, the Emperour should assemble the Prelates in Germany, as the French king had done them in France. Thus, great miseries did threaten Italie, through the obstinacy of Pope Iulio.

20 Whilst that the Christian Princes of Europe treated of these things in the yearre one thousand five hundred and tenne, the coast of Africke was much annoyed by the army of Spaine, of the which the earle Pedro Nauarro was generall, who tooke the citie of Bugia, which had bene a great Vniuersity for the Moores; the which strooke so great a terrour throughout all Africke, as the towne of Algier and many places vpon that coast became tributaries to the crowne of Castille, agreeing with Pedro Nauarro what annual rent they should paie, and sending embassadors into Spain, who brought with them 50 Christian slaves, and they landed at Valencia, at such time as king Ferdinand hauing left the Infant D. Ferdinand his grand-child with Cardinal Ximenes, whom they called the Cardinal of Spain, and the councell at Valladolid, he came into Arragon, and called the estates of the realmes to Monſon. The earle Pedro Nauarro continuing his conquests, hee woone Tripoli in Barbarie: and soone after, about the middle of August, D. Garcia Aluarez of Toledo arrived at Gelbes with some ships and Spaniſh souldiers, the which hee ioyned to the army of D. Pedro Nauarro. D. Garcia was eldest sonne to D. Frederic of Toledo duke of Alua, a gallant knight, but vnforgunate in this expedition, for hauing landed in that countie with his troopes, hee was fought with all, vanquished and slaine vpon the place by the Arabians, and could not be relieved by the earles army, which was at sea, his men before they came to fight with the enemy, being almost dead with thirst which they had endured in that drie and barren countie. Some did taxe the earle D. Pedro Nauarro for this rout of D. Garcia, saying, that hee would not succour him as he might, being discontented and ialous of his comming in qualitie of generall of that lamentable enterprise.

21 At the west Indies Diego of Nicuesa had not much better successe in his Colonie of Nombre de Dios, which was built vpon the firme land. Those also that were in the Colonie of the Antique of Darien were also in mutinies & seditions among themselves, raised by a great souldier, but verie mutinous, called Vasco Nugnes, of Balboa, borne at Badajoz, who had incensed some of the people, against the bachelor Martin Hernandez, of Enciso, who was appointed gouernour in that place by the king: but the Bachelers Letters were vnforgunately lost, whenas hauing caused Francisco Picaro, and the companions of Hoieda to returne with him, the ship wherein hee was, was cast away at his comming to Vraba: wherefore Vasco Nugnes hauing quarreled with him, saying, that such charges did not belong to Bachelers, and hee opposing to the contrary that he had receiued it from the king, he could not shew it: so as there was great & long contention betwixt them, vntill the comming of Rodrigo Henriques of Colmenares, with two carauels laden with victuals and prouisions, and 70 men, who went from the port of Beata of S. Domingo, to seeke out Hoiedas companions. He being come to a place called Garia, had landed with fifty Spaniards, to fetch water, but they were instantly charged by a great number of Indian archers, who slue 47 and tooke the rest aliue, and then they ate them all: whereupon Rodrigo dislodging, he entered into the gulph of Vraba, where he found some steps and marks of the Spaniards landing: wherefore he shot off certain peeces of ordnance, and made a great smoake, to giue aduertisement that he was on shoare, to end that if there were any Spaniards they should answer him. Those of the Antique of Darien perceiving the smoake, and hearing the shot, made answer in like maner: wherefore

*Excuses made  
by king Ferdi-  
nand for not  
yeelding to a  
councell.*

*Bugia taken by  
Pedro Nauarro.  
Algier tributary  
to Castille.*

*Tripoli in Ba-  
barie taken.*

*D. Garcia Al-  
uarez of Toledo  
slaine by the A-  
rabians.*

*Behaviour of  
the Spaniards  
at the west In-  
dies. Seditions  
among them.*

1510

force *Colmenares* directed his course that way, where he was receiued with great ioy. The Spaniards were relieued by him of their miseries & pouertie: for had he not arrived, they had been cut in peeces, or perished for hunger. *Roderigo Henriquez* of Colmenares labored in such sort as he did pacifie these mutines of the Antique of Darien, making them all consent, except *Vasco Nugnes* of Balboa, and the Bachelor *Martin Hernandez* of Enciso, who were the heads of the factions, that the superintendency & authority should bee giuen to *Diego Xuñesca*, as to him who had order from the king to command. And then *Colmenares* set saile towards the fort of Nombre de Dios, with one ship & a brigatin, & hauing found *Diego Xuñesca* there poor, he did comfort him with good news of his election, so as after much discourse of his misfortunes, he embarked him 60 with his companions, to carry him to the Antique of Darien: but *Niñesca* being an indiscreet man, & full of arrogancy, he began in his voyage to braue & threaten them which had not yet received him for their magistrat, saying, he would reach *Balboa* and *Enciso*, the authors of these factions, to hazard the affairs of the king their master by their diuisions, & that he would punish them severely, and put others in their places, that he would take away their gold, & doe many other wonders: which words proceeding as from a mad man, displeased *Roderigo Henriquez* of Colmenares, and others of his company, who failed not to make report thereof to them of the Antique, yea to the 2 heads of the factions, who receiued *Niñesca* with 1000 scoffes & injuries, making him to take another course with his 60 companions. This wretched directing his voyage to the Iland of Hispaniola, with an intent to accuse the bachelor *Enciso*, & *Vasco Nugnes* of Balboa, before the admiral *D. Diego Columbus*, eldest sonne to *Christopher Columbus*, then lieutenant general or viceroy in those countries, in the place of the commander *Nicholas* of Ouato, he perished at sea, with all his company. The distention betwixt *Enciso* & *Balboa* continuing, *Roderigo Henriquez* of Colmenares did adhere to *Vasco Nugnes*, of Balboa, who shewed himself so proud & rash as he not only attempted to put the bachelor *Martin* into prison, & to confiscate his goods, but, if some had not staied him, he was resolved to do him a publike shame, which he himselfe did better deserue.

1511

The yere 1511 being come, in the which king *Ferdinand* after the assembly of Moson, being returned to Madrid, & grieving for the death of *D. Garcia Aluarez* of Toledo, and of his men at Gelbes, he caused a great fleet to be made ready in the ports of Malaga, Gibaltar & Calis, being resolved to go in person into Africke, & to make war against the Infidels: from the which he was diuerted, by the intreaties of the estates of his realms, shewing him the inconueniences which were to be feared, if his person should miscarie, beseeching him to giue the charge of that war to his captains. The hatred betwixt the Pope and French king, was very great: the Pope did besiege Miradola, with such vehemency, being himselfe at the siege in person (against the aduice of the colledge, & the dignity of his papal estate) that he took it, and hauing put 500 Spaniards, & 300 Italiās there in garrison, he took the way to Bolenia, the princes seeking to quench this fire by all good means, yea the king *D. Ferdinand* by his embassadors, *D. Ierome Vich* of Valécia in the court of Rome, & *D. Pedro* of Vtrea, in that of the emperor, whom he desired to reconcile with the Venetians, hoping that the French king would afterwards yeeld vnto it: intreating them all to giue him this contentment, to see Christendom at peace, that he might with more liberty attend the war of Africke; an enterprize which by reason should please, and be fauoured by all Christian Princes: but he labored particularly to diuert the emperor from proceeding to an assembly or conuocation of the Prelates of Germany, concerning a Councell, the which hee did vterly disallow: propounding instead thereof an assembly of embassadors in the city of Mantoua, to consult of a pacification. By his care and diligence this assembly was made, and there met at Mantoua, for him the abouenamed embassadors: for the emperor sent the bishop of Gurgensis, and for the French king, the bishop of Paris, whose labour proved fruitlesse. The time was come in regard of the league of Cambray to retyre king *Ferdinand* three hundred men at armes, which had serued the Pope, wherefore these horsemen being retained longer then was agreed, they returned to Naples. The Pope being obstinate and furious, not caring for the Emperour, and much lesse for the French king, was forced to dislodge from Bolenia, for feare of the French army, which did approach, which city, either for that it was abandoned by them he left there,

King Ferdinand  
opposeth against  
the calling of  
a Councell.

or

A or by intelligence with the Bentiuoli, came into the power of king *Lewis*, without any difficulty: and soone after there were bills set vp in the publike places at Mantoua, and at Bolenia, declaring that a generall councell was assigned in September that yere 1511, to the which (the Pope and his adherents being accused of many crimes) were cited: for the which the Pope (being a cholericke and furious man) thought to run mad, calling those Cardinals which were opposite vnto him, wicked Sectaries, vsurpers of the Soueraigne bishops authority, to whom only (said he) it did belong to call a councell, inciting the Vniuersities, and faculties of diuinitie, who declared this act to be hereticall. The Emperour had made offer as a fir place, and fatall to disordred Popes, of the cite of Constance, Turin had also bene propounded, but *Pisa* was held most conuenient. The fury of this war was so great in Italie, as king *Ferdinand* (being zealous of his realm of Naples) sent three thousand Spaniards to his viceroy *D. Raymond* of Cardonea, vnder the command of *Pedro Nauarero*, earle of Albeto, still doubting that king *Lewis* did gape after it, notwithstanding the accords made in regard of the marriage of Queene *Germaine*, and hee deferred his voyage of Africke, attending the issue of these troubles, and of the councell of *Pisa*, the chief fauourers whereof, were the Cardinals of S. Croix a Spaniard, Bayeux, Saint Malo, Albret, brother to *John* of Albret king of Nauarre, Frenchmen; they of Cosenia, & Saint Seuerin, Italians: but Pope *Julius*, for that he would not seeme to faile in his pastoral office, pretending that the calling of a councell did belong to him, and to disperse that of *Pisa*, hee did publish another at Saint Iohn de Latran in Rome: the which wrought great effects in the hearts of princes, and of religious people which did abhor schismes. So as notwithstanding that the French king had sent 24 bishops to *Pisa*, in the behalfe of the Clergie of France, expecting that the emperor according to their accord should do the like for the Clergie of Germany, yet whether retained by conscience or otherwise, he neither sent bishops nor embassadors, finding sometimes one euasion sometimes another.

23 King *Ferdinand* being also solicited by the Pope, and (as it is credible) hauing good intelligence with him, he made a publike declaration, that seeing neither by intreaties, nor persuasions, he could not diuert the French king from his resolution to disquiet the Apostolike see, hee tooke it into his protection: and it is likely that the emperor *Maximilian* had beene also wonne by these two. This declaration was made at Seuille; whether soone after came letters from the councell of *Pisa*, summoning king *Ferdinand* to send his Prelates, and embassadors thither, whereof hee made no accompt: whereupon he passed from Seuille and came to Burgos, from whence as the Spaniards say, he sent to *John* of Albret king of Nauarre, to intreat him not to beleue the councell of the Cardinal his brother, nor to adhere in any sort to that false Councell of *Pisa*. Yet the king of Nauarre ioined with the French king, & was declared a schismaticke; which made king *Ferdinand* to invade his realm, as we wil shew. And being now come to open war king *Ferdinand* sent the whole army which he had prepared for Africk to Naples, whereof he made *D. Alfonso* of Caruajal, son to *D. Diego* of Caruajal, Lord of Xodar, general, and one called *Camudio*, Colonnell of the foot. In this army were 3000 foot, and some 1100 horse, whereof 600 were light horse. During his abode at Burgos, he had news that Pope *Julius* was fallen dangerously sicke, so as there was neither hope of life nor recovery, the which held many potentates in suspence, fearing some great alteration, but he recovered. From Burgos he sent embassadors to *Henry* king of Englad his son in law, to moue him to make war against the French king vpon his old pretenensions; against whom & his Councell of *Pisa*, there was a league made, which had bin breeding betwixt the king *D. Ferdinand*, the Pope, & the Venetians, since the beginning of these quarrels, vnder colour to defend the rights of the Apostolike see, to disperse the schismaticall & hereticall councell of *Pisa*, for the recoveries of the cities of Bolenia & Ferrara, & the restoring of them to the church. King *Ferdinand* did offer for this war 12 hundred men at armes, one thousand light horse, & 10000 Spanissh foot, the Signiory of Venice eight hundred men at armes, one thousand horse, and 8000 foot, & the Pope 400 men at armes, five hundred light horse, & 6000 foot: Moreover 12 galleys for the king *D. Ferdinand*, & 14 for the Venetians: making *D. Raymond* of Cardone viceroy of Naples, generall of this warre: for the entertainment of which army the Pope should furnish tweury thousand ducats a month, and the Venetians as much, and forty thousand

Cardinals  
favouring  
the  
council of Pisa

Warre betwixt  
France and  
Spaine.

League betwixt  
king Ferdinand  
the Pope and  
the Venetians.

1511

thousand presently: and this league was published at Rome, in the church of Santa Maria del populo, in Octob. this year one thousand five hundred and 11, into the which the king of England should be admitted, if he would. After which they did admonish & proceeded against the Cardinals which disobeyed the Pope with the accustomed ceremonies, solemnities, and delays, to bring the into the bosom of the holy mother church, that is to say, to the Councell assigned by the Pope at Saint John de Latran: which if they disobeyed, they should be deprived of their dignities and livings, and punished as schismatics and hereticks; which act was celebrated by the Pope, in his pontificall habit, and in a consistorie of seven partiall Cardinals. Those of the contrarie faction, notwithstanding all this, began to hold the councell of Pisa, whereas the Florentines would not suffer 3 hundred Frenchmen at armes to enter, which the Fathers and Prelates demanded for their gard, being led by *Gaston* of Foix, the kings nephew, and duke of Nemours, fearing least they should seafe vpon that city for the French king. The fathers comming to the first session, they were so mockt by the people, & receiued so many indignities, as they were forced to transerre the councell of Pisa to Milan, where they had neither more honor, nor better vsage, notwithstanding that they were in the French kings dominion, where they held their second session, the Cardinall of Saint Croix a Spaniard being president; where they attended the prelates of Germany, and the Emperors ambassadors in vaine, but they wanted no excuses.

Order of the  
conception of  
Nunnes.

These seeds of warre being cast among christians, Pope *Julio* doing his duty in matters, of religion, he confirmed the new order of the conception of Nunnes, instituted in the citie of Toledo some yeares before, by one of the ladies of Queene *Isabell*, who was second wife to king *John* the 2, her name was *D. Beatrice de Silva*, of Portugal, who being suspected by her mistresse, for that by reason of her great beauty, many courted her, and there grew daileie quarrels among the courtiers, she was put in prison, where being kept three daies in teares and heauines, without bread or drinke, shee was moued to make a vow of chastity, and for this cause, they say, the virgin *Mary* appeared vnto her in the habit which the Nunnes doe now weare, that is, a blew cloake, and a white hood, and did comfort her. Being out of prison, and going to Toledo, with an intent to be a religious woman, there appeared two Franciscane friers vnto her, which sight made her think that they were sent to coöfesse her, & then she should be put to death: but these fathers told her that she should be the mother of many daughters, declaring vnto her the spiritual vnderstanding of it, that it should be of many religious women, & then they vanished: wherefore she going on her way, being come to Toledo, she put herselfe into the monasterie of religious women, of *S. Dominike* the royal, where she remained 30 yeeres in a secular habit, liuing holily; afterwards she remoued with 12 nuns to a place where now *S. Foy* is, which in former times was called the palace of *galiena*, being desirous to institute an order in honor of the virgin *Mary*, and there she remained with her company, by the permission of the queen *D. Isabel*, wife to the king *D. Ferdinand* now reigning, vntill that the habit was confirmed vnto them by Pope *Innocent* the eight, & the office of the conception, vnder the rule of *Cristeaux*, without any other new order: in the which hauing continued some time, they ioyned with the Nunnes of Saint Peter de las Dueñas, of the order of Saint *Benet*, making a medley of the rules of the *Benedictins* & *Bernardines*, vntill that Cardinall *Francis Ximenes*, then prouinciall of the Franciscans, and generall reformer in Spaine, made them to leaue the rules of Saint *Bernes* and Saint *Bernard*, and to take the habit and the Office of the conception, vnder the rule of Saint *Clare*, putting them into the monasterie which at this day is called of the Conception, which was wont to bee the conuent of *Franciscane* Friers, transported by reason of them to *S. Iohn des Rois*. There this yere 1511 Pope *Julio* confirmed them in their owne rule and order of the conception, leauing that of *S. Clare*. This yere all the coast of *Affrike* was terrified vpon the brute of the great preparation which had been made in Spaine, to invade them: The king of *Tremessen* sent his ambassadors to king *Ferdinand*, to offer him vassalage, and a tribute of 13000 double ducats of gold payable in the citie of *Oran*. In Spaine there died *D. Beatrice* of *Bouadilla*, Marquesse of *Moya*, and soone after her husband *D. Andrew de Cabrera*.

The yere one thousand five hundred and twelue following, king *Ferdinand* ha-

uing

1511

ving vnderaken the Popes defence, hee committted *D. Raymond* of *Cardona* viceroy of *Naples*, appointed generall of the holy league, to ioine his forces with the Popes and Venetians; the which was done at *Imola*, where they made the body of the army, in the which was Legate for the Pope Cardinall *John* of *Medicis*, of the tide of *Santa Maria* in *Dominica*. These forces: sitting into *Lombardie*, in a manner all that the duke of *Ferrara* held of this side *Po*, yielded vnto the league, without any force, but *La Bastie*, which the earle *Pedro Nauarro* tooke: and then they camped before *Bolonia*: but *Gaston* of *Foix* duke of *Nemours*, a gallant young nobleman comming to releuee it, the army of the league was forced to retire to *Imola*. On the other side the Venetians tooke *Bresse*, but not the Castle, and *Bergamo*, with other places were yielded vnto them: but the duke of *Nemours* comming to succour the castle of *Bresse*, hee encountered *John Paul Baillois* vpon the way, with part of the Venetian army; and put them to rout, and then hee entred the towne and put eight thousand Venetians and inhabitants to the sword, hee tooke *Andrew Griiti* their commander prisoner, with *Anthonye Iustinien*, and other men of great quality: and soone after recouered *Bergamo*, and all the places which the Venetians had taken. In the meane time king *Ferdinand* prepared a fleet in the ports of *Biscaye* and *Guipulcoa*, to assaile France vpon the coast of *Guienne*, hauing induced the king of *England* to reuieue the old quarrell; who at the perswasion of the Popes embassador, had made an assemblie of the Prelates of his realme, and promised to send to the Councell of *Latran*: and for a greater demonstration of his hatred, hee caused the French ambassadors which did reside in his court to dislodge.

Exploit of  
Gaston of  
Foix.

25 During these troubles, the king *D. John*, and the Queene *D. Catherine* of *Nauarre*, his wife, did enioy their realme in peace, since the expulsion of the earle of *Lerin* the Constable, and of *Lewis* of *Beaumont* his sonne, with others of that faction: then all their care was to restore it to the ancient estate, and the places reunited which were distracted and held by the king of *Castille*: for the which, and to demand other rights which they pretended; they had sent many ambassadors to king *Ferdinand*, who had returned with good hope to obtaine what they desired; of the greater part: wherefore they sent againe doctor *John* of *Alasu* Seignior of *Pamierie*, *Ladron* of *Monleon*, and the Protonotarie *Martin* of *laureguislar*, who were of the councell, with ample instructions to capitulate, compound, and end all their pretentions, in this form: That they should intreat the king of *Aragon*, Regent of *Castille*, that if he made any accord with the French king, the kings of *Nauarre* might be comprehended. That the ambassadors should make great instance to king *Ferdinand* that the townes of *Saint Vincent*, *Sos*, *Arcois*, *Garde* and *Bernedo*, and moreover the places of *Sofietra*, held by him, and the crowne of *Castille*, might bee restored vnto them according vnto the will of the deceased Queene *D. Isabella* at her death, as places belonging to the Crowne of *Nauarre*: That in like manner they should demand as hereditarie things, the Duchies of *Gandie*, & of *Mombanc*, the earldome of *Ribagorfa* and the citie of *Salaguer* in *Aragon*; the duchie of *Pegnafel*, and the Infantazgo of *Castille*, the townes of *Cuellar*, *Castro Xeris*, *Haro*, *Villalon*, and other lands; and moreover the summe of foure hundred and twenty thousand a hundred and twelue florins of gold, fixe soulz and eight deniers of *Aragon*, giuen in dowrie by king *Charles* the third of *Nauarre*, to his sonne in law, *D. Iohn* king of *Aragon*: These were the pretentions of the kings of *Nauarre* against *Castille*; for the which they had beene fed with many vaine hopes, that reason should be done therein: but in effect king *Ferdinand* shewed by his delays that he had no such meaning, & that he expected some other occasion to acquit himselfe, and yet not to leaue any thing that he held: wherein the best euasion hee had was the restitution of them of *Beaumont*, which he knew to be most odious to the kings of *Nauarre*. The ambassadors hauing done their duties, and lost many iourneys in following the court of *Castille*, they returned without any effect, discharging themselves vnto their kings *D. Iohn* and *D. Catherine*, who were in *France*: whereupon they returned into *Nauarre*, whereas being, when as the above-mentioned warres were hottest in *Italie*, king *Ferdinand* who had a designe to leade an Armye into *Gascogne*, in fauour of the English, sent a

Embassage of  
Nauarre to  
king Ferdinand

Q999 ij

demand

demaund a passage of them for his souldiers victuals, and munition, and for his assurance, they should giue him in hostage, the castles of Estelle and Maye in Nauarre, and that of Saint John de pied de Port, vpon the frontiers, of Fraunce: promising them, as hee had done at other times, in requittall of this pleasure, to restore vnto them the townes of Saint Vincent, Arcos, Garde, and others, of the principallitie of Viana. The king D. John, and D. Katherine were much troubled at this demaund, for they sawe themselves much ingaged to either of these two realmes of France and Castille, so as in the quarrels of these great Monarchs, taking the party of the one, they declared themselves enemies to the other, and being neters, they were a pray to both. Being thus in suspence, their owne vncle Amad of Albrer, Lord of Obal, being then in their court ambassador for France, made them to adhere taking Lewis his master, promising them infinite fauours, and aduancements, from which Mondogredo ambassador for the king of Castille sought in vaine to diuert them, shewing them the miseries that would ensue. King Ferdinand being presently aduertised hereof, hee thought it a fit occasion to further his designs, and to write the crowne of Nauarre to that of Castille: wherefore hee made great complaints of this resolution and adherence of the kings of Nauarre to the French king, whom hee called schismaticall, and an enemy to the church of Rome, and to Pope Iulio; who hauing vsed the ordinarie meanes, by admonitions and fatherly persuasions to these princes, according to the forme and stile of Rome, to quit the allyance of the perpetuall, and to ioyne with him and his adherents, seeing that they did persist to hold the party of France, hee proceeded against them by the last remedie, declaring them by the aduice of the consistorie of Cardinalls; schismatickes and heretikes, depriving them and their posteritie, of all right to the realme of Nauarre, and of all their goods, giuing and transferring them to king Ferdinand regent of Castille, whose forces being prepared to passe into Guienne, did send him sily to conquer Nauarre. King John of Albrer vnderstanding of all these proceedings, hee sent D. Alfonso Carrillo, his constable, and D. Pedro of Nauarre marshall of the realme, ambassadors, to present, if it were possible, these apparent dangers, who hauing found Lewis of Beaumont, and other banished men in the court of Castille, much fauoured, soliciting D. Ferdinand to vnderstande the enterprise of Nauarre, holding it to bee the onely meanes for them to bee restored, they were so ill entertained, as they made all the hast they could to returne, to make report vnto the king and to the estates assembled at Tudele, that all things tended to warre. King Ferdinand hauing the Popes sentence for a pretext to assaile this countrey, and for meanes the intelligences of many fauorers, of the faction of Beaumont, hee held it an easie matter to conquer it: wherefore hee deferred the warre of Guienne: yet for his greater iustification hauing gathered his armie together about the citie Victoria, whereof Frederic of Toledo duke of Alua was the generall, hee sent againe to summon the kings of Nauarre to deliuer into his hands the aboue named places and castles, aduertising them that vpon refusal thereof, hee would put the Popes sentence in execution, and spoile them not onely of Nauarre, but of all that they held in France. Notwithstanding all these protestations, king John refused him the passage, and the delimerie of the castles, obiecting the league and allyance which hee had with the French king, neither could hee persuade himselfe that king Ferdinand, whom hee had neuer offended, should pursue him with such rigour as hee said, but hee found himselfe deceived, for the duke of Alua had commandement presently, that leauing the way of Guipuscoa, he should enter into Nauarre, to conquer it. At that time by the death of D. Bernardin of Velasco, first duke of Frias, & 3 earle of Haro, his brother and heire, D. Inigo of Velasco was made constable of Castille. There dyed also that yere D. John de Sylua, earle of Cisuentes, president of the council, and Ferdinand infant of Granado, sonne to king Maiey Alboacen. In Germany the emperor who fought but an occasion to breake with the French king, had called an assembly of the Prelates at Ausbourg, who declared the counsell of Pisa to bee odious, and worthy to bee reiected: The emperor had in like sort refused the marriage which had bin offered by king Lewis of his second daughter Renee with prince Charles

King of Nauarre adheres to the French king.

Sentence giuen by the Pope against John Albrer king of Nauarre.

Demands vncle will made by king Ferdinand to him of Nauarre.

Castille.

- A of Austria, and the restitution of that which he held in Bourgondie: Yet the warre continued still in Italie, and successfull for the French, who hauing taken many places in Romania, and deliuered them to the cardinall of S. Seuerin, who was created Apostolike Legat for the Councell at Pisa, they besieged Rauenna, which the armie of the league comming to succour, the French defeated them in battell, but with the losse of their Generall Gaston of Foix, duke of Nemours, who pressing the enemy that fled, was slaine. The losse of this battell much troubled the Pope and all the cardinals at Rome, and their only care was how to auoyd the furie of the French, whom they thought to beat their backs: And had not king Ferdinand's embassadour vsed great diligence, Pope Iulio had cast himselfe into the Florentines armes, who were friends and allies to the French king, to obtaine some good conditions of peace by their meanes: but being better informed of the whole successe by Iulio de Medicis, who was afterwards cardinall, and then Pope Clement the seventh, he changed his resolution, and continued the warre, being encouraged by the descent of the Swisses into Italie, to defend the Church of Rome. At that time began the first fission of the Councell of Latran, that of Milan being so ridiculous, as the cardinall John de Medicis, a prisoner, hauing ample authoritie from the Pope, gaue dispensations, absolved from censures, and did all acts of an Apostolike Legat, with a great concourse of people, before the cardinals and prelates of the opposite Councell, the which the gouernours of Milan for the French king did not contradict.
- C King Lewis fearing to be assailed in Fraunce by the forces of Spaine and England, and the Swisses being incensed against him, hauing passed the Alpes with the cardinall of Sion, the Popes Legat, the Emperour Maximilian hauing also called home all the Germans that serued the French, prest with many difficulties, he was forced to yeeld the field to the enemy, and (after that he had sought an accord in vaine) to abandon the estate of Milan, and to retire his forces into France, and to defend his owne. The cardinals of the Councell of Pisa retired: Bologna, and in a manner all other places were recovered, Genoa obtained her libertie, and John Fregoso was chosen duke; so as the French king had nothing remaining in Lombardie, but the castle of Milan, that of Cremona, Bresse, Cremona, Lignago, the Lanterne of Genoa, and Castellet.
- D 28 Thus Pope Iulio seeing his affaires so successfull, began to thunder out his spirituall censures and fulminations, against K. Lewis, causing him to be declared, by a decree of the Councell of Latran, an heretike and schismaticke, depriving him for that cause of all honour and royall dignitie, yea of the name of Most Christian, which had bene so long affected to the kings of Fraunce; which title he would transference to the kings of England: And on the other side he did honour the king D. Ferdinand with the title of Catholike, the which the kings of Spaine carrie at this day, vnder colour of the happie warres which he had made and ended, against the Moores which had vsurped the provinces in Spaine, and other Infidels; but being chiefly moued by the good offices which he had done for him and the See of Rome, opposing himselfe at that time against the French and the Councell of Pisa, and fauouring the designs of Pope Iulio, which were to prejudice the Crowne of France: whereof letters and Apostolike briefes were presented vnto king Ferdinand, being in the citie of Burgos, in the yeare 1512.
- The realme of France was not so easie to be swallowed vp as that of Nauarre: which was invaded by the duke of Alua, king John and queene Katherine being at Pampelone, and the Castilian armie within eight leagues of them; they were so vnprovided of all meanes to make resistance, as king John could take no better resolution, then to abandon the realme, and retire himselfe into Fraunce. The inhabitants of Pampelone seeing themselves forsaken, demaunded of him, That seeing he left them, what his pleasure was they should doe; Defend your selues (said he) as well as you can, and if you cannot make it good, yeeld vnto king Ferdinand vpon some good conditions, for I will take good order that he shall not long enjoy Nauarre. Queene Katherine found it strange, that the king her husband should so soone abandon his realme, before that the armie of Castille had done any notable exploit: but whether it were feare, or distrust that he had of them of Pampelone, who he knew were affected to the earle of Lerin, and to the faction of Beaumont, he left it, notwithstanding all her reasons and persuasions, on the two and twentieth

Battell of Rauenna.

Despaire of the Pope.

Victorie of Rauenna vnprofitable for the French.

Popes fulminations against K. Lewis the 28.

Nauarre.

King John of Albrer forced to retire into France.

Speech of Q.  
Katherine to the  
king her husband

Faction of Beaumont in the  
Court of Navarre.

Articles upon  
the yielding of  
Pampelone to  
the duke of  
Alua.

of Iulie, this yeare 1512; saying, That he had rather lue in woods and mountaines, than to be a prisoner in his owne country. His retreat was by the vallis of Baztan, and the castle of Moya, and so went to the Court of France, leaving the queene his wife at Pampelone, who hauing stayed there but two dayes after him, followed him, with prince Henrique her sonne, and three daughters; and hauing ouertaken him, among other speeches full of bitterness, she said vnto him: O King, you shall remaine Iohn of Albret, and neuer thinke more of the realme of Nauarre, for that hauing bene superfluously good, you haue bene the lesse esteemed of your subjects, and thus undone your selfe and your realme. D. Pedro the marshall of the realme, parted with these princes, and many other knights of the faction of Grammont. D. Lewis of Beaumont, earle of Lerin, had such intelligences in the Court, and throughout the realme of Nauarre, as hee had particular aduise of all that was done, whereof he aduertised the duke of Alua, who marching before, came and camped within two leagues of Pampelone, hauing in his armie six thousand foot, a thousand men at armes, and fifteene hundred light horse, Castilians, besides the supplies of Beaumont, their friends, kinsfolkes, and partisans. Then the inhabitants of Pampelone sent forth vnto the duke, requiring that they might be receiued vpon certaine lawes and conditions (for they had no power to defend themselves, nor it may be, will:) To whom answer was made by the duke, That it was for the vanquisher to prescribe lawes vnto the vanquished; wherefore they should resolue to yeeld themselves freely into his hands, or to attend all the miseries and calamities which are usually felt in the expugnation of townes: by reason whereof he restrained their demands to the obseruation of their ancient priuiledges and liberties; which was granted them, and moreover some prouisions for the present estate. Among these articles that were agreed vpon, the chiefe of them were these.

- 1 That the duke of Alua should from thenceforth be patron and mediator for the inhabitants of Pampelone, in the demands and requests which they should make vnto the kings D. Ferdinand and D. Iouane, for all matters either honourable or profitable.
- 2 That such as should remaine vassals or seruants to the kings of Castille, should be maintained in their goods and estates, fees, rents, and pensions whatsoever, which they had bene accustomed to receiue from precedent kings. And to such as meant to retire themselves, such things should not be payed, but to the day of the yeelding vp of the citie.
- 3 That the kings receiutors should gather vp the rents, reuenues, imposts, and other profits of the Crowne, as they had bene accustomed, so as they did remaine in the citie of Pampelone.
- 4 That the wages of Counsellors and Presidents of iustice, Auditors of the royall accounts, and other officers and magistrats of the kings D. Iohn and D. Katherine, should be paid them, with condition that they should remaine in Pampelone.
- 5 That the inhabitants of Pampelone should remaine faithfull seruants to the kings D. Ferdinand and D. Iouane, and in regard thereof they should enjoy their goods mouable and immouable, rights, and ancient priuiledges: And in like manner those which had followed the kings D. Iohn and D. Katherine, if within thirtie dayes they did retorne into the country.
- 6 That the inhabitants of Pampelone should not be bound to lodge any one without paying for it, no more than they of Saragoffe, Valencia, and Barcellona.
- 7 That all knights and gentlemen which within thirtie dayes should submit themselves to the seruice of the kings D. Ferdinand and queene Iouane, should be well and honourably intreated in their persons and goods, and nor called in question for any crime formerly committed in the time of the diffentions and factions of Beaumont and Grammont.
- 8 That when they should goe vnto the warre, their priuiledges and rankes, touching their persons and qualities, should be maintained, as in the time of precedent kings.
- 9 That the rights of prouisions of victuals, silkes, money, and other things due by the kings D. Iohn and D. Katherine, to their officers, citizens of Pampelone, which came to serue the kings of Castille, should be paid them, so as it were duly verified.
- 10 That if any of these articles were prejudiciall to any one, the iudgement thereof should

A should be referred to the kings of Castille, D. Ferdinand, and D. Iouane his daughter.

Many other heads were propounded, whereof some were granted, and others sent backe vnto the king and his counsell; but these were the most remarkable, the which were promised and sworne by the duke of Alua, in the name, and with the consent of the kings of Castille, the foure and twentieth of Iulie, in the presence of D. Lewis of Beaumont the constable, D. Antonio of Acugna, bishop of Cuenca, Pedro Lopes of Padilla, Ferdinand Suarez of Toledo, and other knights. And notwithstanding that the duke had promised not to enter into the citie vntill the next day, least it should be reproached vnto them, That they had yeelded before they had seene the enemy, yet the earle of Lerin, who was constable of Nauarre, entered the same day, being the foure and twentieth, and the five and twentieth the duke with the rest of the armie. Thus the kings D. Iohn and Katherine, were spoyled of their realme of Nauarre, which they had held together eighteene yeares and a halfe, and the queene almost ten yeares alone, after the death of her brother Francis Phelipe. From the 25 of Iulie 1512, being S. James day, Nauarre was vniuered to the Crowne of Castille, 468 yeares after that it had bene diuided from it, in the time, and by the death of the king D. Sancho the great. After the yeelding of the chiefe citie, the duke of Alua caused the other places of strength within the realme to be summoned to yeeld, promising that in so doing they should be intreated with the like clemency to Pampelone; if not, he would pursue them with fire and sword, as sectaries to princes, who were declared schismatikes and heretikes. In the beginning some townes seemed difficult, but hauing better considered of their affairs, the townes of Lumbier, Sanguessa, Montreal, Olite and Tafalla, with the citie of Tudele, yeelded, yet the castle thereof held good for the kings that were expelled, Denis of Desla, a gallant knight, and a good seruant to his masters, commanding therein. They of the vallis of Roncal, and of the vallis of Amecoa, trusting in the naturall force of their mountainous country, made no account to yeeld. King Ferdinand being at Burgos, hearing the successe of this conquest, sent supplies of men to the duke of Alua: And the better to iustifie his actions, he sent D. Antonio of Acugna, bishop of Zamora, embassador into France, to king Iohn, offering him, That if he would quit the friendship and alliance of king Lewis, he would restore his realme to him againe. The bishop came not to king Iohn; for notwithstanding the prerogative of embassadors, he was staid prisoner in Beam, from whence he parted not, but for a great ranfome. Vpon this excesse the duke of Alua was readie to passe into Beam, to be reuenged of the wrong done vnto the king his master, and to his embassador: but seeing the townes of Tudele, Olite, Tafalla, and Estella, begin to be somewhat moued at the brute of king Iohns comming with a French armie, he remained in Nauarre; where hauing ordered matters in such sort as they seemed secure, he assembled the chiefe men of Pampelone, in the monasterie of S. Francis; where hauing made a long discourse vnto them, to iustifie the conquest which his master had made of that realme, he required them to take an oath to king Ferdinand, and they demanded three dayes respite to consider thereon; which being expired, they said, That they were content to take an oath as subjects, but not as vassals. And what difference, demanded the duke, make you betwixt vassals and subjects? He (said they) is to be vnderstood a vassall, whom the lord may intreat well or ill, at his pleasure; but the subject ought to be well intreated by him. Then the duke hauing shewed them that they should not doubt, but the king would intreat them well and fauourably in all things, he alledged many reasons which induced them to take this oath, acknowledging king Ferdinand for their king, who parting from Burgos, came vnto Logroño, neere to Nauarre, where he staid the remainder of that yeare, to provide for the defence of this new conquest.

This yeare died D. Pascall, of the Order of the preaching friers, bishop of Burgos, at castilla. Rome D. Iohn of Fonseca, bishop of Palence, and superintendent of the affaires of the Indies, was preferred in his place; D. Iohn of Velasco, bishop of Calaoorra, he was brother to the colonell Valalua: D. Valerio Alphonso Ordognes of Villaliquan, bishop of Ouedo, died also, and his bishopricke was giuen to D. Diego of Muros, who was bishop of Mondoguedo, he who did found the colledge of S. Sautier in the Vniuersitie of Salamanca, which hath the name of

Duke of Alua  
enters into  
Pampelone.

Union of Castille and Navarre by conquest.

Denis of Desla  
faithfull to king  
Iohn of Albret.

King Ferdinand's  
embassador  
arrested in Beam.

Difference between  
vassall and a subject.

of Ouiedo : the bishopricke of Mondogedo was giuen to D. Diego of Villamuriel, Prefident of the Chauncerie of Granado.

Exploits of  
Vasco Nunges  
of Balboa.

29 King Ferdinand's affaires standing in these termes in Europe, the Spaniards remaying at the Indies at the place called the Antique of Darien, being commaunded by Vasco Nunges of Balboa, they obtained of him the deliuerie of the bacheler Martin Hernandez of Enciso, who could not be staied by any intreaties in that countrey, to be chiefe Iustice ouer all, but went presently to S. Domingo, and from thence into Spaine, where he made his complaint vnto the king, accusing Vasco Nunges of much wickednesse and excessse: whereupon there was a grieuous sentence pronounced against him, the punishment whereof he auoyded by his great future seruices. The first voyage which Vasco Nunges made against the Indians, was against a Cachique, or king of that countrey, called Carata, lord of Coyba, who hauing refused him victuals and gold, was by him & his troups, which were 130 Spaniards, assailed, taken, and his burrough sacked, where they found three Spaniards, who, for villanies committed, had fled from their captaine Ximenes, and had bene receiued and wel intreated by this Cachique, at whose intreatie he was deliuered, and held for a friend, and Vasco Nunges promised to aid him against another Cachique, his enemy, who was called Ponsa. Being prest with hunger, and want of all necessaries, these Spaniards of Antique sent Samudio and Valdivia, two of their men, into the island of Hispaniola, to fetch them victuals; and another into Spaine, called Zamudio, who carried the processe of the bacheler Martin Hernandez of Enciso. Vasco Nunges in the meane time went in person against the Cachique Ponsa, who fled away with his people, carrying all their wealth with them: whereupon he went against another Cachique, called Comagra, whose land was not farre from the South sea: for the region of Darien is but an isthmus, or a strait necke of land. Vasco Nunges contracted friendship and alliance with this Cachique, for he found him mild and tractable. He lodged him in a hall which was 150 paces long, and 80 broad, whereas he and all his Spaniards made good cheere with their victuals, wine of dates, and other fruits after their maner: and the Cachiques eldest sonne brought the weight of 4000 dragmes in gold wrought, and seuentie slaues, which

Darien an isthmus  
or necke of  
land.

Couetousnesse of  
the Spaniards  
somewhat checked by an  
Indian.

he gaue vnto the Spaniards; who seeing them through greedinesse to contend and quarrell about the diuision of these things, he wondered much, and said vnto them, That seeing they had so great a desire of gold, which was but earth, as for it they did thrust themselves into so great dangers, and did trouble so many peaceable nations, he would shew them a region not farre off, and neere vnto the other sea, where they should glut their couetousnesse; but they must not goe with so small a troupe; being necessarie to lead a thousand Spaniards thither. Vasco Nunges and Roderigo of Colmenares being verie joyfull of this aduertisement, and more for that they heard him speake of another neere sea, embraced this lord, who was called Panguiao, which made them madde that were wounded therewith: and therefore Vasco Nunges returned to Antique, to provide all things necessarie for this voyage and conquest. Hauing found Valdivia returned from S. Domingo with some victuals, he sent him into Spaine, and with him 15000 dragmes of gold, for the kings fift part of diuers booties which they had taken; giuing him charge to beseech the king to send a thousand Spaniards for the conquest of the South sea. But Valdivia miscarried by the way, he and all his treasure being drowned. In the meane time Vasco Nunges with a brigantine and many barks began to saile into the gulph of Vraba, to seeke for victuals, and finding a great riuer which he called S. Iohn, he went ten leagues vp against the streame, but he found not any man, for all were fled vp into the countrey, hauing bin terrified with the crueltie and insatiable couetousnesse of the bearded Spaniards (as they called them) by Cemaco the Cachique, who had bene vanquished by Martin Hernandez Enciso: yet the Spaniards foraged the countrey neere vnto the riuers sides, and made great bundels of arrowes and other armes, nets, couerings, and other Indian implements, the

A the which afterwards they cast into the sea, for that in their returne they were taken with a storme, carrying away the value of seuen thousand Castilians in gold, but nothing that could satysfie hunger: for these people in truth were poore, and liued only of fishing, exchanging their fish with their neighbours for Mays. Roderigo Henriques of Colmenares running vp along the riuers side with seuentie companions, returned without bread, or any other victuals; but he brought much Cassé-fistula, which he found growing in those regions in great abundance. Hauing joynd againe with Balboa, they entred into the mouth of a foud, which they called the blacke riuer, where they were to encounter a Cachico, called Auenamaguer, whom they defeated and tooke prisoner, whose ayme a villainous Spaniard cut off, in cold blood, for that he had bene wounded during the skirmish. B Colmenares remaining there with this Cachico, and the moitie of the Spanish troups, Balboa with the rest past on, & came vnto a place where as he found a building made vpon great old trees, much like vnto a cage to keepe birds in: there a Cachico kept, who thinking himselfe to be in a safe place, & inexpugnable, they mockt at the Spaniards who were on the ground, & did summon the to yeeld: but when as they saw them begin to ouerthrow the foundation of his palace with axes, he came downe with two of his sonnes, and presented himselfe humbly to Balboa, excusing himselfe that hee had not any gold, whereof he had no need, but promised that he would goe and seeke some, if he would suffer him at libertie. Balboa trusting him, let him goe free, but he was deceived: For this C Cachico falsifying his faith, comforted with other Cachicoes and their people, in great numbers, who fell vpon the Spaniards, but to their owne losse, for they were repulst with the losse of many Indians. Not content with this insolencie, the Cachicoes about the blacke riuer and that gulph, conspired to assaile the Antique of Darien suddenly with all their power, and to kill the Spaniards and eat them: The which was discovered to Vasco Nunges by a faire Indian woman whom he entertained as his friend, who had bene aduertised to free her selfe of this danger, by a brother of hers, who was of the conspiracie, and for her sake did frequent familiarly among the Spaniards. Vasco Nunges of Balboa caused this Indian to be taken, & hauing vnderstood the truth from him, and what course the Indians meant to take to execute their enterprise, he wrought in such sort on the one side, and Colmenares on the other, as they dispersed their forces, put a confusion in their counsels, and did in a maner subiect all the countrey of Vraba. Being returned to the Antique of Darien, they sent Iohn of Quinedo, and Roderigo Henriques of Colmenares, into Spaine, to make relation vnto king Ferdinand of that which they had done, and of the conquest of the South sea, which they intended, and to beseech him to send them 1000 Spaniards to that end. That yeare there went out of Spaine, with the kings leave, and at his owne charge, Iohn Dias de Solis, pilot major to the king, who taking the course of Pinsons, past beyond S. Augustines cape fortie degrees vnder the Equinoctiall, vnto the great riuer of Parauaguasu, which signifies in the Indian tongue, great water, the which was by Iohn Dias called the riuer of Plata, that is to say, of siluer, for that they found there some grains of other metall: and hauing planted many crosses there in signe of possession, he returned into Spaine, laden with Brasils, where he gaue an account vnto the king of his navigation.

Riuer of Plata  
found by Iohn  
Dias de Solis.



## THE 26 BOOKE OF THE Historie of Spaine.

### The Contents of the 26 Booke.

- 1 **W**arre continued by the duke of Aluain Nauarre, and the frontiers of France. An armie of French in Nauarre and their poore exploits.
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In this six and twentieth Booke are vnited the  
Realmes of Castille, Arragon, and Nauarre, in

D. Charles of Austria

22 in Castille 1.  
43 in Leon 1.  
20 in Arragon 1.  
36 in Nauarre 4.



He realme of Nauarre being conquered with so great happineffe  
and ease, was afterwards defended and kept with more difficultie. 1512

About the moneth of May the English armie landed in Guipuscoa, being eight thousand foot, most archers, and some other men of warre, whereof the lord marquisse Dorset was General, who stayed some dayes vpon those marches, attending the duke of Alua, who was busie in subduing the vallies of Amefco, Salazar, and Ronceal, with the helpe and diligence of colonell Vilalua: whose armie being fortified with new troups sent from king Ferdinand, who was offended at the detention of his embassadour, the bishop of Zamora, in Bearn, it was led to Saint Iohn du pied de Port, which place yeelded vnto him: From whence he sent word vnto the marquisse, what he should doe to come and besiege Bayone. But the English generally thinking that the duke of Alua had caused him to stay there for the conquest of Nauarre, which concerned his master, after that he had burnt Saint Iohn de Lus, and done some other spoyle vpon the sea coast, he imbarct his men, and went home; saying, That he would returne another time: besides, there was a brute of a great French armie which marcht through Guienne, to make head against these Spanish and English forces; by reason whereof the duke of Alua having fortified the castle of Pied de Port, and tased that of Montgelo, he returned into high Nauarre. The French armie whereof the brute was, was led by Francis of Valois, duke Angouleme, who was afterwards French king, in the which there was king Iohn of Albret, Charles of Montpensier, duke of Bourbon, Odet of Foix, vicont of Lautrec, the earles of Palisse and Longueuille, and others, making about fortie thousand foot and foure thousand horse. About the end of the yeare 1512, the king of Nauarre aduanced with six thousand foot, and a thousand horse, accompanied with the lords of Palisse and Longueuille, he entered into his countrey by the vallie of Ronceal, where hee tooke Burgui, hauing cut the Spaniards in peeces which were in garrison, with their commander Valdes, capitaine of king Ferdinand's gard. On the other side the duke of Angouleme caused the duke of Bourbon and the lord of Lautrec, to enter by Guipuscoa, with ten thousand foot, and foure hundred horse, who ruined Yrum, Vranfu, Ojarcum, and the townes of Harnam and Renterie, and besieged S. Sebastien, but they left it soone, the vicont of Lautrec going to ioyne with king Iohn's forces, who marcht towards Pampehone. At that time Diego Lopes of Ayala, lord of Cuole, was gouernour of Fontarrabie, who caused the platforme called Diego Lopes to be built towards France. The marshall

Rrrr

D. Pedro



Places returne  
to the obedience  
of king Iohn.

Vittorie of 90  
men ouer 600  
Arragonians.

Iohn Ramirez  
of Baquedan  
faithfull in his  
prince.

Pampelone be-  
sieged by king  
Iohn.

Assault main-  
tained by the  
garrison of Pa-  
pelone against  
the French.

Siege of Pampelone raised.

Armes of the  
province of  
Guipuscoa.

D. Pedro was in king Iohns armie, with many of the faction of Gramont, whose partisans G being dispersed throughout the realme, caused many places to reuolt to the king, as John Ramirez of Baquedan, lord of Saint Martin, the towne of Estella, Ladron of Mauleon, that of Mirande, Martin of Gomil Tafalla, Pedro de Rada, that of Murillo, Jaime Velez de Medran, S. Care, with others by other men. The king thought that the citie of Pampelone should haue done as much, but he was deceived. Hereupon D. Alphonsus of Arragon, base sonne to king Ferdinand, and Archbishop of Saragossa, sent six hundred men from Teruel, Daroca, and Albarrazin, to enter into Pampelone; who passing within in halfe a league of Saint Martin, they were charged by fourecore and ten footmen of the vallie of Roncal, and fure horsemen, who defeated them, stript them into their shirts, H and sent them home: their colonell came to Olite to demaund aid, but he was in danger to be hanged by the Archbishop. Antonie of Fonseca recovered some of these reuolted places, and brought the hostages to Pampelone, into the which he put himselfe. D. Francisco of Beaumont, the constables cousin, set vpon Estella, and tooke the towne, but not the castle, and recovered that of Bernette: and D. Pedro of Beaumont, the constables brother, the castle of Montjardin. The duke of Alua being in the meane time in a manner inclosed in betwixt the armies of the duke of Angouleme, and the king of Nauarre: he deceived them, escaping by vnknowne wayes, and came with his armie to Pampelone. And to the end the siege of Estella should not stay and disturbe the forces of the king of Castille, Diego Hernandez of Cordoua, was sent with a supplie to them that besieged it: Wherefore Iohn Ramirez of Baquedan being extreamely prest, was forced to yeeld it, vpon condition, That they should depart with their armes, baggage, and ensignes displayed, refusing the great offers which king Ferdinand had made him, if he would come to his seruice: So this good knight came to the king of Nauarres campe. The towne of Larraga defended by a French captainne, was also yeelded by composition. The king of Nauarre tooke the castle of Tiebas by force, where was the ladie of Gurendayn, of the house of Artieda, whom he suffered to goe away freely: and hauing received a new supplie of two thousand Germans, he besieged Pampelone towards Saint Nicholas port, where there were many fallies and skirmishes made, whereby the king of Nauarre vnderstood, that the force of the besieged was great. The duke of Alua put some of the faction of Gramont, whom he suspected out of the towne, and hauing visited thole parts of the towne which might be dangerous, ordering all things, and ramparing vp the breaches which the enemies made with their furious batterie, he prepared himselfe to maintaine the Assault which was giuen on Saturday, the seuen and twentieth of September, from the which the assailants were repulsed with great losse. King Ferdinand being in the meane time at Logrogne, and aduertised of the estate of his affaires, hee had drawne together the forces of Alua, Biscaye, Rioja, and part of Guipuscoa, notwithstanding that a good part of the French armie was yet in thole limits, being in all fiftene thousand fighting men, assigning their rendez-vous at Pont de Roynne, whither he sent D. Pedro Manriques, duke of Nagera, furnished the Strong, to be generall of this armie. L At the brute whereof the king of Nauarre, being out of hope to take Pampelone, and in great necessitie of victuals, Winter also tyring his armie, he raised his siege the last day of Nouember, by the counsell and persuation of the lord of Palisic, and other captaines of experience: And the next day the duke of Nagera arrived with his armie, whereof there was not any need, seeing that the siege was raised, who for that reason refused the battell which the French sent to present vnto him, by a king at Arnes. So king Iohn of Albret complaining his ill fortune, returned on this side the Pyrennes, in the straits of which mountaines the reereward of the French armie was much troubled by the Guipuscoans, and other mountainers, being forced to leaue in the mountaines of Velate, and Leyfondo, part of their artillerie, the which was drawne to Pampelone with great pompe, in the castle of which citie there are many peeces to be scene at this day: By reason of which prowesse and good seruice, the king, besides many exemptions and priuiledges, added to the Armes of the province of Guipuscoa, the twelue peeces of ordnance or in a field of azure, the which it carries at this day.

The

A The duke of Nagera having brought his armie backe to Logrogne, the duke of Alua remained Viceroy of Nauarre, which realme he brought all vnder the obedience of king Ferdinand, except the castle of Moyra, which he held long for the kings of Nauarre, who were expelled vnder a pretext of seisme, as we haue said.

Vpon the same occasion D. Bernardin of Garçajal, cardmall of Saint Croix, and bishop of Sigüenza, was depozed by the Councell of Larran, from all Ecclesiasticall dignitie; and to his bishopricke D. Frederic of Portugal, bishop of Segobia, was preferred; to Segobia D. Diego of Ribera, bishop of Majorca; and to that doctor Roderigo of Mercado, Abbot of Saint Martha, borne at Ognate, who was afterwards bishop of Aulila, and B President of the Chauncerie of Granada.

2 During the warre of Nauarre king Ferdinand sent a new supplie of men into Italie, with the commander Solis, and was in a manner resolved to send the great captaine thither, had not the counsell of some enuious disserred him. The French affaires declining there, the duke of Ferrara, who in all their actions had assisted them, found himselfe in great danger to be deprived of his estate, and expelled by the Pope, his deadly enemy: to preuent the which, and to purchase vnto himselfe friends and fauour, he set Fabrizio Colonne, his prisoner, at libertie, without ransom, by whose meanes, with the embassador of Spaine and others, he obtained a safe conduct, with the which he went to Rome, to treat of his affaires: but he could not make his peace with the Pope, being obstinately bent C to dispossesse him of Ferrara, and to vntie the cineruo the estate of the Church, offering him in recompence the countie of Asti, which he held not, but maintained that it was of the patrimonie of the Church: so as Fabrizio Colonne and the rest, who had assured his coming to Rome, were forced to put themselves in armes, to warrant him, and to conduct him to a place of safetie; whereof there followed great hatred betwixt the Pope and the Colonnais. And king Ferdinand was no lesse displeased at these violent proceedings of the Pope; for he had a particular affection vnto duke Alphonsus, his kinsman, borne of a daughter to king Ferdinand the first, of Naples. But to make an end of that which had bene concluded by the league: that is, to expulse the French out of Italie, and out of the world, if they could, D. Raymond of Garçajal, Viceroy of Naples, who since D the battell of Rauenna had bene in his gouernement, returned this year with his armie about Bologna, to continue the warre: But the Pope and the Venetians finding themselves seised of a good part of that which they pretended, refused to furnish money for the entertainment of his armie, as had bene agreed by the treatie of the league: so as there grew a great mutinie in the campe among the souldiers, for want of pay, and the Viceroy was forced to retire, with great danger of his person, to Modena, where he found meanes to recouer some money, with the which he returned, and kept his souldiers together, who began to disband.

At that time there being a day appoynted at Mantoua, to consult of the affaires of the warre, the Viceroy of Naples came thither, with deputies from the Pope, Emperor, Venetians, and Swisses. There it was concluded, That they should put Maximilian Sforce, sonne to Lewis Sforce, in possession of the duchie of Milan: And moreover it was propounded to assaile the Florentines, who were friends and allied to the Crowne of France, as wel for this cause, as to restore the familie of Medici, expelled out of that commonweale, to their goods and honours: the which the Pope did presse much, in fauour of cardinall Iohn of Medici, his legate, and others of that familie. This was the Viceroyes first taske, after his returne to the armie, to lead it into the estate of Florence, from whom he tooke the town of Prato, where there were slain about two thousand men of the Florentines part, and many taken: Whereat the citie of Florence being amazed, and their Councell vnprovid of forces and meanes to resist, they yeilded to the restitution of the Medici; and to whatsoever the Viceroy would impose vpon them. For besides the summes of money which they payed for the entertainment of the Spanish armie, and another summe vnto the Emperor, they made a league with king Ferdinand, promising to entertaine two hundred men at armes in the armie of the league, and yet the people were deprived of a good part of their libertie, by the cardinall of Medici, who created magistrats and officers at his pleasure.

Rrrr ij

These

Pope Iulius had  
bred in the  
duke of Ferrara.

Estate of Flo-  
rence, vexed by  
the Viceroy  
of Naples.

These exploits being done in the Florentines countrey, the Viceroy led his armie to G Bresse, which the Venetians did besiege, so as the lord of Aubigny was out of hope to be able to keepe it, this Spanish armie hauing got great a fame, for that it had humbled to powerfull a commonweale as that of Florence: and therefore he did capitulate with the Viceroy of Naples, although the Venetians had layed the siege, and yielded it vpon conditions to depart himselfe and his men free, with their armes and baggage, their colours flying, and without artillerie. After the taking of Bresse, the bishop of Gurcenis, embassadour for the Emperour, came to Rome, whereas he of Spaine laboured much to reconcile the Emperour and the Venetians, there remaining no difference but onely for the citie of Vincence. This embassadour did also seeke to reconcile the Pope with the Colonnais, with whom he was much displeased, for the duke of Ferraras cause. Yet there was a new league made betwixt the Pope and the Emperour, against the Venetians, approued by the Councell of Latran, leaving a place for king Ferdinand to enter. The reason of this league was, for that the Venetians would not yeeld to certaine conditions which the Pope propounded vnto them. King Ferdinand doubt herein was, that the Venetians would joyne with the French king, if they were too much pressed: wherefore his embassadour fauoured them what he could. The coming of Maximilian Sforce to Verona, caused the bishop of Gurcenis to part from Rome, to establish him in the Emperours name in the duchie of Milan, whither he conducted him, hauing found him at Cremona, with the Viceroy D. Raymond of Cardona. The duke much desired by the Milanais, was received there with great joy. The cardinal of Sion presented him the keys in the Swisses name, who would haue the honour of his restoring.

League made  
against the Ve-  
netians.

3  
Fragratitude of  
the duke of  
Ferrara pre-  
sented by the  
Spaniards.

Conspiracie a-  
gainst king  
Ferdinand.

Peace betwixt  
France and  
Spaine.

Notwithstanding the league newly made against the Venetians, the Pope had a great desire to ruine the duke of Ferrara: to prevent the which the embassadour of Spaine, by commandement from his king, did all good offices, and vsed all the meanes he could: And this was one of the chief causes why king Ferdinand would not please the Pope, and enter into the league. Notwithstanding the duke shewing himselfe vngrateful (no man knowes vpon what reason) procured a scandalous and horrible attempt against him, as the Spaniards write, persuading D. Ferdinand of Arragon, duke of Calabria, sonne to king Frederic, and conspiring with him, to deprive him of his life. There was a certaine monk who was messenger from the duke of Ferrara to him of Calabria, who had also for negotiator on his part, Philip Copula, sonne to the earle of Samo, whose head king Ferdinand of Naples had caused to be stricken off. This Copula had made some voyages into France, and treated with king Lewis, to giue a retreat and meanes in his realme to the duke of Calabria, being then in the Catholike kings Court at Logrogne, and should haue caused himselfe in the French armie, which was about Pampelone, hauing resolved first to set fire on certaine powder that was hidden in the kings lodging: But God would not suffer so wicked a practise to take effect. The matter being discovered, Copula was quartered, and D. Ferdinand duke of Calabria was sent prisoner to the castle of Xatua, neere vnto Valencia, where hee remained about ten yeares, vntill that the Emperour Charles pardoned him, and set him at libertie. Hereupon king Ferdinand conceived so great a hatred against the duke of Ferrara, as hee commanded the Viceroy of Naples to ayd the Pope with his armie, or any other thing hee had, without any respect to the pretended pay. The Venetians seeing the Pope and Emperour leagued together to annoy them, and that the Emperour would not giue eare to the Catholike kings embassadour, who did still perswade him to make a peace with their commonwealth, and to take a summe of money in the place of Vincence, they joyned with the French king (who had not wholly forgotten the affaires of Italie, and did still hold the castles of Milan and Cremona) at the same time when as a truce was accorded betwixt king Lewis and king Ferdinand, for a yeere, to the great discontent of the king of England, M who was readie to enter into France, and attended to be assisted by the Spanish armie: by reason whereof the French king did deferre the recouerie of the realme of Navarre for a time, to the which he was greatly solicited by the dispossessed kings, John and Katherine. Which truce the French king had much desired, to assure his realme on that side, being aduertised that the king of England made great preparation to assaile him, be-

A being still prest thereunto by Pope Iulio, who conceiuing great and pernicious enterprises in his mind, died at Rome in Februarie, in the yeare 1513. By his death the duke of Ferrara was freed from great care and feare; who embracing the occasion, recouered some places in Romania, and had taken more if the Viceroyes armie had not stopt him, being lodged betwixt Regio and Plaifance, through the fauour whereof Parma and Plaifance came into the hands of Maximilian Sforce, the new duke of Milan. The cardinals being assembled, they did chuse John de Medicis, cardinall of Santa Maria in Dominica, for Pope, and called him Leo the tenth.

1513  
Death of Pope  
Iulio.

Pope Leo chosen

The Viceroy being aduertised of the truce betwixt Fraunce and Spaine, he began to B resolute vpon his retreat to Naples, sending for the garrisons which were in Tortona and Alexandria; and causing the armie to march towards the riuer of Trebia, hauing with him twelve hundred men at armes, and eight thousand foot, all choyce souldiers: the which did much terrifie the Milanais and their duke, knowing that the French king made great leuies of men to recouer that estate; and fearing that the Swisses, who were all their hope, would not be able to defend them, if the French armie did presse them on the one side, and the Venetians on the other: wherefore at their intreatie, and the Popes intercession, the Viceroy and the Spanish armie stayed, and held the warre in suspense.

The truce which the two great kings had made, assured king Ferdinands conquest of C Navarre, the noblemen and Estates of which realme, after the retreat of the French from before Pampelone, depured the constable D. Lewis of Beaumont, earle of Lein, to take the oath of fealtie and homage, as to their king. And the duke of Alua being returned into Castille, there remained Viceroy of Navarre in his place D. Diego Fernandes de Cordoua, marquisse of Comares.

Navarre.

Diego Fernandes  
des Cordoua,  
Viceroy of Na-  
uarre.  
Castille.

4 The great prosperities of D. Ferdinand king of Arragon, Regent of Castille, were accompanied with some griefe, for that he had no lawfull issue male: but queene Germain his second wife, by whom he had no children, was more perplexed, for her owne interest, who by a womanish affection sought curiously for all deuices to conceiue, thinking by art and humane helps to obtaine that which comes from the meere D bountie and blessing of God: Wherefore it happened this yeare (it is not knowne by whose aduice) that, with the kings consent, the queene her selfe, D. Maria of Velasco, wifeto D. John of Velasco, superintendent of the treasure, and D. Isabella Faure, made a drinke, or broth, for the king, to giue him force and vigour: But he had no sooner taken it, but he found nature toucht with an incurable infirmite, wherof he languished continually, and in the end dyed. This was done at Carroncillo, whither the king was come to depost himselfe with the ladies: And it is not credible that they did present him this potion to any other end, but to quicken him in his sports; for all the queenes happinesse and greatnesse depended vpon the kings life. Hee was like to haue dyed of this drinke in the monastirie of Meiorado; but being somewhat recouered by physike, hee came to Villedolit, to a assemblie of the Estates, where hee dispatched many affaires.

Drinke giuen  
to king Ferdi-  
nand by the  
queene and his  
wife.

5 The French king in the meane time had in a manner dispossessed Maximilian Sforce of all his duchie of Milan, he had onely remaining Como and Nauara: Into the last he had put himselfe with many ensignes of Swisses, and was besieged by the French: where followed that memorable fallie of colonell Amboise and his Swisses, and the defeat of the French, with great slaughter, and the losse of their artillerie, as you may read at large in that historie: whereupon the French repast the Alpes. And on the other side D. Raymond of Cardona, Viceroy of Naples, being with his armie vpon the passage of the riuer of Pau, opposite to the Venetian armie, led by Bartholomew of Adriaui, who hauing newes of this rout of the French, retired for feare to Ponte Vico, and from thence to Tombara, neere to the riuer of Thefin. The Viceroy suffering them to passe, busied himselfe about the reduction of Genoua, which the French had deliuered into the hands of Adornes and their factions: sending, at the instance of John and Octauia Frego, three thousand Spaniards thither, led by the marquisse of Pescara; himselfe following with the rest of the armie. Wherewith the French and the Milanais their partisans, being amazed, they left

Defeat of the  
French at Na-  
uara by the  
Swisses.

1513

left the citie, and *Osluina Fregese* was made duke. In the meane time *Aluano* tooke *G Lignago*, by the means of *Iohn Paul Bailion*, who slue most of the Spaniards and Germans that were there in garrison. He also attempted *Verona* in vaine. All which did much incense the Viceroy of Naples, who passing the Pau with his armie, did soone take *Bergamo*, *Pelcare*, and *Bresse*, *Aluano* flying before him, who hauing diuided his armie into garrisons, put himselfe into *Padoua*.

Cardinals reuered into grace.

Pope *Leo* at his first aduancement trying by the best meanes he could to dissolue the Councell of *Pisa*, he then receiued into grace *D. Bernardin* of *Carajal*, cardinall of *Saint Croix*, and *Frederic* of *Saint Seuerin*, deposed from their dignities of cardinals, and depriued of their reuenues and benefices by Pope *Iulio* and the Councell of *Latan*. These two hauing stayed a while at *Florence*, by the Popes commaundment, like priuat men, they came by his permission to *Rome*, where they entred by night, and the next day they presented themselves vnto the Conistorie, in all humilitie, where, vpon their knees, they acknowledged their faults, and demanded pardon, the which they obtained, approving the decrees of the Councell of *Latan*, and the election of the present Pope, and confessing their deposition to haue bene just, and that the Councell of *Pisa* was false and abhominable: whereupon they were absolved, and went and embraced all the cardinals in their ranks, who moued not from their places; after which they put on their cardinals weeds, and sat in their vsuall places: and although they did not recover their benefices and reuenues, yet afterwards they had other things in recompence.

Indies.

6 At the same time the South sea at the Indies was discovered: For *Vasco Nuygues* of *Balboa*, jealous that any other should obtain commission from the king to that effect, and depriue him of the honour of this discouerie, which he had now attempted, without attending any answer from Spaine, nor the 1000 Spaniards which he had demanded from the king, parting from the *Antique* of *Darien*, in September this yeare 1513, with 190 Spaniards, in a galleon and ten barks, he came to *Careta*, where he landed his troupe, and marcht into the country of the *Cachico Pansa*, whom he forced to giue him gold, and guides to conduct him to the mountaines, whereof notice had bene giuen him by the *Cachico D. Charles Panquiao*. With these guides they came into a country called *Quareca*, and the *Cachico Torecha*, where they were forced to fight: They slue the lord and dispersed his people, not accustomed to see such great wounds as swords of yron make, nor to heare the noyse of harquebuses, nor the biting of furious dogs, which the Spaniards led to the warre with them, whom they caused to teare in peeces certaine Indian Sodomites, whom they found in that country. Pasing on, *Vasco Nuygues* went vpon certaine high mountaine, with 67 of his souldiers, leauing the rest to gard them that were hurt and sicke, in a burrough at the foot of the mountaine. Being nere vnto the top, he caused his troupe to stay, and would himselfe goe vp alone, where he discouered the waters of the South Ocean, for the which he was exceeding glad, and gaue God thanks, and then he called all the souldiers to haue them see it. There they made mounds of stones, in signe of possession taken. Being come from the mountaine, they went to assaile a *Cachico*, called *Chiape*, who being obdurate, they put to fight: yet being friendly invited he returned, and made himselfe vassall to the king of *Castille*, accompanying him vnto the South sea shore, whereof they tooke possession, and drew a writing on the 29 of September, being *S. Michaels* day 1513. By this seruice which *Vasco Nuygues* of *Balboa* did then vnto the king, he well deserved his pardon, if he had offended in any thing. The company which he had left at *Quareca* being ioyned with him, he past a great riuer with 80 Spaniards leauing the rest vpon the banks, and went and forced another *Cachico*, called *Cogue*, who put himselfe in defence, as *Chiape* had done, and brought him vnder his obedience. Then thrust on with a great courage, he would enter into that sea, notwithstanding that *Chiape* did dissuade him, saying, That the current was strong & troublesome: so as he was in danger of drowning, seeking to recover a nere island, where he arrived, with much paine and perill. There reigned there a *Cachico* called *Tumaco*, who made offer to fight, but being aduertised by the Indians, guides to *Chiape*, that the Spaniards were good men, this *Tumaco* sent them a sonne of his, to know what they demanded: *Vasco Nuygues* spake courteously vnto him, appaialed him, and gaue him looking glases,

South sea discovered by Vasco Nuygues of Balboa.

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1513

A fes, with such other toies, the which he carrying to his company, it moued them so, as *Tumaco* came himselfe in person to the Spanish troupe with shewes of loue and friendship, of whom the Spaniards demanded perles, for they saw the Indians of his company weare some, whereof they did furnish them with a good quantity, and aduertised them that there was a plash nere hand, where they did fish some as big as a mans eye, the which did please the courteous Spaniards and their Captaines: but for that they were few, and there were great difficulties and dangers, they deferred this prey vnto another voyage, wherefore they returned to their companions, & past into the country of the *Cachico Chiape*, where they refreshed themselves, and rested some daies. *Chiape* the *Cachico* did also fish vpon his shoare, and gaue them about foure charges of perles. *Vasco Nuygues* of *Balboa* tooke his leaue of him, leauing some Spaniards with him, for he wept being much grieued at their departure, for the opinion he had of their wisdom: then they past a riuer to come into the countrie of a *Cachico* called *Tecoa*, where the Spaniards were receiued with great ioy, and *Tecoa* gaue them presents of gold and perles. From thence they went through desert and barren places, full of Tygres, and Lyons with hunger, thirst, and extreame danger, into the lands of *Parra*, a cruell tyrant, and a Sodomite, who pursued by the conscience of his owne wickednes, thought to escape by flight, but he was brought backe, and after information made of his tyrannies, & dishonesty, *Vasco Nuygues* caused him to be torne in peeces by his Malties, with foure other lords, his confederates and ministers of such filthines, and then the peeces to bee burnt: Hee called the countie of *Parra*, All Saints. *Vasco Nuygues* going from thence, he came to *Buquebuca*, the lord of which region, thinking that the Spaniards were diuine people, he was ashamed to appeare before them, holding himselfe vnworthy, but he sent them some vessels of gold well wrought, & craved pardon of them. Going on with more desire to find victuals than gold, they saw certain Indians which crost their way, who being brought back vnto them and demanded of what region they were, and where there was any victuals, they said, that they were subiect vnto a king called *Coriza*, who desired to know them, and to be their friend, of whom afterwards they receiued thirty plates of golde, offering them all that was in his power, and intreating them to aide him against another *Cachico* his enemy, in D whole countie hee assured them they should find great wealth: *Balboa* promised him friendship, aide and fauour, presenting him with their hatchets and other iron works, and then he past into the land of *Peccorofa*, where he found victuals, & receiued gold & slauess, & hauing left his sick men there, he went on with sixtie souldiers onely, vntill he came vnto the *Cachico Tumanama*, of whom *D. Charles Panquiao* had spoken vnto him; whom he surprised in his lodging at night: And for that he was giuen to the brutish sin against nature, *Balboa* was ready to haue him burnt, but thinking to draw from him some secret of his hidden treasure, & of the qualitie of the countie, he was content to reprehend him sharply, and to keep him prisoner, giuing some satisfaction to his accusers: and there *Balboa* remained the rest of that yeare 1513.

Hope of gaine made vice-reine unpunished.

E 7 The Spaniards affaires prospering after this manner at the Indies, the Armie which was in *Italie* against the Venetians, was no lesse succesfull. After the retreat of *Aluano* the Venetian generall, the emperours lieutenant beleaged *Padoua* in vaine. The viceroy of Naples being resolved to put part of his armie into *Bresse*, and part into *Bergamo*, & there to winter, he was importuned by his souldiers, to keep the field with the Germans, hauing the *Catalanie* of Naples, and the Popes, with 4500 Spaniards, hauing sent one thousand Spaniards to assist the duke of Milan: The viceroy hauing with these forces sackt *Bouoelta*, past the *Brent*, and marcht vnto the sea, burning townes and villages, and all the houses of the gentlemen of Venice, which were in that countie: and the more to assist & braue them, he caused ten peeces of his greatest ordnance to be mounted at a place called *Marguera*, and shot against the city of Venice, whereof the bullets fel at *S. Seconds* church, with trouble and amazement to all the inhabitants, and the more, for that night comming, it did represent vnto them more plainly, the great fiers and ruines of their houses of pleasure in the country, the which they held to be the greatest indignitie that euer the common wealth of Venice receiued: which thinking to reuenge they encreased their disgrace: for *Aluano* hauing assured the Senat, that the enemies

Cruell warre of the Spaniards against the Venetians.

armie

1513

Venicians de-  
feated by the  
Spaniards

armie laden with spoiles in those moorish places, and trenches of riuers, would find G such difficulties in their retreat, as it would be easie to put them to rout, and there- fore had gotten leaue to draw their forces to field after that hee had coasted the enemies, seeking to stoppe their passage at the riuer of Brenta, being himselfe de- ceived and surpris'd, as hee thought to stop their passage going to Verona, whe- ther they marcht onely with an intent to retire, hee was fought with all, and van- quished about Vincence, having lost aboute fure thousand Venetians, and many Cap- taines slaine: vpon the place, with their Pouiditor *Andrew Lauradan*, who was slaine by the contention of two souldiers, whose prisoner hee should be, besides many captaines and gentlemen of Venice, that were prisoners: which rout did much trouble the af- faires of that state. What succeeded afterwards in that warre, I leaue to other Histori- es whome it concerns more particularly.

King *Ferdinand* being much impayred by his languishing infirmitie, growen by reason of the potion which had beene giuen him, attended as well as hee could the gouernment of his realmes: but hee had a good Councell, and faithfull ministers, for as his affaires both of state and iustice, were nothing impayred, neither were they in any sort peruerced. This yere there was a fort built at Oran, and another at a place called Pegnon, or the rocke of Alger in Afrike, whereas the crowne of Ca- stille held Melille, Casafa, Oran, Masalquier, Tripoli, and Bugie, and the tworockes or Pegnons of Alger, and of Velez, besides the Princes and townes, that were Tributarie vnto it. And so ended that yere 1513.

Fort built in  
Afrike.

1514.  
Behauiour of  
Vasco Nuyges  
of Balboa at the  
Indies.

8 In the yere one thousand fure hundred and foureteeen *Vasco Nuyges* of Balboa, ha- uing staied a good space in the countrie of the Cachico *Tumanama* discovering the mines and treasures of that region, he parted from thence, leading one of that princes sons with him, to be instructed in the Romish religion, and came into the countrie of *D. Charles Pan- guico*, who receiued *Balboa* being fickle verie courteously, with all his companions, giuing them the ease & commodities he could, and when they would depart, he presented them with 20 pounds of gold. Being thus satisfied of him, they retred to their fort of the An- tique of Darien, the which they found much better peopled than they had left it: for vpon the brute of the great riches that were on the firme land, many were come from Hi- paniola, & the citie of S. Domingo to inhabit there. It is thought that *Balboa* brought be- side the contentment he had to haue discovered the south sea, the value of aboute 100000 Castillians in gold, besides perles and other precious Jewels in great abundance, having made a long and dangerous voyage, gone through many barbarous nations & enemies, by desert and vnknown places, hauing not onely to encounter men, but Tygres and Lyons, hunger and thirst, thick woods & craggy mountaines, and yet neuer was put to rout, neuer lost a man, nor himselfe wounded in any fort. Of al their spoiles they laied to the value of 20000 ducats for the kings right; and then they diuided the rest among them, euerie one receiuing according to his place, yea their mastiues had pay as well as the men, for it is re- ported that a dog belonging vnto *Vasco Nuyges*, called *Lemelle*, had for his part 500 Ca- stillians, receiuing a greater pay than a harquebusier. After that *Vasco Nuyges* had ordered some things in the fort of Darien, he sent a friend of his called *Arbolancha*, born at Bilbo, into Spain, to carry news vnto king *Ferdinand* of his voyages and discoveries, and the fit penny of what they had gotten.

Butty taken at  
the Indies.

Travels endur-  
ed with great  
patience and  
happines by the  
Spaniards.

Desires recei-  
ued pay and a  
part of the  
spoile among  
the Spaniards.

Designes of  
Pope Leo to put  
strangers out of  
Italy.

Pope seeks to  
get the realme  
of Naples.

At that time the French king did sollicit both *k. Ferdinand* and the emperor *Maximilian* to conclude the marriage betwixt *D. Ferdinand* brother to prince *Charles* of Austria, and the lady *Renée*, the French kings second daughter, for whose dowrie hee would quit his pretensions to the duchie of Milan: but hauing made a peace with the king of Eng- land, by a marriage contracted betwixt him & *Marie* that kings sister, he changed his o- pinion, and gaue ouer that treatie for *Renée* and *Ferdinand*. The Pope hauing diuers de- signs to free Italie of strangers, hauing no desire to see the French king lord of Milan, yet he entertained him with this hope, to make vse of him and his meanes, to get the realme of Naples from *k. Ferdinand*, to settle his brother *Julian* of Medicis king there, & therof he had already had some practise with the Venetians. To fauor the Popes designs, being pro- fitable for the common-weale of Venice, *Andrew Gritti* was appointed by the Senat to be generall

1514

A generall of an armie to inuade the banks of Apulia, thinking by that meanes to diuene the Spanish army out of Lombardie, & that they should haue none but the Germanes to ti- counter. Hereupon *Bartholomew* of Aliano hauing surpris'd certain Spaniards, hee caused them to be hanged at Padoua, saying that they had beene suborned by their commanders to kill him in treason: the which put the viceroy of Naples into such a rage, as he made a mi- serable spoile of the countie about Padoua, & hauing chased *Bernardinus Antinola*, nephew to Aliano, he shut him into Citadelle, which place being battered, was taken partly by a breach, and partly by escalado. *Bernardin* of Antinola & his men were carried away priso- ners, and the place sackt. To recompence this losse, *Aliano* defeated some troups of light horse nere to Este: the army which besieged Creme, being hardly retained for want of pay was forced to retire. The armie of Spain after the taking of Citadelle, diuided it selfe into diuers lodgings, the viceroy to Verona, the Marques of Pescara to Lendenara, with 3000 Spaniards: there came about 800 men at armes to Rouigo; of which *D. Garcia Matrigue* was captain, who suffered themselves to be surpris'd by *Aliano*, who led both him and all his company away prisoners: some write they were 300 horse, & 1000 Spanish foot: On the other side *Renzo de Cors*, being freed from the siege of Creme which hee had defended valiantly, being fortified with men, hee surpris'd Bergamo by intelligence of the inhabi- tants, but soon after the viceroy recovered it againe, hauing joined his Spaniards with the forces of Milan, led by *Siluis Suedo*, *Renzo*, who was within it, yielding it vpon honorable

Spaniards  
surpris'd in  
their lodging

conditions. The Bergamasques were punished for their rebellion by the purse, redee- ming the sack of the town, & other punishments prepared for them, for great sums of mo- ney: the which did much displease the Spaniards, who were in hope that the spoile of this town should haue been giuen to them. Winter approaching, the armies were lodged and for that it was bruited that the French king prepared a great power to passe into Italy in the spring, *D. Raymond* of Cardone the viceroy, who had his Spanish army much diminished, went to the emperor to Insuprach, to take counsell touching the affaire of the future warre. At Rome the embassadors for the emperor, King *Ferdinand*, and French king vied their art and skill to win the Popes fauor for their masters: but he being cunning, politique, and enemy to them all, discovered not his conceits, but entertained them with vaine hopes.

D 10 About the end of this yere, before that *k. Ferdinand* had any intelligence of the suc- cesse of *Vasco Nuyges* of Balboa, it was resolved in counsell, to send to the Antique of Da- rien, & into the region of Castille del or a knight for gouernor, whose name was *Pedro Arias* of Auila, born at Segobia: which charge was demanded by many, *Arbolancha* whome *Vasco Nuyges* had sent into Spain, being not yet arriued, for otherwise without doubt that charge had bin giuen him in recompence of his labors & great seruice which he had done vnto the king in the discovery of so rich countries: yet he was made gouernor of the coast towards the South sea: but *D. John Rodrigo* of Fonseca, bishop of Burgos, who had the superintendency of the affaires of the Indies, & did much fauor *Pedro Arias*, protracted the time to make the dispatch of his prouision, yet the sentence giuen against him at the suit of

*Pedro Arias*  
of Auila made  
viceroy of the  
firme land at  
the Indies

E the bachelor *Emiso* was cancelled and made void. *Pedro Arias* then hauing in- formed by Saint Lucar of Barrameda, with one thousand fure hundred men in 17 ves- sels, the 14 of May, hauing in his company, kiet *John Cabedo* first bishop of the Antique of Darien, & first Prelat of the firme land at the Indies, and for pilot *John Vesputio*, Florentine, heailed in 38 daies to the Antique, where he was receiued with great ioy, & *Vasco Nuyges* of Balboa lodged him in his own lodging, with al the honor he could deuise, & was in- formed by him of the whole estate of that country, & of the discovery which he had made of Castille delor, for so he had named it, by reason of the great riches thereof; and of the South Sea, and of pearles: wherewith *Pedro Arias de Auila* was verie much plea- sed, finding that there was worke done, and that there remained nothing but to people and husband it. He made the Licenciat *Gaspas* of Espinose, borne at Medina del Cam- po, Alcayde maior, or president of his Iustice, and according to his charge, he beganne to diuide the prouinces to his people, sending *Francis Becerra* with 550 Spaniards towards the Riuer of Dabayba, who indured great miseries there, and returned with no- table losse. *John* of Ayora with foure hundred men was directed into the countrie of the Cachico. *D. Charles Panquico*, a most faithfull friend to the Spaniards, who

*John Cabedo*  
first Bishop of  
the Antique of  
Darien

1514

who notwithstanding was so ingratiously intreated by them, and the Indians his subjects so cruelly and couetously vexed, as they were forced to take armes, and to chafe away *Apur*, who returned flying from whence he parted. Captain *Pedro* being sent towards *Caribana*, and *Berthelmeo Hurtado* to *Acla*, they had no better successe ino other in other places: so as *Vasco Nunez*, was not so fortunate, but *Pedro Arias* and his company were as unfortunate in all their enterprises. King *Ferdinand* toward the end of this yeare 1514 did so decay in his health, as there were apparent signes of a dropsie in him: One of the captaines which *Pedro Arias de Auila*, called *Gonsalo* of *Badajos*, had sent to people in the maine land, tooke his course towards *Nombr de Dios*, in the beginning of the yeare

1515

1515, where hee found Indians that were strange and vntoerable, so as hauing increased his troupe, being about 80 Spaniards, by the arrivall of *Lewis* of *Mercado*, who brought 50 more, they went in company towards the fourth Sea, and being come to a place called *Coyba*, they lackt it, for that the lord of the country called *Tuana* flying the acquaintance of these bearded men, had retired himselfe into the woods: then they made prey of many things, and especially of slaves. Passing on by a rivers side, on the 5 day they met with two Indians laden with bread, which a blind *Cachico* sent vnto them, who brought them to the place where this *Cachico* dwelt, with whom they made good cheare, & received presents of gold, with information of those countries, which they sought, and guides to conduct them. Continuing on their course they came where there reigned a lord called *Taracura*, who also gaue them a good quantity of gold: but yet they did not forbear to fier a borough belonging to a brother of his, for that he was not to be found at their arrivall: then passing by the countries of the *Cachicos* *Cherra* and *Nathan* they received so much gold & other things, as the treasure which they got in that voyage, amounted to about 8000 ducats, & at the least 400 slaves. But as prosperity makes people careless & overweening, being come into the country of a mighty lord called *Parica*, holding no order nor discipline, thinking they should find friendly reception in all places, they were suddenly charged by a great number of Indians, who slue 80 of his Spaniards, put the rest to flight, and got their gold and slaves, with all the booty which they had made in this voyage. The same yeare *Gasper* of *Morales* being sent by the same gouernour with 150 Spaniards towards S. Michaels gulph, he pass with the help of the *Cachicos* *Chispe* & *Tumaco*, into the illad of *Tarareque*, leading 70 men only with him, being drawne on by the fame of perles and other riches which were there, and vpon that shore: there he had three encounters, whereas the Indians shewed themselves braue, seeking to repulse the Spaniards, but at the fourth charge they were vanquished, and the *Cachico* brought to obedience, by the means of some Indians that were friends, and did accompany the Spaniards, who did highly praise

Spaniards defeated and slain by the Indians.

Perles in abundance.

Statuities at the Indies through euill.

by this lord, & received of him about 110 markes of perle, in recompence whereof they gaue him hatchets and other smal mercery wares, of the which he and his Indians made great esteeme: and this *Cachico* grew so familiar, as he discovered vnto *Gasper* of *Morales* all the riches of those illands, & moreover made himselfe vassall & tributarie to the king of *Castille*, promising to giue him yerely 100 markes of perle: he suffered himselfe to be baptized, and was called *Pedro Arias*, by the gouernours name, and with this good successe *Gasper* of *Morales* returned hauing sped better than the rest. The gouernor *Pedro Arias* in the mean time being entred into a great quarrel against *Vasco Nunez* of *Balboa*, (whether it were through enuy, for that the one had been more happy in discouering, then hee in gouerning of those new found countries, or through the infolenie of *Balboa*, who soot at his enterprises, & the aduersities of his captains: ) it did much trouble his government: to pacifie the which, & to reconcile them, frist *John Canedo*, the new bishop, tried all the meanes he could, causing *Vasco Nunez* to marrie *Pedro Arias* daughter: but notwithstanding this alliance, they fel againe to great discord, which proceeded so far, as *Vasco Nunez* being in his gouernment towards the fourth Sea, where he had caused foure Carauels to be built to continue his conquests, the gouernour *Arias* caused him to be adourned, and forced him to appeare in iustice at the Antique of *Darien*, where being arriued, he was laied hold on, and the procurator fittall pleading against him, he accused him of mutinies and other infolenies committed, for the which he had beene absolved; yet they condemned him to lose

A lose his head, with five of his companions: the which did wonderfully increase all the Spaniards that were in that countrie, who lamented with reares the pittifull end of so braue a Captaine, vnder whose conduct and good fortune they did hope in short time to be the richest men in Europe.

11 Whilest these things past at the Indies, the counsell of Spaine was in great difficulties for the affaires of *Italie*, by the death of *Lewis* 12: the French king, who dyed the first of Ianuarie, this yeare 1515, to whom *Francis* duke of Angoulisme had succeeded, a young, braue, and valiant Prince, who at the first intituled himselfe duke of Milan, with an intent to pursue the right of his predecessor and father in law, wherefore hauing confirmed the peace made with the English, and vpon a hope of marriage betwixt the ladie *Reney*, younger daughter to the deceased king, being then but nine yeres old, and Prince *Charles*, who began to gouern his estates of the Netherlands, being assured of his friendship, he prepared himselfe for the warre of *Italie*. It was contracted with the earle of *Nassau* Prince *Charles* his embassador, that to the Princess his future spouse should be giuen 600 thousand crownes, and the duchie of Berry in dowrie, in regard whereof hee should renounce al rights & pretensions which she might haue to her mothers or fathers goods, that is, to the duchies of Britaine and Milan, and moreover, that Prince *Charles* should be a mediator to the king *D. Ferdinand* his grandfather, for the restoring of *Iohn* of *Albret* and *Catherine* his wife, to their realm of *Navarre*: & on the other side, that King *Francis* should

C aid Prince *Charles* with men & shipping, when as (after the death of King *Ferdinand*, which approached) it should be fit for him to passe into Spaine, where hee feared some opposition, by his brother *D. Ferdinand*, who was bred up and much beloued in Spain, King *Francis* sought to prolong the truce made by King *Lewis* his predecessor with King *Ferdinand*, to win the Popes fauour, and to pacifie the *Suisses*: but hee found opposition in all these three: for these Potentates were directly contrarie to the design which he made vpon the duchie of Milan, and it was bruted that the *Suisses* prepared to iuniade *Burgongne*, or *Dauphine*. Besides, there was a streit league made betwixt the emperour King *Ferdinand*, and the duke of Milan, to force the French king to quit the title of duke Milan, and to renounce his pretended right to the duchie. And there was another league made be-

D twice the French king and the Venerians in that respect. At that time *Pedro Nauarro*, earle of *Albeto*, remained prisoner among the French, since the battell of *Raunna*: for whose redemption King *Ferdinand* did not care, for that some noblemen *Castilians*, of lesse merit than himselfe, through emulation of his vertue, had impured the losse of that battell vnto him: which this wife and iudicious captaine apprehended, and thinking his seruices were ill rewarded, hee agreed to serue the French king, quitting the countie of *Albeto*, and all that hee held in the king of *Castilles* dominions, making all acts and protestations in that case required: After which he began to leuie troups of foot in *Gascoine*, seeming that they with other forces should serue for the recouerie of the realme of *Navarre*: but the princes whome it concerned, knewe well that this great preparation was for the duchie of Milan, so as euerie one stood vpon his gard.

E King *Ferdinand* being bound by the league to inuade France by *Cattelonia*, and *Guipuscoa*, he approached nere to *Burgos*, where hauing bene verie sicke some daies in the monastier of *Mejorada*, hee past at *Aranda* of *Duero*, from whence he sent *Queene Germane* his wife into *Arragon*, to assit at the Estates at *Monson*, and to provide for that which should be necessarie, if the warre grew hot in France, to the end hee should receiue no harm on that side, himselfe taking the charge of *Castille*, and of the frontier of *Guipuscoa*. Being come to *Burgos*, he called the estates, with whose aduice and aid hee provided for the sea coast & the realme of *Navarre*, the which at that time, as a conquest made with the forces of *Castille*, hee did solemnly incorporate for euer to that crown: And for that his charges would be verie great for the execution of those enterprises which hee had in hand, namely for the conquest and defence of those places which hee held in *Afrike* and the Indies, and to stee the seas from pyrats, the Pope gaue him leaue to raise certaine summes of money vpon the Clergie for two yeares. His infirmity increasing, hee had such continuall faintings, as on the seuen and twenetieth of Iune, they thought hee would haue died:

1515  
After Nugnes of Balboa  
capt at the Antique of Darien.

Francis the first  
the French king

Contract of marriage betwixt  
Prince Charles  
of Austria and  
Queen of France

League against  
King Francis.

Pedro Nauarro  
serues the  
French king.

Enterprises of  
King Ferdinand  
against the  
French king.

Navarre incor-  
porated to the  
crown of Ca-  
stille.

1515  
Treatise of  
king Ferdinand

Chancellor of  
Aragon accus-  
ed to have  
sought to dis-  
serve queen Ger-  
maine.

Entervue be-  
twixt Pope Leo  
and king Fran-  
cis.

Pragmaticke  
sanction abol-  
ished.

Death of D.  
Gonsalo Fer-  
nandes of Cor-  
doua, called the  
great Capitaine.

died : wherefore finding himselfe neere his end, he desired to make his will, and caused it to be written, leauing his daughter Queene Joane for his generall heire, and the infant D. Ferdinand his grand-child, gouernour of Castille; to whom he gaue for gouernour D. Gonsalo of Guzman treasurer of Calatrava, and for his Schoolemaster D. Aluaro Osorio bishop of Astorga, hauing a great desire to cause the three masterships of Castille to fall into his hands after his death, whereupon he made orders which hee thought might take place, but afterwards he reuoked them. He had some amendment, and came to Aranda of Duero, whither *Anthony Augustine*, his Chancelor of Arragon came, whom he caused to be apprehended, and committed, being informed that he had presumed to attempt against the honor of the queene, his wife: for seeing her too desirous to haue children, and the king her husband by reason of his age and infirmities, too weake, he had offered her his seruice too familiarly. This Chancellor remained in prison, till after the kings death, and then was set at liberty by the Cardinal *Ximenes*, who was gouernour of Spaine. The same yeare there hauing been an entervue at Vienn in Austria, betwixt the emperor *Maximilian* and Ladillaus king of Hongarie, and Bohemia, the marriages were accorded of the infant *Ferdinand*, with *Anne* Daughter to the said king of Hongarie, and of *Marie* sister to prince *Charles* of Austria, Infanta of Castille, with *Lewis* sonne and heir to the said king Ladillaus.

13 King *Francis* past into Lombardy, with a great army: what succeeded in those wars you may read at large in the French Historie. The Pope seeing all things prosper for the French, made an accord with the king: they had an entervue at Bologna, with great shewes of friendship; there they confirmed their league, and conferred long of the conquest of Naples, for the French king; but they resolved to deferre it till after the death of king *Ferdinand*, which they knew to be neere: the Pope hauing no desire of it for the quiet of Italie, alleging for excuse, that the time of the league which hee had with the Catholike king, did not yet expire of fixteene months, yet in shew he seemed verie willing to countenance that conquest, so as the French king (who was well content to haue it deferred vntill another time, for that his treasure was exhausted) was verie well satisfied. There the Pragmaticke sanction was abolished, the Pope granting liberty to the king, to the preiudice of the clergy of France, to name & present men at his pleasure, to ecclesiastical dignities and benefices being void within his realme; a priuiledge which belonged to Chapters and Colledge: they made many other agreements to the contentment one of another.

In this estate stood the affaires of Italie, towards the end of king *Ferdinands* daies, whose disease did vndermine him by little & little yet he would needs part from Segobia, to goe into Arragon to the estates, whether he had sent Queene *Germaine* his wife, transporting himselfe to Calatrava: but he was forced to returne into Castille, as well for the affaires of the realme, as to giue order to provide men for Italie in fauour of the emperor *Maximilian*, who made preparation to enter in the Spring, and also to care for the defence of that which he held in Africke. At that time was the marriage betwixt D. *Alonso Peres* of Guzman, or *Aluaro* duke of Medina Sydonia, and D. *Anna* of Arragon, daughter to D. *Alonso* of Arragon, the kings Nece: to whom one of his Council comming from visiting a certaine woman, whom they held for a Saint in Spaine, called the holie woman of Barca, reported from her, that hee should bee of a good courage, for hee should not die before he had conquered Ierusalem: but this good woman was deceived.

This yeare dyed of a double quarter Age, the great Capitaine *Gonsalo Fernandes* of Cordoua duke of Sessa, Terranova, of Saint Ange, marquisse of Bitonto, Prince of Squilaci, and Constable of the realme of Naples. Among the other vertues of this famous man, hee is much commended for his great chastity, a rare thing in a Spaniard: his end was in the seventy third yeare of his age, leauing by his wife D. *Maria Henrique*, one only daughter and heire, named D. *Eluira* of Cordoua: his bodie lies in the monastery of Saint *Ierome*, in that citie. The king hearing of the death of this worthy man, sent to comfort his widow and daughter.

14 In the yeare one thousand five hundred and fixteene, which was the last of king *Ferdinands* life, there arrived in Castille, at a place called the Screine, doctor

A *Adrian Florent* deane of Louvain, embassador for Prince *Charles* of Austria; and his Schoolemaster, who in time was made bishop of Tortosa, then Cardinal, and successively Pope. His charge in shew, was for matters of gouernement; against the Lord of Cheures, who was the princes gouernour: but in effect he came into Spaine, to pry and looke into the state of things, and to aduertise the prince: And the King dying, which was held to bee verie neere, hee had authoritie and commaundement to take possession in his name of the gouernement of the realmes of Castille, Arragon, and the rest. The king parted from Plaisance, with an intent to goe to Guadalupe, there to performe a vow: passing from one place to another, his infirmities still increasing, hee stayed at Madrigalejo, a borough neere vnto Trugillo, where he had a kind of fluxe:

B by reason whereof doctor *Adrian* (who was verie vnpleasing vnto him) transported himselfe thither; yet shewing him a good countenance, hee willed him to goe and attend him at Guadalupe: his sicknesse encreasing, they that were about him were contrayned to aduertise him that his end drew neere, the which did much discontent him: for hee thought hee had a longer time to liue; neyther did hee giue credit to all that his Confessor *Frier Thomas* of Matienso said vnto him: but when they had often reiterated this aduertisement, that hee might dispose himselfe to die like a Christian, he caused the Licenciat *Zapate* and doctor *Caruial*, who were of his chamber, and of his Councill, to bee called vnto him, and with them the Licenciat *Pergas* his Treasurer, who was also of his Councill, a man in whom hee had great confidence: whom he employed and coniured to giue him good and faithfull counsell, in that which hee should demand of them: hee told them that for the opiopie hee had that prince *Charles* would not come in person to gouerne the realmes of Spaine, hee had appointed the Infant D. *Ferdinand* gouernour of them for the Queene D. *Joane* her daughter: whereupon hee desired to know their opinions, if hee had not done well. These three men zealous of the good of those realmes told him freely, that in so doing hee had not provided for the peace and quiet of the realmes, wherefore he should call backe that article, and name prince *Charles* gouernour of them, as Lawe and Justice required, shewing him the great inconueniencies which might happen, if haply the Infant D. *Ferdinand*, finding himselfe seised of so great Estates, should seeke to hold them; such thoughts being easie to breed in the hearts of princes. The king yeelded to this Councill, and reformed his Will in that point, in regard of Castille, and that which is incorporated vnto it: As for Arragon and Sicile hee left the gouernement to his base sonne D. *Alonso* archbishop of Saragosse, and vntill that prince *Charles* came, he appointed gouernor in his absence, by the aduice of this Councill, Cardinal *Francis Ximenes* of Cisneros, saying, that he knew him to be an honest man, and wel affected, fashioned and aduanced by him and by the Q. D. *Isabella*; one who had no great alliances, & had alwayes shewed himselfe a faithfull seruant. As for the realm of Naples, he confirmed the gouernment with the same condition to the viceroy D. *Raymond* of Cardone, & in Nauar there had bin viceroy D. *Frederic d'Acuna*, commander of Montemolin, of the order of S. *James*, brother to the erle of Buendia:

E Some few daies before he had obtayned from Pope *Leo*, a new prouision in his owne person, of the three masterships of Castille, Saint *James*, Calatrava and Alcantara, the which he desired to resigne to the Infant D. *Ferdinand* whom hee loued deerey: but hee was in like manner perswaded not to doe it, for hee should remember of what importance in former times one of those masterships had bin, in the person of a priuar man; to trouble the realme: and therefore hee must thinke that if all these were ioyned in one, and he of the blood royall, hee equalling (without doubt) the kings power might cause greater alterations: whereupon the king demanding, What then shall the Infant do remayning so poore? It is, answered his Councillours, the best and goodliest inheritance that you can leaue him: for finding himselfe poore, it will giue him occasion to seek the helpe of prince *Charles* his brother, who will aduance him. These things pleased the king, who gaue vnto the Infant D. *Ferdinand* 50000 ducats of yerely rent vpon Brindes, Tarentum, and other places in Apulia in the realme of Naples, by the aduice of the same Councillours. Out of the reuenues of the realm of Sicile, he left vnto his wife Q. *Germaine*, thirtie

5555

thirtie

Reformation  
of king Ferdi-  
nands vsuities  
by the aduice of  
some of his  
councill.

Infant D. Fer-  
dinand ill ap-  
pointed.



thirtie thousand florins of gold of yearly rent, the which was afterwards assigned in G Castille, vpon the townes of Arenale, Madrigal and Olmedo: hee left moreover vnto her tenn thousand ducats in the realme of Naples. These Ordinaunces in forme of a testamēt were written by the hand of one of the aboue named Councillours, reuoking that which hee had made at Burgos; all being done in great secret, to the end that nothing might come to the knowledge of the Infant D. Ferdinand, who was then at Guadalupe; not of his Gouernours and Ministers, who did hope to manage the realme after the Kings decease. The will being written out faire, it was receiued by the Prothonotarie Clement of Velasco. The Queene D. Germaine hauing notice of the extremitie of the Kings infirmities at Calataub, whereas the estates of Arragon were held; shee came with all speed to Madrigalejo; and was at his death, which was the three and twentieth of January one thousand five hundred and sixteene, being three score and three years old, and hauing reigned one and forty yeeves, one moneth, and nine dayes, comprehending the time that king D. Philip of Austria reigned. The Kings Councill and the Noblemen being assembled; they resolved to send to the embassadour Adrian, who attended the king at Guadalupe: wherefore Doctor Canual and the Licenciat Vargas were sent vnto him, who brought him to Madrigalejo, where in his presence the kings will was opened and read, whereof they gaue a copie to the embassadour, at his request. Afterwards by the aduice of them all, D. Bernard of Rojas, marquess of Denia, and the licenciate Remiquillo Alcaitor prouost of the Court, did accompanie the Kings bodie to Granado, and the other Noblemen went to Infant D. Ferdinand at Guadalupe; where the funerall was made with royall pompe and ceremonies. The body passing by the cite of Cordoua, there ioynd with it D. Martin of Angolobisshoppe of that cite, the marquess of Priego, the earle of Cabra, with other Lords and Knights which did accompany it vnto Granado, where with the state woorthy of such a prince, hee was interred in the chappell of Kings, by Queene Isabella his wife, whose bodie had bene left in the Alhambra of that cite.

A little before the kings death, John Diaz de Solis of Lebrica, chiefe Pilot to the king; parted from the port of Lepe, with three shippes armed, to goe and discover countries in the new world, vnder the equinoctial, where hee had already bene, and found out the great riuer of Panaraguala; which hee had named the riuer of Plata, or of Siluer; where being arrived and entered, hee landed with fiftie Spaniards, thinking to finde all things quiet; as hee had at the other time: but hee found himselfe surprized; and charged by a multitude of Indians, who slew him and all them that had landed with him, and ate them: the rest which kept the shippes being terrified, weighed anchor, and returned into Spaine laden with breffill, and white anise, which they vse for dying.

15. D. Manuel king of Portugall had alwayes continued his navigations, and discoveries at the East with good successe and profit, and imitating the example of the king of Castille, hee prest the African Moores his neighbors vpon the westerne shore, from whom hee tooke the towne of Zafin, by the meanes of Xpouo Fernandes of Araide, who was the first Gouernour, and afterwards hauing sent James Duke of Braganca his nephew, with two thousand horse, and fiftie thousand foote, who landing at Maragan, did assaile and take the towne of Azamon, being abandoned by the Moores: and soone after Almedina yielded; with other places of that terricorie: in which expeditions the Duke of Braganca purchased so great fame, as at this time the name of Braganca is a terror to the Moores. To supply the charges of this waye & conquests, the King D. Manuel hauing emptied his coffers, he obtained from Pope Leo, by his embassadours Triflan of Acauna, and doctor Diego Pacheco, aid and subuentiō out of the reuenues of the Clergie of his country: wherunto the Pope did the more willingly yeeld; hauing heard the great exploits which hee had done, and the discoveries which hee had made; to whom the embassadours presented in the name of the King their master a great elephant, a lionesse, and a bishops mitre or tyare garnished with petyles and precious stones, the richest that euer had bene seene at Rome. The Pope therefore to incorage and giue

Death of King Ferdinand King of Arragon.

Indies.

Spaniards slain in the riuer of Plata by the Indians.

Portugall.

Exploits of King Manuel in Africa.

Braganca a terror to the Moores.

means

A means vnto King Manuel to proceede in so commendable an action; hee graunted him the third part of the reuenues and fringes of Spiritual Liuinges, and moreover to haue a Croisade preached, wherein the Kings deputies behaued themselves so industriously and courageously, as all men had occasion to complaine: whereupon the conuers and new Christians tooke occasion to fall into many errors and peruerse opinions, touching our Religion. These things past about the yeeves one thousand five hundred and twelue, one thousand five hundred and thirteene, and one thousand five hundred and fouretee. The yeeve one thousand five hundred and fiftieene being come, the king vnderooke to build the fort of Mandora in Africk; but his prouisions and men were all disperst and lost there, by the incurfions of the Moores, so as few, and those verie poore, returned into Portugall. This vnfortunate successe was imputed to the exactions which the kings Officers vied vpon the clergie; being an opinion already seled in the hearts of men: that those princes which touch the treasures of the Church, prosper not.

This yeeve Queene Mary was deliuered in the city of Elisbeto, of the Infant D. Edward futur husband to D. Isabella daughter to D. John duke of Braganca, from whom issued D. Edward, and D. Catherine duchesse of Braganca, wife our dayes to the duke D. John second sonne to duke Theodosius; and grandchild to the first D. John. Of D. Edward of Portugall, and D. Isabella, was also borne D. Maria, who was married to the prince of Parma; Isidore to Octauio Farnese, and to Mary Magdalene of Austria, base daughter to the emperor Charles: Soone after the death of D. Ferdinand king of Arragon, the king D.

Manuel was full of care, for the insolent behaviour of his vassals; who sought to disquiet him in his navigations and voyages to the Indies. These were Ferdinand of Magellanes and Roy Falero; who for some discontentment retired themselves into Castille, whereas the cardinal D. Francis Ximenes archbishoppe of Toledo gouerned, offering to discover a short course or way, to go to the rich lands of the Molouques, whence the spices came, more profitable and commodious then that of Calicut and China. Magellanes gaue D. Manuel Rodrigues of Fonseca president of the royall court of the Indies, and other counsellours to vnderstand, that they might find better and more short cut to goe to the Molouques by the coast of Breffill and the riuer of Plata; then by the Cape of Bonne Esperance: and moreover they told them that the great land of Zafintra, and Malacca; were comprehended in the first and fine of the navigation of Castille: they did maintain that the lands of the Molouques were not farre from Panama; and the gulph of saint Michael, and that in all those countries and regions they found abundance of gold, pearles; precious stones, spices and drugges: and to make these counsellours more desirous, they told them many other wonders of unknowne lands, which they offered to discover. Magellanes saying that hee had a relation of a man of Verchano in Bolonia, who had beene at Bagan, Borneo, Bathan, Tidore; and other countries of spices, which are vnder the Equinoctiall; shewing many letters written from his friends to the Indians: And moreover, hee had a slave of the land of Zamate, who vnderstood many languages of that Country; and an other slave recouered at Malacca. By these reasons and persuasions, hee inducethem of the council and the Regent D. Francis Ximenes gave gooth hope to Magellanes, to obtaine ships and men to make this voyage, at the commanding of the prince D. Charles, who would not stay long before hee parted from Placentia, to come and take possession of his realmes of Castille and Arragon. The king D. Manuel made many consultations against the suspected subjects; by his Ambassadors to the council of Castille, and they against him; and the voyage was performed as wee will shew. About the yeeve one thousand five hundred and fiftieene, Cristobal Colon second wife to the king D. Manuel, was deliuered in child betwixt the Infant D. Anthony, who lived not long after his mother; which caused great heaviness in the king. Shee lies in the monastere of the order of Gold: Shee was then fise and thirtie yeeves old, and the king died and buried, which occasioned with the prelates and clergie more of his realme had often yeeves died vnto them: that his cruelties and aduersities came for that hee tooke the reuenues of the church, and employed them for the affairs of his realme; hee caused the collections & contributions to the clergie, promising to pay into the clergie 10000 ducats in yeeves, at 7 yeeves.

The king went to his third wife D. Zuzanna who reigned the first of Austria

3516  
Third part of spiritual livinges graunted to the king of Portugall in the same yeeve.

Opinion fauourable for the Clergie.

Genealogie of Portugall.

Magellanes and Falero Portugallians in Castille.

Death of Marie Queene of Portugall.

King consents.



Infanta of Castille, niece to the two former queenes, being then 19. yeeres old, and the King 50. She was conducted into Portugal by *Castille*, in the yeere 1518. alittle before the arrival of King *Charles* in Spaine: the marriage was celebrated in Crato, with great pompe and shew: of which marriage were borne the infants *D. Charles*, and *D. Marie*.

### D. Ioane Queene of Castille, Arragon, Nauarre,

*Naples, Sicile, Sardania &c. for whose incapacie, the reignes of D. Charles her sonne, began, being the first of that name, and the two and twentieth king of Castille.*

Castile.

Cardinal *Ximenes* governor of Castile.

Accord for the government of Spaine.

Contention for the masteryship of S. Iohn.

Previdence of Cardinal *Ximenes* for the peace of Spaine.

16 After the decease of King *Ferdinand*, *Queene Ioane* his daughter succeeded in all his realmes, lands, and feignories. *Charles* archduke of Austria, and erle of Flanders her eldest sonne, who should inherite all those great estates after her, was then in her absence, and for the *Queenes* incapacie, Cardinal *Francis Ximenes* of Cisneros, according to the testament of the deceased King, tooke upon him the gouernement of Castille, with the consents of all the Councell and Nobilitie of the realme: notwithstanding that the gouernours and ministers of the infant *D. Ferdinand*, would, by vertue of the last testament made at Burgos, haue him intrude himselfe into the gouernment of affaires as regent. He having written to them of the counsell to come vnto him to Guadalupe, and vnto too high times in his letters, one of the counsell, said freely vnto him that presented the Infantes letters, Tell him that wee will be shortly at Guadalupe, where knowing well our duties, we will doe him the honour and reuerence that belongs vnto him, & that we haue no other king but *Cesar*. The prince *Charles* was that chosen emperor: but that word was taken as a preface of his future election. The first care of Cardinal *Ximenes*, was to make an agreement with doctor *Adrian*, who had brought letters and authoritie from prince *Charles* by the which he declared him his lieutenant, in case that the king *D. Ferdinand* should die, during his legation in Spaine. The accord was thus made, that vntill they had other news from prince *Charles*, they should iournly signall dispatches. After which they went to pacifie a trouble that was of small consequence; for *D. Pedro Portocarrero* called the Deafe brother to the duke of Escalona, the sennet of the Marquesse of Villeneuve at this day, had obtained after the decease of the great capitaine, who alwaies to the masteryship of S. Iohn, bulls and prouision from the pope, of that masteryship, & did sollicite the commanders of the Order assemblable together to receiue him, but prince *Charles* during his grandethere life had also obtained a later prouision, by the means of *D. Bernard de Caxules*, of all the saiden masteryships, in his person, and it is most certaine that King *Ferdinand* was not perishing in seeing that he would haue giuen them to the infant *D. Ferdinand*: The cardinal being perswaded of these things, he sent with the assents of doctor *Adrian* and the Councell *Alonso*, one of the Alcaldes of the court with letters & force, to suppose *Portocarrero*, and to stay this assembly of the commanders: whereunto they obeyed, *Portocarrero* took his flight, who defiled from his enterprise. This Cardinal had a warre still late upon the actions of the infant *D. Ferdinand*, and of that which did concerne him, being alwaies euer vnto his person, for he feared that the noblemen of Castille, who desired some alteration in the State, would corrupt him, and might do otherwise. He prouided in such sort for queene *Germane* in this beginning, so that in all things were disposed that there might not want money for the entertainment of her person, and royal dignitie: A bishop of residence for the counsell was chosen at Madrid, for that it was common opinion for a great while, being not farre from his archbishopricke of Toledo, from whence either King *Perez of Combray*, & *Reynold of Auila*, to carrie away the prince *Charles* of the duke of the king his grandfather, and of all that part of France, the prince was then at *Orleans* where he had bene bred up, and his brother *D. Ferdinand* in Spaine the one instructed in the manners & customs of the Flemings, the other in those of Spaine: which made the Spaniards to chide at the younger more, and did much trouble the Cardinal *Ximenes*: These were men which at that time did gouern the person of prince *Charles*, & his affairs, young *Alonso* was governor of

A of Bourgondie, and afterwards Chancelour, the Lord of Cheures, and *Lanau*, Chamberlaines, *Lawrence Gorrebot* great master, and *Charles of Lannoy* Master of the Horse. Hee had a Pupilion of Milan, called *etier Marlian*, a learned man and of great experience, who was theinuentor of that Most *Plow vna*, the which prince *Charles* vied betwixt *Hercules* pillars, hee was afterwards bishop of Tui, but against the will of cardinal *Ximenes*. The lord of Cheures was of greatest authority about the prince, hauing bred him vp: hee was so hated of King *Ferdinand* as a little before his death, in a certaine treaty made with doctor *Adrian*, hee would haue it expredly referred that *Cheures* should be chased away, the which did much discontent him, who for that cause conceived a great hatred against doctor *Adrian*, but hee was forced to yeeld that to the King, that hee might winne his loue to prince *Charles*, for hee sawe his intent was to debase him, to aduance the Infant *D. Ferdinand*, if hee could. Of Spaniards *D. Iohn Manuel* was in some credite in the court of Flaunders, a flatterer and breeder of debate betwixt King *Ferdinand* and *Philip* of Austria his sonne in lawe, for the which hee was put in prison by the lady *Marguerite* gouernesse of Flaunders: but after the kings death hee was presently set at libertie by prince *Charles*. *D. Antonio* of Eshuniga brother to the duke of Bejar was also hopoured in that Court, *D. Pedro Portocarrero* loanne to him that was deafe, of whom wee haue spoken, *D. Lewis* of Cordoua, *D. Alphonso Alantiques*, the bishop of Badajoz, and *Pedro Mata* archbishoppe of Seule, a famous preacher, and Secretary to the prince. Such was the estate of his Court, when hee receiued newes of the death of the king his grandfather, for the which hee shewed a grieued befitting nature, and the neerenesse of blood that was betwixt them: hee commended him for the election which hee had made of the cardinal *Francis Ximenes*, and did write vnto the Infant his brother, to the widow *Queene*, and to the counsell, giuing them hope that hee would bee soone in Spaine. In his first letters to the Gouernours and the Councell hee did intitle himselfe Prince: but some of the Councell of Flanders, seeing *Queene Ioane* weake of her fences, and to bee but a vaine maske of royall dignitie, they were of opinion that hee should take the title of King, the which hee did, for that said hee, it was conformable to the custome of the princes of Flaunders and Germanie, and that it was the aduice of the Emperour *Maximilian*, and of Pope *Leo*, the which was not well liked of in Spaine: notwithstanding seeing hee had once taken it, it would haue bene dishonourable to haue left it, and therefore hee continued this title, the cardinal *Ximenes* causing the rest to allow of it: and thereupon they did aduance the Standard and Armes of the new King *Charles*, in the towne of Madrid. The Arragonois (strict defenders of their Lawes) would neuer allow of this title of King, during the life of *Queene Ioane*: of whom *D. Alphonso* of Arragon, archbishoppe of Saragoffe was gouernor.

18 Whilest these things were done at Madrid by cardinal *Ximenes*, there grew new tumults, the which did first disquiet Andalusia, and afterwards all the Prouinces of Spaine. The chiefe of this tumult was *D. Pedro Giron*, eldest sonne to the earle of Vregna, who entred the countrey of the duke of *Medina Sidonia* with forces, and besieged Luzzero a towne, with an intent to seaze vpon the whole Duchie, if hee could. And this was the cause of his enterprise: *D. Iohn* of Guzman duke of Medina Sidonia married two sisters successuely, one after an other, daughters to the Duke of Bejar; by the first hee had two children, *D. Henrie*, and *D. Mentia*; and by the second one sonne called *D. Aluaro*: *D. Mentia* was married to *D. Pedro Giron*: *D. Henrie* was vnapt for generation, and dyed without children: *D. Aluaro* borne of the second ventur, married, as we haue said, with *D. Anne* of Arragon, daughter to *D. Alphonso* of Arragon: which marriage was made by the King *D. Ferdinand*, in hope that *D. Aluaro* should succede in all the feignories of Duke *Iohn* his father: who being dead, hee was put in possession of the Duchie of Medina Sidonia; notwithstanding the opposition of *D. Pedro Giron*, who said, that *D. Aluaro* was a bastard, borne in incest, not being tollerable neither by Diuine nor Humane Lawes to marrie two sisters: and if Popes had at any time suffered it, it was for some great good and benefite to the Common weale, which had no such consideration in the fact of

*Cheures* gouernour to prince *Charles*.

Title of King allowed in Castille to prince *Charles* during his mothers life, but not in Arragon.

*Correll* brother to *Pedro Giron*, and the duke of *Medina Sidonia*.





Acts of Cardinall Ximenes approved by the King.

Rebellions pacified in Castile.

Defeat of Turkes at sea by the Spanish Gallies.

Orders for the Indies.

Cardinall Ximenes causeth information to be taken at the Indies of the Spaniards.

like remedy, to force many great men to the observation of the Lawes, hee had required this most necessary remedie, with the which hee meant to preferre him the realme of his predecessors, without any charge vnto his coffers. For this cause hee besought the king not to give eare vnto the flanderous reports of his ill willers, who desired nothing but troubles, seeing hee had had so great proofes of his loyalty and affection: and that it would please him to write sharpe letters to the townes that would not obey him, that they might bee drawne to their duties, a contempt or rebellion being of great importance, the which can not be light, no nor in light matters: And for that since the warre of Granada Spaine was much vnfurnished of armes, that it was necessarie to send out of Flaunders; and the neighbour countries; great store of corslets, harquebuzes, pikes and other armes: the which was faithfully solicited by *Diego Laper*, and fauorably granted by the King; so as at the comming of those Letters into Spaine, the inhabitants of Vaileadolit and others, seeing that the Cardinall's counsell was allowed by the prince, submitted themselves, and gaue over their factions. There were foure Sindies of the people appointed at Vaileadolit; who should assist at the Council, and might oppose against all decrees and resolutions which should bee made to the prejudice of the King, or commonweale, and if they would proceede, then to aduertise the King. This was thought verie fit and necessarie by the Vaileadolitians, the chiefe whereof were too much obliged to the Admirall and Earle of Benarent. Thus ended the rebellion of those townes against the Cardinall; who by means of these provisions maintained himselfe in his charge and authoritie. These militarie Orders haue been in our time practised by King *Philip the second*, having appoynted bands and captaines, and granted immunities to the souldiers throughout all his townes. And for that the Cardinall had provided in vaine for all inconueniences which might happen at land, if he should not in like manner assure the realme towards the Sea, hee added to the old galleies which hee found in Spaine; twentie new, which were built and rigged at the charge of the people, dwelling vpon the Sea coast, ynder colour to defend them from the incursions and surprizes of the Moores, Turkes and pyrates; the which procured honourable for him: for soon after that they were readie, the Spanish armie tooke six Turkish galleies with the slaughter of aboute six hundred Turkes, and brought them to Alicant. This Cardinall forgetting nothing that might serue for the publique good, hee repaired the forts and publique monuments which went to ruine; amongst which was the Alcazana, or Alcazar of Seville. His care and diligence extended to the Islands and West Indies, where, by his peticie and wisdom, the Ilanders beganne to take some libertie. At that time there was resident in Madrid, *Don Diego Colon*, Admirall of the Indies, who had bene called home into Spaine by the deceased King *D. Ferdinand*; by reason of some quarrelles betwixt him and some that had charge at the Indies; and for many complaints and accusations framed against him by his enemies. After the kings decease hee did sollicite Cardinall *Ximenes* the Regent to take knowledge of his iustices; and to suffer him to execute his charge: whereas hee thought it fittest to send some good and learned men to be informed of these matters at the Indies, and to attend hee made chiefe of two souldiers, of the Order of *Saint Ierome*, the one was *Luis de Figueroa* prior of the monastarie of *Mejorada* of *Olivado*; and the other *Alphonso* of *Saint Iohn* prior of *Ortega* of *Burgos*, to whom hee ioyntly *Alphonso* and *James*, and gaue them charge to passe into the Island of *Saint Domingo* or *Hispaniola*, and thence to take an exact information of the insolencies and abuses of euery man, and especially of the quarrells betwixt the Admirall and the Spaniards, and to requite of all things that were profitable or necessary for the publique gouernement, and especially for the quiet and good vlsage of the naturall Indians, who at that time were oppressed with cruel seruitude. Recommending especially vnto them that information of those people in religion: Afterwards hee appoynted *Don Alphonso* to follow them for President of the Iustice, a man learned in the Lawes, and verie stout. The souldiers being come into the land, beganne to execute their charge very diligently, and with discretion, and did order many things, whereof this is memorable: King *Ferdinand* deceased, had distributed the Ilanders and Indians to certaine captaines, and other Spaniards,

A ards, who had employed themselves in these discoueries and conquests, to haue the care and defence of them, as Lordes of their vassalls and subiects; and for this reason were called Commanditaires, for that these people Indians were committed vnto them: many of these haue left the Indies, were returned into Spaine; and there remayned: from whence the Fathers (disannulling the king's *Foramans* Edict)ooke their vassalls and subiects, saying, that it was not reasonable the absent living in idleness and delights, should enioy the fruites due to their vertue, who staying ouer the spacious Ocean with so great danger, did sweate continually vnder their armes to extend the Empire of the Crowne of Spaine, and religion: wherefore the Ilanders were diuided by them to the olde inhabitants residing at the Indies; according to euery mans merite and dignitie. Then they thought that these miserable Indians were slaues by the Lawes of armes; by reason whereof their masters did increase them cruelly, causing them to draw and to carrie burthens like horses or asses, the which seemed verie inhumane to these fathers, and strange from all Christian pietie: wherefore somewhat to moderate that which they could not altogether helpe: they ordained that this people liuing then in the fieldes and desert places, of whom they made no more accompt then of beasts, should bee drawne into townes and villages, and liue vnder some forme of policie and municipall Lawe, taking from their masters this great authoritie and power which they pretended of life and death, letting them know, that they should vse them as vassalls, and not abuse them as slaues.

C Thus the Fathers thought to provide for the libertie of this people, against the tyranny of the souldiers: where they found great difficulties and debates, the which is visually seene when they seeke to abolish any peruerse custome; so as their holy diligence did afterwards cause a very bad effect, through the wickednesse of the Spaniards, who seeing the same order obserued by the fathers in other Ilands, and places of those regions, whereas the like diuisions and distributions had bene assigned, as well by the Admirall *Columbus* and others, thinking that hereafter there would come others, so as in the end the Indians should be set at full libertie, wherat the Spaniards were so mad, as surcharging their subiects and vassalls with insupportable traile they made them shrinke vnder their burthens, and die. They saie, that by the industrie of these friers, the art of drawing and refining of sugar was much bettered and augmented, and therefore they were much honoured in Spaine, as the authors and inuentsors of many profitable things.

It happened at that time, that some without the priuie of Cardinall *Ximenes*, had gotten leaue of King *Charles* in Flaunders, to carrie foure hundred Ethiopian Moores to the Ilands, such as the Portugalles were accustomed to bring into Spaine, vnder colour that the art of drawing and trimming their sugars required great and strong labour, which the weak bodied Indians could not vndergoe: which the Cardinall vnderstanding hee presently aduertised the King of the danger hee foresawe therein; for these Moores are more strong and giuen to armes: wherefore hee besought him to consider what a subiect of sedition those men which had obtained this leaue of him, caried with the Indians, a simple and rude people, who without doubt would learne of them to bee hardie and warrelke, and to rebell afterwards against the Spaniards. This counsell was contemned by the king, or rather by *Monseign de Chenes* who gouerned him, thinking that the Cardinall did not so much blame their traffike of slaues for the good of the Common weale, as for that hee being Gouernour of Spaine, thought it should not be allowed without his priuie; but hee found afterwards by the event, how wise the Cardinall's aduice was. For in the year one thousand five hundred and two, and twentie, by the conspiracie of foure of these Moores, they did cause a seruile warre in the Island of *Hispaniola*, the which was hardly quenched by the vertue and diligence of *Melchior de Castro*, and *Francis d'Avila* Inhabitants there.

20 The gouernement of Castile was not yet assured from troubles, when as they had newes, that *Iohn* of *Albret* king of *Nauarre* came with a great armie of French, for the recouerie of his realme, wherewith the Cardinall was troubled; having not suffici-

Cruelty of the Spaniards to the Indians.

Others brought and sold for the warre.

Nauarre



## The generall Historie of Spaine.

Lib. 26.

Tumult at  
Malaga.Malaquins  
supplie.Gouernors  
should be main-  
tained in their  
reputation.Contention for  
the towne of  
Aurealo.

sons which were vpon the Sea-coasts did abuse these things, appealing sometime from the kings justice, sometimes to the admiraltie. Being not able to obtain any prouision therein from king *Ferdinand*, at such time as the Cardinal gouerned, they sent into Flan-  
der from king *Charles* of Austria. But, as a multitude  
dets, to get an abolition of this justice from king *Charles* of Austria. But, as a multitude  
hauling once a desire, hath no patience, order nor mean, those of Malaga, without ex-  
pecting of any answer, did tumultuously chase away the judges and beat down the gib-  
bets, and all other marks of the Admiralty in their towne and iurisdiction: whereof  
cell, who thinking by admonitions and threats to suppress the heat of this people, they  
received answer, that they would not submit themselves to any judgement touching  
the differences betwixt them and the admiral, vntill that king *Charles* their soveraigne lord  
were arrived in Spaine: and meaning to maintaine themselves in this opinion against any  
force that should be offered them, they took armes, and planted all the artillerie they had  
vpon their towers & wals, making one peece of admirable greatnes, by a general contri-  
bution of the people, wheron they did graue these words in latin, *Malacitana libertatis as-  
sertores*, &c. that is to say, the defenders of the *Malaquins* libertie haue caused it to be  
made. The multitude was entertained in this rebellion for a time, by some of their citi-  
zens, to whome the Flemish lords that were neere vnto the kings person, did write let-  
ters, and promise fauor: but the Cardinal after that he had vsed all mild remedies, sent an  
army of the legionaries, according to his institution, in the which were 6000 foot and 400  
horse, led by *D. Antonio de la Cueva*: whereupon the *Malaquins* fainting, when as their  
my came but to Antequera, they sent word, that they were ready to obey the Cardinals  
commandements, sending two deputies vnto him, whos in the cities name besought him to  
take them to mercy, and to abstaine from blood. *D. Anthony* hauing aduertise the Car-  
dinal of the *Malaquins* submission, hee had commandement to end matters with mild-  
nes and clemency, and to yeeld all the might vnto them, preserving the kings honour  
and dignitie. There were five of the chief authors of the sedition hanged, & the rest were  
pardoned. Of which things the Cardinal did aduertise the king, letting him vnderstand  
how preiudiciall it would be to the common weale, if his counsell of Flanders did so easi-  
ly vndo that which had bin concluded with mature deliberation in the counsell of Spaine;  
beseeching him therein to haue a care of his authority, the which was ioyned to the royal  
authoritie, holding, that the chiefest foundation of the publike peace, did consist in the re-  
putation of the gouernour.

22 In Castille *Iohn Velasques* of Cuellar, superintendent of the treasure, son to doctor  
*Gustiere Velasques*, fought to keepe the castle of Aurealo by force, which place the queene  
*D. Isabella*, wife to king *Iohn* the second, had had for her dwelling, and had bene com-  
mitted, as also the affaires of the widow queene, to the custodie of doctor *Gustiere*, & then to  
his sonne after his death: but the Cardinal had newly, by the aduice of king *Charles*, giuen  
that place, with Olmedo, Madrigal, and Santa Maria de Nieua, with their reuenues, vnto  
the queene *Germaine*, widow to king *Ferdinand*, in exchange of 30000 ducats of rent which the  
king her husband had left her by his will, to be taken out of the reuenues of Naples: wher-  
upon *Velasques* seeing himself put from the possession of the Castle of Aurealo, which he  
did think should haue bin perpetual, he durst presume to hold it by force, being prest ther-  
unto by *D. Maria* of Velasco his wife, who was at that time as much hated of *Q. Germaine*,  
as shee had bene formerly beloued: and fauoured by her; besides that many no-  
blemen desiring to see *Velasques* advanced, either for loue, or for alliance that was betwixt  
them, & not greatly affecting queen *Germaine*; they encouraged him to commit this inso-  
lency, promising him aide at all euents: but such promises are most commonly vaine & de-  
ceitful, when as the soveraigne magistrat pursues his right, euery man fearing when it  
comes to a matter of fact, to incur the punishment of a rebell. Against this purpose of *Ve-  
lasques*, the Cardinal, after his accustomed maner, vsed all mild courses, causing the king  
to write kind letters vnto him, and this prevailing little, he afterwards added threats: but he  
gaue more credit to his wife, & to the persuasions of the admiral, the constable, the earle  
of Benauent, the duke of the Infantazgo & others, who enuied the cardinal, of which the  
admirall shewed letters signed by them all, promising that if the Cardinal attempted any thing

## The generall Historie of Spaine.

A thing against the towne of Aurealo, they would send him succours, & therefore the Inhabi-  
tants should take courage to maintein themselves vnder the iurisdiction of the crown, ra-  
ther than to receiue a woman for their lady & mistress, being assured that *k. Charles*, being  
in the country, he would like of their constancy, and dispose otherwise of their affaires.  
The inhabitants of Aurealo being animated hereby, they reiect all good Councell:  
wherefore the Cardinal sent an alcaide of the court thither, with some souldiers, to reduce  
them to their duties, who summoned them by a trumpet to obey the kings commande-  
ment, else he would proceed against them with all rigour, as rebels, & would make *Velasques*  
proceesse condemning him as a traitor, which note should passe to all his posterity, & would  
confiscate his goods. These formations being reiterated according to the forme of Iu-  
stice, & with solemnities and ceremonies, *Velasques* seeing that neither the admiral nor the  
other noblemen, which had promised him so much assistance, did not make any offer to  
defend him, he thought it better for him to yeeld vnto the Alcaide, the to attend the rigor  
of armes, or the proceeding of justice, wherefore hee dismissed the souldiers which were  
in garrison in the Castle; the which with the towne were deliuered vp vnto Alcaide.  
Some daies after *Velasques* went to court, & submitted himselfe & his affaires to the Car-  
dinals pleasure, who receiued him courteously, promising him all assistance & fauor to the  
king, & did comfort him for the great afflictions which he had suffered, especially for the  
late death of his eldest son, which grief did soon bring him to his end at Madrid, although  
some did say that he was poisoned.

C These things done in fauour of the royall authority, by Cardinal *Ximenes*, he found  
meanes to maintaine them of Aurealo & Olmedo in their priuiledges and liberties, & to  
keep them from coming into the power of *Q. Germaine*, whom he did not loue, for that  
he saw himself contemned by her, & that she did incline to the party of the Infant *D. Fer-  
dinand*, & of his gouernors, who were opposite vnto him: wherupon he did write vnto king  
*Charles* in Flanders, shewing him by old & new examples how much it did import for the  
safety of Castille, that Aurealo & Olmedo places of strength and fit to trouble the realm  
should remain vnto the crown, & not be in the possession of any priuat lord, obiecting  
that which *D. Iohn* king of Nauarre & Arrago, had attempted, by the opportunity of those  
two places, against *D. Iohn* 2 king of Castille: saying moreover, that *Q. Germaine* had cause  
D content her self with the large reuenues of Madrigal alone, wherewith she had bin satisfied  
before the troubles of Aurealo: That if he had suppressed the inhabitants & *Velasques*, it was  
more to teach them to obey the kings commandement, than for that he thought it expe-  
dient that place should bee giuen to the queene, to whom he had granted it, before  
hee was truly aduertised of the estate of her affaires; adding to his letters a copy  
of the priuiledges granted by auncient kings to the townes of Aurealo and Olme-  
do: wherefore hee did easily obtaine from the kings, that which hee pretended, at the  
least hee kept the townes in their liberty, and caused the matter to be deferred vntill  
his coming.

E 23 The pitifull estate of *D. Iane* queen of Castille, did much trouble the Cardinal *Xi-  
menes*, being afflicted with a miserable infirmity for this princeesse was posselt with a cruell  
melancholike humor, so as she led a most lamentable life in the castle of Tordesillas, wheras  
*k. Ferdinand* her father had lodged her, a pleasant & commodious place. *Lewis Ferrier* of  
Valencia had charge of her, being also captain of the castle of Tordesillas, but he was vn-  
fit for such a busines; for whether by his slownes, growing by reason of his age, or through  
ignorance, he could neuer get her to lodge in any pleasant and well syred chamber of the  
castle, but would alwaies lurke in darke and obscure places neere the ground, fit to en-  
ertain and augment her melancholike humor: she did abhorre soft and delicate beds, and  
F would lie vpon the ground, and if she did lay herself vpon a board couered with a Car-  
pet, it was by great importunity: it was not possible to make her weare a furred gowne  
in winter, nor any thing that was rich: She was often three daies together without  
eating; neither could the prayers nor persuasions of her seruants preuaile any thing  
with her: she often complained that she was kept like a prisoner, and that they withheld  
her from the gouernment of affaires, like a priuat person.

The Cardinal was much grieved for these things; & somewhat to remedie it, holding  
T t t t j for

Estate of queen  
Iane of Castille,  
mother to king  
Charles.Ambition rais-  
ing in *Queen*  
*Iane*.



for certain that the negligence of *Lewis Ferrier* did feed the malice of her infirmity, hee G  
dismiss him by reason of his great age, putting in his place *Ferdinand Duca* called *Straz*,  
of Talavera, a man of a Noble family, wife and well aduised, who carried himselfe  
so discreetly in his charge, as in a short time hee did moderate this violent humour  
in the Queene, and got her to bee content to haue her chamber made cleane, and ma-  
ny earthen dishes wherein they did commonly serue her to bee carried away: for shee  
had an humor to make them leaue the dishes full of meat in her chamber, not suffe-  
ring them to carrie any away, so as the meat corrupting, made a stinking fauour:  
then by little and little hee procured her to lie in a bed; hee perswaded her to goe abroad  
to church, and made her to haue some feeling and apprehension that shee was a H  
Queene, and so acknowledged: and so by little and little made her familiar, & brought  
her to a more milde and humane kinde of life: the which did much please king *Charles*  
her sonne, who thanked Cardinall *Ximenes* by his letters.

The displeasure which *Lewis Ferrier* had conceived for his displacing, was augmen-  
ted by the dismissal of his sonne, from the gouernement of Toledo, for his misde-  
meanors and negligence, which caused infinite confusions; in whose place the earle  
of Palma, of the family of *Portocarrero* was made gouernour, a man worthy of great  
honour, who was receiued notwithstanding the oppositions of the faction of *Ayala*:  
for the citie of Toledo, hath beene long diuided into two factions of *Sylva* and of *Ay-  
ala*. This was pacified by the diligence of the earle of *Fuensalida*, who was one of the I  
heads of it, a deare friend to Cardinall *Ximenes*. Doctor *Gallego* being sent to Toledo  
to informe of the life and behauiour of the gouernour of *Ferrier*, displaced by the Car-  
dinall and the kings councill, by a memorable example, and shewing his auarice fe-  
ueritic, hee caused some officers and ministers of iustice to be publicly whipt, be-  
ing convicted of corruption and other crimes, and would haue punished *Araoz*  
treasurer of the Calatrava more grieuously, if hee had not fled away, being accused of  
infinite villanies, rapes, & violences committed about his commandery of *Loria*, whereof  
being deprived by sentence, the Cardinall gaue it vnto *Sancho Cabrera*. By these offices of  
piety and iustice, the Cardinall made himselfe to be obeyed, feared, beloued and reueren- K  
ced in Castille, keeping the realme in peace, and prouiding in the meane time for those  
things which might serue for future and vnexpected accidents. Hee appointed arce-  
nals or storehouses for artillerie, engines, and all munition of warre, in three places of  
Spain: At Medina del Campo, beyond the mountaines, in Castille the old: in the realm  
of Toledo, at Alcalá de Henares; and at Malaga in Granada, that when any tumultor  
sedition should arise, they might haue speedy meanes to suppress it: As for that of  
Medina del Campo, it is most certaine that it was then made. He had an humour to haue  
coyned a peece of money, on the which should be grauen the Image of Saint *Francis*, but  
the kings councill holding it to be somewhat ambitious in the Cardinall, who was a fir-  
mer, opposed themselves. He began a commendable and most profitable thing in all great  
estates, that is, hee obtained a decree from king *Charles*, by the which there was com- L  
mendement giuen to bring in all sort of registres, accompts, memorials, instructions, & such  
like writings, concerning the publike affaires, of the realm, or the state of the kings house,  
which might be in the hands of the counsellors and soveraign Iudges, or of those which had  
been employed in embassages to foreine Princes and common-weales, and other per-  
sons whatsoeuer, to be kept in certaine places, to be vsed when time and necessity should  
require: the which if it had been executed, posteritie had bene better satisfied of that  
which had past in precedent times, and better informed of that which was to be done. By  
some little which was done according to this decree, the Cardinall came to the knowledge  
of many things, especially of that which concerned the militarie orders of Spaine, as the  
reuenues & ancient rights of the masters, & of their tables, of the common money of com- M  
manderies, & the duties of commanders & their iustice and Chapters; which things were  
vnknowne to the kings officers, the masterships hauing bene retained and held by  
kings, and then annexed to the crowne: so as there were infinite fraudes and abules  
committed, which gaue occasion to the great commanders of those orders, to make  
oppositions, and to seeke to exempt themselves out of the Cardinalls power, yea

Ministers of  
iustice punished  
exemplary.

Storehouses for  
munition in  
Spaine.

Search of au-  
cient writings  
by Cardinall  
Ximenes.

A yea of the king himselfe: the prouision of Commanderies, was one of the quarrels  
which they debated; saying, that it should bee Canonically done; according vnto  
the orders which they held, and not giuen to any, but to them of their orders, re-  
spectively: but it is hard to kicke against the power of kings; wherefore altho that the  
commanders could alleage was easily refuted by the Cardinall, who could giue  
good interpretations to their Papall Bulles, and other instructions which they pro-  
duced. Through the Cardinalls diligence, by the reuision of the ancient accompts,  
hee found that there had been imbezeled from the king about forty Millions of Ma-  
rauidis euerie yea, the fraud consisting chiefly in that the commanders were in old  
time to assist their masters in the warres against the moores, with a certaine number of  
B Soldiers entertained at their charges; the which they concealed, and freed themselves,  
leaving the care and charge to the king. Finding that some townes belonging to those  
masterships had bene vsurped, hee restored them to the kings reuenues, wherein he did  
chiefly make vse of the labour and diligence of *Tobilla* and *Cabrera*, commanders of  
the orders of Calatrava. He made inquirie of the manners and carriage of the Iudges of  
those orders, and censured them, displacing some, and instituting others: Hee had resol-  
ued to doe the like to them of the Chanceries and great counsell, as well following the  
court, as of *Valladolid*, *Granado*, *Galicia*, and others, with speciall commandement from  
the king, which hee had procured to that end: hee did with great diligence and se-  
ueritie cut off many gifts, fetes and entertainments, which were not greatly necessarie;  
C the which did much ease the kings coffers, not fearing to offend his greatest and dearest  
friends, for the profit of his Prince, wherby he purchased many enemies: finally imitating  
the emperor *Seuerus*, a most worthy Prince, hee would not haue any one receiue wages from  
the king, nor to haue an office in the state, that were not profitable and necessarie for the  
common-weale; and hee disappointed all those raze, which did but deuour, retaining onely  
in court, the Iudges or Councillors of the great Chancery, the officers and ordinarie  
ministers of the roiall Pallace, the garrisons of the frontiers, the four prouosts of iustice;  
whome they call *Alcaydes*, and their archers, the marshalls of the lodgings; and harbin-  
gers, gards of the body, and such like. But it is doubtfull touching the taking away of of-  
D ficers fees, whether hee did it of his owne motion, or by the kings commandement: for hee  
complained by some letters to the king, for that they gaue him alwaies an odious charge  
to take away, and neuer to giue any thing. But howsoeuer, he was of opinion that sparing  
was most necessarie and commendable in a prince; who must consider that all that hee  
spends comes out of the bowels of his people, complaining greatly that in lesse than  
fourte months that he had begunne to gouerne the realm, king *Charles* had giuen away a  
Col about eighteen millions of Marauidis. About all things, he held that a multitude of Col-  
lectors and receiuers; and a great number of treasurers were verie pernicious and hurtfull  
to a state: wherefore he desired that some man of a noble house, diligent and expert, were  
made superintendent of all the kings money, whose charge should be to distribute the or-  
E dinarie expenses, as need should require, and to reuene the remainder, to be employed in  
vnexpected affaires, and in liberalities well employed by king; and vnder him such a  
number of deputies as should be necessarie: He held, that it was a great confusion in the  
managing of the treasure, to inuert and employ one kind of money to another vse than it  
had bene assigned: of which rules hee did continually aduertise the king his master by his  
letters, and gaue an accompt of his gouernment, shewing with how little charge in a  
small time that he had been his lieutenant in Castille, hee had effected great matters: Hee  
had pacified the tumults in Andalusia, repulst the French in Nauarre, suppressed the  
tempt and rebellion of the Malaquins, held the frontiers wel manned, denied the sea from  
pirats, and assured the coast, made an enterprize against *Alger*, freed Bugia, *Pegnon* and  
F Melille from feare and the assaults of *Harufa Barberousse*, succoured Argille for the  
king of Portugal, and with all discharged great debts, which D. *Ferdinand* his grandfather  
did owe. That if he with a limited authority, and for another, amidst the enuy and cro-  
sses of his ill willers, could effect such great matters, by the means of sparing & good hus-  
bandrie, much more might hee doe it, who was a king; and whose greatness was without the  
touch of enuie.

Husbandrie of  
Cardinall Xi-  
menes.

Abundance of  
officers in the  
treasury hurt-  
full to the realm.





1517

Cardinal Ximenes an enemy to the Genoises.

Edict against the Genoises revoked.

Proceeding unjust against the accused by the Inquisition.

Contention for the bishopric of Sigüenza.

Nobilitie instituted to command.

Cardinal Ximenes impatient of injuries by reason of his position.

the cardinals will, who was verie obstinate in that which he had once conceived, and did still sollicite the king to breed jealousies in his head against that commonweale, and to bring them into disgrace with him; saying, that they had intelligence with the French: giving infinit crosses to these poore Genovois. Yet in the end, by their diligence and perseverance, they justified themselves, and obtained restitution, and an abolition of the Edict, the cardinals their adversaries (being somewhat pacified) consenting thereunto. He opposed himselfe with great vehemence, against the pursuits of the new Christians (as they call them) in Court, that the judgements of the Inquisition might bee executed against them, touching that which concerns witnesses, according to the forme of other criminall causes; for the accused were not allowed to except against the witnesses, which were not confronted against them, nor yet named: which gave occasion and boldnesse vnto judges, which were greedy of the bloud and wealth of these poore men, to commit many cruelties and abuses in their charges. Finally, this cardinal did so labour with the king and Pope, whereas they of Arragon were also furors, as the lawes of the tribunall of the Inquisition, practised in the time of king *Ferdinand*, remained firme.

29 About that time there fell out a great debate in the citie of Sigüenza, for the restitution of the cardinall *D. Bernardin* of Carajal, sometimes bishop of that sea, whereof he had beene deputed by Pope *Inno*, by reason of the Councell of Pisa. Cardinall *Ximenes* favouring his reintegration to his dignitie, goods, and honours, made by Pope *Leo*, he had for opposite *D. Frederic* of Portugall, subrogated into that bishopricke, after the deposition of *D. Bernardin*, who would not leave it. So as some holding with cardinall *Carajal*, and others with *D. Frederic*, the diocesse was divided, & their contentions came to armes. The place where the greatest excessse was committed, was Almazan, a towne of the earle of Montagus jurisdiction, whither they were resolved to send an Alcaide of the Court, to suppress this tumult. This Alcaide called *Ferdinand Calderon*, shewed himselfe cruell in his proceedings against this poore people, as the earle their lord telling him, that his too great severity should rather be called outrage then justice: and having by sundrie messengers advertised the kings Councell, and besought them, to commaund *Calderon* to retire: his being that they made no account of it, he came himselfe well accompanied to Almazan, and forced him to leave the towne. Wherewith the Councell, especially doctor *Adrian*, who was now a cardinall, and companion to cardinall *Ximenes* in the government of Castille, being incensed, sent a personall adjournement for the earle of Montagu, and meant to make his processe, as having offended the kings Majestie. But cardinall *Ximenes* opposed himselfe, shewing that he might lawfully doe that which he had done, seeing that vpon his many complaints made vnto the Councell, against the excessse of *Ferdinand Calderon* there was no order taken: and so he caused this pursuit to cease. The difference for the bishopricke of Sigüenza, ended in like maner, by the death of *D. Gutierre* of Toledo, bishop of Plaisance: which place was given to the cardinall of Carajal, and *D. Frederic* left in the possession of Sigüenza. And for that the governments of cities and provinces of Spaine, had beene for a long time distributed confusedly, & without distinction of persons, whether noble or ynnoble, it was concluded to restore the ancient custome, and conformable to nature, that nobilitie instituted to command, and to exercise honourable charges, should be employed: wherefore there were many changes of old governours throughout all Spaine. True it is, that the Biscanes and they of Palence had no gentlemen at that time, but two famous Lawyers for their governours, that is, *León* and *Gallego*. In some places cardinall *Ximenes* was prevented by such as obtained them by the kings favour, and of the Flemish courtiers; wherewith he was much discontented, especially for the government of Burgos, the which was given without his priuite to *D. Pedro* of Castille, who deliuered the fort of Lara into the hands of the Sherifes and Communiakie of the towne, and they gave the gard thereof to *Jeffrey* of Conde, a Fleming, who had beene marshall of the lodging to the deceased king *Philip*, an inconstant man, and a prater, and therefore much hated by cardinall *Ximenes*. Of this and of many other things done by *D. Pedro*, he made sundrie complaints vnto the king. So impatient he was of any injurie, as he thought that whatsoever king *Charles* ordained, touching the affaires of Spaine, if it came not from him, and his advertisements and counsels, it was done.

A done in contempt of him, condemning it as pernicious, and as subjects of seditions; accusing the noblemen and counsellors of Flanders of rashnesse, who being ignorant of the lawes and manners of the Spaniards, medled with the disposition of the governments of Spaine, the which did wholly depend of the Viceroyes authoritie and reputation, and of the kings councell which was in the country. He did honour and cherish doctor *Adrian Florent* verie much, for that he yielded vnto him: He procured him the bishopricke of Tortosa, the which made his way to a cardinals hat, and afterwards to the Papacie. He sought also by all meanes to procure him the dignitie of Inquisitor generall of Arragon, as he himselfe had that of Castille; but he could not. The secretarie *Mote* of Burgos, a diuine, was verie deere vnto him, whom he made bishop of Badajos, and would have made him cardinall, and Archbishop of Toledo, had not the cardinall died so soone, which hindered him from enjoying of those dignities whereof he held himselfe sure, but he was deceived. *Mote* had beene preacher to king *Philip*, after whose decesse he would have retired into Flanders, for that in hatred of the king *D. Ferdinand*, he and all the servants of the deceased, sought to draw the Emperour *Maximilian* into Spaine, to contend for the government of those realmes, for prince *Charles* his grand child. To haue the better accessse vnto the young princes court, he begged letters of fauour almost from all the chiefe noblemen of Spaine. King *Ferdinand* knowing that this preacher was full of spleene against him, yet would he not hinder his voyage for Flanders, shewing therein C a generous mind: but he gave order, that when he should be readie to depart, all his letters of recommendation should be stolne from him; the which was cunningly performed by the care of *D. Bernardin* of Velasco, the kings sonne in law, who had great meanes in that citie to doe it. *Mote* not discouering what was done, goes on his way, and being arrived in Flanders, where they were already advertised that he should come, accompanied with many letters of fauour, when he opened his male he found not any, whereat he was much abashed, and therefore for a time was held of all those courtiers for a man of a shallow braine. Notwithstanding his vertue and eloquence made him a way to king *Charles* his favour, and advanced him to honour, by the meanes of cardinall *Ximenes*: who also procured honours and titles to many others, whose qualities and behaviour were D pleasing vnto him, as to *D. John Pacheco*, sonne to the earle of Escalona, the title of earle of Saint Stephen; to *D. William Peres* of Ajala, that of earle of Gomera, which is one of the islands of the Canaries, which he obtained of seeking for him. Such was the government and carriage of cardinall *Ximenes*, who was feared and respected both of great and small in Castille.

THE



# THE 27 BOOKE OF THE Historie of Spaine.

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For the continuance of the royall lines of Spaine  
in this seven and twentieth Booke, mention is made for

CASTILLE, of LEON, ARRAGON, NAVARRE:  
23 D. Charles 1. — 44 the same 1. — 21 the same 1. — 37 the same 1.

**T**he severitie and integritie of cardinall Ximenes, in the government of affaires, could not belong supportable to the Spaniards; who are haughty and proud, and accustomed to serve their kings being present; and much lesse to the Flemings, who were neere unto king Charles, who desirous to make vie of their credit and authoritie, did still busie themselves with the great affaires of Spaine, and made their profit, to the cardinals great griefe, he opposing himself against them in all he could: so as all things tended to confusion, as well among the Spaniards, who desired the coming of their prince into the countrey; the which might quench many quarrels, and content those that did envie the cardinals greatnesse, as with the many Flemings, who entertained the king in Flanders, upon diuers colours, thinking it a fit meane to compass their designs, if he did not undertake this voyage; and in truth these had the advantage, the king being in their power. And to take some countenance for the mischances which he feared might happen in Spaine, by reason of the kings absence, it was concluded to send the lord of Chaux thither, who had bene much favoured by king Philip, and was chamberlaine to Charles his sonne; a man fitter to entertaine a prince with pleasant discourse, and to keep him companie, than to manage the great affaires of a kingdome. To him was given the third place in the government of Castille, with cardinall Ximenes, and doctor Adrian, who had procured the coming of this third, writing into Flanders, That he was not sufficient to resist cardinall Ximenes, a haughty man, who (not able to endure a companion) did manage all things at his pleasure. The coming of Chaux was verie pleasing to the noblemen, and to the people of Spaine, who were discontented with the cardinall, and he was received with all royall honours, against the which the cardinall did not in any sort oppose himselfe, shewing therein, as in all other things, a great magnanimitie and constancie, although he knew that he was sent to check his authoritie and greatnesse. All the great noblemen of Spaine, without attending any commandement from cardinall Ximenes the Viceroy, went to meet him, being accompanied with great numbers of their friends and vassals: and coming neere to Madrid, they went forth to encounter him, doctor Adrian, his brother, and by the commanders of the militarie orders, having with them a great traine of commanders of euerie order, the Rector or gouernour of the towne, the Sherifes and most apparent burgeses, the embassadors or deputies of Arragon, the royall Councell, the Inquisition, the chamber of accounts, and other officers of the kings house, euerie one going in his ranke and order, with whom there joyned the bishop of Auilla, with the cardinals traine: And of noblemen,

The lord of Chaux third gouernour in Spain by the procurement of doctor Adrian.

blemen, the marquisse of Villena, the earle of Vregna, the marquisse of Comares and Aguilár, D. *Berrand de la Cueva*, eldest sonne to the duke of Albuquerque, the earle of Oropesa, and others. Such as were not there were kept backe by a disease which did run generally ouer all Spaine. Cardinall *Ximenes*, in regard of his place of Viceroy, stayed in the palace, and receiued monsieur de *Chambré*, at the entrie of the great chamber of the lodging, which was prepared for him, and that night he feasted him with great state, and entertained him with much pleasant discourse; lodging him for that time in the chamber where the bishop of Auila was accustomed to lodge, for that the Infant D. *Ferdinand*, the widow queene *Germaine*, and the cardinall, were commonly lodged in the castle, and held a great part of it. Thus was this nobleman receiued and honoured, being the first that was sent into Spaine with authoritie, since that *Charles* of Austria tooke vpon him the title of king. The great lords of Spaine came to visit monsieur de *Chambré*, and courted him: but the cardinall had no great care to impart the affaires vnto him, nor to call him, vnlesse he came of himselfe, yet holding still the first place in all expeditions, the which he made knowne to him and doctor *Arken*, who hauing for a time signed some dispatches, leauing a place for the cardinall to signe vnder them, being presented vnto him thus signed, he care them in peeces, and caused others to be made, and signed them aboute, the which were of as great effect. And thus he continued vntill the kings coming, although before he would haue doctor *Arken* signe all things with him.

Cardinall Ximenes main-  
taines his au-  
thoritie resolu-  
tely.

The Flemish nobilitie being aduertised of this harsh proceeding, it made them abinke, that this cardinall would one day trouble both them and the king: wherefore to shate (as they thought) his greatness, they procured to haue a fourth sent into Spaine, vnder colour of some priuat businesse, with equall authoritie to the rest. This was *Armasoff*, a man that was some what grise: yet they might say, that of all that companie the cardinall was most iudicious, and continued his accustomed course, notwithstanding any thing that they could doe. But they stayed not here, for they often resolved in Flanders, to send some great prince to gouerne Spaine, to whom the cardinall should be forced to yeeld; or some other of judgement and vnderstanding, to oppose him against this great spirit. Some were of opinion, to intreat the Emperour *Maximilian* to take vpon him this charge; others, *Lewis*, count Palatin, allied to the king; and some, to giue the authoritie to the Infant D. *Ferdinand*: many gaue their voyces to the Chancellor *Sauage*. As for *Maximilian*, he was engaged in the warres of Italie to aduance *Ferdinand*, that was not safe nor conuenient, and it had beene alwayes their care, which loued the peace and vnion of these two brethren, that the Infant should be neereley lookt vnto, least that mines should make him their shield. The count Palatin was held fit, yea to take charge of the Infant, the which did not altogether displease the cardinall; for he had desired euer since the death of the Catholike king, to remoue such from about him, as, in his opinion, had bred him vp ill, yet he desired rather not to obey any one; to which end he writ to the king, beseeching him, not to send any into Spaine, with whom he must alwayes quarrell, but rather to giue him leaue to retire to his diocesse, where he would looke to his owne priuat affaires, and liue religiously in rest: for he did foresee, that the enuie of some, and the couetousnesse of many, would alwayes seeke to crosse his good designs and resolutions to serue the commonweale, they tending to no other end, but to cause some great tumult in Spaine, wherein he desired not to be engaged, but rather to looke on a fare off: aduertising him, that the onely remedie of these inconueniences was, to commit the affaires to his tried faith, and to relie onely vpon him, not suffering any Fleming, nor any of his Councell a fare off (no not himselfe vntill he were at age) to meddle in Spaine with the prouision of Estates, and order of iustice, with governments of prouinces, leauing of the kings money, nor with garisons of frontiers, and their commaunders: but onely retaine vnto himselfe the disposition of bishopricks being void, commaunders, and benefices of knights of militarie orders, and to vse his royall bountie with good measure: his cardinall diuiding betwixt the king and him the royall souerainetie, the which euery man of judgement thought expedient, considering his constant resolution to maintaine iustice and right in all things; adding still this concluding reason. For that, said he, the Flemings vnderstand nothing in our affaires in Spaine, and that the king by reason

Cardinall Ximenes cannot endure a comparison in the government of Castille.

Cardinall Ximenes will di-  
uide the royall  
authoritie be-  
twixt the king  
and himselfe.

A reason of his tender age, cannot vndergoe so great a burthen, full of care and trouble: By reason whereof he caused himselfe to be so hated, as many Councels were held against him, and without doubt his dayes were shortened. The courtiers dissembled, expecting but an opportunitie to rumble him from this high degree, in the which hee maintained himselfe invincible, against their wills, who writ vnto him, That hee should continue to doe well, assuring him that they would assist him with all their means, and sollicit the kings passage into Spaine; aduising him, for the effecting thereof, to send a good armie of ships well furnished into Flanders.

This voyage was much prest by the Emperour *Maximilian*, as most necessarie, and therefore he came to Brussels to see the king, and to conferre with him, fearing least his long stay there would cause some alteration in the State; comparing those people, being moued, to a colt, which being stung with a hornet, kickes at euery one, sparing not his owne damme. This conference put the cardinall into a ieaalousie, writing to monsieur de *Chenres*, That the entreatie of great men, did neuer bring profit neither to themselves, nor to their affaires, prouing it by many examples and great reasons. The Spaniards seeing that the time past away in vaine hopes of their princes comming, they began to make conuenticles, and to runne into the course (but by another way) of former seditions: For, sayed they, the Flemings not able to forbear to meddle with the affaires of Spaine; whereof they had made shew not to care, they leaue vs not any estate, charge, nor benefice; but it is sold to them that will giue most, and prophesied by vnworthie men: The great treasures of the realme gathered together, and religiously preferred by cardinall *Ximenes*; for the kings comming, are spoiled by strangers, and transported out of Spaine, the which is not tollerable to a free nation, well affected to the honour and greatesse of their prince, and to the publicke good. They of Burgos, Leon, Valledolit, and all that cuntry of Spaine, being incensed with these complaints and quarels, they appointed a day to resolve on some remedies for these great disorders, or how they might withstand the greedinesse of the Flemish courtiers. Many thought it fit to persuaide the king to chase all Flemings from about him, and to take Spaniards in their places, such as were vnderstanding men, to counsell him. Others sayed, That besides the difficultie to obtaine it, it was to be feared that Spaine would in short time be as corrupt as the rest, and more cunning in their villanies; holding, that the best course to restraine the couetousnesse of courtiers, by a publicke decree, by the which power should be taken from the king, to giue the estates, offices, or benefices of Spaine to strangers. That there should be no readie money caried out of the cuntry without great cause, and that no necessarie money for the kings house, should be sent by cardinall *Ximenes*, without consent of the townes. Many other things of this kind were then propounded, profitable, in truth, for the publicke, but derogating somewhat from the authoritie and Maiestie royall: for thereby they did open sigate vnto the people to commit great infolencies, the which they found by experience, after the death of cardinall *Ximenes*, who moderating what he could the peoples hear, could not prevent the decrees of these assemblies for the publicke good, some gouernors consenting therunto, and signing them, as D. *Pedro* of Castille, at Burgos, and others: yet the Leonois could neuer induce D. *Frederic* of Zamora, their gouernour, to consent vnto such decrees, whereof the towne and Comminalties did afterwards aduertise the cardinall and the kings Councell, sending deputies to treat with them of the affaires of the commonweale affected; and to intreat them to appoint a place and time for a generall assemble to that end: The cardinall and the Councell knew well, that the desire of the townes was iust, yet they sought to moderate them, fearing some popular tumults, persuaading them to forbear an assemble, vntill they had more certaine newes of the kings comming, who they vnderstood made preparation to imbarke speedily. In the meane time they did aduertise the king of all that had past, excusing the Spaniards, for that they did not in any sort doubt of the kings good will, and judgement to know, that all the admonitions & counsels which they gaue him, were holy and iust, but they complained of the Flemings that were about his person, who could make their diligences vaine, and get vnto themselves, both before the kings comming and after, the riches of Spaine without measure: so as it

2  
Greedinesse of  
the Flemings  
gouerning king  
Charles.

Demandes of  
the townes of  
Spaine.

Cardinall and  
Councell know  
the Spaniards  
demande a-  
gainst the Flemings.

1517  
Capacity of the  
Flemings.

Spaniards demand the Estates.

*Libels cast a-  
broad.*

Exaltions of  
Pope Leo hin-  
dered by cardi-  
nall Ximenes.

Clergie of Spain  
free from the  
exaction of the  
sensu penie of  
their benefices.

was thought the Chancellor *Sauvage* had gotten for his part in lesse than foure moneths, G  
about five hundred thousand crownes: and if we will conjecture how monieur de *Cheu-*  
*res* and the rest profited, we cannot imagine what great summes these thefts amounted  
vnto. The Spaniards seeing the kings comming to be daily delayed, the cardinal and  
the Councell were againe importuned for a generall assemblie of the Estates, where  
they promised not to treat of any thing, but to sollicite the king to come into Spaine, H  
to maintaine the lawes and rights of the countrey; to suppress the coueroulesse of  
courtiers, and the ambition of suitors for estates and offices: else, the people did pro-  
test, that they would send embassadours vnto the king, and prouide that the common-  
weale should take no harme, by such meanes as God should put into their hands. The  
cardinall not able with reason to denie their iust demand, he appointed an assemblie in  
the next month of September 1577, prorogating it of purpose to Autumne, beleuing  
that about that time the king might arrive in Spaine; and in the meane time he prepa-  
red a fleet of ships for his voyage, the which he sent him, posts running continually  
from Spaine to Flanders, and back againe, to aduance this comming, without the which  
they saw no meanes to maintaine the realme in peace: the cardinall holding (and rightly)  
it to be a pemitious thing; when as the people, hauing cause of grievance, prelimes  
to complaine publicly: for when as they haue once lost the reuerence which they  
owe vnto the superiour, there is no more any restraint; and popular complaints and  
quarrels are easily receiued and beleued, by such as haue a desire to trouble the State,  
whereof the number is alwayes great in great realmes. The place assigned for the assem-  
blie, was at Madrid, the Viceroyes and the Councels place of residence. Many dan-  
derous libels were at that time cast abroad, euerie man censuring the cardinals adons ac-  
cording to his owne conceits: and seeing it was now a time of back-biting, and that some  
one had begun, doctor *Adrian*, monieur de *Cheures*, *Francis Ruiz*, monieur de *Cheux*,  
and others, were not spared. But cardinall *Ximenes* contemned these things, with a  
manly courage, saying, That they must leaue this solace to the multitude, to mode-  
rate their afflictions, which they could not otherwise reuenge; whereas the Fle-  
mings, who were not accustomed to this stinging, seemed to be much discontented:  
so as it is no wonder if *Adrian* comming to bee Pope, caused the statues of *Marforio*  
and *Paquin* to be cast into the riuer of Tiber, whom they made to carrie the libels that  
were set vp in Rome: whereupon, they say, that the Spanish embassadour which was  
then in Rome, said vnto him, That it was to be feared, by this drowning the frogs would  
presently learne to sing bad songs.

3 The Cardinal being come to Toledo, to visit (attending the kings coming) his diocese, and the monasteries of Nunnes which he caused to be built, as well in that citie as at Illefa, being accompanied by doctor *Adrian*, he heard the complaint of the Clergie, for that Pope *Leo*, by vertue of the last decree of the Councell of Lateran, demanded the tenth of the revenues of all their benefices, vpon colour to defend the Christian religion against Infidels; for that *Selim* Emperour of the Turkes, having vanquished the Sultan of Egypt, did threaten Christendome, and namely Italie: Wherefore he not daely tent this year into Spaine, but into all others regions of Europe, whereas the Popes name and authoritie was reuerenced, to exact this money for three yeares, with many Indulgences and pardons to them that should contribute money willingly; and extraordinarily, whereof there followed great troubles in Christendome, yet with a lightning of the Gospell.

Cardinall *Ximenes*, whose authority was great with the Pope, was solicited not only by the Clergie of Castille, but also by that of Arragon (where they do all by an ancient right enjoy great priviledges and liberties) to take this cause in hand, and to be a mediator vnto the Pope; that the Clergie of Spaine might not be made tributary. The Cardinall did willingly offer to take vpon him the protection of this order; but hee did admonish them, not to make any assemblies to that end, but when hee should command them. In the meane time hee did manage this businesse so politickly at Rome, by the ministrie of *Arreaga*, his Agent, as hee kept Spaine free from this exaction; but in case of great necessitie; and having after

1517

A after the manner of auncient kings, called the deputies of the Clergie to the Court at Madrid, he gaue them this good newes, and attended willingly their refection, which was, not to contribute any thing. They say, that this tenth penie for three yerres, was duely leuied in Italie, in the territories of the Church, and no where else, but his Bulls of Indulgences, and the preaching of the Croisado, was generall.

4 There were many great fuits in Spain, which through the fraud and tergiversation of parties, and their counsels, were delayed and drawne into length, the which the cardinall desired to have determined before the kings comming, but he was suspected : Wherefore three of the greatest noblemen of Spain, in a manner at one instant, as it were conspiring together, did greatly crossie him, that is, the duke of the Infantado, chiefe of the house of *Mendoza*, *D. Frederic* of Toledo, duke of Alua, and the earle of Vregna, *Giron*. The duke of the Infantazgo remembered how that the cardinall had hindered the marriage betwixt *D. Pedro Gonçales* of *Mendoza*, his nephew, and *D. Ioaue* of *Ciferinos*, the cardinals neece : wherefore being incensed against him, he thought there was some indirect dealing with his aduersarie partie, the earle of Castilo, against whom hee had his suit, for the place of *Belenna*, neere vnto *Guadalajara* ; by reason whereof he desired to prolong the cause vntill the kings comming, of whom hauing obtained letters for his part, and the cardinall also for his part others of a contrarie tenour, to haue the cause judged by the kings counsell ; in the end the cardinall obtained that which he pretended,

C and a sentence was giuen in fauour of the earle: about which time there comming a promoter from Alcala of Henares, for the cardinal, touching some proceedings at Guadaluajara, the duke of the Infantazgo caused him to be chafed away with cudgels, threatening to hang this poore petie-fogger, if he returned any more; saying, That he did in-croach vpon the iurisdiction of his brother D. Bernardin, archdeacon of Guadaluajara. For which exccesse the cardinal gaue it out, that he would be reuenged of the duke, and that he would call him in question, for that religion was violared, in that they had wronged an officer which did belong vnto the Church, and also for that the fact was against the publike peace, and that he would abate his greatest. The duke being incensed, and desirous to braue the cardinal, he sent a chapaine of his vnto him, to deliuer him a  
D meffage full of disgrace and threatening. This poore priest being forced to goe to Alcala of Henares, whereas the cardinal was, hee fell on his knees before him, and craued leaue to doe his meffage. They were nothing but reproaches of his base condition, growne proud to see himselfe so highly aduanced, adding some vaine threats, the which did little moue the cardinal, who hauing heard all that hee would say with a constant countenance, he answered him quietly: Goe backe vnto thy master, whom thou shaldest find repenting the foolish words which thou hast deliuered me: and in truth before the priest returned, the dukes choler being past, he would haue giuen much that he had not sent him, blaming all his familiar friends and house hold seruants, that they had not pacified his rage, yea hee was displeased with the chapaine, for that hee was so readie to

E he hid his rage, yea hee was dupliciter so vexed, that hee could not shew how hee obeyed him. This question, and all the spleene which the cardinall had against the duke, was afterwards pacified by the countable D. *Inigo Fernandes* of Velaasco, who made them dwinge together at Fontcarillo, whereas the duke made for many excuses vnto the cardinall, as he remained satisfised. They say, that after the ceremonie of their reconciliation was ended, the lodging wherein they were was prefently enuioured by *Iohn de Spinoza*, captaine of the Viceroyes gard, with his archers and light horse, the which did amaze the noblemen that were there assembled, thinking that it was a plot layed by the cardinall, but hee assured them that it was the importune diligence of *Spinoza*, who was come thither without any commission, for the which, he said, hee was much offended with him.

The earle of Vregnaes quarell was more dangerous, and harder to be reconciled, the which did produce many violent effects. This earle soone after the decease of king *Ferdinand*, had also throwed himselfe opposite to cardinal *Ximenes*, and had afflicted *D. Pedro* his sonne, in the tumult of *Medina Sionia*, whom he should rather have admonished to proceed by way of justice. Certaine officers coming to execute a sentence of the Chancerie of Granada, & to recover certaine of the kings customs of Ofono, he had sent them

Yuuu ii

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Excesse committed by the duke of Infantazgo.

of cardinal  
Ximenes

Reconciliation  
of cardinal Ximenes and the  
duke of Infantazgo.

**Policy of cardinal Ximenes to keep the noblemen in fear.**



The generall Historie of Spaine.

lona, with the other friends, kinfmen, and allies of the earle of Vregna; seeing they knew  
not what to reſolve, but to pacifie the cardinal, ſeeking by all means to have his authority  
by which means they obtained, that the earle reſeſſing himſelf in juſtice, & ſuſtain-  
ing himſelf thereunto, all offences were pardoned. **D. Francis** Roſa biſhop of Aulh, pre-  
ſiding in counſell, and pronouncing the ſentence.

Causes of the  
duke of Albaes  
discontentment.

siding in counsell, and pronouncing the duke of Toledo, duke of Alba, had against the cardinal. The discontentment which D. *Federicus* of Toledo, the knights of Rhodes, the which D. *nall*, grew for the priorie of Jerusalem, and had enioyed it six yeeres. This dignitie is esteemed among Diego his third son held them, & had enioyed it six yeeres. This dignitie is esteemed among the greatest of Spaine, whereof the prior *Vallenacha* had beene deprived in the life of king *Ferdinand*, for his ill defendings, and D. *Aluarno* of Estuniga canonically aduanced; who had resigned it vnto his nephew D. *Anthonie* of Estuniga, with the content of king *Philip*, and confirmation of Pope *Leo*: but king *Ferdinand* after the death of *Philip*, returning to the government of Castille, & desirous to gratifie the duke of Alba, from whome he had drawne many good seruices, he tooke this priorie from D. *Anthonie*; and did inuest the duke named D. *Diego* of Toledo, against the ancient order, and against the lawes and customes of Spaine, begging therein the authoritie of the great master of Rhodes, who was discontented that the Pope should take vpon him to conferre that priorie to D. *Anthonie* of Estuniga, causing the grant of the order to be brought expressly from Rhodes to that end, D. *Anthonie* complaining in vaine to the Pope, both of the king and great to master, who for his last refuge retired into Flanders, taking *Charles*, beseeching him to confirme and maintaine that which his father *Philip* had done: to the which hee obtained, when as he was aduertised of the death of king *Ferdinand*; for king *Charles* did write in his fauour vnto the Pope. And so D. *Diego* of Toledo, and D. *Anthonie* of Estuniga, began to fall to fuit for this priorie at Rome, where D. *Anthonie* did win his cause; and got letters of execution from the Pope, with the which, and the Popes fauourable letters, he came vnto king *Charles*, who sent him into Spaine to cardinal *Ximenes*, whom he commaunded to take into his hands all the places of the priorie, admonishing the duke of Alba and his son, to retire their men, and to referre the controversie to him to compromise: and if the duke of Alba should refuse, he should then cause the kings letters and sentence to be executed, forcing them to obey that should oppose themselves notwithstanding a ny oppositions. The duke of Bejar, with his brother D. *Anthonie* of Estuniga, presented these letters and commauement from the king to the cardinal: the which the duke of Alba understanding, being out of hope to procure any delay from the cardinal (for hee was well acquainted with the nature of the man, and knew well what he desired to see this proceesse, in the which there had past many threats and injurious words, ended) hee resolved to oppose himselfe, and to crosse his proceedings by force. He had of his part the duke of Escalona, and many other noblemen, the which did trouble his aduerse partie. At that time the cardinal was troubled with a certian ague, the which did animate the duke of Alba and his partie, and gaue them hope to prolong the proceesse, and to keepe the possession vntill that the king (said they) were better informed. But being somewhat recouered of his sickness, he called both parties, and enioyned them to lay aside armes, vnill he were better informed of the right. The cardinal would haue the places sequestred, according to the kings letters, wherein seeing great difficultie by the practices and force vsied on the duke of Albas part, in the end he propounded to execute the kings letters, brought by D. *Anthonie* of Estuniga: wherein there was a diuision among the counsellors, some holding that the duke of Albaes cause was more iust; and for that, said they, there was some obscuritie in the letters, not being certaine, whether the duke of Alba referring the matter to the kings arbitrement, might still hold the possession, as depositarie, vntill the cause were ended, or else vntill the king should name another depositarie, into whose hands the places & the priorie should be deliuered, they thought it therefore necessarie to haue another warrant, of which aduice were doctor *Adrian* & the feignior of Chaux. The cardinal banding himself against all these difficulties, he brought all the council to that point, as they concluded the kings letters should be executed. The duke of Alba forgetting nothing that might helpe his cause, imploied in his fauor queene *Germayne*, the French king, and theking of England, by whose meanes king *Charles* was not so resolute to restore

D. An

*Lib. 27.*

**The generall Historie of Spaine.**

A. *Anthony* of *Espania* to his *Priory* : whereof the *Cardinal* being aduerſed , hee wrote letters of complaint vnto the king, to the Lord of *Chenres*, and to the whole counsell of *Flanders*, ſhewing them how neceſſarie conſtancie and perſeuerance were in ſuch like ordinances and decrees : where heer thought it good to call the duke of *Alba* vnto him, to whom in the preſence of the counsell, and the earle of *Oſimo*, hee ſaid friendly, that he ſhould temper the heat which hee ſaw in him in the purſue of his rights, and that there would be means if he himſelf did not hinder it, to reconcile all things without tumult or armes : wherefore hee did ſuffer him to put the *priory* into the kings hands, to diſpoſe according vnto right and juſtice, ſuſſuring him that if hee did it willingly, hee would mitigate much of the rigour of the commandement which hee had received from the king, and that hee would deliuer the *Priorie* into the hands of *D. Pedro Bazan*, who hee knew was much affected to his houſe, and hee ſhould keepe it vntill the kings comming : promiſing moreover that hee would then cauſe the deliuerie of it to *D. Anthony* to be ſtaied for three moneths, that in the meane time hee might worke his beſt means. Theſe conditions were contemned by the Duke of *Alba*, who departed, ſaying : that the *Cardinal* might doe better if hee liſt, and not derogate any thing from the kings authority : and going from *Madrid* with this diſcontent, hee went to his kinsmen and friends, to conferre with them of the eſtimate which hee had in his braine, all diſſuading him, from oppoſing himſelfe againſt the *Cardinal*, wimeth the calamity of them of *Villefrate* and of the earle of *Vregna*, for the which they gaue him ſuch reaſons, as at that time hee yielded to their counſels. But falling afterwards into furie, the *Cardinal* was forced to ſeize the laſt remedy, calling together his *Legionary* companies, both horſe and foote, as well to gard and fortifie the counsell and juſtice, as to ſuppreſſe the mutines, and keepe them from ioyning together : which forces did encounter and put to rout about a thouſand foote and ſome horſe of the duke of *Albas*, and ſtrip them in the dioceſſe of *Toledo*. After which rout the duke comming to himſelfe, hee employed the fauour of *Queene Germaine* and the doctor *Adrian*, and came to *Madrid*, where hee was ſo tractable, as hee yielded the *Priorie* to the *Cardinals* diſcretion, for hee ſhewed him with what vprightneſſe he proceeded in this buſineſſe, and let him read the original letters hee had received of the kings commandement : to the end hee might know it was no cauſe that hee did affect and ſecke : adding that hee ſhould conſider with himſelfe wherein hee might aſſiſt him preſerving his honour, and the king his maſters ſeruiſe, ſuſſuring him that hee would not fail him : to whom the duke made anſwere, that hee would not inreat any other thing of him, but after that his ſonne ſhould be deprived of the *priory*, the king would remember, that their houſe had alwaies been affectionat to the crowne, and haue regard vnto it : and for that hee had vnderſtood that hee would leave the *priory* in depoſite in the hands of *D. Ferdinand Andrada* who had married *D. Francis* of *Eſpania*, kinswoman to his aduerſe party, hee deſired it might be giuen to ſome other, to the end that his enemies might haue no ſubiect to ſcorne at his calamity. The *Cardinal* who was alwaies vanquiſhed by them that yielded vnto him, ſaid, that it was reaſonable, ordaining that the *Priory* ſhould be deliuered into the hands of *D. Ferdinand Andrada*, & hee ſhould inſtantly redeliuer it to *D. Anthony* of *Cordova*, brother to the earle of *Gabra*. Theſe things concluded at *Madrid*, the duke ſent letters to *D. Diego* his ſon, to leave the *priory*, & by the *Cardinal* to *D. Ferdinand* of *Andrada*, to ceaſe from all acts of hoſtilitie. Thus the quarrel for the *priory* of *S. John* was ended, and enjoyed partly with the content, and partly againſt the wil of *Charles* himſelfe, who decreed that *D. Diego* of *Toledo* and *D. Anthony* of *Eſpania*, ſhould enioy it in common : but *D. Anthony* dying at *Perpignan*, he left the whole poſſeſſion to his competitor.

There remained another cause to determine, which the Cardinal did affect: it was the proceſſe of the earle of Ribadeo in Galicia, of a ſmall circuit, but good, fertile & pleaſant; The earle of which place hath this privilege, that on twelſe day the dayes of the king of Caſtilles table, & hath the robe that he wears that day. This earle dome had been held by D. *Rodrigo* of Villandradra, who having married two lawfull wives, and theſe pur- way

Speech of Car-  
dinall Ximenes  
to the duke of  
alva.

Defeat of the duke of Albas men by the Cardinals companies.

Duke of Alba  
submits himself  
to Cardinall  
Ximenes.

Controversie for  
the earldome  
of Ribades.



Authority of  
Cardinall Xi-  
menes vanquished by a woman

Profanation of  
the Cardinal's  
order by Pope  
Leo.

Navie sent into  
Flanders for  
Charles.

Cardinall Xi-  
menes poisoned

away for barrenesse, had in the end taken to wife a state of his neice's sister, called *Leonor*, by whom he had *D. Rodrigo* his sonne and only presumptive heire, to whom the admiral had given a bafe daughter of his to wife. Against this *D. Rodrigo*, there contented for the succession, *D. Maria* of Villosa, married to the earle of Salinas, who was neece to the old earle of Villandrade, daughter to his sister, saying that *D. Rodrigo* was not lawfully, which sure had beene commenced long before the death of king *Ferdinand*. Cardinall *Ximenes* favoured *D. Rodrigo*'s cause: but as many of the Councell inclined more to the reasons of *D. Maria*, the cause was sent to the Chancery of Vaileadolid: yea, *D. Maria* had such fauour in court, as the title and right was granted vnto her sonne by the kings letters, the which did much trouble the Cardinall, seeing himselfe vanquished by a woman; he that had gouerned the greatest Lords of Spaine at his pleasure.

This yeare one thousand five hundred and fenteene, Pope *Leo* created one and thirty Cardinals, among which Doctor *Adrian Floris* was one, for the which he was much blamed, against the which Cardinall de *Monte*, vnto to Pope *Iulius* the third, and others, opposed themselves, saying, that to make so many at one time, was to profane that sacred order. He had almost made *Raphael* of Urbino, an excellent painter, Cardinal, to free himselfe by a hax of a great sum of money which he ought him for pictures, with which hope being fed, he deferred to marrie with the Neece of the Cardinal of Bibiena, which was offered him, but his sodaine death deprived the painter both of the one and other.

Cardinall *Ximenes* being solicited by the king and the Flemish Lords, to send a fleet into Flanders, to conduct him, he rigged out a good number of ships, where *Gomes* of Bayron was admiral, causing the ports of Biscay, Asturia, and Galicia, to be visited, for that it was bruted the plague was in many places, appointing vidualls and other necessaries to be carried to refresh and ease the court, where soeuer the fleet should arrive: himselfe in the meane time leaving Madrid, went towards Aranda of Duero, where hee resolved to attend the kings coming, that abode seeming vnto him verie healthfull and pleasant, and by reason of the convent of Franciscan friers, situated in the next village of Aguilera: in passing hee made his last visit of Tordelaguna, the place of his birth.

There were in his company, the Infant *D. Ferdinand*, doctor *Adrian* now made Cardinall, and *Arnauos*: from Tordelaguna he came to Bozeguillas, a borough in the mountaine, where dying they did verily beleue that hee was poisoned, which made him fall into a lingring consumption, till hee dyed of it: for having dyed hee found himselfe verie ill, after which there came bloud out at his eares, and at the joyning of his nayles, the suspicion of poison was augmented by a certaine horseman vnknown, who that morning hauing met neere vnto Bozeguillas the Prouinciall *Marquise*, with other monkes that went vnto the Cardinall, hee willed them to make halt to be there before hee sat downe to dinner: and to aduise him not to cate of a great trout which should be set before him, for without doubt it was poisoned: If you arrive said hee, too late, care then for the health of his soule, for his body will bee past helpe. This speech was deliuered by *Marquise*, but late vnto the Cardinall, who gaue little credit, saying, that if his infirmite came of poison, hee thought it came from Flanders, and that hee had bene infected at Madrid; by the eyes, in reading of a letter which was brought out of that country, since which time hee had not bene well; whatsoeuer it were, hee was ready to goe when God should call him, who sends infirmities, and takes them away at his pleasure.

They obserue that hee said often to the Phisicians, that hee should die by the treachery and wickednes of traitors; and it was commonly reported that *Francis Carillo*, who was seuer to the Cardinall, hauing eaten of this trout, was verie sick; and they did vn doubtedly beleue that the Flemings sought his death: for they had discouered by his letters, that his intent was to procure the king to dismiss them all, and send them home to their houses, and to be serued by Spaniards in their places. The blame of this vild act was laid vpon *Bernardo*, one of his secretaries, who had done other treacheries to the Cardinall his master; yet the Cardinall did still vie his seruice vnto his dying day: which breeds some doubt whether it were he or some other that committed this crime, whereof there were many

A many contrarie arguments. Cardinall *Ximenes* caused himselfe to be carried to Aranda, whereas whilst hee strues against his infirmite, the towne of Vaileadolid fell into new tumults, vpon a conceit the people had, that the brute of the kings coming was but counterfeite, and that this great preparation was to send the infant *D. Ferdinand* into Flanders: So as Spaine remaining destitute of her princes, being in the hands of an old Monke, like rotten, and neere his end, must of necessity bee ruined by these seditions, or be a prey to foreign nations. To pacifie this mutiny, and to certifie them of the truth of the kings coming, the Cardinall sent vnto them, and caused them

7 Hee had yet one exploit to doe which hee thought expedient and necessarie, yet full of ennie, which was to reforme the Infant *D. Ferdinand*'s house, and to take from him those that had bred him vnto and serued him, especially *D. Pedro Nages*, of Guzman treasurer of the Calatrava, his gouernour, and *D. Aluaro Oforio*, a Iacobin, bishop of Astorga his schoole-master: *D. Pedro* had neuer bene allowed by the Cardinall, in that charge, and hee had often sought to crosse him, whereupon there grew great hatred betwixt them, the which *Oforio* had entertained and increased as well for some ambition, whetein hee himselfe hindered by the Cardinall, as through emulation, which had bene long betwixt those two orders, the bishop being a Iacobin: and the Cardinall a Franciscane. It was commonly bruted; and every man did beleue it; that *Oforio* had bene the cause and breeder of seditions at Vaileadolid; and Cardinall *Ximenes* knewe that hee did continually maligne him to the Flemish Lords: that hee sought to disuade himselfe into the fauour of the emperor *Maximilian*, and that hee had treated of a marriage betwixt the emperor and Queene *Germaine*: And many held opinion that *D. Pedro Nages* of Guzman, had had a conceit to carrie the Infant *D. Ferdinand* into Arragon, with an intent and hope to make him king of that country, wherunto the people would easily haue consented for the memorie and name of their deceased king *D. Ferdinand*, who had loued the Infant dearly, and other things of some true, some false: which were spoken in Spaine: whatsoeuer was the cause *D. Pedro Nages* and the bishop of Astorga were in no grace with the Cardinall; wherefore hee did write often to the king, and caused the lords of the Councell to be deli with- al, to haue them discharged: so as a little before king *Charles* his coming into Spaine, there was a dispatch sent by the king, by the which the Cardinall was commanded to discharge *D. Pedro Nages* of Guzman gouernour; *D. Aluaro Oforio* Schoole-master; *D. Gonfalo* of Guzman, Chamberlaine, and *Sancho de Paredes*, steward to the Infant, and send them home to their houses, letting them know that the king was verie well satisfied with their good seruices, but their ages did now require rest; and that hee would haue regard vnto their merits, and remember them: as for the rest of the Infants house, hee left it to the Cardinall, to dispose as hee should think fit. This packet by the Post-masters fault came not to the Cardinals hands before all the contents were diuulged, which caused the more difficultie in the execution of the kings will, for the Post-master thinking it to be newes how that the king was imbarke to come into Spaine, he kept the packet five daies, before hee deliuered it to the Cardinall, to whome it was directed, and in the meane time sent this good newes to the noblemen, to draw presents from them: then Cardinall *Ximenes* being ill disposed of his person in the convent of Aguilera, this Post-master thought it indifferent to giue the packet to Cardinall *Adrian* or to him, the which hee did: *Adrian* whether through curiositie or otherwise, opened it, & finding letters directed to the Infant, hee gaue him them, without any further apprehension, who by this meanes vnderstood what was ordained of him, and of his seruants, & of the change of his house, whereof hee did presently aduertise them; before the Cardinall had seen the kings letters: wherwith they being wonderfully discontented, and seeing no other remedy they implored the Infants aide, which was of no great moment, beseeching him to remember their fidelity and good seruices, letting him vnderstand that all this was done to debase him, and keep him vnder, as the Cardinals pleasure, who had procured and practised this alteration.

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The Infant being perswaded by his Masters, came the next day in great choler to the Conuent of Aguilera, hauing in his company the Bishoppe *Oforio*,

Secrets of Cardinall *Ximenes* discouered.

1517

*Oſorio* (for *D. Pedro Nugnes* was sick) & doctor *Adrian* by reason of the error which he had committed in opening the packet, and giving the letters to the Infant, before he had imparted them to Cardinall *Ximenes*, durst not shew himselfe.

Intreaty of the  
Infant D. Fer-  
dinand to the  
Cardinall.

Cardinall Xi-  
menes inexcusa-  
ble.

Being come vnto the Cardinall, he complained greatly (and with teares in his eyes) of the wrong he did him, in seeking to deprive him without any lawfull cause, of so good & faithfull seruants, the which he would neuer haue beleueed of him, whome hee held to be his deare friend: and thereupon he intreated him, and coniured him by the memorie of Queene *Isabell*, and the great advancement hee had receiued from her, not to suffer this indignity to be done vnto him, to take from him so worthy a person as his gouernour, so fit a Schoole-master as the bishop *Oſorio*, so many seruants which had attended him faithfully, and with whome hee had bene nourished, and bred vp with great content; and that hee would not suffer him to receiue that displeasure, to see them ignominiously and wrongfully disgraced. The Cardinall fought by mild words to pacifie the incensed courage of this Prince, laying before him the king his brothers pleasure, assuring him that all those things tended to his advancement, so as hee would shew himselfe obedient and tractable. As for the iniurie whereof hee complained, hee intreated him to thinke it was otherwise; and to beleuee that hee was a man of yeares and experience, and that hee loued him dearly; hee confessed that hee ought to haue a care of the honour and good of his seruants, but hee must withall thinke that the king his brother was dearer vnto him: And therefore hee exhorted him that leauing these passions which his seruants had bred in him, he should wholly adhere to him; who was the greatest king in Christendome against whose will it were neither safe nor conuenient for him to oppose himselfe; and if hee did persist to complaine, and to shew a discontentment for that which the king commanded to be done, hee should bee assured that hee would bring himselfe, his affaires, and his seruants into great danger. For all this the Infant *D. Ferdinand*, (being young and incensed) was not satisfied, but answering the Cardinall, I haue, said hee, tasted of your friendship in many occasions, but now it failes mee at my greatest need, neither doe I know which way it is best: but seeing that I find that you are resolu'd to ruine mee and mine, whome you may ease and comfort much with a small delay, I must of necessitie find meanes to defend and preferre our selues.

Speech of Cardi-  
nall Ximenes to  
the Infant D.  
Ferdinand.

Diligence of  
Cardinall Xi-  
menes to exco-  
cuate his desire.

At these words the Cardinall finding himselfe toucht, Do (said he) what you please, but I sweare vnto you by the life of king *Charles* your brother, that to morrow shall not passe before his commandements bee executed, the which it behooues you to obey before all others, yea though all Spaine had conspired to hinder it. This made the Infant take vnto him a manly courage, and to lay aside or dissemble his childish affections: wherefore hee departed from the Cardinall with a seled countenance, & without any shew of perturbation, and so returned to Aranda, where before his arriuall, hee found himselfe garded, with the towne and all the approaches, by the souldiers of *Cabanille*, and *Espinola*, capitaines of the guard, who were sent and instructed by the Cardinall, who knew how to execute their charge, and keepe the Infant or any of his house from attempting any thing. All that night was spent in complaints in the Infants lodging, who slept not; hee would say often that hee would bee reuenged of the Cardinall, and when they asked him what hee would doe against a man so well garded, and who had all the forces of Spaine at his command: well, I will make shew to goe and visit my mother, and then will I goe where I please, and the first that shall offer to hinder mee, let him assure himselfe I will kill him, with other such speeches of a yong man.

Day being come, the Infant by the aduice of his seruants, sent to intreat the kings counsell, and the Popes two Noncios to come vnto him, to whome hee said: That the king his brother had sent commandement to take his seruants from him, the which was grievous vnto him, but hee would obey, yet hee intreated them to doe one good Office for an Infant of the house of Castille, to complaine vnto the king by their letters, of the great wrong was done him, seeing they knew well that they had bred him vp, serued and accompanied him faithfully and honestly: the which they

1517

A they promised to doe. Cardinall *Ximenes* by the meanes of Cardinall *Adrian*, drew *D. Pedro Nugnes* of Guzman, *D. Aluaro Oſorio*, and *Gonsill de Guzman*, to come vnto him vnto the Conuent of Aguilera, to heare the reasons why they were discharged; and to answer the complaints they made of him, who hauing heard what hee would say vnto them, answered and replied, in the end they saide that they were ready to doe that which hee should command them; but they intreated him to persuaide the king, (with whome they knew hee had grace and credit) to haue regard vnto their honors and interests, and they did wisely to answer so, and shew themselves obedient: for if they had done otherwise, hee would not haue suffered them to returne to Aranda, but would haue stayed them prisoners vntill the kings comming; attending the which the charge of the Infant *D. Ferdinand* was giuen to the Marquesse of Aguilar, in the absence of *D. Alfonso Teller*, whom the king had appointed to that place. There were eight and twentie of the Infants seruants discharged, in whose places there were subrogated men of base condition, and obscure families, to cut off all occasions to vndertake great enterprises, and this Cardinall was so seuer as hee would not suffer the Infant to haue the young Vicont of Altamire, whome he loued dearly for his dexterity and good fashion, for that hee was nephew to *D. Aluaro Oſorio*: There remained onely of all the old seruants of that house *Alfonso Castileja*, for that being giuen to musike and poetrie, hee seemed to bee free from ambition; or any desire of alteration. These things thus done, being vnderstood at Court, the lords of the Councell sent letters from the king to the Cardinall for the Marquesse of Astorga, and the earle of Lemos, kinsman to *D. Pedro Nugnes* of Guzman, and to *D. Aluaro Oſorio*, admonishing them not to oppose themselves to any act done by him, but hee did not vouchsafe to giue them these letters; so confident hee was in the authority which hee held, representing the kings person, and so hee had often done, not caring much for that which the Spaniards suspected of eared.

Seuerity of Car-  
dinall Ximenes.

Marquess of Ag-  
uilar gouernour  
to the Infant D.  
Ferdinand.

D. Pedro Giran  
causeth new  
troubles.

The Marquesse of Aguilar gouerned himselfe so well with his master, as hee himselfe did write vnto the king his brother, and besought him not to giue that charge vnto any other: the which had bene appointed for *D. Alfonso Teller*.

There was a brute throughout Spaine, that the Cardinals infirmity had so weakened him, as leauing all affaires, hee liued retired in his Conuent of sisters, not seeing any man, and in effect the bloud came more abundantly out at his eares than before, and hee was much tormented in his body, and as in old men all remedies are difficult and of small effect, they knew not what to hope of him: wherefore *D. Pedro Giran* watching for all occasions to mutine, went to Armes, to invade the countrie of Medina Sidonia, and the Moores also hearing these newes; did molest the coast of Granado, making spoile of all they encountered, for the which the Cardinall provided notwithstanding his infirmity, for against *D. Pedro* hee opposed the earle of Luna, who kept him in awe, being assisted by *D. Anna* of Arragon, wife to the duke of Medina, who gaue him her jewels for the charges of the warre. The earle of Vregna his father, remembering the error committed at Villefrance, which was not yet forgotten; hee besought the Cardinall, not to impute these new broiles to him, promising that hee would cause his sonne *D. Pedro* to lay aside armes, and so hee did: yet the Cardinall did write letters vnto the king full of accusations against these Girons, persuaading him so to punish them once for all as they should haue no more desire to fall into such errors, and others might take example by them.

About that time the Turkes who had newly seized vpon *Alger*, vnder *Horn* so *Barberousse*, meant to make an enterprise vpon Oran, which was the Cardinalls conquest, and therefore hee did much affect it, and the king being then at Seay, had newes of it, the which did trouble them much, holding it a great losse if this landing place in Afrik were taken from the Christians. But God provided for it, for the Moores and Arabian Africans ieaalous that the Turkes should settle themselves in their countrie, assembled in great multitudes, and encountered them, which came against Oran, and defeated them, freeing the Spaniards, who attended a siege, from that paine and care.

King

1557  
Arrival of King  
Charles at the  
Asturies.

8. King Charles having taken ship in Flanders about the beginning of September, hee came in the end of that month to the most vneasie coast of all the Asturies, about Tazane, a place full of rocks, and not frequented by seafaring men, not farre from Villeuicufe. The mountaine people of that countrie not knowing what they were which landed vpon their coast, hauing put their wiues and children into the most inaccessible places of the mountaines, they betooke them to armes, and ranne in troups to the Sea shoare, thinking they had bene French-men or some other enemies, which came to spoyle the countrie: the which they perceiving which were yet at sea, and the king himselfe, hee commanded to display the royall standard, that hee might be knowne. The Asturians discouering the Lions and Castles, knew that it was their king, and laying downe their armes, they came to salute him vpon their knees, accompanying him to Villeuicufe, the which by a good equiuocation they called Villadichola, which signifies a happy Towne, which sight was most pleasing vnto the king: there hee rested himselfe after his sea trauell, being accompanied by his sister D. Leonora then Queene of Portugal.

There were with him the lord of Cheures, the Chanceller *Sauage*, Charles of Lanoy, & other Flemish lords: and in a short time there came many noblemen of Spaine vnto him, among which were D. *Inigo Fernandes* of Velasco the Constable, a man of great possessions, in that barren country, being accompanied with 700 horse, all his kinsmen, friends, and vassals, who had giuen order that store of victuals should be brought vnto them as they past: there came other noblemen to kisse their princes hand, and then they returned presently, that they might not incumodate his household and train in the streits of the mountaines, vntill that he were come into a more open country, and better provided. The Cardinal who lay in his Conuent, scarce able to breathe, was so glad at the news of the kings arrival, as he left his bed, fng maffe, and eat in the Refectorie among the friers, the which did much discontent the Flemish Courtiers, who desired that hee had bene dead before that the king should conferre with him; for they were well aduertised that hee sought to chafe them from the counsell, and from all affaires, whereof hee had often treated by his letters and agents with the king whereof they informed themselves curiously of his phisitions, how long he would liue, thinking that his death was near, & therefore they staid the king as long as they could vpon the way, desiring much that he were dead before the king should see him. Some counselled the king to goe first and visit the realme of Arragon, before he staid in Castille, the which the Cardinall hindred all he could, informing him of many inconueniences which would happen by that counsell: and beseeching him most humbly not to determine any thing touching his publike or priuate affaires, before hee had giuen him a full information of the estate of his realme: hee did also counsel him to send the infant D. *Ferdinand* his brother, as soone as might bee into Germany, to the emperor his grandfather, thinking that hee could not take a better resolution, neither for his owne affaires, nor for the good of the Infant, then to send him thither, and to bee a meanes that all; or a good part of *Maximilians* succession might come vnto him, seeing that by the grace of God, he was king and lord of so many realmes and rich estates.

This counsell was followed after the Cardinals death, not at the Flemings sute, who it may bee had other desires, for the lord of Cheures desired to keep him vnder, & soon after would haue had him giue water vnto the king his brother: who, being discontented to see his brother so abasse himselfe, said, that *Ximenes* counsell was better. VVherupon he ordained that the Infant should be conducted into Germany. The king being come to Saint Vincent of Barquera, D. *Anthony* of Rojas, Bishop of Granada, President of the Council royall, who had bene alwaies opposit to the Cardinall, went from Aranda with all the Council, not making him acquainted therewith, to go and meet with the king; and the better to excuse their selfe, they would haue carried with them the Infant D. *Ferdinand*, if the Marquesse of Aguilar had not hindred it: The Cardinall finding himselfe wronged herewith, sent two of the kings letters to the President; by the which hee heard the whole counsell were commanded not to depart without him; but they staid not at that, thinking that the Cardinals authority was much decayed: but hee mooued with this contempt,

1557

A contempt, sent to the king, complaining of D. *Antonio de Rojas*, and of the counsell departure, in contempt of his letters, terming the forsakers of the commonweale, & of the affaires of estate, protesting, that if before his coming they had presumed to doe such a thing, he would haue punished them in such sort, as within 3 dayes both the president & the counsell had bin reuened, and had deprived the of their dignities with disgrace, wherefore he besought him to obseure the honor and dignity of this council of Spaine, & to caule them to returne, to the end they might all together go to meet him, as it was his: the which was done to the presidents great discontent and shame, who returned with at his train to Aranda. The masters of accounts did not abandon the cardinall: to whom the admirall *Henriques* an other nobleman, who were ready to go & meet the K. offered to go in his company: but he thinking that there were other considerations in these noblemen than in the Senat he gaue them thanks, intreating them to goe before and without him. Winter which comes looner, and is more sharp in the region beyond the mountains, than in other parts of Spaine, prest the cardinall to leaue the conuent of Aguilera, which place was too moist for his health: wherefore he removed to Roa a towne in the county of Sineselas, where he had learned his first letters in his infancy, causing himselfe to be carried thither in a close litter, and clad in furs: carrying with him the infant D. *Ferdinand*. Roa is 18 leagues nearer to Vaileddolit than Aranda, and it is a comodious place to take the way to Vaileddolit or to Segobia, as if it had bin don of purpose. For his part hee desired the court should rather go to Segobia than to Vaileddolit, whereas the King might consist of his affairs, & assemble the states, the which he dissuaded much at this his first arrival, saying, that their spirits were yet inflamed with the forpassed mutinies, doubting not but there would be many rash and impertinent articles preferred, wherefore it was expedient to deferre it for a time, & to suffer those humors to settle: being of great importance, that the people should meet and see their prince at the first with all humility, obedience and feare, which aduice was contemned, to the great prejudice and danger of the realme.

In the mean time there came deputies from Toledo to the king, beseeching him to giue this citie, which was great, spacious and healthfull, and situated in a fertile countrey, for his first abode, the which would haue bin very pleasing to the cardinall who was archbishop of Toledo: but the Flemish courtiers took no delight to be so far from the sea: wherefore the king hauing giuen good reception to the deputies, he sent them back making choice rather of the towne of Vaileddolit; but before his coming thither, he would go visite his mother D. *Isabel* at Tordeillas, writing the causes vnto the Cardinall, and to his brother D. *Ferdinand*, which had moued him thereunto: his resolution seemed full of pietie, but considering the indisposition of this princeesse, it was not needfull to conferre so long with her of affaires, as he did. During the Kings abode at Tordeillas, the lodgings were made at Vaileddolit, where the Cardinall beganne to find that the Flemings could doe more than he in Spaine, for his seruants demanding the lodging of doctor *Bernardus* for him, being in a wholesome place, and fit for his infirmity, the harbenger *Terremonte* refused it him, hauing marked it for Queene *Germaine*, wherein the Cardinall had infinite troublesome difficulties, being not accustomed to intreat, although he obtained it: (it was knowne after wards, that the duke of Alba had bene the motiue of this vnworthy vlage of a man of so great authority;) but as for his traine it was lodged in a village without the towne: and yet he must haue patience, it auailed him nothing to complayne of this contempt and disgrace, which he had neuer tried being in a meane estate, no nor when the kings D. *Ferdinand*, and D. *Phillippe* were together in that towne, with a great traine of noblemen and knights, and all their ordinary guards, saying, that it was a poore recompence, after so much toyle and sweat, to receive a wrong in the place of a reward, whereof hee blamed the K. officers who were strangers & ignorant of the custums of Spaine. But the worst was, when hee receiued letters from the K. by the which he was commanded to attend him at Mojados vpon the way to Tordeillas, where he desired to confer with him, and to haue his counsell in affaires both of his realme and house, to the end he might discharge him of so great a burthen, & suffer him to retire to his own house, to liue in rest, where God would comfort & recompence him, for so many good offices which he had done for the realme, seeing he thought it was not in the power of any man to do it, & that for his part hee would euer remember it, and honour and reueryence him as his father. These letters were written at the persuation of *Mote* Bish. of Badajoz, an affectionat servant

X x x

10

President of the  
Flemish courtiers  
to keepe the  
king from seeing  
of the Cardinall

Assembly of  
the states  
dissolved by  
the cardinall  
Ximenes at  
the kings ar-  
rival.

Entervew  
between K.  
Charles and  
his mother  
vnnesseary.

Signe of the  
Cardinall  
disgrace.

Letter of dis-  
charge from  
the Cardinall  
to the King.

1317

Death of the  
Cardinal  
frier Fran-  
cis Ximenes  
of Cisneros.

to the L. of Cheures, & yet much bound to the Cardinall, who having received them, conceived so great a griefe to see himselfe put backe, as within few hours after he died, his fever encreasing which he had gotten the day before these strange news: feeling his end to draw neerer, he had some little conference with some of his people of the mercy of God, & of the vanity of this world, & forgetting no ceremonies which his order & profession required, here commended his soul to God & to all the Saints, namely to the virgin Mary, to S. Peter, S. Paul, S. Iacques, and S. Michael, but especially to S. Francis, under whose rule he had lived, and to the protectors and patrons of his church of Toledo, S. Eugenius, and Idelfonso or Alphonso. Being thus provided, & with the prayers & suffrages of some priests which assisted him, he ended his daies, leaving a great griefe to many, but it may be the number of those that were glad of it exceeded. He was no sooner dead, but 2 Spanishe captaines *Padillo* & *Collozo*, going out of the Antichamber into the chamber where he died, began to lay hand upon some plate and other things, thinking that all was to be sackt, but they were baimed by the colonel *Spinosa*, D. *Alphonso* of Arreilan erle of Aguilar, & other noblemen, who were better taught. His body was embalmed, and being attired in his pontifical robes, he was laid for a time bare faced upon a rich bed, whereas every man came and kist his hands, being invited thereto by the found of a trumpet, with promise of pardon for their sins: Then according to his will, he was carried to Alcalá de Henares, where he was founder of that goodly Vniuersitie, and there with great honour and funerall pomp, he was interred in the Church of S. Idelfonso, as he had ordained, where his tombe is to be seene of white marble, with his Image in his archbishops weed, excellently well cut, enuironed with a grate of yron, whereas are 16 spaces, representing the deeds of this Prelate, artificially grauen. The people of Alcalá shewed him small reuerence, for presently after his funerall they went and beat downe and rased the houses and farmes, which he had caused to be built without the towne for *Benedict* his nephew: and they of the vniuersitie and college of S. Idelfonso disannulled many things which he had brought in, and chased away the chanon *Cardena*, who was treasurer and superintendent of that college. Such was the end of this cardinall, a famous man for his great wisdom & iudgement in the government of the affaires of state, constancie in his resolutions, and magnanimitie in the execution of his enterprises, severe, rigorous, and inexorable: a terror to great men, not yielding to force nor flattery, being exceeding ambitious & desirous of honor, the which he shewed in his softer disposition, fit for them that gouerne great Estates. His constitution of body did represent the qualities of his mind, for he was of a great stature, strong & lustie: his pace was graue, his voice strong & firm, his face long and drie, a large forehead without any wrinkles, reasonable big eyes, hollow, but quick sighted, and alwayes moist, long nosed & crooked like an Eagle, his great teeth stucke out, so as some called him Elephant, & thick lip. His skull being found in the yere 1565 in the vault where it had bin laied, seemed to be all of one peece without any scame: he delighted his conceptions in few words, & neuer straid fro the purpose, no not in his greatest choler: if he promised to do any man good, he alwayes performed more than he spake: he did seldom vye to leise, yet he took delight to heare them that were quick conceited, & would laugh at them that were pleasant in their speeches: he kept a mad man, who sometimes had bin learned & a diuine, & was delighted to heare him rehearse many passages which he had retained, the which he repeated without any reason, & yet sometimes not ill applied: he would be pleasant with a Spanishe captaine called *Madero*, who had made many promises, but done little good in all his life, counselling him to become a monk to do penance for his sins: & in these things he recreated his spirits, being charged with great affairs. Finally, he loued learning, & to heare the disputations of learned men, & oftentimes of yong scholars. This prelat being well informed of the great profit which the world might draw from the knowledge of tongues he did intertain men that were leamed in them: & to employ the in matters fit for his religious profession, & to the end the studious of the holy scripture might tast the word of God fro the original springs, he caused the bible to be printed in many tongues: that is, the book of the old testament distinguished into 3 parts, whereof the first contained the Hebrew text, the second the common translation into Latin which we vse: & the third the Greeke of the 70 Interpreters, with his translation in Latin, very well corrected: it contained the Greeke text, & the common translation in Latin, very well corrected: and in the end of the volume, a dictionary of Hebrew words interpreted, very ample & copious.

Cardinall  
Ximenes his  
life reflected  
by the people  
and vniuersi-  
tie of Al-  
cala.

9  
Disposi-  
tion of Cardinall  
Ximenes.

Bible printed in many  
tongues.

1317

A work of great labour, sumptuous and stately, witnessing the greatnes of this cardinalls courage, who was not daunted with any difficulty. Herein he vied the care, feeling, and iudgement of *Demetrius Candiot*, *John of Vergara*, *Anthony Nebriense*, *Lope of Estuniga*, *Fernand of Vaileddoli*, worthy professors in the Greeke and Latin tongue, *Alphonso* of Alcalá a philition, *Paul Corriel*, and *Alphonso Zamora*, learned men in the Hebrew tongue. These men were very careful to examine the old volumes that were most correct and approved of both testaments, wherein they had no small help and ease by the library of the Vatican at Rome, through the bounty of Pope *Leo*, who refused not any thing to cardinall *Ximenes*. The Latin explication of the translation of the 70 Interpreters, was the worke of *Demetrius*, of *Fernand of Vaileddoli*, and of *Alphonso* of Estuniga, assisted by some of their disciples learned men, *John Vergara* was also inquired and called by them to take part of this charge, who interpreted some of those bookes which he was wont to call *Sapientiales*: as Ecclesiasticus, the which he could not finish as he desired, by reason of his indisposition; for hee had an intent to make large Annotations. The Bible was begun by these men in the yere 1502, who spent 15 whole yeres, with great care and toyle to turne ouer infinite volumes and copies, gathered together from many parts of the world, with wonderful charge, for proofe whereof *Comestius* saies, that he had often heard *Alphonso Zamora*, professor in the Hebrew tongue, affirme, that for 7 Hebrew copies which are kept in the Vniuersitie of Alcalá de Henares, were payed 4000 crownes of gold. Being ended by *John Brocario* of Alcalá, it was dedicated to pope *Leo*, whereof the world hath receiued great profit. This Cardinall hauing his mind continually attentive to great matters, was sometimes oppress with melancholy, which made him to vndertake things rather through fume than counsell, but very seldom, as the consideration of the Moors of Granada, and the enterprises of Africa, attempted with too great affection & zeale without any ground. The quarrels which he had with great me with such obstinacie as we haue said proceeded fro the loue of Iustice, magnanimity & vertue; for he would reach them to liue according to equity. The chanoins of Toledo were his chiefe counsellors, without whose aduice he would neuer attempt any thing of importance, he would, as it was fit, that whatsoeuer had bin decreed after mature deliberation, should be instantly put in execution: he censured mens errors, not by the effect, but by the intent. Although in publicke affaires, he were impatient of alrepley, & bold speech, yet in that which concerned himselfe, he often indured the liberty of another mans tongue: the which he shewed to *Contrera* the preacher, who blaming him one day in his presence, for that he being a frier did often weare habiles & other rich furrres, he was inuited to dine with him, where he commended his preaching, but he excused that which he did reprehend in him, saying, that men aduanced to dignity and great charges, had need of precious ornaments, and rich attire, as well on their persons as in their houses, for that doth breed maiesty in him, and causeth reuerence in subjects. They write that these ornaments were vied superfluously by the Cardinall, for as for his vnder habit and his sleeping, he alwayes carried himselfe according to the Order of Saint Francis: he daily said his prayers, either alone, or accompanied, the doore being shut, that he might not be diuerted. He had great compassion of great persons unworthily afflicted, and did releue them with mony, as to D. *Gulismir* of Castro duhesse of Nagera, being chased from her house by her husband, whom he did nourish and comfort in the city of Toledo with as great honor, as the duke himselfe could haue done her, blaming his churlines the more, for that he had bin made duke by king *Henry* the fourth in fauor of this woman, with whom, as we haue said, he seemed to be in loue.

When there was any great benefice void in the church of Toledo, hee gaue it either to the sonne of some prince or great nobleman, or to some one of the leamedest men of Spaine; saying, That nobility becometh fauour, and learming authority to the clergie: finally, hee was liberal, and very charitable to the poore, and careful of his household seruants. He spent a good part of his revenues in religious buildings, which preferre his memorie, as at Tordelaguna, where hee was boine the conuent of Franciscan friers, intitled of the virginie *Mary*, a goodly and stately worke: at Toledo the conuent of Saint *Iohn* penitenc: and one of the like stile at Alcalá de Henares, whoo Conuent, one of Franciscans, and the other of Iacobins, in the city of Oran, but about all, the building

Men employed  
to persue the  
Bible.

Cardinall Xi-  
menes spent  
with melancholy

A tower of in-  
dignity.

Execution must  
be speedie after  
mature delibera-  
tion.

Cardinall Xi-  
menes, though a  
frier, yet he was  
richly apparell-  
led.

Discretion in  
giving of benefi-  
ces.

II  
Buildings made  
at the charge of  
Cardinall Xi-  
menes.

1518

of the colledge of Saint *Idelfonso* or *Alphonse*, in the vniuersitie of *Alcala* of Henares is most famous, and the institution of the company, which should be all Diuines. This man was so seuerie, as he had attempted to reduce all the Orders of monkes to their ancient and first simplicitie and puritie. After this prelates death, *D. Alphonse* of Aragon archbishop of Saragossa, base sonne to the deceased king *D. Ferdinandus*, came to Tordesillas, to salute the king his nephew, and also to get the archbishopricks of Toledo, if he might; but the lord of Cheures, who would haue it for *William* of Crouy his nephew, stayed his comming, so as this prince was forced to go to Vaileddolit, there to attend the King, who hauing seen him, and conspying to all the noblemen of Spaine, of the wrong the lord of Cheures had done him, he returned into Aragon, frustrate of that which he pretended.

12 The king hauing caused the Estates of Castille to assemble at Vaileddolit, in September 1518, he was declared king of Castille, Toledo, Granada, and other dependancies in Spaine; hee received and tooke the othe after the accustomed manner: wherein there was some difficultie made by some great noblemen, for that Queene *Isabel* his mother dyed yet liue; notwithstanding it past: and hauing there ordeyned many things touching the gouernement of Castille, he past into Aragon, to haue alike assembly and solemnity, in regard of those realmes and the lands depending. Being in Aragon he was solicited to send embassadors to Mompellier, to conferre with the deputies of the French king, and of *Henrie* of Albrét, touching the rights of the realme of Nauarre, held and enjoyed by him, in the name of *D. Ioane* his mother, and his owne, by hereditary title, whereof there had bin another parliament held at Noion: whither were sent the lord of Cheures the chancellor *John Sauage*, who was of Bruges, *D. Ant.* of Estunga one of the priors of S. Iolin, the great commander of Castille, doctor *Carnalis*, with other knights and learned men: but all this conference was to no effect, for he that was in possession, would hold it: besides *Arthur Gossier*, L. of Bouilli dying, was a hinderance to it. At that time *D. Ant. Miranques* duke of Nagera was viceroi of Nauarre, hauing for assistant *D. Rodrigo* of Mercado bishop of Auila, at which time the new king *Charles* had caused the marriage of *Pedro* of Nauarre to be deliuered out of prison, being in the castle of Atienza, & prest him much to take the othe, & to do him homage, as to his king, but he who bare an affection to his master, refused it: by reason whereof he ended his daies in the prison of Simancas. The K. being at Barcelona he had news of his election to the empire of Germany: wherefore he went towards Vaileddolit, to make preparation for his iorney & order for the affaires of Castille, which were very confused. But hee was forced to make halt, and to leaue many things vndeclared, being advertised of the conspiracies & leagues betwixt the towns and great lords of the realme, for the defence of the priuiledges and liberties of the country, against the greedines & usurpations of the Flemish counsellors, who gouerned this yong prince: among the which the chiefe was, as we haue said, the L. of Cheurs. The K. for that he would not be engaged in these Spanish mutinies, with whose humours he was not acquainted, he parted as it were flying away, & embarked at the Groin, a famous port in Galicia, leauing for gouernors cardinal *Adrian*, & the constable. *D. Inigo Fernandez* of Velasco, to whom he afterwards ioyned *D. Frederic Henriques*, great admiral of Castille. Being landed in the low countries, he went presently to Aixla Chapelle, where he received the imperiall crowne, in the year 1520, being 20 yeres old. The first Acts of his gouernment, were to suppress by mild & quiet means the doctrine preached by *Luther*, which increased much in Germany. To this end, & for some other matters of importance concerning the empire, he caused the princes and estates to assemble at Worms, whereas *Luther* appeared hauing a passport, and was heard disputing against doctor *Edmus* & others, but there came no fruits of it. But in Spaine there grew great seditions and tumults in the towns and priuiledges of the realme, and of the bad gouernment of the Flemish lords, who by their great couetousnes, had drawne vnto them great summes of money, vnder the kings authority, vsurped the estates, offices, & benefices of the realme, & caused a profanation in a manner of all things, as if they had bin in a country of conquest: so as the people being moued vpon so apparent occasions, the exccesse and troubles which ciuile diffentions are accustomed to produce, followed soone after.

Cardinal

Coronation of King Charles the first of that name.

Conference of deputies touching the realme of Nauarre.

33 Charles chosen emperor of Germany.

Departure of the emperor Charles out of Castille forced.

14 Ciuile warre in Castille.

1519

A Cardinal *Adrian* & the constable thinking to suppress this mischief in the breeding, made the fire greater; for hauing sent against the of Segobia, *Ranquillo* Alcaide or prouost of the court, a man of a fower disposition, rigorous in his executions, & proud and insolent in his threats, hauing made the summations & solemnities required in Iustice, he began to burne, ruine, cut & pul vp, take & kil al that he found about Segobia: whereat the inhabitants of Toledo being incensed, they took armes and went to field chafing away this prouolt. They being once armed in one place, the sedition grew generall: Burgos, Vaileddolit, Salamaca, Auila, Zamora, Leon, Toro, and other chiefe places rebelled openly, & had many noblemen & knights of their faction, yet they were more led by their owne priuate interests then the publike good. The deputies of all these cities thus mutined came to Auila, where they made a league with the noblemen, the principall whereof were *D. John de Padilla* of Toledo, *D. Anthony d. Acugna* bishop of Zamora, *D. Pedro Giron*, of whom mention hath bin often made. Cardinal *Adrian* had bin already forced to flic from Vaileddolit, by the help of a priest, who conuied him away by night, breaking a piece of the towne wall, notwithstanding that *D. Pedro Giron* & *D. John de Padilla* had assured him that there was nothing intended against him, & that his innocencie was well known. The president and counsellors of the Audience and Chancery were in like manner fled, of the which doctor *Vargas* escaped by a snike. The people being masters in all the towns made choice of captains of their owne sort, smiths, belfounders, skimmers, tailors and such like, who forgat nothing to make them detestable, in all couetousnesse, cruelty, and other wicked actions.

C At Segobia they did hang the rector betwixt 2 sergeants, thinking to aduise them something for the good of the publike peace: they of Auila did rase the house of *Pedro Ponce*, for that he would not signe the league with the rell. The constable was chased from Burgos, who with the earle of *Alua de Lissa* and others were pursued by the conspirators with publike Edicts, who had summoned with solemnities and order of iustice, all the princes and great noblemen of the realme to ioine with them, for the defence, said they, of the lawes & liberties of Spaine: in default whereof to proceed against them as traitors to their country. The gouernors seeing this great reuolt, furnished themselves with armes & all other means to defend themselves & to suppress the rebels. *Anthony Fonseca* being sent Medina del Campo, with a good number of horse, to bring the artillery which was kept in the storehouse of that town, he found such resistance, as he was forced, partly through choler, & partly by a stratagem of war, to set fire in diuers parts of the town, to the end he might draw the people (who were earnest to defend the artillery) to go & saue their houses which were on fire: but their obstinacie was such as they had rather suffer their goods to be burnt, then abaddon the artillery to *Fonseca*, who was forced to returne without it: so vpon this occasion they of Medina ioyned with the league: In which towne there was great store of merchandise of all sorts, mouables & other riches of inestimable value burnt. The conspirators hauing put their army to field leised vpon *Tor desillas*, where *Q. Ioane* (being distressed) kept, here they saluted for their Q. & gaue her a gard of 300 priests, leised by the Bish. of Zamora in his dioces, whom he commanded to sweare and renounce God, & to looke like fouldiers: and if hee did see any one that did handle his portsaile, hee would beate him with a cudgel. The emperor being advertised of all these miseries, hee wrote vnto the Admirall *D. Frederic Henriques*, which was then in Catelogne, to take the charge of gouernor with the rell, & to seek by all means to pacifie those troubles. *D. Frederic* ioyned with the gouernors with equall authority & did what he could to pacifie al, notwithstanding that the Confederats had taken and spoiled Vneugna, Tordehumies, and Villabracca, lands belonging vnto him, & had sackt his vniuers palace, & committed other indignities in contempt of him, and to his preiudice, yet notwithstanding hee went and sent diuers times to the rebels: but the disease required a sharper remedy: for in truth there was no more any question to reforme abuses, and correct the faults of the common weale: all were now grown into a furie to ouerthrow the estate. As for the noblemen and knights their owne greedy desires had thrust them into armes: *D. Pedro Giron* would be duke of Medina Sidonia, and win his cause by the sword, *D. John de Padilla* promised to him the mastership of S. Iaques, others hauing priuar quarrelles, would bequeunged and spoyle their enemies: and as for the Townes, if their first motion had

Exccesse of Ranquillo prouost of the court.

Townes confured.

Insolencie against the Cardinal and the Kings officers.

Tor desillas taken by the conspirators.

Xxxx iij

some

1520

Tordesillas re-  
covered.Battle of Villa  
Lara, and de-  
feat of the re-  
bells.Punishment of  
rebells.

Nauarre.

Pampelone  
abandoned by  
the castilians.Beginning of the  
Iesuits.Inigo of Loyola  
and his familie

some lawfull cause, their manner of proceeding, and their forme of demanding, had G  
spoyled all, and made them and their cause odious: wherefore the war beganne to grow  
hote: *John de Padilla*, and *John Bravo* being come to Villapanda, with part of the forces of  
the League, it seemed to the emperors captains that an opportunitie was offered, to re-  
couer Tordesillas, and to deliuer Queene *Jane*, who was held as a prisoner by the rebels:  
the which succeeded well without anie great losse or difficultie, for the place was not  
strong: There were many of the seditious taken there: Tordesillas was lackt, yea the  
Queene and her seruants lodgings, yet all was restored vnto them againe. It is written,  
that when they battred the towne, a priest of the bishop of Zamoras being behind a loop  
hole slew 11 men with his peece; and to discharge himselfe somewhat of this guilt, or to  
giue some ease to his soule at whom he aimed, at euery shot he made a crosse with his har-  
quebuz: In the end this priest was slaine with an arrow. After this prize the Constable  
and the Admirall who were commanders for the emperor, marched against the ene-  
mies, who went towards Toro, with an intent to ioyne with their other confederates, who  
had gathered together a rable of 8000 rascalls out of the townes and diocese of Zamora,  
but they were ouertaken neere vnto Villa Lara, and fought with: where notwithstanding  
that they had great numbers of men, and that *Padilla* and *Bravo* performed the parts  
of valiant and hardy captains, yet they were defeated and taken. This defeat pacified  
all tumults, and made them all more quiet. The confederate cities laboured euery one  
apart to returne into fauour, and did easily obtayne pardon, yea the city of Burgos before  
this rout had left the societie of the rest. The bishop of Zamora hearing of the defeat  
of his companions, thought to escape, but he was staied in Nauarre, and afterwards stran-  
gled. D. *John* of Padilla and *John Bravo* were condemned to lose their heads: D. *Maria*  
wife to *John* of Padilla, fell into the like miserie, a woman of a great courage, but decei-  
ued by the false predictions of diuines and forcerers, whom she beleued: their palace at  
Toledo, by the same sentence was ruined, and the soyle sowne with salt, and therein a  
pillar erected, for a perpetuall memorie of their rebellion: D. *Pedro Giron* who had left  
the other conspirators, by the persuation of his friends and kinsmen (whereof the Con-  
stable was the chiefe) was confined to Oran, with many other knights. Many men of  
lesse note felt the rigor of Iustice; and many also were pardoned. Thus ended the ciuile  
warre and sedition in Spaine, which grew by reason of the excesse and violent gouerne-  
ment of the Flemings, who suffered the Spaniards to end it, whilest that they were Iud-  
ges of their punishments and rewardes, for that the emperor was gouerned by their  
councell.

15 Whenas this rebellion in Castille happened, the gouernours finding themselves  
weake and ill provided of many things, they were forced to vse the souldiers which were  
in the garrisons of Nauarre, and to draw many peeces of ordonance, out of Pampelone,  
and places of that realme, which gaue occasion to some well affected to the house of  
Albret and Foix, and to *Henry* of Albret the true heire of that realme, to haue secret in-  
telligences, in Beam and in France, in whose fauour king *Francis* sent *Andrew* of Foix,  
Lord of Alpertraut, or Elparre yonger brother to *Oder* of Foix Lord of Lautrech, who  
being receiued by them of the faction of *Gramont* tooke the castle of Saint *John de Pied de*  
*Port*: wherefore D. *Antonie* *Maurique* Duke of Nagera finding himselfe surprized, the  
city of Pampelone beginning also to mutine, he left it, and returned into Castille, aban-  
doning his house to the sacke of the people.

16 At that time there was in Nauarre following armes, *Inigo* of Loyola, the first au-  
thor of the Iesuits, an obdurate enemy to the house of Albret, who whenas the viceroi  
*Maurique* dislodged, remained in the castle of Pampelone in garrison, with the other  
souldiers of the emperor. It hapned that this castle being assailed by the people, there  
was a canon shot made by them of the towne, at a certaine place, where as this man had  
both his feet so bruised with stones which the bullet had scattered, as hee fell from the top  
of the castle to the bottome, but being ordained for an instrument to this new kinde of  
plant in the church, he was taken vp, and his life preferred. He was sonne to *Bertrand* of  
Loyola and *Ognez* in the prouince of Guipuscoa, in the iurisdiction of Alspeytia, which  
in old time was called *Miranda* of Yraurgui. After this mischance he was carried to his fa-  
thers

1521

Studies of Inigo  
of Loyola.

First Iesuits.

Self of Iesuits  
confirmed as  
Rome.Cardinal Gui-  
dicion first pa-  
tron to the Ie-  
suits.

A thers house at Loyola, which is in the midst of the prouince of Guipuscoa, where  
seeing himselfe maimed and vnable euer after to beare armes, he changed his mind and  
profession, and quitting the world, he gaue himselfe to spiritual things, following the di-  
rection which he had, according to the religion which was then esteemed amongst men:  
His first religious exploit was to goe and visit the place of *Manresa*, where he spent  
nine days; then he gaue all his goods vnto the poore, and retired himselfe into the moun-  
taines of Manresa, where hee began to lead a solitarie life, for the space of seuen months.  
Afterwards he went to Barcelona, from whence he past by sea to Venice, and finding the  
pilgrims ship ready to depart, he put himselfe into it, & went to Palestina to seek the pla-  
ces of that land whereof mention is made in the holy Scripture: but the father gardian of  
the Franciscans of mount Sion forced him to returne: and for that hee was but ignorant,  
he began to study his Grammar at Barcelona, after which he frequented the vniuersitie  
of Alcalá de Henares, going alwayes bare footed, although hee were lame, which maner of  
liuing many did interpret to be very superstition: wherefore hee was apprehended, and let  
goe againe by the iudgement of doctor *John* of Figueroa, with charge that he should goe  
no more bare footed: this made him leaue Alcalá and goe to Salamanca, where hee was  
more derided: wherefore seeing himselfe crost in his studies by these persecutions, he left  
Spaine and came to Paris, where he heard master *Peter Faber*, and there he remained not  
long, being vexed by some and supported by others, in the end allowed by master *Ori*, they  
held an opinion that he was a holy man, and of a scholer he became a master, hauing for  
his followers his master *Peter Faber*, *Diego Laynes*, *John Coduri*, *Claude Gay*, *Paſqual Bronet*,  
*Francis Xavierre*, *Alphonſo Sameron*, *Simon Rodrigues*, and *Nicholas* of Bouadilla, students  
in diuinitie, all which submitted themselves to an Order set downe by *Inigo*, and did vow  
perpetuall pouertie & chastitie. Hauing wrought this in France, he returned into Spaine,  
honored with the degree of Master in the vniuersitie of Paris, and retired himselfe to the  
place of his birth, not to his fathers house of Loyola, but to the hospitall of Alspeytia,  
and would not be knowne: there he began to preach, as well in the church of Saint Se-  
bastian of Soreasu, as in other places of that countrey, with so great a concourse and Re-  
pation, as it was (said they) wonderfull, so as in the end being discouered by a clerke of  
D. *Nauarre*, who had studied at Paris, he was made knowne vnto his parents, who sought  
by all means possible to retire him from that begging kind of life, but in vaine. Hee had  
concluded with his companions abouenamed, to make a voyage with them to the holie  
Land, wherefore he went to meet them at Venice where the Rendez-vous was: from  
whence they went to Rome, and stayed there all Lent in the yeare 1537, and obtayned  
leave of pope *Paul* the third to performe their pilgrimage: whereupon they returned to  
Venice, but finding that the passage was stoped by reason of the warre betwixt that com-  
monweale and the Turke, they were forced to stay there, and by that means the Iesuits  
were first knowne in Italie, not without great crosses, from the which they were delie-  
red by the iudgement of *Caspar* of Ortis, who disputed in their cause. Desirous to be of  
E greater fame, they got leave to heare in Confession, and some of them receiued Orders  
to say masse; then they dispersed themselves in the Venetians territorie, preaching and  
doing other workes of their profession, purchasing great fame, especially with the igno-  
rant, so as in the yeare 1538 they came all to Rome, whereas they obtayned from pope  
*Paul* confirmation & approbation of their manner of liuing, and of the statutes and orders  
of their sect, by the aid and fauor of cardinal *Contareno*, and they were receiued vnder  
the protection of the sea of Rome, but only *visu vocis et oculis*, referring them for the ex-  
ecution of the perpetuation of their sect, to cardinal *Guidicion* of Luca, the which was  
effected with the more ease, for as much as there were at that time in Rome, doctor *John* of  
Figueroa, master *Ori*, and *Gasper* of Ortis, who gaue ample information of the life, man-  
ners and intention of *Inigo* of Loyola, whom they had knowne at Alcalá, Paris and Ve-  
nice. Cardinal *Guidicion*, notwithstanding that hee had a little before set forth a booke  
*De non multiplicandis religionibus*, not only embraced and allowed them, but became their  
solicitor: wherefore they were confirmed and allowed by letters and bulles, the first of  
October 1540, given at Tiuali, vnder the name and title of the company of *Iesuits*, with  
liberty to receiue into their company, being then but thre, to the number of thre score, by



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by prouision. The eleuenth which was retained into this Order was called *Anthony* of Araos, borne at Vergara in Guipuscoa. *D. John* the third king of Portugall, being advertised of this new brood, by his embassador *D. Pedro Alcazar*, desired to haue home into his country: wherefore he caused suit to bee made vnto the Pope, to send home vnto him: For this cause there were sent into Portugall, *Francis Xavierre* a Nauarrois, and *Simon Rodrigues* a Portugall, brothers of this Company of Iesus: *Simon Rodrigues* remained in Portugall, *Xavierre* past to the East Indies to preach, and there died. In the year 1543 they had leave from pope *Paul* to increase their number as much as they would, and to receive all that would enter into the Order: and then in the year 1545 hee graunted them all the priuiledges, faculties and graces which they now enioy. Afterwards *Peter Fabri* and *Anthony* of Araos came into Castille, and consequently the rest, so as Spaine hath neuer wanted of this brood. After the death of *Paul* the third, pope *Iulio de Monte* his successor, did in a manner beginne the first Acts of his papacie, by a confirmation of this Order in the year 1550. By the conseruation of doctor *Anthony* of Araos, *D. Francisco Borgia* and of Arragon, Duke of Gandie and Marquesse of Lombay, conceived a great loue to this sect, in the which he was the more confirmed by the persuation of his wife *D. Leonora de Castro*, a Portugall, much deuoted to the Iesuits: so as *D. Francisco* went out of Spaine with this doctor, who was the first Prouinciall of Castille, towards Rome, where he resolu'd to make himselfe a Iesuite, and to leaue his temporal estates, whereunto he was admitted by father *Inigo* of Loyola, author of that Order. The duke and doctor *Anthony* being returned into Spaine, the duke made renunciation of the duchie of Gandie, and of his other lands, vnto his sonne *D. Charles Borgia* and of Arragon, in the Iesuits Colledge of Ognate, where he tooke the habite, and received all the Orders: and soone after he would that his second sonne *D. John Borgia* and of Arragon, should marry *D. Laurence* of Loyola and Ognca, daughter to *D. Bertrand* of Loyola nephew to father *Inigo*, who with the aid and fauour of cardinall *John Mouron*, did build the Germane colledge at Rome, to instruct the youth of that nation against *Luthers* doctrine: Before his death he saw fixteene Prouincialls of his Institution and Order, and about a hundred and seuentie colleges, the which since haue multiplied strangely. He died at Rome in the year 1556 being threecore and one yeeres old, hee was buried in the chiefe house, and head of that Order, called Sancta Maria de la Strada. We haue seen the abouenamed *D. Francisco Borgia* and of Arragon generall of this Order in our time. There are three sorts of religious in it, one of protest who can hold no goods, the other probationers, and the third collegialls, and it is lawfull for these two to possesse what they will. The Iesuits are not Theatins: for they whom they called Theatins, had an other beginning, and another kind of life; they were certaine gentlemen and others moued with deuotion, who gaue themselves to prayers, singing, and other such works, and were first called of the company of the loue of God, to whom there being ioyned *John Peter Carrafa*, Neapolitane, bishop of Chieri, and being reputed as a worthy man, the head of those religious, they began to call them Chierins, and then corrupting the word Theatins, these Chierins were in credit in the time of pope *Clement* the tenth, who by reason of the sacke of Rome, being retired to Ostia, and there finding certaine Venetian galleys, they past to Venice, and there made their abode eleuen yeares, before that *Inigo* of Loyola and his companions came there. These Iesuits coming afterwards from Venice to Rome, for that they could not performe their voyage to the holy Land, the people thought that they were the Chierins or Theatins which were returned, and confounded these two Orders through ignorance, whereof there is great difference. This *John Peter Carrafa* came afterwards to be pope, and was called *Paul* the fourth. Of the Theatins there are not many other colleges or houses to be found, but at Venise, Rome, Naples, and Paulia. The Iesuits are also called in Arragon *Inigists*, of the name of their author, and in Portugall *Apollies*, but in all other places Iesuits, according to the Popes Bulles and Briefes. This we find in the Spanish Histories of the Institution of the Iesuits, inserted here of purpose, at the time of the rebelle of Pampelone; in the year 1521 where *Inigo* of Loyola their first Institutor was: There was at that time an ample subiect prepared for these Iesuits to practise their charities, and, withall, a fit and pleasing abode for them,

Duke of Gandie  
becomes a Ie-  
suite.

17  
Sect of Theatins  
differs from the  
Iesuits.

Lib. 27.

1521

A them, and other religious Spaniards, at the west Indies by *Fernand Cortes*, who hauing runne along the coasts of the firme land at this new world, going vp Northward, and there by sundry conquests hauing drawne vnto him in many of those Indian people he entered into the country and assailed the city of Mexico, took it, and conquered that realme with an incredible facilitie. It is at this present called Noua Hispania. This great citie which was one of the wonders of the world, by reason of the situation was taken in August this yeare 1521, where the king *Moteczuma* was slaine, and about a hundred thousand of this subiects.

Mexico at the  
Indies taken  
by the Castillians.

Returning now to the historie of Nauarre, we say, that as soone as the duke of Nagera was retired, they of Pampelone did choose the signior of Osioen for their captaine, who had serued the catholike king, *Monsieur Asperaut* pursuing his conquests was met in the Pyrene mountains by some deputies of the valley of Roncal, who yielded him obedience, and gaue him aduertisement of the estate of the countrie, with whom hee past to Pampelone, and made himselfe master thereof in the name of king *Henrie*. *D. Lewis* of Beaumont earle of Lerin desired to come to him, but they refused him a safeconduct for his returne. The lord of Asperaut finding no resistance in the whole realme, he reduced it in few days vnder the obedience of its naturall king: and making vse of the ciuile wars of Castille, hauing good intelligence with the compinnalities, hee past the riuier of Ebro, and laid siege to Logrogne, through a rain and ill digested counsell. *D. Pedro Velez* of Guere had put himselfe into the place, with some souldiers, who resisted the French armie virtuously, they being much fauored by the victorie of Villa Laria, which the viceroys of Castille had woon against the commons: by reason whereof the Victors aduanced with the Duke of Nagera, who had leuied men from Burgos vnto the sea, making his sonne *D. John* Marquisse de Lara colonell of the Guipuscoans, a yong Lord but fifteen yeeres old: and of the Biscains *Gomes Gonsales de Butron*, Lord of Muxica and of Butron: which forces being great, forced the French to raise their siege, and repassing the riuier, to returne into Nauarre, the Castilian army following them so neere, as whereas the French slept, the Castilians dined the next day. The armies being comeneere vnto Pampelone, the Lord of Asperaut being accompanied by many Nauarrois, was of opinion to turne head, and to hazard a bartell, but very inconsiderately: for at that time he was not strong enough to incounter the power which came against him; neither had he the patience to attend some of his forces which were at Tafalla, with the signior of Ollaogui, and at Pampelone, and a new leuie of sixe thousand Nauarrois, which might haue ioyned with him the next day, or the day after, wherefore being neere one vnto another, after that the artillery had played, when they came to ioine, the French horsemen behaued themselves woorthily: but the footemen, who were most part Gascoins, could not endure the force of the Castilians, but were presently put to rout, which made them to giue the field, and to leaue the victory vnto the viceroys. In this bartell which was giuen neere vnto the borough of Nozyn, and the port of Reniega, there died of French *E. John* of Saraza, captaine *Martin*, and *Charles* of Nauasques, or of Nouailles: the generall also of the French armie being hurt by a man at armes of the company of the Earle of Alba de Lista, yielded to *D. Francis* of Beaumont: the Lord of Tumon was also taken, *D. Pedro* of Nauarre sonne to the Marshall *D. Pedro* prisoner at Simanca, saved himselfe in France, with *D. Arnold* of Gramont, *D. Frederic* of Nauarre, and others in great numbers. Through the fauour of this victorie Pampelone was recovered without anie difficultie, by the Castilians: and after their example all the other places of the realme yielded, except some strong castles in the mountaines. The Lord of Asperaut was blamed to haue hazarded a bartell, being weake and within the realme, without anie command, but hee excused himselfe, for that hee had discovered a great disorder amongst the enemies, which promised him an assured victory, but he was deceived: it had bene more safe for him to haue stood vpon his guard, contenting himselfe with that which hee had wonne in so short a time, without striking stroke, and not to haue inuaded the lands of Castille: a while after hee was set at libertie, paying tenne thousand crownes ransom; by *D. Francis* of Beaumont, against the willes of the Viceroys of Castille, who

The lord of As-  
peraut makes  
himselfe master  
of Pampelone.

Logrogne besieged  
by the French.

French retire  
from Logrogne.

1521  
Route of the lord  
of Asperaut and  
the French army  
at Nozyn.

Pampelone re-  
covered by the  
Castilians.



1522

D. Francis of  
Espania came  
of Miranda  
viceroi of Na-  
uarre.

Admiral of Na-  
varre enters  
Guipuscoa.

Fontarraby be-  
sieged and take  
by the French.

Demolitions in  
Nauarre.

Adrian chosen  
Pope.

1522  
Maine taken  
by the French.

who made D. Francis of Espania and Auillanede earle of Miranda viceroi of Nauarre, in the place of the duke of Nagera. This year the bishopricke of Pampelone was voided, by the death of Cardinal Amado of Albrer, and Cardinal Alexander Cesarin Ramoin was aduanced to that place.

19 King Francis discontented with the bad success of the Lord of Asperants amie, hee resolved to invade Spaine with a greater power by Guipuscoa, whither hee sent the Lord of Boniuer, Admirall of Fraunce, who at his first entrance took the Caste of Beoyuia, into the which he put captayne Beaulis in garrison; then leading his army against Fontarraby, he besieged it, and planted his battery in the most convenient places. Diego de Vera was gouernour within it, who either through negligence, or want of means, had ill furnished it with victualles, so as the third day of the siege they beganne to want, yet notwithstanding he made some resistance, and endured an assault: but seeing there was no meanes to holde it, hee yeelded the place upon composition, the souldiers departing with their armes, and their colours flying. This yeelding fell out very happily for the French amie: for had it beene delayed but two dayes, they had bene forced to dislodge, for that there fell such abundance of raine, as the brookes being swelled in those vallies, would haue carried away both men and baggage. The Admirall Boniuer put a garrison of three thousand Galcoines into Fontarraby, vnder the commandment of the Lord of Lude, hauing rampared vp the breaches, and furnished it well with victualles. There was sent out of Spaine ynto that frontire, to make head against the French D. Bertrand de la Cueva, sonne to the duke of Albquerque, who provided for the towne of Saint Sebastian and other forts of that countrey. About that time the emperor sent a commaundement from Brussells, to the earle of Miranda viceroi of Nauarre, to raine all the walles and forts of Nauarre to prevent another rebellion; all which was executed, but at Pampelone, Lombier, Pont de la Roine and at the castle of Estella. It was resolved to fortifie Pampelone, and therefore the monasteries neere adioyning were ruined, and the monks drawne into the towne.

20 Pope Leodyng this year 1521, cardinal Adrian bishop of Tortola, who was then gouernour in Spaine, with the abouenamed viceroies, was chosen pope in the 62 year of his age: and retaining his name, he was called Adrian the first. The newes of his election was brought him to Victoria, where the viceroies were, full of care for the losse of Fontarraby, passing from thence towards Arragon & Castile, he embarked, and left Spaine to go to Rome to receiue the pontificall crowne, the which he enjoyed but few dayes.

The year following 1522 was taken the fort of Maja, not far from Bayona, by the diligence of the earle of Miranda, viceroi, and D. Lewis of Beaumont, earle of Leng, the which was defended by James Velez of Matran a Nauarrois, with others of the faction of Granoche, a place held impregnable for the situation, the which notwithstanding being extraordinarily prest, was yeelded by the said Madran, who was led with his some prisoners to Pampelone, where they died both within 14 dayes. By this prisiking Henry was quite spoiled of all that did belong to the realme of Nauarre towards Spaine.

The garrison of Galcoines which were within Fontarraby, was held very short, by them that were at Yruto, Vranu in the valley of Ojarum, in the Renterie, and other neighbour places. There was within the towne a captayne called John of Ase, who was newly fled out of Spaine vpon a quarrell which he had with Pedro of Vrdaniuia, feignior of the house of Aranzate: This captayne being desirous to be reuenged of his enemy, undertooke to surpris him in his house, which he knew verie well, being of the countrey, where hee had inioyed the seigniorie of Ibarolle: wherefore going one night out of Fontarraby with about six hundred men, he marched with great silence vnto a house called Weder, where the dogges hearing the noyse of them that past, beganne to bay, so as the master of the house who was a farmer, coming forth in his shirt to see what it was, was taken bound, and carried so farre as Ojarum, where before all things the souldiers tooke away the clappers of the belles, lest being discovered they should geue an alarme. Then going to the house of Pedro of Vrdaniuia, they did murther it and seke to force it: but hee who was valiant and resolute, and knowing the passages to saue himselfe, escaped. Captaine John of Ase and his souldiers seeing themselves frustrate of their pray, resolved before the alarme

1522

A larme were giuen in the Countrey, to returne as speedily as they might, and they had bene wile if they could haue effected it: but being desirous of spoyle, they lingered there about certayne packes of merchandize which were come thither from Lyon for Medina del Campo, with a passport, so as the people of those vallies being solicited by the Lord Aranzate, with cries, and other such signes and aduertisements as hee could giue them, assembled to the number of three hundred, whereof some following the French behind, and some getting before them by unknowne wayes, and cutting off their passage, they fought with them in such sort as they put them to rout and slew a booke halfe of them, and tooke many prisoners, they looting but one man, and some hurt. John of Ase escaped by the mountaine of Iazquitell, with few men, and got into Fontarraby: whose goods were confiscate by the Emperour, and giuen to captayne Ambuladi.

B The Caste of Beoyuia, was of verie great importance for the French, that would make warre in Spaine, for it is the onely passage by the which they may bring artillerie into Guipuscoa; notwithstanding being very ill aduised, they refused for the sparing of men and money, to ruine it, which captaine Beaulis hauing begunne, by the commaundement of the Earle of Lude, in few dayes hee fast and undermined the walles at the foote, the which hee vnderpropt with pilles, which were made hollow and filled with powder, with an intent to giue fire to it, and to ouerthrow all: the which he hauing done very secretly, as he thought, it was notwithstanding discovered by one of his owne gunners, called great John of Liborne, who for some question hee had had with a souldier, was retired to the Spaniards, and had revealed this businesse to D. Lewis de la Cueva, brother to the generall D. Bertrand: wherefore a great number of men of those vallies, being all souldiers, did presently assemble; and were sodainly led by the said commaunder against this castle, euen as the French, hauing drawne forth their Artillerie, and all that was within it, did abandon it, and hauing already kindled certayne matches to conduct the fire to the powder and pillars which supported the walles, which the Spaniards prevented with great diligence, quenching these matches, and so preferred the Caste, whose walles they did repaire, rampire vp, and fortifie againe, and as a matter of great moment could keepe it well. Ochia of Asia was made captayne of that Caste with an hundred souldiers.

C The French finding their owne error, sought afterwards to recover it, there being an enterprise made by some gentlemen of the Countrey of Labbord, amongst which were the Lords of Ortuaba and Semper, who hauing leuiued about a thousand men of that Countrey, and ioyned vnto them a regiment of Germans old souldiers, which were in that frontire in the Kings pay; they led them to the passage of the riuer of Bidaso, which diuides Fraunce and Spaine, where they were staied by the resistance which they of the Caste made with their artillerie, and the Commons of the Countrie: whereupon seeking an other foard, and other wayes by the mountains, thinking to surpris the garrison, they found such resistance of all the Spaniard forces, which had bene drawne thither, as they were defeated, and in a manner allaine. This was called the rout of Saint Martial, for that it was giuen on Saint Martials day, the last of Iune, this year 1522. In the which the emperor Charles returned into Spaine and landed at Saint Ander the five and twentieth of Iuly, from whence hee passed to Vailledolit, where hee heard the ambassadors of many princes, and also the deputies of the realme of Valencia, who came to craue pardon, for that they had ioyned in union with the rebells of Spaine, and were the last which submitted, whereof they executed themselves vpon the hard vlsage of their viceroi D. Jaques de Mendosa, whom hauing fauourably heard, he comprehended them in the generall pardon, which he caused to be published, himselfe being present, and sitting in his royall throne in view of all the world: hee depriued Mendosa of the gouernement of Valence, by meanes whereof all the strong places and castles of the realme, were yeelded vnto him: In that of Xariua there had bene till that time detained D. Ferdinand of Arragon duke of Calabria, sonne to D. Frederic the disposessed king of Naples, who died afterwards in France: him hee deliuered, and kept him neere him, with honour and fir entertainment: commending him that hauing bin solicited by the rebells to be their head, hee had refused it: and in time hee caused him to marry Queene Germaine (who had bene wife to king Ferdinand his grandfather, and

Beoyuia a castle  
of great impor-  
tance abando-  
ned by the  
French.

Rout of Saint  
Martial.  
Returne of the  
emperor into  
Spaine.

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and was then married againe to the Marquesse of Brandeburgh, who died soon after) to which Queene *Germaine* he gaue at that time the gouernement of Valencia.

Seeing the troubles ended vpon the firm land of Spain, he had news that the city of *Ma-iorca*, & the whole Iland were reuolted, at the instigation of a poore Artisan called *Calon*, wherupon he speedily dispatcht the viceroi with some gallies: who thinking to reclaim them by mildnes, was beaten back by them with their artillery, & forced to go out of the haueu with his gallies, being incensed the more for that he had refused to shew them the letters of pardon, which he said he brought them from the emperour, before they had laid downe armes, and deliuered him the towne. And in this fury they began to fall vpon them which aduised them to acknowledge their prince, and to yeelde vnto his mercie. The Viceroy being fortified with more shipping, went to an other part of the Iland, where hee landed his men: there many of the Ilanders came vnto him, and offered him seruiue: having mustered his armie, he found that he had about tenne thousand fighting men, with the which seeking to inuest and besiege the citie, the rebellles sallied courageously forth, and came twice to handie strokes, and were twice repulsed within their walles, the which caused great trouble within the towne: for many fainting would haue the gates opened, and make triall of the Emperours clemencie: but the greatest and strongest part, being obstinately desperate, reiected this wholefome counsell with outrages, hanging and cruelly murdering those that were of this aduice, if they could get them, setting their heads vpon the publike places and towers of the towne, a grievous and fearefull spectacle. And then they discharged their rage vpon the wiuers, children, goods and houses of them that were absent with all barbarous cruelty. Wherefore they were besieged and battered both by sea and land so as seeing themselves forced, not able long to hold out, and without hope of any succours, or meanes to escape after that they had endured some assaults, and shewed that they had courage, they yielded, vpon condition that the people should be pardoned, yet there were twelue referred at the Viceroyes discretion, the which were deliuered vnto him: among them was *Calon* the Author of the rebellion, found in a priue where hee was hidden, who being led so deliued to his punishment vpon an Aile, and his companions following him on foot, they were all pincht with hot yrons and quartered, and their heads set vpon the towers and gates of the citie, which payed a certaine summe of money in consideration of a fine, and for the charges of the warre. These troubles being thus suppressed, the Emperour spent some dayes in sports, and would himselfe runne at the tilt, to the great contentment of the Spanish nobilitie, with whom hee got the reputation to bee a good man at armes.

During the Emperours abode at Vaileddolit, he granted the combat to two gentlemen of Arragon, and did see them fight with those ceremonies which were then vsed in combats, both in Spaine and elsewhere: the report whereof it may be will not be displeasing vnto the Reader; for that now they are left off, and they proceed after another manner.

*Peter Toreilla* and *Ierome Anca* (for so the contendants were named) both borne at Sagorosse, great friends before and alied, yong and fierie, neither of them being yett fye and twenty yeares old: falling out at play, they had bene already in field, vnaccompanied with their rapiers and cloakes, where it happened that after many thrusts and blows, and neither hurt, either of them hauing very good knowledge in his weapon, *Anca* with an ouerthwart blow stricke his aduersaries weapon out of his hand, who seeing himselfe disarmed, confessed generously that he was vanquished. But he intreated *Anca* to do him this curtesie, to rest satisfied with the victorie, and not to tell any one that they had bin in field, as their quarrell was also secret, and no man had bene acquainted therewith, the which he hauing promised they embraced each other, and returned good friends to their lodgings, thinking that not any one had seene them fight. Two or three dayes after *Toreilla* vnderstood that all the court talked of this fact, whereat being much grieved, hee blamed *Ierome Anca*, saying, that hee had sayled of his promise, and that through vanitie, and to dishonour him, he had published that which had passed betwixt them. *Anca* protested that hee had neuer spoken of it, but one had told him that a Curate of the

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A next village, walking at the time of their fighting about a troupe of his that was feeding, had seene them fight, & had told it, for the which hee was sorry. The Curate being demanded touching this matter, answered doubtfully & seemed to speake all in fault of *Ierome Anca*, which did confirme the other in his opinion, that he had broken his faith: so as hee told him resolutely, that he had done at a vt vnworthie of a knight of honour, and that he must do him reason by arms: who admitting no excuse, he made his petition to the emperour, that he would be pleased to graunt him the combat against his enemy, to make it knowne that hee was a traitor, disloyall and vnworthie to beare the name of a gentleman, and withall hee sent him a challenge. The emperour referred this difference to the iudgement of his Constable *D. Inigo Fernandez* of Velasco, who did what hee could to reconcile them, but seeing there was no meane, he put them into the field, with the formalities vsed in those times. In the publike place at Vaileddolit there was a plot measured out, which was 50 paces long, & 36 broad, & railed round about. On either side 160 waies without the lists was a scaffold set vp, one on the one side for the emperour, & the other for the Constable, either of them being couered with rich tapestrie, & in them chaires couered with cloth of gold. At the other two ends were two other scaffolds built lower for the kinsmen and friends of the combatants, and ioyning to either of them was a paulion in which the chaplions should take their armes: the place had bin made very euen and couered with sand, that they should not slip. About 11 of the clock the emperour came accompanied with a great nobility, the marshalls of the field and his gards both of horse & foot. Being set in his seat vnder a cloth of estate, they deliuered a golden rod into his hand, the which being cast by him should part the combat. Soon after came the Constable with a graue & seled countenance, being about 60 yeeres old, hee did weare a long robe of cloth of golde, and was mounted vpon a Genet of Spaine, richly furnished, hauing alighted from his horse, hee came and past before the emperour, to whom he made a low obeysance, there marching before him forty gentlemen & a Squire carrying the royall sword (shedded as his Maiesties lieutenant, and after him another Squire carrying the Constables armes and his coat of armes. After whom came other gentlemen pages, & young Squires richly apparellled in blew fatten imbrodered with gold and silver. Hauing in this pompe gone about the campe and viewed it, he went vnto his seat which was right against the emperour, whose guards did presently compasse in the field without the lists. Then *Toreilla* the challenger presented himselfe being accompanied by his godfather, the duke of Beiar & Albuquerque, the admirall of Castille, and many other noblemen and gentlemen: hee was attyred in a short luppe of silke, imbrodered with gold, & furred with fables, before whom there was carried a battle axe and a sword, a scutcheon with his armes, & a cassacke to weare vpon his armes. Hauing presented himselfe in this manner before the emperour, hee made him a low obeysance, and hauing done the like vnto the Constable, hee went to the paulion which was prepared for him. On the other side *Ierome Anca* entered the lists, accompanied after the same manner, and with the like furniture, except his luppe, which was furred with ermines; the Marquesse of Brandeburgh was his godfather, and hee was followed by the dukes of Nagera, of Alua, and of Benarent, the Marquesse of Aguilar, and of other noblemen and knights, who hauing made the like submissions to the emperour and Constable, hee went to the paulion which was prepared for him; and the scutcheons and coates of armes of both combatants were carried and planted before the Constables scaffold. During these shewes, the ayre did echo againe with the sound of drummes and trumpets, the which being commanded to cease, the two knights were brought by their Godfathers before the Constable, where a booke of the Gospell and a Crucifix being presented vnto them, they putting their hands into a priests hands did swear that they came to this trial of armes with an intent to defend a iust quarrell, wherein they would behaue themselves like loyal knights, without fraud, chams, or any other thing, professing to imploy only the force and dexterity of body and mind, trusting only in God, *S. George* & the virgin *Mary*, and wish the aduice & counsell of their godfathers, who caused a cofer to be brought before the Constable, in the which were the armes, wherewith the champions should fight, and be couered the which were weig-

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Rebellion in  
Maiores.Maiores  
vanquished and  
quartered.Combat betwixt  
two Arragonis

ed in his presence, according to the laws & customs of combats, by the which the weight was limited to 90 pounds of the country, at the least. This done, they were chosen & carried to either Pavillion, where the champions did arm themselves in the presence of some that were appointed by the Constable, to witness that there was no fraud; while they were arming, the trumpets and drums sounding againe. The constable went from his seat to dispose of that which was fit within the lists, the which he did with great gravitie & ceremonies: Then he wet & sat him down at one of the corners of the field, accompanied with 12 knights, sending the like number to the other opposit corner, commanding them that they shold not remoue fro thence before the end of the combat. To either of the other two corners, he sent 3 noblemen of quality instructed in like maner. Then hauing commanded silence, one of the marshals of the field cried out with a loud voice in the emperours name going to euery one of the 4 corners, that it was forbidden vpon pain of death for any one to make a noise whilest the champions did fight, nor to make any signe by deed, voice or word, neither in spitting, coughing, blowing of the nose, sneezing or whistling, nor by beating of hands or feet, lifting vp of the hands, nor by shaking of the head, or any motion of the bodie to giue them aduertisement, courage, feare or amazement, nor otherwise to instruct them in what they haue to do, except their godfathers in their charge & duty: And then the two knights entred the field in compleat armor, holding in their hands their battel axes, & their swords by their sides: *Peter Toreilla* the first, (for that he was challenger) accompanied with his godfather, presented himself before the constable, who demanded of him what he was, & for what cause he was entred so armed: hauing received his answer he caused him to put off his head peece to know him, & then he caused him to put it on againe, & sent him to one of the corners of the camp, where he was received by the three noblemen, that were plaist there. Then he past to the other corner opposit, & being set in the midst of the 12 knights that were left there by him, he made the like demands & ceremonies to *Ierom Anca*, who was also presented vnto him by his godfather, & from thence sent to the other corner fight against his aduersary, where he was in like maner received by 3 noblemen. After al this the constable went to his first seat, & then the trumpets did sound again, which hauing done, the knights which shold fight, & their godfathers sel vp to their knees & praied, which done, either of the godfathers hauing embraced his chapion, & exhorted him to fight valiantly, he bad him farewell, & then they retired into their Pavillios. After which, one cried out that they shold let the good champions go. Then they came & affronted one another courageously fighting a long time with their battel axes, sometimes one reeling, sometimes another, vntil they had broken them in peeces. Being thus vnarmed they had no leasure to draw their swords, they were so neere one vnto another, so as they fell to handy gripes, one seeking to ouerthrow another: But the emperor who would not lose the cast his rod, in sign that they shold part them, saying that they had done enough, and that he held them both for good knights, whereupon all they that were set at the four corners, being 30 in al, ran, but they had great difficulty to part them, they wer so incensed one against another, crying & contending for honor and victorie, whereas either of them thought he had the aduantage. In the end the respect of the emperor made them retire, yet wold they not be friends, but threatened one another bitterly, condemning the constables persuasions, who told them that they shold rest satisfied & reuerence the emperours testimony, who had pronounced with his own mouth, that either of the had behaved him self valiantly, & had done his duty, so as their honors were vntoucht. The emperor was constrained through their obstinacy to send them both to prison, fro whence they parted not, vntil they were recóiled, at the least in few, for they were neuer perfect friends. If of two bad things we must chuse the one, as some think it necessary, the maner of combats practised in the time of our predecessors, wold seem more tollerable then that which is vsed at this day; for in that they made a certain kind of trial of doubtful things. The princes leue, or of his lieutenants was required, who first of al took knowledge whether the cause did merit, that two men of quality and honor shold hazard their liues who might serue the publike in better affaires, or their Soueraigne, or their owne families. If after mature deliberation they held it fit to grant the combate, they came vnto it with great ceremonies, as we haue shewed, witnessing that in those times they made no little esteem of the life of men.

A man. They did carefully procure a certain equality, preventing surpises, by any aduantage, in armes, strength and dexterity of horse or otherwise: They wold them sweare that there was no slander in them, but that they came to fight for a iust quarrel, & to defend their honors. The point wherein it did consist in those daies, was to reuerence God, their princes, & the lords of the see, & to be loyal & true to al men, courteous, quiet, & modest among friends, & valiant & courageous against their enemies in war. If it were known that in this point of honor, any one were falsly blamed, or wronged by deed, with aduantage of time, place, or company, with vnequall and extraordinary armes, or that hee had otherwise iust cause to complaine, they caused speedy reparation to be done of the wrong, as the cause required, either by the lawe, or militarie customes, which did neuer allow the combate when there was any other remedy. Much lesse did they suffer a gentleman of honor to come to the vncertain trial of armes, with one that was convicted of rafines or manifest slander. He that was vanquished in the combat was held guilty of that whereof he was accused, for a slander & a yare, & if he did line he was punished ignominiously by degradation, & sometimes by death. The combat was most commonly continued or staied according to the pleasure of the prince, or of iudges that were appointed, who most commonly did part the champions before they came to the extremity, declaring them both vpon the place to be good & hardie knights, which did also shew a wise affection to preferre the nobility, to better vses. If any were found so froward & disobedient, as, notable to get leaue to fight in the countie of their natural prince, should go vnto some other soueraigne, neere or far off, to grant them a place of combat, hauing fought, they were not to return into their country, for they were held for mutins, yea felons, & guilty of high treason, & there was great difficulty to obtain letters of abolitio for such offences. But in our daies al this is out of vse, & their proceedings in combats is very different. For if it happen that any man offend another without cause or reason, the point of honor is, that he must maintaine his deed, & not giue any excuse, nor confesse that he hath erred, for that were a signe of base cowardise. It were better (saith the point of honor) to be insolent and rash, than to subiect himselfe to that modestie which wold be taken for weakness in a man that maketh profession of armes. Another that hath taken iust for iniury, or is offended at a free word spoken by his friend, the which in effect is not iniurious, will take it in so ill maner, as he will admit of no excuse nor reparation: what? must he so little esteem honor? I were better (saith the point of honor) to be quarrelous, froward & vnfoiciable, than to vse such facilitie, & base courtesie derogating from cheualry: there is no friendship that binds, he must needs fight. If the prince or some great officer wil heare, and end their quarrell: they fear those iudgements more than lightning, they fly, they wil be followed, & they fight in corners, whether it be that they are ashamed to discouer the ground of their quarrell, which is most commonly so foolish & impertinent, as they wold blush to speake of it; or that they are posselt with a thirstlesse desire to shed mas blood, & with an appetite of reuenge, accompanied with pride & vanitie. It were better (saith the point of honor) to be rebellious & vnciuil, then to submit himselfe to that discipline, for they wold say it were want of courage, & that he wold fly the lists. And thereupon they conclude, according to the point of honor, that it is not in the king to rule it, according to the limitations of his justice; & that gentlemen doe not know any other iustice or equity, than the custome of duels received among gentlemen, which giues this prerogative, priuiledge & authority, to do all, & not to suffer any thing, & to maintaine themselves by the sword in this possession, although it be vniust, and vltured but of late. Thus they are easily drawn to the combat a this day, and they must not seeme to drawe backe vpon any pretext whatsoever, neither of God, the king, nor his edicts: he must goe being called, else he shal be held base & ignoble, & therefore shal be exposed to the outrages of him that did challenge him with such aduantage as he shal please: for it were better (saith the point of honor) to be a murderer, than to go to field with one that had refused a challenge. Be they ready to fight, either will make prouision of a long rapier, of an excellent horse, with other such helps which shal be neither visited nor measured: for these are neither godfathers nor witnesses in their combats. Euery one must looke to himselfe (saith the point of honor) & it were better to exceed something in that respect, than to be short; although we may iustly say afterwards, that the honor of the victorie belógs rather to the armes & horse than to the knight. Yet they goe in their shirts, & the point of honor

wel obserued require, that they run one another through like boars, rather thā to slip a side, when the thrust comes, or to seeke to auoid it by fensling, & it were better to die (saith the point of honor) then to seem by any gesture or countenance to fear death. It is then a wonder that these men ordained for murder & slaughter, who thinke they are not come into the world but to kill or be killed, should vouchsafe to arm themselves, when they go to the war, & they shold not impute it to want of courage to couer themselves with hamess, like vnto the Cimbrians and ancient gaules, for there is in a manner the like reason. But behold the most subtil and very quintessence of the point of honour: It is lawfull for them that go to fight in duel, to insure a second & a third if they wil, the which shalbe bound to fight against the like number chosen by the other part, & kill them with whom they neuer had any quarrel, yea, their deare friends, as it often happens: It is the law of duels, It were better (saith the point of honor) to be a murderer of his own soul, than to refuse a knight which doth him the honor to intreat him to second him in his quarrel, bee it iust or vniust. If it happen that the second kills him against whom he fights, he must come & succor his partner, and help him to kill his enemy, although it seeme outrageous to fall two vpon one, who it may be is also forewounded. These are tollerated murders; and it were better (saith the point of honor) fo to kill him who thou thinkest hath wronged thee, than to leaue him his life, vnlesse he demand it of thee: For it is the fruit of duels, either to kill his aduersarie, or to brag that he hath giuen him his life. Being returned from fighting, much contented when they haue vanquished, they wil tel wonders of courtesies, done vnto him whom they haue thus slaine: He is dead (wil they say) through his own folly, by his overweening, by his ostinacie, wherein they cannot be gainsaid, for that they die all winneces and ludges.

If he that suruiues be wounded and dies soone after; he consorts himself in that point of honor, that he hath done himself right by his sword, and that he hath caused his aduersarie to die first. But for the health of their soules, they think they haue provided sufficiently, if going to the combat with an heart vndered with a deadly hatred against their neighbour, posselt with a spirit of reuenge, and a vaine opinion of their excellency, dignitie, and valour, they fall vpon their knees, entering into some Church or Chappell, and pray vnto God heartily that hee will giue them the grace to kill their enemy, or to force him to acknowledge his life from them. They will confesse themselves to a priest or some religious man, they wil demand absolution of the sinne which they are going to do, & will giue money to haue masses said for him or them that shall die in this fight. Yet it is the least of their cares: for if they meet with any church man that hath wit and conscience, who seeks by holy admonitions to diuert them from this bad resolution, and refuseth to absolve them, they will say that hee vnderstands not the point of honor, and will goe from him in a rage or will mocke at him. It is not from God that these duellists haue leamed or will leame that which doth truly honour Nobility: But they doe rather seeke to instruct themselves in their false point of honor, by the precepts and suggestions of the enemy of mankind, who was a murderer from the beginning, and who is alwaies delighted in murder & blood. By the instigation & conduct of this godfather, we see them go cheerfully to yeeld vp their cursed soules, most of this humor liuing without god, without king, without law, without friendship, & without knowledge of ciuil vertues, hauing for their sole vertue, a violence which they call courage, the which they haue common with brute beasts. If there were euer barbarism like vnto this since the foundation of the world was laid they may iudge which be me, hauing retained some light of reason, & may conclude pertinently, that there is not any thing among human actiōs in this miserable age, that is more repugnāt to the law of god, more absurd in nature, more preiudicial to good gouernment, more in contempt of kings & magistrats, & to conclude more offensive before God & man, than these modern duels. Not that we should allow or giue place to the ancient manner of combats, whereas there is a king, or some other soueraign power, who ought not to grant nor suffer them according to the rules of iustice wel administered: & without the authoritie of which soueraign power, it is not lawfull for any whatsoever to draw his sword, according to the laws of Christendome. Being most certain that combats in the best form that they were euer practised (it be not against an enemy that prouokes in open war) are the inventions of cruel & barbarous nations which are ignorant of piety, iustice, and gouernment.

Returning

A Returning to our Historie, wee find this yere 1522, James of Aillon, earle of Lude, gouernor of Fontarraby, being so long disquieted by the enemy, & wanting things necessary for the defence of a town of war, which attended a sieg houly, he aduertised the French king his master of this estate, intreating him to releue him, & to send another gouernor: the which the king performed aswell as he could, for he was otherwise busied, the war being hot both in Italy, & Picardy, betwixt him & the emperor: The marshall of Chastillon was sent thither, who dying at Dax, his charge was giue to the marshall *Chabanes*, who victualled Fontarraby, in view of the enemy, & changed the garrison, drawing forth the earle of Lude, and making captain *Franquet* gouernor in his place, who had alwaies had the reputation of a good foldier, but he lost it in this charge. They of Fontarraby hauing a little before made a sally vpō the enemy which lay at Yrun, it had succeeded ill, in the which they had lost the signior of Chanfarron, & many good soldiers; and after the coming of captain *Franquet*, they made many skirmishes, most of them preiudiciall to the French.

In the yere 1523, the marshall D. *Pedro* of Nauarre a prisoner in the fort of Symanca died, whose death was diuersly published: it is most certain that it was violently, & by the sword; the Spaniards impute the fault to himself, saying, that being too much affected to K. *Henry* of Albret his naturall Prince, & seeing himself so long detained in prison, for that he would not swear to another, he fel into such despaire, as hee slue himself: hee left one son of the same name, who did then serue the Frēch k. in Fontarraby. At Rome Pope *Adrian* also dyed, the 30 month of his raigne, in whose place *Iulio de Medicis* was chosen, & was named *Clement 7*. The same yere the emperor entred into Pampelone, where providing for the defence of this countie of Guipuscoa, he sent the constable D. *Inigo Fernādes* of Velasco, with the prince of Orang, who led an army of about 24000 mē, by the pace of Beoyua into Bearn, & camped before Saluaterra, the which yielded, where staying, they made shew that they would conquer the country of Bearn, or attempt Bayonne, and so they held the minds of men in suspēce. The lord of Lautrec, gouernor of Quienne, gaue good order both for Bayone & Fontarraby, being doubtful what designe the enemy had, who hauing remained 4 daies at Saluaterra, returned into Guipuscoa, hauing done nothing memorable in that voyage, but taken the Cattle of Vidaxone, belonging to the lord of Gramont: D a great part of this army died of cold and want in this voyage.

21 In the beginning of the yere 1524, the emperor leauing Nauarre; retrayed to Victoria, where he resolved of the sieg of Fontarraby, which was begun in the beginning of February, the Constable of Castille being general of the army, assisted by the prince of Orange, and many other noblemen and knights of name, among which was *William* of Roccandolphe Colonel of 3000 Germans: the batterie was planted towards Miranda, against the queens bastion, & it was furious & continuall, yet they gaue not any assault, for the Spaniards desired to take it by famine & without the losse of their men: the place was reasonably wel furnished to endure a long sieg, yet captain *Franquet* yielded it vpon composition, to depart with their armes & baggage saued, & their colours flying, as the Spaniards had done, *Franquet* excused himselfe, vpon the intelligences which D. *Pedro* of Nauarre had with the enemies: notwithstanding he was degraded of his nobilitie, vpon a scaffold in the citie of Lion. D. *Pedro* of Nauarre was sonne to the Marshall D. *Pedro*, who died a prisoner in the Cattle of Symanca, and was nephew to the Constable of Castille, by whome being solicited, he went to emperors seruice. The place was found well furnished of all things, whereunto hauing added other prouisions, the gard and defence thereof was giuen to *Sancho Martines de Leyua*, brother to *Anthony de Leyua*, who was then reputed a wise and discreet Captaine in the warres of Italie. Besides the gouernment of that towne, *Sancho Martines* was corrector of the Prouince of Guipuscoa, the which hath not hapned to any one, to haue had the charge of waite and of iustice. Those which haue gouerned in Fontarraby, successiue vnto our time, after *Sancho Martines* were D. *Sancho de Leyua* his son; then D. *Diego* of Caruajal lord of Xodar, & in our time D. *John d'Acugna*.

In Nauarre the king appointed D. *Diego* of Auellaneda, bishop of Tuy, to bee Viceroy, gouernor & reformer of the iustice: And then the heights of the faction of Gramōc, which had followed the kings of the house of Albret, returned into their country, & to the emperors seruice, to whom they did swear as to their king, namely D. *Pedro* of Nauarre.

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uarre,

*Franquet gouernor of Fontarraby.*

1523  
Death of the  
Marshall of  
Castille.

Emperors  
into Pampelone.

Exploits of  
the Spanish army in  
Bearn.

1524  
Siege laid by  
the Spaniards  
to Fontarraby.

Fontarraby  
yielded to the  
emperor.

Punishment of  
Captain *Franquet*  
for the yielding  
of Fontarraby.

*Diego d'Acugna*  
Viceroy of  
Nauarre.

1524  
Grammontes  
returne into  
Nauarre to the  
emperours ser-  
uice.

Francis the  
French king ta-  
ken at Pavia.

Warlike Council  
of the bishop of  
Osma.

1525

Passage of king  
Francis being  
Prisoner into  
Spaine.

uarre, who obtained the dignity of Marshall, which his father had held, and the Marquisate of Cortes. Hee was defended from D. Lionell, sonne to king Charles, the second of that name. As for the earle of Saint Stephen, when as he came to the emperours seruice he had the title of Marquess of Falces given him, and the office of high chamberlaine of Nauarre, with other fauours; since which time that realme hath bene held by the house of Castille, in peace, and without troubles.

22 On Saint Mathias day, being the 24 day of Februarie that yeare 1524, the computation of the yeare beginning at our Lady day, was that memorable battle of Pavia, where the French were defeated, and king Francis taken prisoner by the imperials, whereof the chiefe were Cont Charles of Launoy, viceroy of Naples. Ferdinand d' Audos Marquess of Pescara, and Charles duke of Bourbon, who for some discontentment had left France, and followed the emperours party. What were the causes of this great overthrow, and what succeeded after, ye may read at large in the History of France, whereunto I referre the Reader, to auoid needlesse repetitions. The emperor was aduertised of this defeat and prison the tenth of March; the news were pleasing vnto him, as wee may coniecture, yet he shewed himselfe verie modest, shewing no tokens of pride for this great successe. There were two opinions debated in his council, the bishop of Osma was author of the one, to suffer this great prisoner to depart freely, & to bind him vnto him by a frank and brotherly deliuerance; the other was to keep him still, and to draw from him all the profit and aduantages that might be. This last aduice proceeded from D. Frederic of Toledo duke of Alua, & was followed by the emperor, wherefore there were certaine articles drawn and sent with a speed vnto the king, by the lord of Reux, who reiecteth these as unreasonable.

Hereupon the Viceroy of Naples perswaded the king not to take it in ill part; if he were led into Spain, to treat himself with the emperor touching his libertie, assuring him that he desired it, shewing him letters from his friends in court. But his intention was in the meane time to lead him to the castle of Naples, and there to attend the opportunity of a passage, for they were not strong enough at sea for the French, who had Andrew Dorias Gallies at their deuotion; Neither did hee much trust his armie at land, which wanting pay, hee feared would mutine; Besides, he was iealous of the Pope, Venetians and other Potentates of Italie, who were discontented at the prosperitie of the emperor his master, wherefore being thus resolu'd, he conducted the king to Genoa, and from thence to Porto Fino: whereas the marshall of Montmorency comming vnto him with fixe French gallies, without any souldiers, by the commandement of the Queene Regent, the kings mother, he changed his aduice, & hauing furnished those gallies with Spanish souldiers, and ioyning them to those which he had, thinking that he might easily passe, whilest that the French expected his going to Naples, he suddenly bent his course for Spain; & laded the prisoner at Barcelona, before that it was known, or that he had aduertised the emperor and from thence hee conducted him to Valencia: But passing by Tortosa, the king was in great danger among the mutyned Spaniards, who pursued the Viceroy tumultuously for their pay, forcing him with their shot to escape ouer the top of his lodging, the bullets flying nere vnto the kings person. The emperor hearing of his arrival, commanded he should be put into the castle of Xatua, a place ordained in old time to be a prison for great men: but the viceroy obtained that he might liue in certain houses of pleasure, about Valencia vntil that he had commandement to conduct him to Madrid. The emperor was resolu'd not to fee him before the hee had concluded for his liberty, for the treating whereof, besides the archbishop of Ambra, who was afterwards Cardinal of Tournon, and Selus the first President of Paris, he gaue a safe conduct to Marguerite of France, duchesse of Alanson, who arrived at Barcelona in September, & passing from thence by Saragosse shee came to Madrid, whether she found the emperor was come to visit the king, who had bin brought almost to deaths doore with a violent feuer.

This had a shew of charity, to comfort him, giuing hope that he should be soone set at liberty, but it was rather a cruosity, that he might visibly see in what estate he was, fearing to lose the fruits of his prize if he should die. It is said, that being in consultation whether hee should see him or not, hee was dissuaded by his Chauncellour, who told him, that

A if he saw him, and did not set him freely at libertie, the world would thinke that hee had been brought thither by couetousnesse, thrust on with a mercinarie charitie, and a seruile feare, to loose by the prisoners death the price of his ransom: a noble aduice, and worthy to be obserued. But the duchesse of Alansons presence was the best remedie to recouer the king, where she remained almost three monethes: what she effected, and vpon what termes the king was deliuered, you may read in its proper historie.

23 These things past in the yeare 1526, in the which the Emperor Charles married D. Isabella of Portugal, daughter to the king D. Manuel. D. Alphonso Fonseca, Archbishop of Toledo, and primar of Spaine, with D. Ferdinand of Arragon, duke of Calabria, were sent to receiue this princeesse, who conducted her with great state to Seuille, where the mariage was celebrated. Of this mariage was borne, the one and twentieth day of May, in the yeare 1527, D. Philip, who succeeded in all the realmes, lands, and seigniories of the Emperour, as well hereditarie as conquered. A memorable yeare, for that by the Emperours armie, consisting for the most part of Spaniards, whereof Charles duke of Bourbon was generall, the citie of Rome was taken and sackt, and Pope Clement, with many cardinals, ranomed, and hardly intreated; the greedie and insolent souldiers not sparing the cardinals of their owne nation, prophaning by all acts of crudelie and excess, in their disordered appetites, the places and persons dedicated and vowed to religion, notwithstanding that the prince, for whom they made warre, heire of the realms of Spaine, carried the title of Catholike, purchased by his predecessors, for the good offices they had done to Popes and to the sea of Rome. The same yeare king Francis being returned into his realme, he caused the mariage to be accomplished betwixt D. Henrie of Albret, and Marguerite of France, widow to the duke of Alanson, father and mother to queene Isabe, heire to the realme of Nauarre.

King Francis being come from his imprisonment discontented, he entred willingly into league with the Pope, the king of England, the Venetians and Florentines, for the libertie of Italie: But when as he vnderstood the cruelties vsed by the Imperiall armie at Rome, he allied himselfe more strictly with the king of England, vnder colour to free the Pope and the territories of the Church; whereupon the lord of Lautrec was appointed D to lead an armie into Italie, at their common charge.

The Emperour being aduertised, that king Francis not onely refused to performe his promise, but had also declared himselfe his enemy, he caused monsieur de Gramont, his embassadour in Spaine, to be put in gard, and the French king did the like to Nicholas Perrenot of Granuelle. These kings sent two kings at Armes into Spaine, namely, Guienne and Clarence, to proclaime war against the Emperour, but before their arrival the embassadors were released. They proclaiming war against the emperor, and complaining of the Popes imprisonment, receiued this answer, as some write.

That he might not proclaime warre against him, being by right his prisoner, although he were at libertie, hauing given his sonnes for hostages, that not obseruing his promise, which he had solemnly sworne, for that he was hindered by his subiects, he should return againe to prison, for that he could not by the law of nations, being not yet freed from his oath, proreft warre against him. But if he did repent him of this accord, he should returne into his power, and breaking the first contract, the French should recouer that which they had held. That he did wonder at the complaints of those kings touching the Popes affliction, as if they were ignorant, that all had bene done without his priuite, and that he had long since giuen commandement the Pope should bee set at libertie. Du Bellai writes, That king Francis talking to Perrenot, touching the Emperours speech, answered, That he was not Charles his prisoner, neither had he euer giuen his faith, but had made a promise by force, being depriv'd of his libertie: but being now free in his kingdom, he did not know any man that could force him to keepe that promise, neither was he voluntarily bound to obserue that which constraint and imprisonment had made him to promise.

In Spaine the Infant D. Philip, being a yeare old, was sworne and declared Prince of the Asturias, and heire of the realmes of Castille, and the dependances, with the lands annexed, in the towne of Vaileddoliz: after which the Emperour Charles and D. Isabella had

1526  
Governours  
coupled.

Marriage of the  
Emperour Charles

1527

24  
Rome taken &  
sackt.

25  
Marriage of king  
Henry of Albret

League against  
the Emperour.

Answer made  
by the Emperour  
to the French  
king.

Speech of king  
Francis touch-  
ing his promise  
to the Emperour.

Genealogy of  
Castille.

Genoa  
of  
Portugal.

Portugal.

Voyage of Fer-  
dinand Magel-  
lane.

Land of Giants  
who have Win-  
ter when we  
have Summer.

Strait of Ma-  
gellan.

## The generall Historie of Spaine.

Lib. 27.

had another sonne named D. *Ferdinand*, who lived little, and two daughters, D. *Maria*, who was married to *Maximilian* of Austria, her cousin german; sonne to *Ferdinand*, and D. *Joane*, married to D. *John* of Portugall, grand child to the king D. *Mmanuel*: Wherefore I haue thought it fit to returne vnto his actions, during the three yeares which hee lived after his third marriage, which was in the year 1518, who begat of his wife D. *Leonora* the Infant D. *Charles*, and D. *Maria* an after birth.

26 In the discourse of the raigne of D. *Mmanuel*, we made mention of two of his discontented subiects, D. *Ferdinand* of Magellanes, and *Ruis Faller*, who had addrest themselves vnto the Councell of the Indies in Castille; and demanded leaue and meanes to discover the rich islands of the Molucques, the which they obtained at the comming of K. *Charles*, who being at Barcelona, sent them with letters & necessarie provisions, to Seuille, there to prepare themselves for so long and so important a voyage. *Ferdinand Magellanes* married in Seuille, with the daughter of *Edward Barosa*, capitaine of the atcennall of that citie; and for that *Ruis Faller*, his companion, fell in adde, he was forced to make his preparation without him, having five ships, that is, the *Victoria* (the pilot whereof was *John Sebastian del Cano*, borne at Guetaria in Guipuscoa, he that in the same voyage went about the world) S. *Antonie*, S. *James*, the *Conception*, and the *Trinitie*, in which ships were two hundred thirtie seven men, souldiers and mariners, with the which he parted in the year 1519, from the port of S. *Lucar*, and passing by the islands of the Canaries, and Cape Verd, he failed toward Saint *Augustines* cape, betwixt the South and the West, vntill that he came three and twentie degrees beyond the Equinoctiall, where he found a land whose inhabitants were wild Giants, & of so great a stature, as some were eleuen, twelve, and thirteene fathmes high: which country he called The land of Giants. He stayed in it May, Iune, Iulie, and August, which is the Winter in those quarters. The king D. *Mmanuel* was much discontented, that king *Charles*, his brother in law, had employed these Portugals, and attempted this voyage, to his great prejudice; yet he did comfort himselfe with a conceit, that *Magellanes* could not performe what he had promised. This voyage of *Magellanes* was verie difficult and full of lets, by reason of the discord betwixt him and his companions; so as one of his ships, called S. *Antonie*, returned into Spaine, leauing the rest as farre as the strait or cape, called Eleuen thousand Virgines, fiftie three degrees beyond the Equinoctiall, whereas the nights haue but six houres in the end of October. And they so called this cape, for that they toucht there on Saint *Vfalues* day, which is the one and twentieth of October. The same of the islands of the Molucques, and others which were rich in spices, was so great, and of the profit which might be made there, if they could find meanes to shorten their voyage, as not onely the Spaniards, but other nations, sought out wayes for this traffike and negotiation. *Paul Centurion*, a marchant of Genoua, going for this cause into Muscouie, gaue *Basilus* prince of that country, to vnderstand, that there was meanes to bring the spices into his country, by diuers riuers which he declared vnto him; saying, That those which the Portugals brought into Europe, were for the most part corrupted and falsified. The way which he meant, was, to bring the marchandise vp the riuier of Indus, vnto Batei, from whence they must carrie them by land to the riuier of Camu, and from thence by Citraca, and the Calpian sea, to bring them into the riuers of Volga, Oeca, and Mosque. But this passage had bene with greater charge, paine, and danger, than *Centurion* did conceiue, yea to distribute them after they were come into Muscouie, by Liouonia, Polonia, Prussia, Saxonie, and other parts of Germanie.

*Ferdinand Magellanes*, besides the ship which returned into Spaine, lost another in a storme: with the three others he past the strait which was called by him Magellan, the which is aboue sixscore leagues long, and scarce two leagues broad, the entries of the which from the North to the South seas, are about two and fiftie degrees from the Equinoctiall: the waters are verie deepe, the shore full of high rockes, and barren, covered continually with snow. In this passage, & for a great space in the South seas, they thought to die of hunger: in the end they came to the island of Inuagada, repassing the line eleuen degrees, which they called Good signe, where they found wherewithall to satise their hunger; and from thence they came to the island of Sebut, where they past the least

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## The generall Historie of Spaine.

A of Easter in the year 1521, and perswaded the king of that countrey, called *Hambab*, to become a Christian, receiving victuals and presents from him, with information of the Molucques. In the same island there was another king, enemy to *Hambab*, called *Calupolo*, lord of Mautan, against whom *Ferdinand Magellanes* going to fight, was slain there in battell, the 27 of April 1521. *John Serran*, who was chiefe pilot of the same, retaining the chiefe, was soone after taken by king *Hambab*, who had been called *Charles* at his baptism, and put to death with seuentie other Spaniards; Wherefore the three ships parted from thence, hauing but an hundred and fiftene men remaining; and came to Cohol, where they burnt one of their ships: there they trimmed vp the two others, and then went B to Bornoy, where they were courteously intreated by the king *Sapida*, a great and mightie lord, who releued them with all necessaries: in which countrey they saw great riches and deuises of gold and siluer. Then passing by the island of Cinibon, they came to the island of Tidore, which is one of the five of the Molucques, where of the other foure are, Terrenate, where, seuen monethes before this arrival, died *Francis Serran*, a Portugall, kinsman to *Magellanes*, who gaue him first knowledge of these islands; & indouged him to go thither, Mate, Matille, and Maehian, which lye vnder the Equinoctiall, of the carbons, verie small, but abounding in riches, being distant from Spaine aboue an hundred and seuentie degrees. The king of Tidore, called *Athanasius*, although he yete a Mahometist, suffered these Spaniards to traffique freely, and was pleased with their arrival, and C with the friendship of the king of Castille. The discouerie of these islands in the time of the king D. *Mmanuel*, did cause great contentions betwixt Castille and Portugall, the Portugals pretending that they were thereby interested; and hindered in their course assigned for their navigation: Yet the king D. *Mmanuel* moued no debate, for before that the newes of this discouerie was knowne in Spaine, he ended his dayes, towards the end whereof there happened a great plague, and famine in Portugall: During which afflictions the marriage was concluded betwixt the Infanta D. *Beatrice*, second daughter to the king D. *Mmanuel*, and *Charles duke of Saouoy*, to whom she was sent this year 1521, with a fleet of three and twentie sailes, of the which D. *Martin* of Castillblanc, earle of Villanoya, was general, being accompanied by D. *Martin* of Acosta, bishop of Lisbon, with D other noblemen, and by D. *Leonora de Sylua*, and a daughter of the earle of Faro, with many waiting women. The Infanta was then sixteen yeares old and seuen monethes. After the returne of this fleet, about the end of the year, the king D. *Mmanuel* died, little lamented by the Clergie of his countrey, of whom he had leuied new and vnaccustomed subsidies, hauing reigned six and twentie yeares and three monethes, in the three and fiftieth year of his age. He was buried in the monastrie of Belem, which he himselfe had caused to be built.

## D. Iohn, third of that name, fifteenth King of Portugall.

28 His sonne D. *Iohn* succeeded him, the third of that name, at the solemnitie of whose reception there were present some of the Infants his brethren, D. *Jago* duke of Bragance, the master of S. *James*, the earle of Tentugal, the earle of Taroca, D. *Iohn de Meireles*, prior of Saint *Iohn*, the great master, the marquisse of Toumouo, and Villa Real, with other noblemen and gentlemen of the realme, and the cardinall D. *Alphonso* his brother, in whose hands the oath was taken. This prince was fat and vnwieldie, verie religious, and a loue of learmed and valiant men. He was founder of the Vniuersitie of Coimbra, and of the royall colledge of Saint *Paul*, the which he endowed with great reuenues, and large stipends, for the Regents and Doctors: wherein hee was followed and assisted by the cardinall D. *Henrie*, his brother, who built in the citie of Ebroa the colledge of Iesuites, with professors in the tongues and sciences, both sacred and prophane. The queene D. *Leonora*, widow to king *Mmanuel*, was in the year 1522, deliuered of an after birth, named D. *Maria*, which was not married.

This

Death of Ferdi-  
nand Magellan.

Five islands of  
Molucques.

27

Marriage be-  
twixt the duke  
of Saouoy and  
D. Beatrice of  
Portugall.

Death of the  
king D. Mmanuel

Vniuersitie of  
Coimbra erected

Colledge of Ie-  
suites built at  
Ebroa.



29  
Voyage of John  
Sebastian del  
Cano.

This new king continued the navigations began by his predecessors with great affection, and had great convention with the Emperour *Charles*, in regard of the Moluques, whereas the ships of Castille had bene well entertained, as we have said, by *Alonso*, king of the island of Tidore, whereas the Castilians stayed five whole monethes, and made a kind of bartering, by the which king *Alonso* promised to give so many cloues for a certain number of red cloth, blew cloth, or linnen, and so proportionably of other spices. The two ships of Castille remaining of *Ferdinand Magellanes* armie, that is, the *Victoria* and the *Trinitie*, divided themselves, and disposed of their returne, so as the *Trinitie* should hope his course to *Phoama*, upon the coast of new Spaine, which they held to be but a short voyage, and *John Sebastian del Cano*, with the *Victoria* following the Portuguese voyage, should secure into Spaine, by the cap *Bon Esperance*. The *Victoria* then parting from Tidore in the month of April 1522, with fortie seven Spaniards, and thirtie men of the island of Tidore, they came to *Zumatra*, in old time called *Taprobana*, and there repassing under the Equinotically, and the Winter Tropike, they doubled the cap of *Bon Esperance*, and arrived in the port of *S. Lucas* of *Barameda*, in September, having bene about three years in this long and dangerous voyage, in the which it is thought that this *John Sebastian del Cano* made about foureteene thousand leagues at sea. The other ship, called the *Trinitie*, commaunded by a capitaine called *Spinosa*, sayling towards new Spaine, was put back by contrarie winds, to Tidore, whither *Antonio Brito*, a capitaine for the king *D. John*, was come with five ships of Portugal, by whom the Castilians were taken and spoiled, and carried being fortie eight, to Malaca, so as of five ships which parted with *Fernando Magellanes*, the *Victoria* onely returned into Spaine, besides that of *S. Antonio* which would not follow him.

Conference for  
the limits of the  
Navigation be-  
tweene Castille  
and Portugal.

The voyage of the East Indies hath alwayes bene more succesfull for the Portugals than the Castilians: and at that time the king *D. John* intreated the Emperour *Charles*, not to suffer his subjects to goe to the Moluques, to avoid the ruine of armies, which are sent to discover those countries: whereunto he yielded (not knowing what *Antonio Brito* had done to the Castilians that were in the *Trinitie* at Tidore) vntill that expert men in the Mathematicke and Navigation had decided it. This cause was debated in the yere 1524, at *Yelbes*, whither came, for the king of Portugal, the Licentiate *Antonio de Azevedo*, *Coigno*, *Diego Lopes* of *Sequeira*; *Pero Alphonso* of *Aguiar*, *Francisco de Melo*, *Simon* of *Tabitra*, and others: and at *Badajos*, the Licentiats, *Alegna*, *Barrientos*, and *Pedro Mamel*, *D. Ferdinand* and *Columbus*, son to the Admirall *Christopher Columbus*; *John Sebastian del Cano*, *Pero Ruiz* of *Burgos*, & others, for the Emperour. These deputies of either part having conferred many dayes vpon a bridge on the river of *Caja*, which diuides Portugal from Castille, they parted in greater disorder and confusion than before, the Castilians maintaining, That the Moluques, yea, and the islands of *Zumatra* and *Malaca*, with a good part of *China*, fell in their Strait and Navigation, according to the line drawne by Pope *Alexander* the sixt, and the accord made betwix king *John* the second, and king *Ferdinand* the sixt, in the towne of *Tordesillas*: The Portugals affirming the contrarie, with their reasons.

Marriage of D.  
John king of  
Portugal, and  
the Emperours  
sister.

In the yere 1525 died queene *Leonora*, widow to king *John* the second, who was called. The mother of the poore, for her great charity. She had the hospitall of *las Caldas*, and the monasterie of the mother of God, to be built. In which yere king *John* the third then reigning, being two and twentie years old, married *D. Catharina*, daughter to king *Philip* of Austria, and sister to the Emperour *Charles*, being then eighteen yeares old; which marriage was solemnized at *Ebora*. Of this marriage were borne the Infants following, *D. Alphonso*, who lived little, *D. Martin*, borne at *Coimbra* in the yere 1526, she was princeesse of Castille, *D. Catharina*, who lived but a while, nor her sister *D. Beatrice*, *D. Manuel*, who in like manner died soone, *D. Philip*, and *D. John*, who were borne at *Ebora*, and *D. Antonia* at *Lisbonne*.

Castille.  
First voyage of  
the castilians to the  
Moluques.

The Emperour *Charles*, persuaded by them that had bene at *Caja*, betwixt *Badajos* and *Yelbes*, rigged out seven ships of *Biscaye* at the Groine, to seeke a passage to the Moluques, by the land of *Bacalaps* and *Labrador* towards the North, if they might find any meaning to make a storehouse for spices at the Groine, from whence they might be distributed.

A distributed into Spaine, France, Flanders, Germanie, England, and other regions: from the which *D. John* king of Portugal sought to diuert him by intreaties and reasons, offering to pay the charges of the armie, and to give him many other gifts, which the Emperour refused, persisting still in his resolution: Wherefore these seven ships parted from the Groine, being commaunded by *Garcia Geffrey* of *Loaysa*, borne at *Cité Real*, a knight of *S. John*, who had *John Sebastian del Cano* for his lieutenant, who were all lost, or went astray, except the Admirall, which came to Tidore, without her general *Garcia Geffrey*, who died at sea. *D. Garcia Henriques* of *Ebora*, was then general for the king of Portugal the Moluques. In the yere 1528 *Fernando Cortez*, gouernour and conqueror of new Spaine, sent from the countries conquered by him, two ships, by the kings commandement, wherof *Aluaro* of *Sahuedra Ceron*, was capitaine, to seeke out the Moluques, but he was as vnfortunat as the rest: which made the Emperour to yeeld more easily to an agreement with king *John*, his brother in law, being prest by other weightie affaires, which called him into Italie, for the Crowne of the Empire, which he should receiue from the hands of Pope *Clement*; for which voyage the king of Portugal lent him three hundred and fiftie thousand ducats, in consideration wherof the Emperour engaged, or suspended the controuersie for the Moluques; wherein the Licentiat, *Antonio de Azevedo*, deputed by the king of Portugal, hauing negligently negotiated, and left the business almost in the same tearmes as it was at the conference of *Badajos* and *Yelbes*, was punished: whereby, in time, the quarell was reuined betwixt the Portugals and Castilians.

In the yere 1529 *Lewis* of *Beaumont*, earle of *Lerin*, and constable of *Nauarre*, died there, whom his son succeeded in all his lands and dignities, bearing the same name. The Emperour *Charles* did alwayes honour him much, acknowledging him for his kinsman, for that he was defended, by the mothers side, from *D. John* king of *Nauarre* and *Aragon*.

32 The treatie of *Cambray* was concluded the yere following 1530, in the which *Louis* of *Sauoy*, mother to the French king, and *Marguerite* of Austria, the Emperours aunt, had long laboured to reconcile these two princes: By the which the Infants of France were deliuered, in regard of two millions and five hundred and fiftie thousand crownes, payable at severall payments, as well readie as otherwise, in discharge of the Emperour to the king of England: and it was said, that the king should renounce the feoffment of *Flanders* and *Artois*, and his pretensions to the duchie of *Milan*, and realme of *Naples*. That he should marie the queene *D. Leonora*, and if there came a sonne of this marriage, he should be duke of *Bourgonie*, with many other conditions, which are to be seene in the said treatie, and here omitted, for that they did not hold. The articles of this treatie being performed, as farre as might be at that time, the Emperour came to *Barcelona*, from whence he past to *Genoua*, in *Andrew Dorias* gallies, who hauing a little before left the French kings seruice, was come vnto the Emperours. From *Genoua* he went to *Bolonia* la *Grasse*, wher as Pope *Clement* attended him, and there he receiued the Imperial Crowne, one of yron, which the Emperours haue bene accustomed to receiue at *Milan*, and one of gold, which he should take at *Rome*; but the Romans had not yet forgotten the sacke and spoye which the Spaniards had made. This coronation, which was performed on Saint *Matthias* day, verie happily for the Emperour, had bene purchased of the Pope, with the price of the Florentines libertie, and the change of their commonweale into a principallitie. After this solemnitie the Emperour hauing heard certaine princes, and the embassadours of many Estates in Italie, he tooke his way to *Trient*, and past into Germanie. Whilest that they were making preparation for the Emperours coronation in *Bolonia*, he receiued aduertisement, That *D. Isabella*, his wife, was deliuered of another sonne, whom he would haue called *Ferdinand*, by his grandfathers name. There was great joy and triumph for this birth both in Spaine and Italie, and especially in *Bolonia*; but this joy was of small continuance, for he died within few monethes after his birth.

At the Emperours passage into Italie, to his coronation, hee had bene attended on by the gallies of Spaine, of the which *Roderigo Portundo* was general, who in his returne backe,

1530  
Treatie of Cam-  
bray.

33  
Coronation of  
the Emperour  
at Bolonia.

*Ferdinand* In-  
fant of Spaine  
borne.

*Roderigo* Por-  
tundo defeated  
and slaine by  
pirats.



1530

backe, bearing that there were certain pyrats of Barbarie in those seas, the chiefe of which was *Haydin Rays* of Smima, called Chafe-diuell, which spoyled all men, he resolved to defeat them: wherefore having well furnished eight of his gallies, both with souldiers and slaues, and leaving the other seuen in the island of Yuifa, he directed his course towards Formentana, where he understood the pyrats lay with certaine galliots and foists, but he knew not their number. But as he was of an vndaunted courage, and discouered with reason, that those small barks of the Barbarians, commanded by diuers men, and for their owne priuat interests, would rather flee than fight, he did not respect the number of his enemies, but, after the Spartane maner, fought where they were. All which, it may be, had succeeded happily, if he had not advanced too hastily with his Admirall, the which was boarded, and he slaine by the pirats, before the other gallies could succour him, the which, as they advanced one after another without any order, they were enuioured, and fought withall by the enemies: so as of the eight gallies onely one escaped by flight, the rest were taken, and all the Christians slaine, or made slaues. *John* the sonne of the generall *Portundo*, was taken prisoner. With this noble spoylle *Haydin Rays* presented himselfe to *Haradin Barberousse*, who by the death of *Harufco* his brother, remained king of Alger, and head of all the pyrats of Barbarie: so as growne confident (being so fortified with gallies and slaues) to be able to attempt some matter of importance; whereon whilest he did meditate, he drew into his companie *Simon Cefus* of Smima, who was called the Jew, a famous pyrat, who retired with his vessels to Gerbe. He called also another desperat pirat, called *Alicotto* of Caramania, who scoured the seas with foure foists, and two gallies, the which he had taken when Florence was besieged, at Montargentaro, where they had laden certaine munition, conducted from Naples, for that enterprise. *Barberousse* having at the last 60 vessels of warre, great and small, had resolved to surpris Cales in Spaine, and to get a rich bootie, by reason of a Raige that was kept there. Whilest that he prepared all things which he held necessarie, he commanded *Alicotto* to goe and conduct bisket, artillery, and other necessaries, to the armie lying at Alger. During this preparation in Africke, *Andrew Doria* went to sea with a great armie, desirous to purge that sea of pyrats, and to reuenge the wrong and great losse which the Emperour had sustained by the rashnesse of *Portundo*. Being therefore aduertised, that the Barbarians armie was diuided, and where it lay, he went towards Cerelli, whereas *Alicotto* remained with 17 vessels; where he arrived so suddenly, as the pyrat had not any time but to vnfirmish his vessels, to chase the Christian slaues into a caue, or secret prison vnder ground, and to retire himselfe with his men into the castle, sending messengers with all speed vnto the Moores of the neighbour mountaines, to come and succour him. *Doria* being arrived, he became master of the town without any difficultie, and of the port, where he tooke two gallies, and seuen galliots, and burnt the rest. He caused a diligent search to be made for the slaues, and finding them, he set about 1000 free. Notwithstanding he lost about 400 souldiers, who going rashly to spoile the towne, were cut in peeces by the Moores which came, and by the Turkes which sallied out of the castle with *Alicotto*, or else forced to run into the sea. *Doria* L. having caused his gallies to go from the shore, to the end he might fight for his own safetie, there were sixtie taken & made slaues, with *George Palaucino*, an Ensign. And this losse which *Alicotto* made of gallies and galliots, was the safetie of Cales.

*Andrew Doria*  
takes many col-  
lies of pyrats.

1531  
Inundation.

*Ferdinand* cho-  
sen king of Ro-  
mans.

1532  
League betwixt  
the Pope and  
the Emperour.

The yare 1531 was memorable for the earthquake and inundations at sea, which happened as well in Spaine as in Africk and Flanders, whereas many towns & buildings were ruined, and much land drowned, and infinite numbers of ships swallowed vp by the wonderfull spring tides, with the losse of a great number of men. This was at such time as the Infant D. *Ferdinand* was chosen king of Romans at Coullen, & that Germanie was threatened extraordinarily by *Solyman* the Turke, who having raised a huge armie, entred soon after into Hungarie, with an intent to besiege Vienna, the chiefe citie of Austria, and the rampar of Christendome on that side: to withstand whose power the Emperour being assisted by the princes of Germanie, went thither in person, which disappointed the designs of that great enemy. He being retired, the Emperour returned into Italie, whereas Pope *Clement* & he had an assemply at Bologna, in shew to treat of a general Councell, which was not verie pleasing vnto the Pope, although he made shew to inuite all princes: but

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1533

A the chiefe end of this enterprise, was to make a league betwixt them, and the other Potentates of Italie, for the assurance of their estates against the enterprises of the French. Which done, the king returned to Genova, whose he embarked in February, in the yare 1533, and past into Spaine.

34 During these affaires the Castilians continued with great diligence, their discouerie of new lands, whereas *Francisco Pizarro*, borne at Trugillo, who had lived long at the Indies, discovered the countrey of Peru, from whence a such abundance of treasure hath come: by reason whereof the Emperour made him marquisse of Newallies. He had some time before discovered an island, and in it a towne, which he called Saint Iago. Continuing his course, he coasted along the firme land of Peru, and there planted a colonie, which he named Saint Michael; then, entering farre into the countrey, he found a fit opportunitie to doe his businesse, in a warre which fell out betwixt two brethren, contending for the realme of Cusco; whereof the one was, called *Chisear*, and the other *Atabalipa*. *Chisear* finding himselfe the weaker, had recourse vnto *Pizarro* and the Spaniards, who promised to succour him; but it was with an intent to ruine them both. *Ferdinand Pizarro* was happily come to the Indies at that time, with new forces from Spaine, who having joined with the forces of his brother *Francis*, and the Indians of *Chisear*, they made a strong armie, sufficient to assaile *Atabalipa*. He for his part attentive to all occasions of warre, did not stay untill the enemy came vnto him, but went to meet them, having in his armie above six

*Peru discovered.*

*Colonia of S. Michael.*

score thousand Indians, and gaue them battell about the towne of *Casacabana*, yett (as somewhite) within the circuit of the same towne, which was yett greater, in the which *Pizarro* had put himselfe; finding it without dwellers, and was there entertained in that time by the Barbarian king, vnder colour of treating friendship with him, but they could not agree. The Spanish capitaine had caused *Atabalipa* to be summoned, and solicited, That he should not disdain to submite himselfe to the Emperour *Charles*, as his vassall, and to pay him tribute; and moreover, to make himselfe a Christian; els he threatened him, that the Pope would deprive him of his realme, and would giue it wholly vnto the Emperour: the which he might well doe (sayed they) for he was Gods lieutenant on earth, of God, who had made all the world of nothing, and who to deliuer and saue men from the slaue of the euill spirit, had made himselfe man, had died vnder the crosse, and was called Christ Iesus. Father *Vincent*, a Iacobine Monke, was messenger of this summons. To whom *Atabalipa* answered, That hee did much esteeme and desire the Emperours friendship, and would send him presents, as to his friend; but to pay him tribute; he would not doe it, the kings of Cusco being accustomed to make others tributaries. That as for the Pope, whose power hee did alledge, hee held him for some madde man; seeing he presumed to giue vnto another that which was not in his power, and where he had no right. And in regard of Iesus Christ, and of his seruice, hee said, that he had no knowledge of it, and therefore he would not leaue the ancient gods of Cusco, and especially for that he understood by him, that Christ was already dead. He would therefore adhere rather to the Sonne and the Moore, which did not. And touching that which hee did assure him, that the Christians God had made heaven and earth of nothing, and finally all the world, he demanded of him where he had learned it; for he thought that the world had euer beene, or at the least many thousands of yeres: wondering much, that the Monke, who was not yet much advanced in the first hundred of the course of his life, did speake so confidently of such ancient things.

*Frier Vincent* replied, That the Emperour *Charles* was a great Monarch, whom many kings, as mightie as the king of Cusco, obeyed, and therefore he should not make trial of his force, nor compare himselfe vnto him: and holding in the one hand a Crucifix, and in the other a Bible, he told *Atabalipa*, that that Image had instructed him what the creation of the world had beene, and the booke contained the certaine historie. The king taking this booke in his hand, opened it, and turned it ouer, he smelt it, and layed his eare to it, hearkening if it spake any thing vnto him; but seeing there was no feeling in it, and that it spake not any thing, he cast it to the ground, saying, That both the booke and the Monke mock him. Wherefore *Frier Vincent* hauing taken vp his booke, returned to *Pizarro*, to whom hauing related all, he persuaded him to take some cruell reuenge of the im-

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pietie of that Infidell king. The two armies therefore being so neere, as one might say, G they were mingled within the circuit of the great citie of Caxamalcan, the Spaniards ran vpon the Indians with a great thunder of muskets and artilerie; and the found of drums and trumpets: wherewith the Indians being not acquainted, were daunted and confounded: *Atabalipa* himselfe was so amazed, as forgetting the due tie of a generall, not giuing them any signe, nor commaunding to fight, he saw them slaine by heapes, neere vnto the place where he was set vpon an high seat of gold, carried on his gards shoulders, who sought to retire him out of the prease, and to flie away with him; but they were staid, and their king ouerthrowne and taken; being abandoned by all his people, most of them escaping by flight.

*Atabalipa de-  
feated & taken*

By this victorie, and the taking of the king of Cusco, the Spaniards made themselves easily, masters of all the townes of that great and rich kingdome, and the souldiers were instantly made rich with the spoyle of the kings monables, and of the noblemen of his traine, with a wonderfull quantitie of gold, siluer, and slaues, among the which there were found five hundred maids and wiuers, which did serue king *Atabalipa*, who for a time was honourably guarded, in hope to be set at libertie, for the which he promised to glut the couetousnesse of the Spaniards, whom he saw to be verie greedie after gold and siluer; yea he offered to goe into Spaine, or whereas the Emperour should be, and was perswaded to be baptised. But notwithstanding all this, they strangled him cruelly, and having halfe burnt him, they caused his bodie to be laid in a chappell built to that end in the market place of Caxamalcan, for that they would haue all men honor his funeral, excusing themselves of the execution, vnder colour of iustice; for that (said they) hee had treacherously made secret leuies of souldiers in the realme of Quito, to surpris the Spaniards, and to free himselfe by force out of their hands; and also, for that he had put his brother *Guscar* to death, after the same maner, being their allie. The which he dissembled not, for that (said he) he had attempted to take away his life, to raigne. In the place of him that was dead, there was set vp by *Francis Picarro* the gouernor, for a shew, another brother of his, called *Mangay* (others name him also *Atabalipa*) who discovered vnto them part of the treasures: so as the present fruits of this victorie amounted to many millions, drawne as well out of the kings houses, as out of the Indians tombes, being accustomed K to burie with the dead bodie, the most precious things they had: and in like maner from their temples in the towne of Pauca Canu, & in that of Cusco, which is the chiefe of the realme. This great citie of Cusco is situated 17 degrees beyond the Equinoctiall line, towards the South sea, in a temperat region, yet their Winters are somewhat sharp in their season, that is, when we haue Summer, for those people are almost Antipodes to vs, & the cold continues, and is the greater, for that the high mountaines of that countrey are most part of the yeare covered with snow. Soone after this conquest of *Picarro*, *James* of *Almagra*, who had a good share in the honor thereof, went and invaded the region of Chile, or Chiliane, but he found more difficultie than he expected: for besides that his men were in daunger of death through cold, hee found stronger resistance, the people being L more warlike than they of Cusco, whom notwithstanding the Spaniards do not represent vnto vs, without dexteritie, or martiall discipline: for they witness, that in their armies they did obserue a foreward, a battell, & a reward; that they had scouts, and forlorne hopes, which were excellent casters in slings, as in old time they of Majorca were, who furiously began the fight, casting a shewre of hard polished stones, as big as an egge, & carrying a targuet on the left arme. Their chiefe batallion where their king was, did consist of men richly armed, with cuerasses quilted with cotton, & boners of the same, reasonably strong to resist a handie stroke, enriched with plates and threds of gold and siluer: and for offensive armes, some had clubs about foure foot long, and the heads as big as two fists, hauing five or six sharpe pikes of metall; others carried hatchets like vnto our halberds, which M they could handle well. As for their reward or subsidarie squadrons, to releue the rest, they were all pikes, whose heads were better armed than ours bee. *Francis Picarro* found the Indians of Peru in this equipage to resist him, it may bee (say they) that haue written of his enterprises) to make his conquests more admirable vnto vs: For not confessing that either he or any one of his captaines made any account of

*Discipline of  
them of Peru at  
the warre.*

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A of the Indians of the countrey, whom they had drawne vnto their partie, and joyned with them in the about mentioned combat of *Caxamalcan* and others, they vaunt, that this great king *Atabalipa*, was vanquished with all that great multitude of men of war which did accompanie him, by lesse than five hundred foot, and an hundred and twentie horse of the Spanish nation, whereof most of the footmen were crossebowes, hauing few harquebuses: yet they confesse that they had some peeces of ordnance, whereunto they attribute some part of their victories, saying, That the Indians were almost dead for feare, seeing these engines spit fire, and hearing the noyse thereof, wherewith they had neuer been acquainted; the which hath some likelihood.

B *Atabalipa* was sonne to a warlike and valiant prince, called *Cusco*, who coming out of the prouince of Quito, which is directly vnder the Equinoctiall line, towards the South sea, had conquered by armes from many other kings and lords, those ample regions wherof his sonne was in an instant dispossessed, at the coming of these Spaniards: and hauing there built the citie of Cusco, had called it by his owne name, and made it the seat of his empire, which was about three hundred leagues long and broad, stretching from the South to the West. At his death he left an hundred children, males and females, most of which liued when *Atabalipa* was defeated and taken. To *Guscar* (whom some also call *Cusco*) he had left the greatest part of his conquered countreys, and had giuen to *Atabalipa* the realme of Quito, where he was borne. But *Guscar*, not satisfied wlesse he might haue all, C did first moue war to dispossesse his brother, wherein he was vnfortunat: for after many vnhappie incounters, he was quite defeated, and taken, by *Chilichuma*, lieutenant to *Atabalipa*, by whose commandement, although he were a prisoner in the Spaniards hands, he was strangled: the which did so displease the gouernor *Francis Picarro*, as he conceived a mortall hatred against the king and his lieutenant, not ceasing vntill he had put them to death; yet after that he had discouered, by their meanes, the treasures of the realme, had seized of a good part of them, and was assured the rest could not escape him. In the distribution of which treasure he did afterwards shew himselfe verie vniust and false, as well towards his souldiers, as to the Emperour his master, whom he did frustrate of a good part of his right of the sists. It seemed that God, by this sudden & easie conquest, had prepared D a fit subiect for the Emperour *Charles* to settle a perfect estate at Peru; but his ministers did corrupt it. All things were there according to a mans desire, to execute a great and memorable designe: the which had bin admirable to posteritie, were it in regard of the glorie of God, or temporall commodities, in regard of the riches, and all sorts of blessings, the which heauen and all the elements doe powre downe abundantly vpon that region, but especially for the aptnesse of the people, who were found ciuile and capable of reason, much more than they that had bin first discouered at the islands, or vpon the continent of those Westerne Indies towards the North sea. They did not find them naked, and without shame, but apparelled, both men and women, handsome in their garments, industrious in their buildings, and in all other arts and workes; tillers of the ground, feeders of E pastures, marchants, sociable and courteous, as well among themselves as to strangers, and religious also, although it were after the Pagan maner: whose imperfections should not be censured with rigor, but excused, with an intention to reforme them in time, by good examples of pietie and charitie, and by iustice well and duly ministred: considering that in their religion and maners, they were not more sauage and barbarous than the first ancient Spaniards, before they were ciuillized and instructed, of whom we haue made mention in the beginning of this historie. They did beleue the immortalitie of the soule, & the resurrection of the body, and therefore they buried their dead with honour, and did graue F makes vpon their tombes, which did shew the forepassed life of the deceased: into whose tombes they did cast precious jewels, and brought meat and drinke thither, and many times their wiuers and seruants did shut them in there, & did willingly flauie themselves. They did punish adulterie with death, and did put out the eyes of the euees. Their childrens children, or some other of their bloud, did inherit their goods, and not their owne children, except those of kings. Men might take as many wiuers as they would, and did often marie their owne sisters. Thus among the seedes of pietie, humanitie, and policie, they had errors and blemishes, like sensuall people, which knew not the

*Beginning of  
Atabalipa.*

*Manners of the  
people of Peru.*

1533

the true God nor his justice. The which they did not measure by the perfect rule of nature, but according to their corrupt imaginations and their breeding, destitute of light and good gouernement. Through this defect they did worship the starres as gods, and especially an Idoll, which had its temple in the citie of Panacacami, who spake Oracles vnto them, and from whom they attended all their prosperities. It is the vsuall course of the Gentiles, to whom the mysteries of saluation are not reuealed, which are special graces. And had not these poore Perusians, vices in that regard, which were common with the auncient Egyptians, Grecians, Romans, and other such famous nations, who haue benee happily drawne from Paganisme to Christianitie, among whom the world hath seene so many goodly Churches to flourish, by the bountie of kings and Emperours, and by the doctrine, diligence, and exemplarie life of good bishops? But the Spaniards nor their commanders had no such intent, as their actions written doe witness.

It was sufficient for them to command these ignorant people proudly, to make profession of Christians, in assisting at the ceremonies, vpon paine of death, or seruitude. And it fell out often, I know not through what charitie, that many which for feare had caused themselves to be baptised, were by them instantly slaine, that they might haue no leasure to denie it: And thus, they sayed, they procured their soules health. These courses, which could not bee pleasing vnto God, drew his wrath vpon the heads of the *Picardes*, and their companions, who made miserable ends: for it was not long before *Francis Picarte*, and *James of Almagra*, fell into a great quarell for the gouernement of Peru, and so to ciuile warre, whereof followed their punishment and ruine: A worthie reward for their cruelties and rapes, as wee will hereafter shew. These two men haue benee the chiefe leaders and conductors of the enterprise of Peru, bothouldiers, but of obscure and base families: for *Francis Picarte* was a bastard, borne of an vnschaft woman, who had left him at the doore of a church at Trugillo, from whence a captain, called *Gonsal of Nauarre*, caused him to be taken, and to be bred vp at a ferme of his in the country, like a clowne: But being growne great, he ran away to Seulle, and so past to the Indies, where he got reputation: and being held for the sonne of the foresayd captain, there came vnto him three of his brethren, by the fathers side, *Ferdinand Gonsaluo*, and *John Picarte*, and a brother by the mothers side, called *Francis Martin of Alcantara*. As for *James of Almagra*, he was borne at Almagra, but of so obscure a father, as no man euer could leame his name. He was in like manner valiant, but hee and *Picarte* were both grosse witted, and so ignorant, as they could neither read nor write; fit men to conquer and destroy, but not to edifie and preferre, ambitious, and without gouernement, as they did relinque by their actions. *Simon of Alcafaua*, a fugitive of Portugal, was also sent to the Molucces by the Castilians; but through his owne importunities hee was slaine by his men, before hee came to the strait of Magellan.

Beginning of  
Francis Picarte  
and James of  
Almagra.

1534

Mulcy Hascen  
king of Tunes  
disposeth by  
Barberousse, &  
restored by the  
Emperour.

Virtue fittest to  
advance a man.

Barberousse  
brethren.

35 The Emperour being in Spaine, he was solicited by *Mulcy Hascen*, king of Tunes, who had benee disposeth by *Haradin Barberousse*, to restore him to his realme, promising to hold it of the Crowne of Spaine. This occasion was willingly embraced, as necessarie for the good of Christendome, and verie honourable for the Emperour in particular: for *Haradin* hauing succeeded his brother *Horusco* in the realme of Alger, he was growne into great fauour with *Solyman* the great Turke, who had made him generall of his galleys, and with whose forces he had seized vpon Tunes, threatening all the Princes and Potentates about the Mediterranean sea, both Christians and Mahometists. Although we haue formerly made some mention of these two famous pyrats, yet in my opinion, it will not be impertinent, if we relate more particularly what they were, and by what means they came to that greatness wherein our fathers haue seene them: reporting, vpon this occasion, some of their desperate enterprises, vpon the coast of Africke, where they began first to appeare; to the end that by this notable example they which haue fame for their only object, may know, that neither the nobilitie of the race, nor the vertue of predecessors, nor wealth, nor the seruices of Court, can bring men to great and eminent honours, but their owne industrie and valour: *Horusco* then, and *Haradin*, brethren, surnamed *Barberousse*, were borne in the country of Turkie, or Turcomania, which the aunci-

1534

A auncients called Cilicia, or Tarsis: Some say, they were borne in the towne of Metelin, in the island of Lesbos, whose father was a Christian, but he did not continue in it; a poore pyrat, or theefe robbing at sea: Their mother was a Spaniard, of the towne of Marchena, taken by this pyrat at sea, who held her for his lawful wife. Their first institution and breeding was in their fathers trade, vnder a pyrat called *Camal*, and afterwards they put themselves in pay with the Emperour of the Turkes, which was *Selim*, father to great *Solyman*. Being sent for a conuoy to a Treasurer, who went to pay the garriisons of Coran and Modon, townes of Morea, they stript him, and fled with the money: with which money hauing armed out a foist, or brigantine, they joynd with *Crocut*, being then pursued by *Selim* his brother. He being dead, they fled for feare of punishment, and went to sea: Their first prey was of two marchants ships of Siracusa in Sicile; with which boorie hauing furnished themselves better, it happened, that theeuing with too great assurance, they were taken by *Peter Villorie*, captain of the Popes galleys; but through bad gard, this taker was himselfe taken, and lost two galleys. Being thus fortified, and growne more cunning, they got such reputation, as in a short time *Horusco*, who was the elder, was acknowledged for head and conductor of all the pyrats vpon the coast of Barbarie, hauing for his lieutenants *Haradin*, his younger brother, and *Sconderrais*, their brother in law. In this fauour hee presumed to surpris the citie of Bugia, one of the best peopled in Africke, the which was then vnder the protection of the kings D. *Ferdinand* and D. *Isabella*, of Castille, and garded by a strong garriison of Spaniards: but his enterprise succeeded not; for being master of one of the three castles, or towers, which are in that citie, as he fought for the rest, he was repulsed, and forced to leaue his prey, with the losse of an arme, so as euer after hee wore one of siluer. Hauing sayled in this enterprise, he retired to Alger, the lord whereof was called *Selim Beni Tami*, whom he succoured, in shew, against a brother of his, who made warre against him, and then hee slue him in treason, vnder colour of friendship, making himselfe Lord of the towne.

This was no act of vertue, but of hardinesse and policie, the which is much esteemed in this later age. Hauing gotten Alger, he seized vpon the towne of Circule, by the D likemeans, the which is the auncient Carcena. Into this he put *Scanderrais* for gouernour, and leitt the gard of Alger to *Haradin* his brother, and continuing to molest the world, he did also seise vpon the rich towne of Tunes, situated betwixt Alger and Oran, the lord whereof hauing fled into Spaine, hee had perswaded cardinall *Ximenes* to send an armie of Spaniards into Africke, against this theefe, vnder *Diego de Vera*, who was defeated there, and lost about eight thousand men, as we haue noted in the precedent booke.

*Horusco* being putt vp with these good haps, he aspired to greater matters, and to make himselfe king of Tremessen, a great and mightie citie, and the chiefe in all Mauritania, sometimes called Cesarientis. To attaine vnto the which, he thought to helpe himselfe E with superstition, to the which the Moores and Arabians are more giuen than all the people of the earth, procuring certaine Morabites (which are religious hermits of *Mahomet*'s sect) who (to bring the king of Tremessen in hatred of his subjects) gaue them to vnderstand, That he had secret acquaintance with the Christians, and that they should be all damned if they did not chafe him away: the which they did, with the helpe which *Horusco Barberousse* gaue them. To couer his designe, which was, to subdue them, he counsellled them to draw a nephew of the kings (whom they had chased away) out of prison, hauing benee long kept in yrons by him, and to make him king; the which they had a will to effect: But this tyrant, seeing them to proceed slowly, and hee impatient and blinded with ambition, slue this young prince, and sought to seise vpon the citie, in despight of the inhabitants, whereof he slue many of the principals, which was his ruine: for the dispossest king was called home, and had means to recouer his kingdome, with the forces of Spaine, which he obtained easily. He pursued his aduerlarie so, as he forced him to flee into the mountaine of Abez, vpon the confines of Bugia, & to shut himselfe in a castle, where being besieged, necessitie forced him forth to fight, where he was vanquished & slain, and his head caried to Tremessen & stö thence

Moores Super-  
stitious.

Religion a  
cloak for tyrants.

Zzzz iij

1534

into Spaine to the great contentment of the Moores and Spaniards, for he was a subtle and dangerous enemy: Pride growing through prosperitie ruined him: But *Haradin* governed himselfe more discreetly, and did manage his fortune with more honour. Thus we see, that those which hazard themselves in dangerous enterprises, doe most commonly miscarrie, and make such as follow after them wise by their rashnesse, to whom they haue made the way.

*Haradin*, by the death of his brother, remaining lord of Alger, one of the best ports of all Africke, he was no more held a pyrat, but a prince, and withall a great captain at sea: so as Sultan *Solyman*, Emperour of Constantinople, made his Bastia and his Admirall, with whose incomparable forces he made himselfe a terror to all the countries of Europe, Asia, and Africke, which lay vpon the sea; where hauing taken infinit booties, and spoyled many townes, in the end he made himselfe master of the citie and realme of Tunes, in the year 1535, by this occasion.

A little before there had reigned in Tunes *Mahomet*, descended from *Abdul Hedi*, who was a Moore of Andalusia, borne at Seuille; he was wise and discreet: and being made by the king of Maroc gouernour of the citie of Tunes, which had rebelled, and had bene taken againe and punished, he following the example of many others, had made himselfe lord of his gouernement, when as after the battell of Muradat in Spaine, woon by the Christians, there was a generall reuolt in Africke, against the Almohades, Emperours, and great Miralimuns of the Moores, and Alarabes at Maroc. This *Mahomet*, issued from this race, had had many children by many wiues, who seeing himselfe old, and desirous to provide a successor to his realme after his owne humor, for certaine considerations, he made choyce of the youngest of all, called *Hascen*, whom hee had by an Arabian woman, called *Grazia*, and would haue him succeed him to the Crowne. It is this *Muley Hascen* for whose restitution the Emperour was perswaded to lead an armie into Africke. This jealous prince was no sooner seated in the royall throne, but he put *Mamon*, his elder brother, to death, and after dispatcht all his other brethren and kinsmen: (these be the fruits of *Polygamie*, in the followers of *Mahomet* their Prophet) *Arraxide* onely escaped, and fled to Bixacara, a towne of Numidia, where, with the aid of certaine Xecques, or lords Numidians, hee gathered some forces together, to inuade *Muley Hascen*; but it was in vaine: wherefore he had recourse to *Haradin Barberousse*, king of Alger, who hauing receiued him courteously, aduised him to go with him to Constantinople, to informe the great Turke of his misfortunes; promising to present him vnto him, and to doe him all fauour and good offices. Being come to *Solymans* Court, *Barberousse* was presently dispatcht with a good number of gallies, well furnished with souldiers, to come to Tunes, giuing it out, that hee carried backe *Arraxide*, to make him king, who notwithstanding was stayed at Constantinople.

*Muley Hascen*, a paracide, couetous, voluptuous, iniurious, and a coward, amazed at this great preparation of armes, which came to assayle him, staid not, but fled to his kinsmen by the mothers side, *Ismael* and *Doraz Alarabas*, of the lineage of *Vled Aixia*, which are a member of *Vled Yahya*, of those which led a vagabond life in the plaines and deserts of Africke and Numidia: a mightie people, but disloyall, and of no friendship. Finding not such succours there as he expected, he followed the aduice of a Genouois renegado, called *Ximaa*, which was, to implore ayd of the Emperour *Charles*: and this Genouois was he which made a voyage into Spaine, who could so persuaide the Emperour, and season his request with liuelie reasons, and infinit promises, as he obtained that which he pretended, which was, To persuaide the Emperour and his counsel, that it was both profitable and necessary for him to restore *Muley Hascen* to his realme: Euery one weighing the importance of this businesse, and foreseeing how it might prejudice Italie and Spaine, if the Turkes, which did already hold many ports vpon the coast of Barbarie, should set footing into Tunes, a great and mightie citie, fit for the situation (which is neere vnto the ruines of old Carthage, sometimes concurring in power with the Romans) to make ordinarie and prejudiciall impressions in that State. *Barberousse*, who had found the place void of souldiers, or Commander, did easily seise vpon the towne, castle, and fort of Goulette, which

Abdul Hedi  
Remoue of the  
last king of  
Tunes.

1535

A which stands on the entrie of the lake which the Sea makes there. But hee did not thinke the Christians had taken this so ill, as hee found by experience, and therefore hee was not so carefull to provide all things necessarie to preferre such a conquest, against the power which the emperour brought: who as soone as this honorable enterprise was concluded, hee did aduertise all Christian princes, and invited them to contribute men, money, and ships to this warre, whether hee would goe in person. The rendez-mous was appointed at the port of Caillieri in Sardynia, whether the emperour came with the galleys of Spaine, those of Genoua, and the particular galleys of *Andrew Doria*. *D. John* king of Portugal sent him twenty galleys, and one great gallion, vnder the command of *D. Lewis* his Brother.

The Pope armed nine galleys at Genoua, at his owne charge, of the which *Paul Iustini-an* had the command, and *Virgilio Vrsino*, earle of Anguilare had the leading of the soldiers that were in them: And hee suffered him to leaue the tenths of the Clergie of Spaine. The knights of Malta sent foure galleys. All which ioyned at Caillieri, where (before the emperours comming) there arriued the royall galleys of Naples and Sicile, with many gallions and foists, armed by the noblemen of Naples and Sicile, at their owne charge, in which the Marques of Guast was transported with the old Spanish souldiers which he had drawne out of the garriisons of Italie. Thither also came many round and flat bottomed vessels, carrying victuals, munition, artillerie, horse, and a good number of foot, newly leuiued to that end in Spaine, Italy & Germany, so as there was found when this army weighed anchor, three hundred and sixtie saile, carrying besides the Court, the traine of noblemen, and many voluntaries, seuen hundred men at armes, two thousand light horse, and 12 thousand bisquos or new souldiers, siue thousand old souldiers, Spaniards, and sixe thousand Italian foot, & seuen thousand Lanquenets, men of experience. These forces being not lesse than forty thousand men, parted with a prosperous wind from the Illand of Sardinia, and came to land the siue and twentieth of Iune, this yere 1535, at a place called Port Farina, neere to the ruines of old Vitica, about sixe leagues distant from Tunes. There order was giuen by the emperour, for the landing of his men; the first were the old Spanish arquebuziers and the Italians, that they might keepe off the Moores, who had shewed

themselves both horse and foot, to disturbe their landing, wherein the Marquess of Guast who was general of the foot, shewed great iudgement, for hee would not suffer the souldiers to leaue their standings and to pursue the enemy, vntill the army were landed with the victuals and munition, and the quarters made and fortified with a Trench: in the which they found great difficulty for that the sand was loose & not fit for that purpose, neither had they any bauiues or other matter to binde it with all. The army being lodged, the emperour called a Councell, where it was propounded, whether they shold first assault Goulette, or goe directly to fight with the enemy in Tunes, which was much more easie than that of Goulette: whereas attempting that fort first, being strong by situation, defended by valiant men, commanded by iudicious captaines, and hauing great store of artillerie, and

which did most import, not being able to take their succours from them, neither by the lake, nor by land on the east part, either the action would proue desperate, and they shold consume their forces there in vaine, or at the least they shold spend so much time there, as not only *Barberousse* would grow stronger in men, & be of greater reputation; but the Christians campe being wonderfully afflicted with the violent heat of the Sunne in that region, and vnder that clymat, and, which did more import, the waters which they dranke being halfe salt, in short time being corrupted, would breed a great mortallitie, so as they should be forced rather to seeke to saue the reliques of their army, than to attempt any new enterprise. But the most iudicious shewing how dangerous it was to leaue such a fort as Goulette, with a great garriison, and so neere vnto Tunis behind, that the army aduancing, they should be in extreame want of victuals, the which not being able to be conducted but from the army, the enemies horse being many and venturous, scouring the fields continually, would at the least force the Christians to keep the greatest part of their horse and

of their best foot, to gard their victuals which were ingaged. It was therefore resolued first to attempt Goulette: which fort *Barberousse* had furnished with great care: it is a great square Tower, with large rampers and flankers, and is set vpon the mouth or entrie

of

Forces of the  
Emperour at  
his going to  
Tunes.

Councell held  
by the emperour  
for the beseg-  
ging of Goulette.

Goulette the  
fort.

1535

Forces of Barberousse in Tunis.

of the Lake, which extends from it vnto the Citie, and is foure leagues broad: G (*Campana* writes that it is twelue miles long, and fūe miles broad.) The Citie of Tunes was great and well peopled, but at that time the walles were weake and low, hauing three suburbs open, greater and farre better peopled than the towne, in the which there dwelt many kindes of Merchants, some of the most industrious Artizans, and among them some other rich people, who were delicate and idle. For the gard of these places, *Barberousse* had about eight thousand good souldiers, whereof he had put a good part into the fort of Goulette (some write they were three thousand men) commanded by *Sinan Cessut* of Simima, called the Jew, and *Agid*, surnamed *Chafedimels*. The rest were with *Barberousse*, who had also leued great numbers of Moores and Alarabes, both horse and foot, whome hee sent, or led himselfe continually to the warre, and made continuall skirmishes to molest the emperours campe, to hinder the approaches, and the batterrie which was planted against this fort, the which they must force and take before they came vnto the citie, vnlesse they would bee betwixt two enemies, subiect to the great and ordinarie fallies of either of them, especially of the Moores, who ouerrunning the countrie, which was well knowne to them, might hinder the victuals, surpriseth them that went to forrage, seeking about all things water, which is rare in that countrie, and take from them the commoditie of the sea, if they had gone farre, and left this fort standing, and so had ruined the imperiall armie. Whilest they are buile at this worke, and about fūe weekes after the emperours arriuall, *Muley Hassen* I creeps out of his holes, and comes vnto the campe (hauing had a good conuoye sent vnto him) with two hundred horse, or there abouts, Moores, illattired and ragged, mounted vpon geldings or mares, peasantlike clownes. Hauing saluted the emperour, and kindly receiued by him, they conferred long together by truchmen, but they soone discouered that this Prince had neither friends nor meanes, although hee vaunted that hee had left, not farre from thence, sixteene thousand horse Alarabes, and eight hundred camels laden with victuals and refreshings, of the which they neuer saw head nor taile, assuring impudently that hee had great intelligences within the Towne, with the chiefe inhabitants, who notwithstanding neuer made any signe that they would fauour him.

Thus the winde carried away all the goodly promises, which his embassador had made in Spaine to the emperour, for he kept not any one, were it through inconstancy or impossibilitie. Notwithstanding the emperour continued constant in his resolution, to chase away *Barberousse*, and to restore this exiled king, to the possession of his realme, for he had made no account to be assisted by the Moores, and had beene drawne vnto this enterprise more for his owne priuate interest, then for any other consideration, and therefore hee was come well provided. Notwithstanding all the attempts of the Barbarians, Goulette was battered by land with forty peeces of ordinance planted in two batterries, and by sea with about 200, for the galleys being put into squadrons, whilest that one approached to discharge, the other retired to charge their peeces, and so they continued from the break of day vntill L noone, whilest that the two batterries at land thundred continually. The which did so ruine the tower, as the greatest part off falling, it couered or made most of the ordinance, within it vnprofitable: The ruines of the tower had made the way easie for an assault, so as the Spaniards, Italians, and Germanes being put in order, one nation after another, at their time appointed they presented themselves with ladders to the assault with so great resolution, as al the defence of the moors & Turkes was in vain, so as a great part of them were slaine or wounded fighting, neither was the slaughter lesse of them that fled along the lake, or that sought to escape by swimming, for they were slaine by the shot, or thrust through by the Germanes pikes, if they came neere the shore, so as it was reported there died about 1500, and not without the losse of some men of worth among the Christians, yet *Campana* writes there were not about thirty slaine. Goulette being taken it was brutted that they had taken 300 peeces of ordinance, & all *Barberousse*es fleet which was in the chanel of the lake; the number whereof is diuerly reported, some write 20 galleies, 20 galliots, and fūe soyfts, others fūentie & two, and some affirme they were 107. Three daies after the taking of this fort *Fernad Gonfago* came vnto the camp, who hauing certain

Goulette taken by the emperour

1535

Ferdinand Gorgega comes to Goulette to the emperour.

Council of the Imperialists to continue the warre of Naples.

A vessels appointed him by the viceroy of Sicile, brought many refreshings, for the which but especially for his owne valour, hee was joyfully receiued by the emperour, and by the whole army. There grew now some diuersitie of opinions touching the continuance of the warre, some cold flegmatike complexions, were of opiuiou the emperor should rest satisfied with the taking of Goulette, which was held impregnable, the which hee should fortifie and furnish with a great garrison, and good prouision of victuals to liue and defend it, with a designe to returne the next yere to besiege Tunes, Alger, and the other townes vpon that coast of Afrike. Their reasons were grounded vpon the great difficulties which the army did then suffer, in their drink, whereas the scorching sun did cause great thirst, and did force the poore souldiers to drink the pit water which was verie salt, which bred many infirmities, & many died of it, wherefore seeing the army much diminished by the former enterprises, and hearing that the enemy grew daily stronger, & that he did shortly expect a great number of Arabias, which he had hired, they perswaded the emperor that he might with his honor return into Europe, & prepare, as we haue said, for the next yere. But this was contrarie to the greatnes of *Cesar*s minde, who discouered with better reasons the weaknes of his enemy hauing lost Goulette; the little confidence the Turkes had in the Arabians & Moors, & the good disposition of the Christian army, especially after so great a victory, the which although it were diminished in numbers, yet it was increased in courage and resolution, so as *Barberousse* should haue means to furnish himself better for the next yere, & to obtaine greater forces from the Turk, to defend his possession in Afrike, the conquest whereof (which was not now vnpossible, besides it was not for the dignitie of so great an army, honoured with the presence of the Christian Emperour, to goe away contented with the taking of a Tower. The captaines of greatest resolution and experience were of the same opinion, the which was maintained by *Muley Hassen* with great reasons, who discouered particularly of the nature of that nation, of the designs of *Barberousse*, and of remedies for the thirst, perswading them to the enterprise of Tunes, and of the easinesse to take it, affirming that the enemy would neuer be drawne to a battell, neither had hee meanes to keepe the citie many daies: His reasons were beleued, and although his desire to returne into his realme, with the hazard of another, made him to be the lesse credited, yet the authoritie and will of the emperor, who was the authour of this counsell, did confirme it. *Barberousse* on the other side was wonderfully grieved for the losse of Goulette, so as hee could not forbear to complaine of *Sinan* the Jew, who might haue escaped, flying away with his men, from so great a daunger, in the which hee had lost many Ianisaries, and other good souldiers. It is written that *Barberousse* was once in an humour to haue slaine all the Christian slaues that were found there, the which for his better securitie, being diuers thousand, he had already imprisoned in the castle: and that *Sinan* the Jew, and others of authority had diuerted him from that wicked and cruell resolution, shewing him, that so foule and brutish a fact, would not onely bee a perpetuall blemish to his name, but also bring him into disgrace with *Solyman*, who was a generous Prince, and hated all such base and wicked actions, as that would be, to kill people who being in a trait prison, neither had nor could offend him. Being then dissuaded from these cruel imaginations which rage & greefe for his former losse did suggest, he began to provide for the rest, taking counsell of such as were about him what was to be done for their common health, with this resolution still, to keepe himselfe close, and to defend the citie, and not to come to battell with the enemy, hoping that in Autumne they should be forced to leaue that coast, & it might be their fleet would be beaten, & dispersed with stormes. The emperor being not freed from that feare, was carefull to haue the ruines of the fort of Goulette repaired, whereof he gaue the charge to *Andrius Daria*, with his sea-forces, F who caused it to bee cleansed from the infection of dead bodies, which were found there, both men and beasts, and the breaches to be raised: Hee tooke an Inuentorie of all the goods that were in it, where were found (as we haue said) three hundred peeces of ordinance, great and small; great store of ammes of all sorts, with an incredible quantitie of victuals, powder, and all other munition, Engines, and implements necessarie for the defence of places.

The

Forces of Barberousse in Tunes.

Battell betwixt the Christians & Barberousse in Affricke.

Barberousse flies into Tunes.

Christian slaues seize vpon the Castle of Tunes.

The emperor seeing all things in a readinesse, hee commanded euerie souldier shold carrie a bottle, full of water taken out of the prouision of the nauie, hee marche that way the twentieth of Iuly. Comming within fve miles of the citie, they found certaine welles of fresh water, which bred great disorder among the souldiers, who were verie greedy to drinke, so as the emperor was forced to come thither in person, to stay the souldiers greedy rage, who desired rather to drinke and die presently, as many did, for that the enemy had poisoned the waters, than to suffer a little, & to preserve themselves at the least to die fighting. Having past this danger with no final difficulty, they discovered Barberousse's armie, who was come forth of the citie, in shew to giue the emperor battell. The number of his army is diuersly set downe: *Ylla* writes that he had 70000 moors and Arabians, and 7000 Turkes, whereof two thousand serued on horsebacke, and *Gualazzo* affirms that he had twelue peeces of ordinance in front: others write that by the report of some Christian slaues, who had seene him take view of his men two daies before, he had 20000 horse, and about 100000 foot, moors and Arabians, besides his Turkes, vpon whom hee did chiefly relie. The two armies being in sight one of another, and it being generally beleued by the Christians that they should fight, their captains sought to incourage them with good words, notwithstanding that they were all verie ready and willing: the prince of Saleme made a speech vnto the Italians, *Alarcon* to the Spaniards, and *Eberstine* to the Germanes, and to all the nations the emperor himselfe, who going among them all, promised them a certain victorie, and filled them all with an assured hope, & importunate desire to charge the enemy, who stretching themselves out in length, thought to terrifie, disorder and put the Christians to flight. Barberousse had staied within three miles of Tunes, who began as soone as euer the imperial armie approached to discharge his artilerie, but without any great effect: On the other side *D. Fernand Gonzaga*, who serued that day without any charge, but being among the foremost, charged the enemies, and slue a Captaine of the Moores with his lance, making such a slaughter of the enemies, as hee was that day noted about the rest: Hee was nobly followed by others, and the Spanish Harquebuziers did so gall the Barbarians with their shot, as hauing scarce begun to fight they basely fled: neither did Barberousse shew any courage that day, who had no intent to hazard his life and state vpon a battell, but to flie speedily into the Citie.

There was no great slaughter of the enemy in this action, for that they fled presently, besides the Christians horsemen could not pursue them being but weake, and much lesse might the foot men do it, being tyred with their march in the sand, and with the extreme heat: wherefore the emperor lodged his army that night vpon the place whereas Barberousse had stood in battell, fortifying it with the carts of his baggage, yet standing alwaies ready in armes being so neare his enemy. Barberousse being returned into Tunes, full of disdain for this disgrace, being a proud man, he consulted what was to be done, seeming verie confident to be able to defend the citie: and then he entred againe into a resolution to murder the Christian slaues, and hee was againe dissuaded by his own people: God disappoynting so wicked a counsel, to make the Christians victorie more easie, for this pretended crueltie of Barberousse being bruted abroad, it did moue two renegados to compassi- on, *Gieffer Aga*, and *Meni*, the first was borne in Cataro, and was called *Vinsenza*, the second a Spaniard, whose name was *Francisco*, who was much fauored by Barberousse. They opening the prison doores to these wretches, who some write were sixe thousand, some ten thousand, and they hauing broken their chains, wherewith they were bound, got slaues and such other weapons, & became masters of the Castle, driuing away those few Turkes that were left there in gard, and with all they seized vpon the treasure, victuals, & armes, which Barberousse had left there: who being aduertised thereof, posted presently thither, seeking first by good words, and then by threats to be let in, but it was in vaine, they chafing him away with reproches, and the hazard of his life, if hee had staied.

All this hapned the day after the Battell, the emperor preparing to draw neere the towne, when as those slaues sought to make signes vnto him to approach, but the distance would not suffer them to be seene, and yet the emperor finding that there was some alteration, he sent two companies of horse to discover it. In the meane time Barberousse finding himselfe in bad termes, and fearing the inconstancie of the Moores, heere-  
solved

A souldier to leaue the citie, by the gate next the mountaine, and went towards Bona, being followed by seuen thousand Turkes whom hee had persecuted to serue him at need: The Christian army marching towards Tunes, they were met vpon the way by the Embassadors of the citie, who offered to yeeld vnto the emperor, and to receiue what conditions he should impose, so as he would secure them from sacke, wherein some write that *Muley Hascen* intreated the emperor: so as at the emperours first entrance into Tunes, the souldiers carried themselves mildly: But soone after as some affirme, at the instigation of *Muley Hascen*, who desired to be reuenged of the inhabitants, which did not seeme to fauour him during the siege, the Spaniards fell to the spoile, vying all kinde of excessie and acts of hostilitie, as if they had bene in a towne taken by force, and assault. The Germanes also slue many Moores, and fell to their feeding, being forrie they found no wine in their sellers, for those people drunke not any.

The sacke continued foure and twentie houres, some write three daies, together, with great slaughter, and then it ceased, the emperor commanding euery man vpon greuous paines, to retire vnto his quarter. They say that this sacke was not much lesse than that of Rome, and that euerie souldier was rich. The Marquesse of Guast guided by a slaue, found thirty thousand ducats, buried in a caue of the castle, wherewith acquainting the emperor, he gaue him them. The emperor lodged within the Castle which was reasonably well built, and newly accommodated by Barberousse. There were great numbers of slaues found, whereof there were eightie and one Frenchmen, all which were set at libertie, apparelled and sent home vpon the retreat of the army. There was found in it much ancient armor gulte & grauen, which some thought were the spoiles of the French armie, which *Saint Lewis* had sometime led into that countrie, where hee dyed, and many of his armie, of the bloody flir. The emperor hauing remained some daies within the citie, and conferred diuers times with king *Muley Hascen*, touching his future gouernment and agreed vpon conditions, according to the which these arxe princes and their subiects should liue, traffike, and conuerse together, hee returned to the campe, making the more haft to depart, to the end that such as were fled into the mountaines might returne without feare to their houes. The armie was lodged close about a village called *Lut*, de, two miles from Goulette, where there past a little brooke of fresh water, whereof the countrie was much destitute, which was the greatest discomfortie they had in all this warre: from thence they went to the first lodging they had made before the taking of that fort, neere vnto a Tower which they called of waters, which was the common watering place of the countrie. Thither came *Muley Hascen* to the emperor to confirm and sweare the articles, which were these.

- 1 That king *Muley Hascen* did confesse and would acknowledge, for him & his successors kings of Tunes, that hauing bene chased out of his estate, he had recovered it by the grace of God, and by the arms and vertue of the emperor *Charles* king of Spaine, who had taken Goulette, an impregnable fort, and chased away his enemy *Haradin Barberousse*.
- 2 That in regard of so great a fauour, he shold set at libertie, all the Christians of what age, sexe, or condition soeuer, that were detained prisoners within his realme, what offences soeuer they had committed, without punishment, price or ranome; and that from thenceforth there should not any of the emperours subiects, nor of his brothers *D. Ferdinand* king of Romans, be made slaues within the realme of Tunes.
- 3 That it should be lawfull for al Christians to traffike at Tunes, and places depending thereon, stay, inhabit, purchase lands, build chappels & churches, & exercise their religion.
- 4 That the moors of Spain which had receiued the baptisme of Christ shold not be receiued into the realm of Spain, if they did not shew letters of permissio from the emperor or his successors kings of Spain, or from their lieutenants, viceroies, or Magistrates.
- 5 That *Muley Hascen* did resigne vnto the emperor and his successors kings of Spaine, all the right which hee had to any towne of Affricke, places and Islands held then by Barberousse and the Turkes to enioy them in propriety, if they did conquer them.
- 6 That Goulette, and two miles of the countrie round about, shold remaine in soueraigntie to the kings of Spaine, who might put in any garrison, and fortifie it as they pleased.



7 That the inhabitants of Goulette, and the territorie about it, & the souldiers of the G  
garrison should bee free both by sea and land, from all imposts and customes for that  
which they should buy for their own vse, and if they traded in Merchandize, they should  
bee vsed like to them of the country.

8 That they of Goulette should not bee hindered to receiue the tolles and customes  
of the kings of Tunes.

9 That to entertaine the garrison of Goulette, the kings of Tunes should pay  
vnto the gouernours twelue thousand crownes yearly, at two payments, in August  
and Februarie.

10 That the fishing for corall and the trade thereof, should bee referred for the empe-  
rou, and his successors, kings of Spaine, to dispose at their pleasures.

11 That in acknowledgement of the benefits done by the emperor to *Muley Haf-  
sen*, hee and his successors should honour the kings of Spaine for ever, as their Pa-  
trons and protectors, and for an homage of that protection, they should bee bound  
to giue them euery yeare fixe faire horses, and twelue exquisite faulcons, the which he  
should deliuer into the hands of the gouernour of Goulette, the three and twentieth of  
August, vpon paine to lose fifty thousand crownes for the first time he should faile, and  
for the second a hundred thousand, and if they should continue to neglect this duty, to  
forfeit their realme to the king of Spaine, who might iustly dispose of them.

12 That vpon the like paine the kings of Tunes should not make any leagues nor alli-  
ances with any princes or states, Christians or Mahumetists, to the preiudice of the empe-  
rou or his successors.

13 That there should no entrance bee giuen, in the ports of the realme of Tunes, to  
any Pyrats, or robbers at Sea, commod enemies, not to the priuate enemies one of an-  
other.

14 Lastly that there should be good, sincere & perpetuall friendship, & free commerce  
maintained, betwixt these Princes and their subiects, and right & iustice mutually done.

These articles were sworne and signed in this forme reciprocally in the emperours  
campe neere vnto Goulette, the thirteenth day of August, in the yeare of Christ 1535, and  
in the yeare 942 of *Mahumet*, the fixt day of the moone of the month Cafa.

King *Muley Hassen* taking the othe drew out halfe his Cymiter, & touching the blade  
hee swore by the prophet *Mahumet*, and by the Alcaron, that hee would faithfully ob-  
serue all the contents thereof, and neuer breake them: and the emperor swore and  
promised the same, kissing his right hand, and taking hold of a cloake which a knight  
of Saint *James* there present did weare, on the which there was a crosse, he kist it also. And  
of this contract there were foure copies made, two in the Spanish, and two in the Ara-  
bian tongue, respectiue kept and carried by the officers and Secretaries of these princes.  
There was also added to the said articles:

That from that time there should bee a supreme Iudge and Councell in Goulette, the  
which in the emperours name should iudge without appeale, of all ciuill and criminall  
causes, where any of his Majesties subiects should be a partie, traffiking or going into any  
countrie of the realme of Tunes: And in regard of the towne of Africke then held by the  
Turkes, if it came by any means into the power of the kings of Tunes, the emperor and  
his successors kings of Spaine should dispose thereof as they should thinke good. For wit-  
nesses to the said accord & articles, there were set downe for the emperor *Xscholas Pere-  
not* seignior of Granuelle, doctor *Fernand* of Gueuara, and *Anthony Peres*, counsellors of  
State; And for the king of Tunes, *Alcar Gomeis Mahumet* of Tunes, *Hamet Gamaza*, and  
*Abder Heymin Maier* his counsellors, kinsmen, and officers.

This done *Muley Hassen* retired to Tunes, and the emperor gaue order for his  
returne. He had a great desire to serpon the towne of Africke, which lies right against  
Sicile, & was verie comodious, for the Turkes which held it, to make enterprises, but see-  
ing Autumne approach, which flints vp the Seas for Gallies, hee deferred it to an  
other season. Hee left *D. Bernardine* of Mendosa, brother to the Marquesse of Mon-  
dejar gouernor of Goulette, with a thousand Spaniards, of the old bids. He sent *Andrew  
Doria*, along the western coast, to learne what was become of *Barberousse*, and to watch  
what

Emperours re-  
turned from Tu-  
nes.

A what he would undertake, who found that at his dislodging from Tunes he had retired  
to Bone, and that hauing some notice of *Doria*s approach with forty gallies, he had left  
the place voyde, whereon *Doria* seized without any difficulty; who by the Emperours  
commandement put a garrison into the castle, and left the towne at the disposition of  
the king of Tunes, thinking that the Moores inhabiting there would maintaine them-  
selves in peace better vnder his obedience. There is a suburbe at Tunes without the port  
called *Bethelmenara*, containing about a thousand houtholds, where there dwelt cer-  
taine Christians, called by reason of that suburbe *Rubbattins*, whose predecessours had  
bin brought thither by *Ioseph Almanzor* king, and *Caliph* of Marroe, ruler ouer all Africke,  
some 300 yeres since. Of those which made profession of the Christian religion, the kings  
of Tunes did commonly make the gardes of their persons, for most of them made profes-  
sion of armes: and carried the countenance of gentlemen; they held lands by homage  
of the king, and were rich. The Emperour carried some of these *Rubbattins* into Europe,  
and did them good. Hee dismissed the infant *D. Lewis* of Portugall from Tunes, with his  
gallies, and did witness by his letters vnto king *John* his brother, that in this voyage hee  
had giuen great proofes of his iudgement and valour, and with this opportunitie he sent  
some of the noblemen and youth, which had accompanied him, into Spaine.

*Barberousse* flying from Tunes, being come from the river of *Maggiordech*, one of his  
chiefe pirates called *Aidno* of Smime, being very drie, drunke of that water and burst. At  
C his coming to Bone, he drew 14 gallies vnurnished out of a neere lake, which had been  
kept there for the like need, and hauing sodenly caused them to be armed, and all things  
ready to goe forth, fearing to meet with the emperours armie, he had caused that port to  
be fortified, but it appearing not, he went towards the East, meaning first to be reuenged  
of the Christians in some sort: wherefore hauing passed to Alger, and there provided  
for his affaires, and furnished his army well, he sailed towards the Iland of Minorca, where  
comming neere vnto the port of Maone, he set vp certain Christian flags which hee had  
taken the yeare before: the Ilanders thinking it to be a part of the Emperours armie, re-  
ceived them ioyfully; where afterwards they tooke great spoiles of goods and people:  
hee sackt a shipp of Portugall there, and slew *Gonsaluo Perdis* the captaine after a long  
D fight: and so retiring with his prey to Alger, he set saile towards Constantinople.

The Emperour hauing dismissed part of his army from Goulette, he passed with the rest  
into Sicile, where he landed at Trapani, from whence he came to Palermo the thirteenth  
of September, where he made a solemne entrie: soone after they of the Iland made him  
a present of two hundred and fiftie thousand crownes, as well for the charges he had bin  
at, as for the preparation he meant to make the next yeare against *Barberousse*, whom he  
desired to chase out of Africke, especially from Alger. Going out of Sicile, hee past from  
Messina to Naples, which city he had not seene: in his voyage hee was sumptuously re-  
ceiued as well by the whole state, as by priuate princes his subiects, especially by the pri-  
nces of Bisignuno and Salerno, vntill he came to Naples, where being royally receiued,  
that noble citie, the head of that kingdom, would not faile to make an extraordinary  
demonstration of their loue vnto their prince; so as on the third day of Februarie one  
thousand five hundred thirtie and fix they resolved in the monastrie of Saint Laurence,  
the Emperour being present, to giue him a million and five hundred thousand ducats,  
the which was speedily effected.

During the emperours absence *D. Isabella* the empress was gouernesse in Spaine as  
she had alwaies beene, with a councell of state appointed to assist her: by whose aduice  
and order *D. Guttiere de Vargas* Bishop of Plaisance caused a flecte of five shippes  
to be finished, the which had beene long before vnderaken, in the presence of *D. John*  
then prince of Portugall, who was come in pilgrimage into Castille. These shippes be-  
ing well furnished were sent vnto the Moluques of the which onely one past the streit  
of *Magellan*, which discovered the shoare of that continent, from the going out of the  
streit vnto Arcequipa 25 degrees from the Equinoctiall.

36 After the emperours returne from Tunes to Naples, a new warre being kindled  
betwixt him and the French king, by reason of the duke of Sauoy, the Emperours bro-  
ther in law, whom the French sought to spoile of his estate. Hee was not able to resist fo-  
A a a a a

Bone in Africke  
taken by  
Andrew Doria.

Rubbattins Chri-  
stians at Tunes.

Minorca strik-  
ed by Barberousse.

Emperour comes  
into Sicile.

1536  
Gift of the  
realme of Na-  
ples to the em-  
perour.

Shippes sent out  
of Castille to the  
Moluques.

Emperours voy-  
age into Pre-  
sternce.

potent



potent an enemy, and therefore he had recourse vnto the emperor for aid; who hauing gathered together a goodly army, consulted with his captains of the manner how he should make warre, whether he should stay in Piedmont, and recouer that which the French had taken from the Sauoiard, of which opinion the marquisse of Graft & D. Fernand of Gonzaga were, who alledged some reasons to maintaine their opinion, or that he should passe presently into Prouence, & leaue such forces to recouer Piedmont as should be thought fit, the which *Anthony de Lena* and *Andrew Doria*, did maintaine, but especially the emperor himselfe, who was confident for the enterprise of Prouence, and to that end he made an eloquent Oration vnto his Councell, in these termes.

*Oration made  
by Charles the  
first vpon his  
passage into  
Prouence.*

If the war we vndertake, & the enemy against whom we are to fight, were not known vnto vs, & withal, we were not assured in our felues that we should bring this war to a good end, without doubt we should not blame this your councell, or, to speak more properly, consideration; but should rather commend it, and follow it. But knowing that we make war against one that hath broken his faith, a perfidious man, who hauing no regard that the duke of Sauoy was comprehended in the treatie of Cambray hath made war against him, the which he knew to be against vs; we doubt not but God the iust Iudge of a violated peace, and of the breach of faith, will take a seuerer reuenge.

I will adde thus much more, that we shall warre against the same enemy, ouer whom we haue bin victorious for these 20 yeares: by which victories (to proue against that which you haue said that we haue wonne, & that they may confesse they haue lost,) we hold still the duchie of Milan, a glorious remembrance, & a rich spoile of our vanquished enemy; the which should giue hope and courage to you that be winners, and feare and dispaire to them. Besides, let vs compare our forces with our enemies, we shall find ours to exceed them both in number and valour: we see no such danger as you pretend, although we diuide our army, passe the Alpes, & go into France to assaile our enemy. But to answer first vnto this, & then to returne vnto our former proposition: It is not vnknown, and we can proue it by examples, how many being afflicted with warre in their owne estates, haue freed themselves by transporting the war into their enemies countries, & haue made conquests of their aduersaries states: But in our case we will rather ground vpon firme and sound reasons, than vpon examples, the which can hardly be found equal in all circumstances. You are of opinion, that before we transport the war into France, we should chase the enemy out of Piedmont, so as there may be no reliques remaying: and we on thother side, induced by many reasons, hold it much better, that passing into France we transport the warre thither, rather than to nourish it in our owne and our friends country, and maintaine it in Italie, the which hath bene so many yeares afflicted, and therefore it is reason we should preferue it, and giue it some time of rest, after so great and tedious miseries: so as it hauing felt for these 30 yeares, by means of the French, those miseries which do accompany war, let France in like manner tast of spoiles, burning, rapes, let it tast of feare, terrour, amazement and flight of citizens, let it make proofe of the sacking of houses, desolations, ruines, and the burning of cities. It fittes not to haue the cite of Turin, or the country of Piedmont the reward of our victories, but Paris, yea the very Crowne of France. We haue too long suffered that king, to make war in anothers country. I pray you let vs make him labour to defend his owne dominions, and let vs trie if the French be as much worth at home as abroad. But it may be their nature and disposition is not well known vnto you, whom you haue so often known by experience: At the first charge they are somewhat worth, but after some resistance, they faint, and loose their force: Besides, we haue knowne that king to haue bin off so great a mind (we will not say so rash) as he will hold it a great dishonor to suffer vs to enter and remain in his confines without giuing vs battell: The which if he do, who is there among you that wil doubt of a victory? Hold this for certain, that there is no other means to end the war, but that either he must adde Spaine and the empire, to that which he now enioyes; or we conquer the realme of France to our other possessions: for the effecting whereof we come to seek him in the bowels of his owne realme. We must not grow old here, expecting when he should come, and giue him means to preferue his owne country, from whence he is continually supplied with money, whereby he entertaines his armie here at our cost, who enrich themselves

A felues with spoile of those things, which should serue to pay our souldiers. And for that which you feare, that the French king may leuy new souldiers more commodiously, there is nothing more impossible to do; nor more vaine to speake, for that in bringing an armie hither, it drawes new souldiers with the hope of spoile, being accustomed to theale and winne in a Country wonne by the sword; the which without doubt they cannot doe in France: for being kept in Martiall discipline by the king, the respect of the countrey binding them, they will hold themselves for aduenturers, when it is halfe lawfull for them to liue with their owne pay, though hardly: so as few will expose themselves to wounds and death, for the miserable gaine of an ordinarie pay: and if the souldiers will seeke to haue it augmented, they must afflict the people, so as what the enemy can not get by warre, the companies will iniuriously take away, they will spoile the victualles and diminish the treasure, raising tumults, seditions and rebellions, and the rabble, if the matter proceed in such sort; as the king himselfe be the cause of this spectacle, wherein wee shall see a manifest example of Gods iudgements. And so hee which hath so often afflicted anothers countrey with fire, sword and spoile, shall be now forced, ruining and burning his owne countrey, not only to beare it, but also to do it himselfe. But me thinks I heare some of you feare, that he wil do that before our army arriues, whereunto he shall be forced. This should not moue you, neyther can there be any thing to hinder vs; but wee should abound in victuals, hauing provided for it; so as piercing into the heart of France, we shall haue great abundance, and without any charge. As for your doubt, that the king will gather forces together on this side the Alpes whilst that we are in France; and this country destitute of souldiers: we assure you that we haue provided him so much worke in other places, as he can hardly bend his thoughts to any other business: for that besides this army which will make him oppose all the vigour and force he hath, and another, which it may be you haue heard of shall be led by *Nassau* and *Boissac* to invade the confines of Picardy: there is yet a third which should come and ioine with vs in Prouence, the which at the enterprise intreaty, our people of Spaine haue leui'd: and to that end, we haue sent 23 gallies thither, & one with a particular commission, to informe her of my intention, & of the prefixed time of my voyage: we haue also taken order that an other shall be made ready, the which during the hottest of the war, passing through Champagne, shall invade Burgundy, and with the help of some of those two provinces, which are affected vnto vs, that army will worke no lesse effects than either of the other three. So as the king being thus busied in many places, and with such great preparations of war, hauing no means to leuy at one instant sufficient forces to resist so great a masse of armies, it can not be but on some side we shal pierce into the bowells of his realme, let him prepare what army he can. Let vs not feare to diuide our forces; let vs leaue what shal be fit for the siege of Turin, & the rest which we shall lead with vs shal be able to vanquish him fighting specially, if (as you haue propounded) he shal think to diuide his forces, to man those places which he meanes to fortifie against vs. Adde (the which you know as well as my selfe) what the French footmen are, whereas they desire to be more esteemed for their horsem, which indeed they practise more, & proue better; at this time they are much vnurnished. It is not vnknown vnto you, that at Fossan & Conflans we haue spoild them of 250 horse of seruice; there are 200 now in Turin which can not hope for any better successe: and of the other companies which came hither, halfe of them are consumed with the toile. So as they are not to fight with that old caualerie of France, but with some reliques thereof: Besides, they hauing heretofore wholly relied vpon the German footmen and the Switzers, they thought to haue what numbers they pleased, we doe assure you that thow whom they thought to haue what numbers they pleased, we doe assure you that thow row the helpe of God; and our diligence, they shal not haue any concealing what means we haue used to cause a good number of them that were with him to abandon him: And from the Switzers we haue gotten a firme promise (wherein we suppose they wil not faile) not to suffer any one to go out of the country to serue any Prince. Matters standing vpon these termes, let vs continue constant in our first resolution: that we leaue a conuent-army for the recovery of Turin, and that we passe into France with the rest, and with such men as shal be leui'd in Italie, & nothing stay'd by those difficulties which you haue wisely considered, we may go by the riuer of Prouence. As for the difficulties which you

1536 haue propounded touching the entrance, we will never suffer the French to deprime vs of G that honor, to haue endured it more constantly than we. Concerning victualles, there is sufficient provided, which shall be brought by sea, with the artillerie, munition, and other necessities, which otherwise would be very chargeable. Finally, the intemperance of the aire, which it seemes you feare in Provence, I hold it not worse than that of Africke, the which our souldiers haue constantly endured. And therefore all duly considered, I do not see why we should rather feare danger, than glorie in this victory, hauing to deale with an enemy who is vnprovided of valiant men.

Army of Charles the fifth going into Provence.

After this speech the enterprise was concluded, and preparation made accordingly, they write that the emperor had in his army 24000 Germans, 14000 Spaniards, 12000 Italiás & 5000 horse. The marques of Guast was general of the foot, the D. of Alua was general of the men at armes, and D. Fernand of Gonzague, of the light horse. How they entered, & what they did in this enterprise, you may read at large in the French history.

The prince D. Philip of Spaine, being now tenne yeares old, gaue great signes of wisdom and sufficiency hereafter, to gouerne those realmes, whereunto hee was borne an hereditarie successor. And to make his studies the more easie, they appointed him for his Scholemaster *Iohn Martin Silueo* a man not onely very learned, but of an innocent life, whose maxims did afterwards make him archbishop of Toledo and cardinal. D. Iohn of E. stuniga or Zuniga, a knight of great wisdom and iudgement, and commander maior of Castille, was made his gouernour: and to giue him an honourable Competitor in all his studies, and a sweet companion in that tender age, two yeres before D. Lewis his cousin, the eldest sonne of Sauoy, had passed out of Italie into Spaine: But this yong prince of great hope died this yeare on Christmase day at Madrid, to the great griefe of the prince D. Philip, who loued him dearly, and of the whole court, in the 13 yeare of his age.

Lewis prince of Sauoy dies in Spaine.

India. Exploits of the Portugalls.

37 I will now relate something of the progresse of the Portugalls nauigations at the east Indies, and how the Turkes came and besieged them in Diu, a towne which the Portugalls had so fortified, as they neither feared the fraud nor force of that barbarous and inconstant nation. But the better to vnderstand the war which was brought thither this yeare by the Turke, wee will make a repetition of some things that went before. In the yeare 1532 the king of Portugall had sent *Nuncio d. Augusna* general to the Indies, who hauing a desire to get footing in the realme of Cambaia, hee sent *Antonio Silueria* with a great army, to discouer that riuer, and to informe himself wel what might be expected. This capitaine made great proofes of his valor in that country, spoiling and burning some townes, and striking a great terror into that people of the Portugalls name. It followed after that the Balcia of Egypt, called *Soliman* by commandement from *Soliman* the great Turk, who could not quietly indure the Portugalls good successe at the Indies, whereby his kingdomes had received so great losse, being disappointed of the nauigation for spices, and other merchandise from the east, the which were brought by the Arabic gulph, vnto the ports of Egypt, and so distributed by his merchants ouer all Europe; he sent 2 Sangiaes, *Mustapha* and *Sasar* treasure of that province to take Aden, a strong towne with a port in the said gulph. Whilst that the Turkes labored to take city, being valiantly defended by the king, it hapned that *Antonio Silueria* scouring those seas with a fleet of Portugall ships, he heard of the Turkes attempt, and not pleased they should extend their forces beyond Egypt, he bent his course that way, whose arrival did so terrify the Turkes, being grieu'd of that conquest, & growne strong by the numbers that were come vnto them in hope of prey, as they dislodged. After which *Silueria* put the King in mind of the fauour he had done him, and did so magnifie the force & power of king *John* of Portugal, as he drew him to put himself vnder his protection, so as he should alway defend him against the Turke, for acknowledgement whereof he should pay a yereley tribute of 10000 crownes to the king of Portugall, or as they say, Serafini, money of Ormuz: But this Barbarian did not keep his faith long, for *Silueria* being gone, there came a ship lad with pepper to the port of Aden, the which he spoiled, & treacherously slue the men. There hapned woe after the Turkes flight, who being 600, and about 1000 Arabians, vnder the name *Mustapha* & *Sasar*, and in the same ships, they went to seek their reuenge by those riuers, so as comming to Diu at such time as *Nuncio d. Augusna* the Portugall gouernor was there, with a great armie

Nuncio d. Augusna affailes Diu in vaine.

A of about 300 fail wel furnished, with an intent to get that cite, hauing seized vpon a strong Island called Betelem, not much about 7 leagues from Diu, they were a great aide to *Torcas* who was lord of it. These succors (*Mustapha* hauing brought valiant men, harquebussiers, much artillerie, and himselfe a good souldier) made *Nuncio* attempts vaine, so as being often repulst with losse, he was in the end forced to depart & returne with his army to Goa, leaving *Antonio Saldania* and *James Silueria* with some ships & souldiers at Betelem, for that they should continually annoy the sea coasts of Cambaia, as they did: for the summer following *Silueria* entred into Diu, and sackt and burnt the towne, with some places thereabouts, for that *Mustapha* knowing that the Portugalls would not willingly desist from that enterprise, and that they should need greater forces to resist them, he was gone into Turkie, as an embassador for that king, to let the great Turke vnderstand how much it importted him, to take him vnder his protection, & to get footing in those Indian seas, hauing a great desire to chase away the Portugalls, whose power was feared in those seas. But *Augusna* grieued at the disgrace he had received by his retreat, made ready a nauie of 80 ships, in the which were 4000 valiant soldiers, & hauing called *James Silueria* with his forces to him, he presented himself before Bazaino a sea towne, which the K. of Cambaia did fortified with all industry, but it could not resist the Portugals valor, who ruined all the fortifications. There came a new gouernor of the Portugall army at the Indies, called *Martin Alphonso de Sosa* who made some attempt in Cambaia, & took the castle of Panam by force, the like a conqueror he ran vp that riuer as far as Diu, forcing that lord to sue for peace, and to yield Bazain and the neighbor Island of Salferta vnto King *John*.

Bazain at the last taken by the Portugalls.

G An. 1535 *Badurio* K. of Cambaia finding himself engaged in dangerous wars, he craued aid fro the Portugals, & gaue the liberty to build a fort at Diu, the which they called *Thomas*, for that it was begun on that saints day, & another neer vnto it, which they named *S. Iames*, either of them being strongly walled; this fort was raised in 49 days, whereat the K. wondered. To whom afterward the Portugals gaue great aid, & recovered for him certain places which he had lost; the leaving *Emanuel de Sosa* in the fort with 800 soldiers, & good store of artillerie, the gouernor returned to Goa. Soon after *Badurio* repented him that he had yielded so much to the Portugals in his realm, so as in the yeare 1536 he commanded *Timarao* gouernour of Diu, that vpon some fained colour he should seeke to build a strong wall opposite to the Portugals fort, the which being denied him, there fel a deadly hatred betwixt them. The viceroy *Augusna*, hearing that this king making a shew of friendship, sought to ruine the Christians, he failed to Diu with a great army, where faining himselfe sick, he drew the ill-aduised king, to visit him in his ship; but in his returne he was slaine by the Portugalls, with some of his people that had accompanied him, in which action there were some Portugalls also slaine, among the which was *Emanuel de Sosa* captaine of that fort. It was easie the for the Portugals to seize vpon Diu, & vpon the whole Island, whereas they got good store of mony of the kings treasure, abundance of victuals, instruments of war and ships of all sorts. In the beginning of this yeare 1537 they began to fortifie the castle better, fearing some new alteration of those Barbarians, knowing how much they

Fort built at Diu by the Portugalls.

*Badurio* king of Cambaia slaine by the Portugalls.

E were discontented for the death of *Badurio*, in whose place they presently set a child, his nephew by the sister, whom certain lords of the cuntry took the gouernment of with great authority, so as the realme seemed to be diuided among many, which was lesse dangerous for the Portugals: The gouernment of the fort at Diu, in the place of *Sosa*, who was slaine, was giuen to *Antonio Silueria*, and 600 soldiers appointed him for his garrison; who could not long rest, being still annoyed by them of the cuntry; fearing moreouer that they should be soon set vpon by the Turkes forces, hauing discouered that *Badurio* a litle before his death, had with rich presents obtained great succours from *Ottoman*, and that after his death his wife went vnto the Turkes court, and made greater instance; wherefore the great Turke caused a great army to be prepared at Suez, a port in the farthest bofome of the red sea, *Soliman* the Eunuch, Balcia of Egypt, who had the charge of it, surpassing so many difficulties as it seemed incredible: And hauing caused timber to be cut in Caramania, he made it to be transported wrought to Damietta, and then by the riuer of Nile to Caire, where the vessells being made, and ready to ioyne, they were in the end carried vpon Camels backs to Suez 80 miles. This army as some write, was of 63 gallies, of 26 barks, to

Army of Turkes prepared against the Portugalls.

1537

the which there ioyned 6 galleons, 8 galeots, 2 foists or Oicadi, 20 ships of burthen, and many other small barks; so as they might well carry, besides the men of seruice, 20000 soldiers, among the which were 4000 lanizaries, with so much artillery, as they thought necessary for so great an enterprise. Towards the end of Iune, *Solymán* went from Suez with this army: in his voyage he strangled *Zebith Novada* lord of that place, by whom he had bin bountifullly entertained: then continuing his course, on the 5 of Iuly he came to Aden, a famous citie & port, standing vpon the left point of the Persian gulph. Here the Eunuch gaue a new testimony of his treacheious cruelty, for first he craftily sent some of his men into the city, where they were friendly entertained, and then he procured that K. (who we said had contracted friendship with the Portugalls) to come and visit him in his ships, faining himselfe sick, where this king complaining much of the tyranny that was vsed against him, being made acquainted with *Solymán's* mind, he was presently hung vp at the maine yard, with some of his people which had accompanied him. The army staid some daies at Aden, first sacking the city, & then leauing a good garrison to keep it for the *Ottomans*, and then they sailed towards Diu, where they arriued the 4. of Septemb. There they found the Portugalls ready to receiue them as enemies, for approaching neere 2 of their galleies were sunck with the Artillery, so as they were forced to retire, and to be more warie in their landing, which they did afterward with the great ordnance to batter the castle, *Solymán's* army was much augmented, by some lords of the country that ioyned with him, among whom there was one called *Coffaro*, his mother a Turk, his father a Christian, born in Chio; others say that his name was *Coraçaffer*, a renegado, borne in Calabria, who had bin very deere to the deceased K. of Cambaia, and had brought vnto him 20000 souldiers gathered vpe in the country. They ioynly besieged the fort both by sea and land; *Silueria* hauing but few souldiers in regard of the enemies number, & his continuall toiles, & with all he had not much pouldier for the vse of his artillery; wherof he did aduertise the viceroy being in Goa, crauing succors, and assuring him that they had made what defence was fit for them. There were in Diu, besides the chiefe fort held by the Portugals 2 towers of a reasonable strength, in one there were 60, in the other 50 souldiers, and being both battered by the Turks (who had treacherously sackt the citie in entring, without respect that they had declared theselues friends) the one was yielded vpon conditions, but it obserued, for hauing promised liberty to the Portugall souldiers, they made them gally slaues. The *Bascha* did also batter the castle, shewing more furie then iudgement: *Silueria* defended it with great iudgement & valor, making sallies vpon the enemy, & disappointing all their designs: the Turks, besides their huge artillery had with their pioners raised a mount against the fort so high as they might look into it, & discouer what they did, annoying the defendants much with their shot. But the Portugalls did speedily preuent it, making diuers Trauerfes, imploying therein all their cotton, timber, or whatsoeuer else they had. The Turks & they of Cambaia prest the siege hard, but more by land than by sea, for that they held it weakly on that side, so as battering a tower they made a great ruine, by the which they were in great danger to lose the whole castle, the enemy seeking twice a day to force it, which they continued all the month of October. *Silueria* did suddenly cast vp a rampiers with good flanks, wherby they might brauely defend theselues, making great slaughter of the Turks. On the 20 of October they attempted to take a tower standing towards the sea, for the defence of the Castle by scalado, but they were repulst with great losse: yet the next day they came with 10 galleies, & 33 armed barks, with great numbers of soldiers, to force the tower, but in vaine; for they were not only forced to retire by 50 Christians which defended it, but also flanked by the artillery of the castle, there were in 2 daies about 800 slain, & many vessels sunck. Three daies after at noon day, when they least expected, there was a fallie made by 150 Portugalls, who entred the Turks tréches, that were sleeping, with such resolution, as they slew about 260, & so disordered the whole army, as they could scarce put theselues in defence, but seeing the nuber so small, they offred to charge them, yet so late, as they had time to retire into the fort in good order, with the losse of 3 men only, & 6 hurt. Soon after *Silueria* sent a frigot to Goa, to craue aid frō *Acugna*, who had already sent 16 galeots, with pouldier, match, & some soldiers, but they were not yet come to Diu. At the coming of this second message to Goa, *Garcia* of *Norogna* was cometo be viceroy,

King of Aden  
hanged at a  
mainyard by the  
Turkes.

Fort at Diu  
held by the  
Portugalls be-  
sieged by the  
Turkes.

Sallie of the  
Portugalls vpon  
the Turkes  
at Diu.

*Garcia* *Nor-  
ogna* viceroy  
at the Indies.

1537

A victory, who took vpon him the charge to prepare a great armie, to succor the besieged, and to fight with the enemy, if need were. Arriuing the 11 of September, and taking vpon him the government, he gaue libertie to *Acugna* to returne into Europe, but he died in his voyage neere vnto cap Bone. *Silueria*, hauing bin gouernour for his K. tenn yeeres at the Indies, with much honor and reputation, *Norogna* came wel provided from Portugall, for this war, for that they had intelligence of the Turks preparation in Egipht, bringing 7000 souldiers in 11 ships; being at Goa he prepared 12 great ships of burthen, called hulks, 16 galecons, 25 charuels, 29 galleies of 26 banks, 15 galeots, and 20 foists, which in all made 117 great & small, but all wel armed. The 20 of Nouember, *Solymán* *Bascha* made his first attempt to force the castle of Diu, but he found a braue resistance. *Silueria* hauing the night before discovered the Turks intentions by their preparations. At the break of day there approached neere vnto the tower vpon the sea, about 50 barks and 12 galleies full of soldiers & engins, making a shew to assaile it, but it was only to draw their force thither, from the land part, where they meant to make their greatest attempt. But *Silueria* like a discreet captaine, knowing the strength of that part towards the sea, brought his greatest force, where there was most need, & where the enemy was likely to vie his greatest force. And so it fel out, for first of all there were 3000 Turks, which presented themelues to the assault, who for an houres space were brauely affronted by the Portugalls, and in the end repulst with great losse: but the *Bascha* renewed the fight with brauer men, but fewer in number, which did not a little terrifie *Silueria*, who had seen many of his men slaine in the first assault. He therefore commaunded his lieutenant *Roderigo* of Araue, who was in the tower towards the Sea, to come vnto him with his fresh band: the which was speedily effected, but vnfortunately for him, being slain with a shot, in whose place *Emanuel* *Vasconcello* was put, being followed by 30 fresh souldiers, for that the enemy omitted no force. *Vasconcello* carried himselfe brauely, the enemy being vpon the breach, whereas they were come to the sword, & in the end repulst. Hauing had some little rest, beheld ther fallied out of the tréches about 6000 lanizaries, Turks, & others of the realm of Cabaia, which *Solymán* had chosen & reserved for the last, to ouerthrow the Portugals forces, which were already much weakened; and at the same instant he caused a general assault to be giuen to the whole castle. The enemy aduanced to the rampires, and the Portugalls made resistance. *Silueria* went from place to place with a few choice souldiers, and comming wher hee saw greatest need, he turned him vnto his company, and said: Ah countrymen, do you not remember that you are the souldiers of Christ, for the confession of whose faith we haue put on these armes, follow me then, & sacrifice your liues gloriously in his seruice, who refused not to suffer a shameful death for our health. And without speaking more words, shaking his sword, he went wher he saw most of the enemies, wheras he made such resistance as after 5 houres that this last assault continued, he made the enemies attempts vaine. At the last night gaue an end to this cruell assault, not without great slaughter of the Mahumetans; they had lost that day, as some write about 3500, besides hurt men, of the Portugals there were 70 slaine, & about 300 wounded, so as they lay there remained only 12 vntoucht. But the numbers of the slaine and wounded are diuersly reported, yet they all affirm, that if the enemy had giuen another assault, they could not haue withstood it, wanting both men & munition, for they had no pouldier but what their ordnance was charged with, so as *Silueria* to provide for a future mischief, caused those peeces which were towards the sea to be drawne away in the night, & to be planted towards the land. But the *Bascha* seeing his attempts vaine, laied the blame proudly vpon *Coffaro*, & other Lords of the country, who had assured him that the fort was very weak, and not able to make two days defence: moreover he said they had abused him, and not assisted him, with such forces as they had promised him in the beginning, & assured the great Turk in Constantinople, so as full of wrath & shame, he knew not what to resolve, for that there was a fruit of a Portugall army which was preparing at Goa, doubting they wold fight with him both by sea & land, trusting litle in them of Cabaia, who in effect hated him generally, for the sacking of Diu & other great wrongs the Turkes had done them: Besides, they feared that this cruel man hauing chased away the Portugals, would put their new king to death, and seize tyrannously on the whole Countrey. Whilst they stood vpon these termes,

Death of *Solymán*  
*Acugna*.

Army of *Portu-  
galls* prepared  
against the  
Turkes.

Assault giuen  
by the Turkes  
at Diu.

Turkes valiant-  
ly repulst at  
Diu.

1537

the 16 galeots sent by *Alengua* arrived happily, being come the night after the 2 day of November within sight of *Diu*, foure miles off from the enemies army, the commanders thought it a politike stratagem, every one to carry 4 lanterns, she which succeeded happily, for the enemies thinking they had bin so many ships as they saw lights, and beleev-  
 ing it had bin the whole army, they lay close and would not hazard to meet them: so as being favored by the darkness of the night, and the enemies feare, being terrified with the former successe, and the opinion they had of the army, they entred happily into the river, which made the port of the castle, bringing great joy to their friends, who were in that poore estate. The *Bachá* being first in doubt, was now resolved to rise, having no hope to better his condition, whose rising was with such disorder and feare, as it seemed a very flight. *Soliman* leaving at land about 150 pieces of ordnance as *Obez* writes, 1000 Turks that were wounded, & another thousand which were gone forth to forrage, all which were slain by them of the country, to reuenge the injuries they had received. The Portugalls got the artillery, with some goods of value to repaire the losses they had sustained in those combats. The Turkish army being gone from *Diu* in this confusion, *Soliman* reuenged his disgrace vpon those miserable Portugalls, which had bin taken in the Tower, whom he had treacherously kept in prison, causing them to be all murdered.

Turk retire-  
ing from *Diu*.

The new gouernor *Norogena*, hearing that his men were freed, that there was no need to goe with an army to *Diu*, he resolved to secure all things in the prouince, in quieting the peoples minds, the which was easy to effect, through the reputatiõ which the Portugalls had gotten, in defending themselves against the Turks forces, & by the hatred which they had purchased by their thefts. He therefore made a peace with *Mamudio* the new K. sisters son to the deceased *Badurín*. Vpon these conditions, That the Portugalls should be masters of the fort, & port of *Diu*, but the king should haue half the customs of the said port; & that he might raise a wall right against the fort, but so farre off, as it should no way annoy nor hinder it; which concluded, he provided for the gard of the castell, sending *James Sotol* gouernor, in *Siluerioes* place, who required rest after so honourable a seruice, he had 900 men giuen him for garrison, with all fit prouisiõs. This yong king was not long quiet, but solicited by the ambition of some, and by his grandmother, desirous to reuenge the death of her son, he began to make warre against the Portugalls, vpon a pretext to recouer *Bazain*, where of there had been no mention made in the last accord: but it proued a war of no moment.

Mamudio K. of  
Cambisa: and  
an accord made  
by him with  
the Portugalls.Enterview of  
the Pope, Em-  
perour, and  
French king  
at Nice.Emperour and  
French king  
meet at *Aigues-  
mortes*.1539  
Deaths of the  
empress *Isa-  
bella*.

38 After the Emperours retreat out of France, the war being hot in Piedmont, pope *Paul* considering how many miseries this warre brought vnto Christendome, & fearing and foreseeing the ruine of Italy if it continued, hee procured an enteruiew of those two princes and himselfe in the towne of Nice, where there was no means to reconcile them: there was onely a truce concluded for ten yeares, of either side the Alpes, both of them holding what they had gotten: the pope hoping during this long truce there would be some means found to conclude a peace. The emperor returning frõ Nice towards Spain, he was staid by the weather about *Marfeilles*, where the king sent to intreat him to enter, and to rest himselfe vntill the wind were faire: for the which he gaue him thanks, letting him vnderstand, that he desired they might see one another at *Aigues mortes*. Whereunto the king consented, and went thither from *Auignon*, being vpon his returne towards France. The emperor landed, and dined with the king in *Aigues mortes*, & the king entred afterwards confidently into the emperors galley, where they discoursed long together, but what it was few men vnderstood, yet they parted with great shewes of friendship.

This yeare one thousand five hundred thirtie and nine, the emperor, the yong prince *Philippe* his sonne, his two daughters, and the whole Court, were full of sorrow and heauinesse for the death of the empress *Isabella*, she died the first day of Maie being deliuered of a sonne, which followed her soone after, they were both much lamented by the yong Prince, who beganne to feele the heauie crosse whereunto the miserable condition of man is subiect. Shee was carried from Toledo where shee died, with a funerall pompe befitting so great an Emperesse, to be buried in the royall Chapell of *Granado*, which honours were afterwarde religiously reiterated in all the Cities subiect to the Emperour her husband, and by King *Iohn* of Portugall, her brother,

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A brother. After her death the emperor *Charles* remained alwayes a widower, during the which he had a base son by a maid whose name and family was concealed: he was called *D. Iohn* of Austria, whom he did not aduow until his death.

1539  
D. Iohn of Aus-  
tria

39 The emperor being a prince of a great courage and high attempts, embraced many actions, so as his reuenues could hardly supply the charge, wherefore he sought to draw money from the people & towns that were subiect vnto him, by diuers meanes, by subsidies, impositions, loans and extraordinary beneuolences. Among others he would haue the Castilians make him a present whereunto the Nobility should contribute, without exemption of any, having caused it to be propounded in an assembly of the lords & noble men of the country, giuing them to vnderstand it was for the charges of the war he made against infidells, whereof the profit and honor was common to them with him. Whereunto answer was by *D. Inigo* of Velasco constable of Castille in all their names: That the Nobilitie would neuer suffer their freedoms and liberties to be broken, wheret the emperor was very much discontented; & there hapned at the same time an accident, where-  
 by he might see that the nobility of Castille, were not easie to be gouerned as they pleased that counselled him: and this it was. There being a tyme held without the city of Toledo, where the court lay, whẽ the sport was ended, & the emperor desirous to return towards the citie, the presse being great, an Alcaide or Prouost meaning to hasten those that marched before, hee stricke the duke of the *Infanta*sgos horse with a riding rod vpon the cropper, he being the chief of the *Médofas*, & one of the greatest noblemen of Spain,

Impositions  
cause of troubleAll of chol-  
er done by the  
fantasie.

C who sodenly drawing his sword struck the Alcaide on the head, telling him that he should learn to execute his charge with respect, whereupon the dukes seruants would haue slain him presently, but he staid them. The Alcaide being al bloody, presented himself before the emperor, wheret he seeming to be offended, doct *Konguillo* one of the 3 prouosts of the emperors palace, aduanced as if he would lay hold on the duke to carry him to prison: but he was willed to forbear vntill he would receiue as much as the other, and that hee should go and learne his duety better: wherein *Konguillo* shewed himselfe nothing obstinate. The duke retired to his lodging being followed by al the nobilitie, leaving the emperor in a manner alone: who dissembled this act, lest hee should cause some trouble in Castille, where they had so freely refused him the donatiue, which hee had demanded, and the better to couer his discontentment, hee caused the Alcaide to be put in prison, as ha-  
 uing exceeded in his charge, sending the duke of the *Infanta*sgo word, that hee would cause him to be hanged to giue him satisfaction. The duke came and gaue the king thanks with al humility, sued for his deliuey, had him cured at his charge, and gaue him 500 crowns, wherein he shewed himselfe generous. The emperor soone after passed into Flanders, where he vnderstood that the Gantois were rebelled by reason of subsidies and imposts, which Queene *Marie* of Hungarie gouernesse of that country had laied vpon them, and discharged his cholour vpon that people.

Satisfaction  
done by the em-  
perour to the  
duke of the In-  
fantaRebellion of the  
Gantois for im-  
posts.

The Emperour at his going out of Spaine towards Flanders, he left the prince *D. Philip* his sonne, his lieutenant and vicegerent there, being then not fouretee yeares old, he was assisted by the same Councell that the emperesse his mother had, he took his way thorow France, where hee was roially entertained, and accompanied by the Infants of France. *Henry* Dauphin of Viennois, and *Charles* duke of Orleans, whom the king his father desired much to see duke of Milan. What passed in his voyage betwixt him and the French, the French historie relates. But the Gantois were severely punished, and kept in awe by a strong Citadell, which was built, furnished and garded at their owne charge: the Emperour being the more incensed for that hee heard of nothing but mutinies and rebellions in all places for want of money: for that at the same time that hee punished them of Gant, the Spanish souldiers which were in Lombardie mutined against the Marquess of Guast gouernour of Milan, for want of pay, but they were pacified by a generall taxation layed vpon the Countrey, the which they did willingly paie. *D. Bernardin* of Mendoza had more difficultie to content his mutined garrison in Goulente, being forced to shew his wisedome and to saue both himselfe and the place from their furious disobedience and mutinie, which made him feare that they had some intelligence which the Moores of Tunes or the Turks of Alger, and that they would de-  
 liuer

1540

Citadell of  
Gant built.Mutinie of the  
Spaniards in  
Lombardie.

1541.  
Rebellion at  
Guelma.

litter the fort into their hands. The duty we owe unto God, and reasons of State match not in one ranke in our policies. *D. Ferdinand* having advertised *D. Fernand Gonzague* viceroy of Sicile, of the danger wherein he was, and had good correspondency with him, he intreated, coniured and battred the Spaniards in such sort as he filled them with hope to receive their pay in their time holding them in this expectation until the coming of the galleys of Sicile, bringing new soldiers to change this garrison: and then it behoved him to lie, and assure them with the most religious othes that might be, that their money was all ready at Messina, to be paid them as soone as they should land, and that the emperor remembred the good and faithful services they had done him, and desirous to reward it, drew them out of that barbarous land, to lodge them in a more pleasant and delightful country where they should be freed from their toyle, perswading them with such good words, as they gave him credit, and imbarqued in the same galleys: But they were much amazed, that coming to the port of Messina they would not suffer them to enter into the side, and that they told them there was no money for them, and that they fought to divide them into diuers garrisons. Until that the Emperour had otherwise disposed, where one being transported with fure and shame, to have been thus circumvented, they began to entraine the country, and to spoile houses in open villages, with all the insolencies that might be imagined: they first of all gave an assault to the towne of Castroreale, and had almost forced it: their insolencies were such, as ioyning other mad men vnto them, they were a terror to all the land, the viceroy being forced to assemble the nobilitie and commons to suppress them by armes, seeking in the meane time to winne and draw away the heads and ringleaders of this mutinie, so as having won some with clemencie and promises of impunity, and hope of pay, he had means to disperse them into diuers small troups, after wards he caused the most seditious to be easily apprehended and to be executed by way of Iustice, filling the townes and high wayes with gibets well furnished, for examples sake. This severitie caused the Spanish nation to beare a deadly hatred to *D. Ferdinand*.

Punishment of  
the mutinous  
Spanish gould-  
ens.

Portugall.  
1541.  
Portugall would  
not suffer the  
Castilians to  
saile to the Ma-  
lacquet.

The Castilians of the east Indies, whereof *D. Antonio* of Guenara was gouernor, sent forth in the yeare 1541 a new army to the Moluccques, vnder the command of captain *Villaboy*, which arrived safely at Tidore and Gilolo, but hee was as vnfortunate as the rest, which had gone before him, he himselfe with his ships and men falling into the Portugalls hands, having retreats and forts in those Ilands, and could not indure the Castilians should vnder take that voyage. The like successe they all haue had, which haue since attempted it: whereby it seemed that it was the will of God the Portugalls should inioy them: who haue vsed this navigation with great honour and profit as well to their owne nation, as to other countries of Europe: hauing made storehouses for that trade, and for the distribution of their merchandise and drugges, in the city of Lisbonne, euen vnto the kings palace, vpon the riuier of Tayo, the which are called the house of the Indies. To giue more ornament to the realme of Portugall, the city of Eborra had bene the yere before 1540 made an Archbishopssee at the instance and request of the king *D. Iohn* in fauor of cardinall *Henry* infant of Portugall, the kings brother, who was the first Archbishop, hauing the bishop of Silues for his suffragan. So as from that time there were three Metropolitans in Portugall, Braga, Lisbonne, and Eborra.

Eborra made an  
archbishopssee

Castille.

The Emperour hauing settled his affaires in the Netherlands, he went by Metz to Spire, and from thence to Karisbone, where hee had appointed an imperiall diet, as well to provide for the warre against the Turke, as to bring the Protestants vnder the obedience of the Pope and Church of Rome, which was a faire publique pretext: but hee had other designs for the aduancement of his owne house, which hee did hope to attaine vnto, vnder colour of religion, as it appeared, and vsing at that time this shadow of religion, hee thought to stay the French king from making war (being much offended, for that *Cesar* *Frege* and *Anthony* *Rin*son his embassadours, were murdered vpon the riuier Po, going to Venice) by vnder taking the conquest of Alger, for the which hauing assembled what forces hee thought sufficient out of Germanie, Italie and Spaine, hauing seene Pope *Paul* at Luques, respecting obstinately the wise counsell of *Andrew* *Doria* and other great Captaines, aduising him to deferre the enterprise until the

Voyage of the  
emperor to Al-  
ger.

A the Spring following (by reason of the season of Autume which would be come before hee should land his men, and the bad disposition of that yeare: but he imbarqued in the port of Luna, and came in view of Alger with about two hundred and fiftie vessels, of the which there were threecore & five galleys which caried two and twenty thousand foot entertained, with some three thousand voluntaries, and twelue hundred horse, besides the traine of noblemen and captains which did accompany him, whereof the chiefe were *D. Fernand Gonzague* Viceroy of Sicile, *D. Ferdinand* of Toledo duke of Alua, *Andrew* *Doria* prince of Melfe, *Virgilio* *Vrsino* earle of Anguilara, *Augustine* *Spinola*, and *Camillo* *Colonna*. *Barberousse* had left *Assan* *Aga* a renegade of Sardinia gouernour in Alger, being accompanied (besides the Moores inhabitants) by many Turkes, of the which there were 800 horsemen, for the defence of the towne, & without it there were great numbers of horse and foot, Alarabes and Africans entertained, or otherwise drawne thither with the hope of spoile: For this vagabond nation doe like vnto rauens or vultures, who by a certaine instinct follow armies, being assured to finde whercon to feede: So this people when they heare of any tumult in the country, they stay not till they be invited, but flie thither in great troups, as people which haue no other care nor imploiment but to theue, by whom the emperours army was much annoyed in the landing, which was on the East side towards Cape Metasulo, within 7 miles of Alger. They diuided the army into three battalions; on the left hand were the Spaniards with *Aluaro* *de Sante* marshal of the field, and with *D. Fernand Gonzague* viceroy of Sicile, and the duke of Camerino. In the battel where the emperors person was, the Germans marched; and on the right hand towards the sea, were the Italians with their colonels, the earle of Santa Fiora, and other noblemen aduenturers. That day they marched only 2 miles, and staid neere vnto a fountaine that night, hauing still sight of the Moores and Arabians on horse backe, but they durst not approach to charge the Christians; but at night thinking they had bene at rest, they came downe from a neere mountaine on the fourth side with great cries, & charged the Christians, by whom they were easily repulsed with losse. The Emperour at his first landing had sent to trie *Assan* *Aga* the gouernour, if hee would yeeld vnto the place to his Majestie for reward, and not subiect himselfe to the danger of a mighty and victorious enemy. But the *Aga* answered with a smiling countenance, that hee was to defend that place against the Christians, as it had bene done twice to their great losse, and some write, that hee grew thus confident, not that hee found himselfe so well furnished for his defence; but through the words of an old Inchauntresse, who having foretold the vnfortunate attempts of *D. Diego* *de Vera*, and *D. Hugo* *de Moncada*, had also affirmed that the Emperour of Christendome should suffer great losse there. The next day they marched three miles, and camped within two miles of Alger, in a place strong by nature, being flanked by two torrents which fall from the mountaines, the Spanish foot (whereof the Duke of *Alua* generall of the horse was the chiefe) took their lodging vpon a little hill, from which the army might haue been much annoyed. The sea being also growne somewhat calme after a great storme, the galleys came within canon shot of Alger, and the E shippes drawing neere, they did with great toile vnship their horses, there being a great skirmish betwixt the Spaniards and Moores vpon the hill. But in the meane time they gaue order to land their victuals, artillerie and munition. Towards night the sea began to swell againe, & there fell such abundance of raine all night, with a cold northern wind, which is dangerous vpon that coast, as both the campe at land, and the army at sea did suffer much, and the enemies embracing this occasion, thinking they could not be much annoyd with the Christians (not meant to assaile them at the breake of day, And so the Arabians which were abroad, and the Turkes and Moores within the city being ioynd, made a great attempt on the Spaniards and Italians quarters, towards the mountaine and the sea shoare, the Germans being something more backward: but the Spaniards repulst the enemy valiantly, although they could not vie their harquebuses, & did win much more commendation than the Italians, who keeping a gard vpon a bridge which was vpon one of those torrents, suffered them to winne that passage, so as the enemies horsemen came euen vnto their quarter. *Camillo* *Colonna* was that day in gard, who with great valour withstood the Barbarians force, and putting them to flight, chased them beyond the

*Assan* *Aga* go-  
uernour of Al-  
ger.

Disposition of  
the Alarabes  
of Africa.

Imperiall Armin  
landed at Al-  
ger.

Italians opposed  
by the Turkes  
at Alger.

1541

the bridge, thinking it sufficient: But it was the opinion of D. *Ferdinand* of Gonzaga to pursue the enemy, that they of the towne not being able to vie their artillerie by reason of the raine, the Christians in their pursuite might happily enter pell mell with the Turkes, and so sending *Spinolaes* regiment after them, they pursued them vnto the port of Algier, the which they finding shut, the Turkes went about the wall, and being well acquainted with those places, escaped from the Italians: who retiring encouraged the enemy to sally forth, and to pursue them with great numbers, they being new souldiers, tired with the raine and myre, not knowing the country, and wearied first with pursuing the enemy, they fainted and disbanded, so as the Barbarians made a great slaughter of them, for *Assan Aga* falling forth with his horsemen, and fresh foot, they were easily put to rout, but some knights of Rhodes, colonell *Spinola*, count *Iohn Francisco de Bagna*, with some few captaines and old souldiers, making a stand at a bridge, withstood the enemies force: And yet worse would have happened considering their great aduantage of armes, vsing arrowes and stones, whereas the Christians could not vie their harquebuses, vnlesse the emperor, who that day, and alwayes performed the duty of a captaine, a sergeant, and a souldier, had not come to succour them with some companies of Germans; whereof the first being put to flight, he with an invincible mind giuing courage to the rest both with words and action, in the end he repulsed the enemy, and retired his men out of that dayes danger, hauing lost about 300 men, and 200 hurt, but few men of accopt: D. *Carlo* of Lanoye sonne to the prince of Sulmona was wounded. But the fortune of the armie at sea was more miserable, which tolt with the waues and windes, had continued from midnight vntill noone the next day, in a hard and insupportable conflict, against the furious violence of those enemies. The ships which had no other shelter, but to commit themselves to the mercy of the raging windes, fought to vnburthen themselves, casting their ordonance or any thing else of weight into the sea, & cutting downe their masts; yet many perished, being either swallowed vp in the sea, or beating one against another were driuen on shoare, to be a prey the Barbarians. With the like misfortune, but with more art, and force, the gallies did strue. *Doria*, and the other captaines of iudgement laboring to preserve them with many anchors, & with the industrie of their oares, they also casting their artillerie ouer boord; but they still finding themselves in exceeding great danger, some hoping to saue their liues at land, cut their cables, and ranne on ground, which was a most miserable spectacle: for the gallies breaking, whilst that the mentired with the toile, being vp to the chin in water, fought to saue themselves, & held it for a happinesse to be accepted for slaues, the Arabians and Moores which stood ready, to make the vnfortunate condition of those Christians more miserable, shewed themselves to be greedy of their blood and death, killing them most barbarously without any mercy. Amongst which *Iannettin Doria* Admirall ranne on ground neere vnto the Emperours campe, so as it might well be relieved by his maiestie, who presently sent some companies of Italians, to suppress the furie of the Arabians, and saued that valiant yong man, with the greatest part of his companie. There perished foureteene gallies, some write fifteene after this manner, whereof eleuen did belong to prince *Doria*, and the rest to *Anthony Doria*, to Naples, and Spaine; of greater vessels some say fiewe, and some a hundred and fifty, of shippes, carauells, and pinaces. At night it grew somewhat calme, so as in the morning the gallies drew neere vnto the shoare, where they lay first, but towards euening the wind grew high againe, so as prince *Doria* did persuaide them to retire to cape *Matafuso*, holding that place to be lesse dangerous, for that there were few rocks, the which the emperor perceiving, and seeing that there were no victualls in the campe, the souldiers having bene the day before without any meate, he resolved to rife and march that day six miles with his whole armie. The which he had put in good order, for that the enemy was still behind him & on his flanks, yet they durst not charge them, the sick & hurt men being put in the midst of the squadrons, vsing all care to saue them, yet many were slaine by those Barbarians, being so weake as they could not be carried. For wanting all kind of victuall, they had relieved themselves those two daies with the roots of dates which they call palmette, & horse-besh, some being slaine to that end. They came that day vnto a riuer, which the Moores call *Agaraz*, the which was so risen

Shipwracke of  
the imperiall  
army in Algier.

A with the raine, as it was not possible to wade through, where by reason thereof, and to see if they could get any victualls, they staid that night, and gathering together the masts and yardes of broken ships in that riuer, they made a bridge to passe the Germans and Italians the next day, the Spaniards hauing found out a foard somewhat higher. The Turkes and Moores of Algier did not pursue the armie any further, and the Arabians did little annoy them, so as within two daies they came vnto their galleys. Heere the emperor did somewhat refresh his army, drawing some victualls out of the ships, and then hee gave order for their shipping, which was on the last day of October. The invincible and vndaunted courage of the emperor, was admirable; who was a great consolation to those afflicted troupes: but in the shipping of the armie there was great pietie noted in him; thinking it impossible that ships shaken with the rage of the Sea, should carrie so much people, hee commaunded that all the horses whatsoever should bee cast into the Sea, were they of neede so great price, nor regarding the intricacies of their owners, desiring rather to saue the basest soldi-  
C There is a memorabile accident reported of two ships full of Spaniards, which in the tempest were driuen on shoare neere vnto Algier, the souldiers within them seeking to preserve their liues by being slaues, but the cruell Arabians thirsting after mans blood, refusing to accept them, they made a braue and generous resolution, so as keeping close together, they marcht fighting euen to the very gate of Algier, where they gaue *Assan Aga* to vnderstand that they were come to yeeld themselves his slaues, hoping that hee being borne a Christian, would not suffer them to betome in peeces by the rage of the Arabians, whose liues might be a greater benefit, & so they were preserved by that仁gedd with more shew of humanity. The gallies which were with the emperor person, turning the same fortune recovered the port of Bugia, and there they refreshed themselves a little.  
D and then the seas being somewhat calmed, they sailed towards Spaine, where the emperor landed at Carthage, from whence hee sent to Occagay to visite his daughters, ha-  
E uing first met with the Prince, D. *Philippe*, who went speedily to doe his duty, and to re-  
joyce at his returne, who with an invincible courage, speake little of his losse, shewed how we should beare the crosses of humane accidents. Prince *Doria* who yeelded not to any in greatnesse of minde and constancie, being arrived in Itale, where the miserable suc-  
cesse of this enterprize, was already knowne, he did comfort such as came to console with him for his losse, and sought to comfort him: But the emperours bountie repaired his  
great losse, for he did not onely giue him three thousand ducats of money for euer out  
of the fines at Naples, but he also made him Protector of that kingdom, which is the  
fit of the seuen principall offices, the which the prince *Iohn Andreu* his nephew hath now  
enjoy.

4341  
Hunger in the  
Emperors army.

Constancy and  
pietie of the  
emper Charles

Spaniards pre-  
serve their liues  
generously a-  
gainst the Ara-  
bians.

Emperor  
Charles his re-  
turne into  
Spain from  
the Port of Al-  
ger.

Bountie of the  
emperor to  
Prince Doria.

41  
Warre betwixt  
the French king  
& the emperor.

41 At the emperours returne from Algier, hee found himselfe engaged in a difficult  
warre, against the French king, the which would not suffer him to make any long abode  
in Spaine. The king pretended that the truce had bene broken, and the first violated  
by the Marquesse of Gnaft his lieutenant in Lombardie, by reason of the marriage of *Ev-  
gense* and *Rinjon*: which fact being sufficiently verified, it was assembled by him, where  
upon the French king, began the warre in many places. In *Burgundie* and the *Lowes* by  
the lord of Longueuall, and *Martin van Roye*, in the duchie of *Elkemburg* by the  
duke of Orleans: The Dauphin *Henry* was come into the countie of *Roussillon*, & did  
besiege the Towne of *Perpignan* with forty thousand foot, two thousand men at armes,  
two thousand light horse, and great store of artillerie, one of the goodliest armies the  
French had of long time drawne together; the which proued to be of no effect, for that  
proceeding so slowly, the duke of *Alua* had meane to put some troupes into the town  
(which was ill furnished) by land, and D. *Bernardin* of *Mendoza* newly made generall  
of the galleys of Spaine, to supplie it with victualls and all other kind of munition by sea,

B b b b b

so



so as the Prince seeing it was not easie to force, and hearing of great succours G which did aduance both from Spaine and Italie, hee retired. In Italie the Lord of Langey made warre for the king, and in Picardie the duke of Vendosme: what the successe was, the French Historie will fully satisfie you.

The emperor feeling yet the bad successe of this affaires of Barbarie, and slung by the French in so many places, fainted not: but that which did most trouble him, was the due tie he ought vnto Germanie as emperor: for besides that *Sultan Solymán* had newly repulst the forces of the empire from before *Buda*, hee was aduertised that hee prepared to returne, this year in person into Hungarie with a mighty armie: and that which toucht him nerer, he vnderstood that by the persuation of the French king, and of Captaine *H Paulin*, his embassador in the East, *Barberousse* was at Sea, with a great number of gallies and foales, with an intent to invade his Countreies of Naples and Sicile, and to spoile Spaine if hee might finde any opportunitie.

To prevent all these mischiefs, hee went to Barcelona to passe into Italie: where whilest they made the gallies readie for his passage, and that the Souldiers came which should goe with him, hee went into Nauarre, and caused some roads to bee made into the neere frontier of France, and the Towne of Saint *John de Luz* to bee burnt. And seeing himselfe thus prest, hee held the support of *Henry* the eight, king of England, to bee needfull, with whome hee entred into league.

Having concluded together how they should make warre, the emperor came to Genoua with forty gallies, and some troupes, when as *Barberousse* sackt and burnt the coast of Calabria, and had taken the town of Regium in the streit against Sicile. Then the Turkish armie came to Oflia, which did much amaze the Romanes, but they did only water, and so past, not doing any harme to the territories of the church, which were recommended by the French king, then leauing the ruer of Genoua, hee came to Marcelles.

The French king had sent *Frances* of Bourbon, duke of Anguien to bee his lieutenant in Prouence, and to receiue the Turkes armie, who attending *Barberousse*, and thinking to surpris the Castle of Nice, had like to haue beene surprisid himselfe, by *Janetius Dorias*, who watcht for him within the Port, with twentie gallies; for hee beleueing one, who had laied this double plot, aduertured to goe with some of the kings gallies, whereof four which hee had caused to aduance were taken, and hee himselfe, escaped by flight, *Barberousse* being come, *Doria* quit the Port and Towne of Nice to the Turkes, who sackt and burnt it, but the Castle held good, being valiantly defended by *Paul Simeon*, a knight of Malta, the place being of it selfe vncasie to batter, and worse to assaile, but after a while they tooke an occasion to leave the siege, *Barberousse* retired with his gallies to Antibio, being much discontented against the French, for the bad prouision hee had found in Prouence, for the warre, for hee saw many necessarie prouisions to faile them suddenly, and that the kings men were often forced to borrow powder, match and other necessaries from the Turkes, so as hee grew often into such a rage, as hee did threaten Captaine *Paulin* to an abuse and lyer, hauing made infinite promises to the great Turke, whereof hee saw no effects; the which hee had done if the prince of Anguien had not somewhat pacified him with good words. Being at Antibio, hee vnderstood that the Marquess of Gualt, and the duke of Sauiy were come into the port of Villafraia, with prince *Doria* gallies, and that being ready to enter into Port, they had been surprisid with so great a storme, as foure gallies thinking to get to sea, had been cast against the rockes and broken, and that wherein the Marquess was, in danger to be sunke: The Turke ready for all occasions went thither with his gallies, but hee came to late: he gathered vp part of the ship-wracke, and drew the ordinance out of the sea: After which he went & wintered at Tolon, from whence he sent five and twenty gallies to Alger, with the spoiles which hee had taken, the which they increased with many poore prisoners of either sex, passing along the coast of Catalogne and Valencia, and with a ship and a galley, which they found neere vnto Palamos, which they carried away.

I must speak some thing of *Fernando Cortez*, who conquered Mexico, from whence hee was

S. John de Luz burnt by the Spaniards.

Barberousse besieged the Castle of Nice.

Fernando Cortez deprived of his government of Mexico.

was called being viceroy, by the meanes of some which entied his greatnes, being accused in Spaine vnto the emperor, and forced to come and yeeld himselfe a prisoner, in theyear one thousand five hundred and forty: he could not so soon iustifie his innocencie, although hee were in a manner set at libertie, following the emperor to the warre of Alger, yet hee had no command; and as one in disgrace with his Maiestie, hee was neuer called to counsell in those dangerous accidents, although hee were a great Captaine, and had been tryed in greater difficulties, whereof hee had giuen good proofes in all his attempts.

Hee carried with him indiscreetly in this expedition, five admirable emeralds, the B which hee lost, whose forme and qualitie being held rare and precious, it is fit there should be some mention made of them. One of them which was valued at forty thousand ducats, had the forme of a scopye buttan, whereof was a great pearle, and the foot of pure golde, the second was like a little bell, the clapper was of pearle verie properly made: the third had the figure of a fish, on the head whereof there were eyes of gold, artificially wrought, the fourth was cut like a home, and the fifth like a rose. After the return from that vnfortunate attempt of Alger, he laboured five yeres to proue his innocencie, and in the end had leaue from the emperor to returne to Mexico, and to hold his first honours and estates, but he could neuer enjoy them, for being sixtie yeares olde, hee died in the beginning of December one thousand five hundred forty seuen, leauing an honorable testimony behind him, to haue beene valiant, modest, and religious.

C After the taking of the Citie of Culco at Peru by *Francis Pizarro*, the Spaniards went to take the towne of Quito, which was great and rich, and stood in an excellent ayre, almost vnder the South line, the which, besides that it abounds in mines of metall, hath great store of quicke siluer of yellow colour as they write. There came other Spaniards from Panama, vpon the heare of this great store of gold which *Pizarro* had found in that province, and they soone made good purchase, though not so great as they expected.

There came also from S. Lago in new Spain, *Pedro de Almarado*, with a fleet of some ships, thinking to effect some great matters, but *Pizarro* would not suffer him to make any profit D in the countrie which hee had discovered, and was his government: wherefore they agreed to leaue his ships with *Francis* for 100000 crowns, and *Almarado* returned from whence he came. In the yere 1535 the citie of Lima was enlarged, and many dwellings made for Spaniards by *Pizarro*, he made it the residence for the counsell of the realme, and called it the kings citie, choosing it for his dwelling, & giuing the government of Culco to *Almagro*.

This yere 1542 the emperor caused the Prince D. *Philip* to be sworne future king of Spaine, by the estates of the Countrie, seeking to draw his subjects to giue him good helps for the future warre, wherein hee was well assisted by this treasure which came in those daies from the West-Indies for his fifth part, besides a great summe of money which was lent him by Merchants, and others, giuing them assignments out of the ordinarie reuenues of his realmes. He was come to Barcelona, to be neere to Perpignan, or to any other attempt of the French, and there he caused the Spanish footmen to passe, which had been in Sardynia at his returne from Alger, the which hee would haue remaine vpon those frontiers, if need should require, or be transported elsewhere vpon any occasion. From Barcelona he went with the court to Tarazona, from thence to Tortosa, & then to Valencia, the Prince making a solemne entrie in all these places, where he was entertained with great feasts and pompe.

After which, they past the feasts of Christmas at Alcalá of Henares, wheress their ioy was doubled by the presence of the two Infants, two marriages being concluded at that time; one of the Prince D. *Philip* and D. *Maria* Infanta of Portugall, daughter to king *John* the third, the other of D. *Isabe* prince of Portugall, a youth of fourteen yeares of age, and D. *Isabe* the emperours second daughter. They continued in Alcalá with great feasting, vntill the end of the yere, and then went to Madrid, where hee made his entrie the first day of the yere one thousand five hundred forty and three, where they made preparation of new solemnities for the future marriage, as also for the warre, the emperor being resolved to passe into Italy in the Spring.

B b b b ij.

The

Emeralds, five exceeding faire

Proceedings of Pizarro at Peru.

Lima called the Kings Citie.

D. Philip sworn future king of Spaine.

Philip prince of Spaine contracted to the Infanta of Portugall



1543  
Marriages of  
the Prince and  
Infant of  
Spaine.

Tremessen re-  
bels against  
the emperor

Earle of Alca-  
dette as the en-  
terprize of Tre-  
messen.

The marriage of prince *Philip* concluded in winter, was celebrated in March after, with great pompe and state, and in like manner that of the Infanta his sister; the Emperor neglecting nothing touching his preparation for warre, as well against the French, who had the yeare before annoyed him in many places, as also against the Moores of Tremessen, who according to their naturall inconstancie, had insinuously rebelled. To suppress the which hee had in beginning of this yeare, sent *D. Martin* of Cardone, earle of Alcadette into Africke with eight thousand foot, and about fiftene hundred horse, what succeeded there you shall hereafter heare. After which hauing provided a great summe of money; and such force and horse as should passe with him into Italie, hee gave order for the gouernment of those Realmes vnder the charge of the king *D. Philip*; to whome hee appointed for his chiefe Councillours, the commander *Cousas*, and the Duke of *Alua*; fore-seeing many matters of great importance, and providing for them all with great care, as hee that sought to make his forces greater, to free himselfe from the molestations of France, and frustrate their practises which they had in Germanie, where they had those Princes ready to make any alteration, being not greatly affected to the house of Austria: wherefore hee sought to settle the greatness of his house, for many ages, according vnto humane wisdom: And therefore hee had matcht *D. Philippe* his Sonne to the eldest daughter of Portugall, and to the sole Prince of the realme had giuen his second Infanta, onely with foure hundred thousand crownes dowrie, although his Sonne had receiued double the summe, and for *Maximilian*, eldest sonne to *Ferdinand* his brother, hee had reserved his eldest daughter for all doubtfull euents of succession in those great dominions.

In the beginning of the yeare the emperor (as wee haue said) had sent the earle of Alcadette to the enterprise of Mostagan; who going with eight thousand foot and fiftene hundred horse from Oran; in the beginning of Februarie this yeare, neere vnto Tabida, had a skirmish with the Moores, who charged him in thereward, but it was of no moment. The next day at the passing of a riuer neere vnto Tabida, they found a greater armie of Moores, both horse and foot furnished with good shot, yet the Spaniards marcht in such order, and shewed themselves so valiant, as notwithstanding that the enemy stood ready on the other side of the riuer (which they were to wade through) to receiue them, yet they repulst them with great losse, and advanced to take Tabida.

Hauing rested there a while, they marcht on the next day, but somewhat late, towards Tremessen, lodging two leagues from the citie, being continually molested by the Moores, with often charging and flying away. The king was in Tremessen where hee had leuiued what souldiers he could both of horse and foot, hauing entertained about 400 Turkes which were in garrison vpon that coast, so as the next morning the earle did with great indgement put his men in battell, lest that (being faire inferiour in number to the enemy) he should be inuained by so great a multitude, & disordered, being charged in front, flanke, and rere: and therefore hee so disposed of his troups, both horse and foot, as they might fight and succour one another, fortifying his rereward as much as might be, for that he vnderstood they had laied an ambush, and would charge them behind. They had sent the woman and children with their richest moueables into the mountaines which were neere, to preferue them whatsoeuer should happen; and the king hauing disposed of his troups, would not be present at the battell, but attend the euent in a place of safety. The two armies being joynd, the Spaniards shewed no lesse valour then was needfull, the enemies foreward being greater then all their army, and although the Moores in the beginning shewed great resolution, & discharged a great volley of shot, yet they did it so disorderly, and so far off, as there was not any one slain, and but three lightly hurt, the Spaniards giuing them no time to charge again, & the horse coming vpon them with great violence in the fight continued about two houres; and the General hauing placed some loose shot in the head of the foreward, they made a great spoile of the Moores and Turkes; so as in the end the enemy was put to rout on that side, whilst that they fought with great obduracy in the rereward. Thither the earle sent two companies, who charged with such resolution,

As on, as the Spaniards taking new courage, & the enemy being amazed, hauing seen their companions put to rout, the battell was ended (hauing continued about three houres) & the Christians won the victorie, but there was no great slaughter of the Moores, who desired rather to saue themselves by flight than by fighting obduracy, to giue their enemies any cause to feare a new encounter. The king of Tremessen, who expected the doubtfull euent of this battell, hauing a signe giuen him by smook that it was lost, he provided for his safety by flight among the rest. The earle of Alcadette did win great honor in this battell both for his valor and iudgement, being worthily imitated by his three sons, *D. Alfonso*, *D. Francisco*, & *D. Aluaro*, the first leading a part of the foreward, & the second of the rereward: *D. Alfonso* of Villaruolo marshall of the field, *D. Martin* of Cordoua, *D. John Pacheco* with other noblemen of marke, were much commended for their prowess that day. This victorie was won the fift of Februarie, the victor hauing lost few men, and most of them were slaine with crossbows, whereof there were not about a hundred among the Moores, and about fife thousand Harquebuziers. The Spaniards desirous to enter the Towne, the generall sought to stay them that night, fearing the slaughter would be great, or there would be some great disorder committed in the sacke: wherefore he lodged the army without the towne, among certain Oliue trees, giuing good instructions vnto the captains, to prevent all dangers which might grow by their too great confidence of the victorie, or the disorders which doe accompany spoiling; as it hath often fallen out, either by the small authority of the generall, or by indiscretion, or want of militarie discipline.

About this time the state of Tunes (which the emperor had conquered and restored to *Muley Hassen*) fell into great combustions, he hauing only retained Goulette, with an homage and small tribute for the kings of Spain, as we haue said. The occasion was that *Muley Hassen*, being desirous to confer with the emperor, had past into Sicile, with an intent to come vnto him to Genoa, or wheresoeuer he should be at his last passage out of Spaine; after which hee came to Naples, and meaning to continue his course by sea he was staid there some daies by a tempest, during the which *D. Pedro de Toledo*, viceroy of Naples, receiued a commandement to will him not to depart from thence, vntill hee receiued farther newes from the emperor, who was busied with the warres of France, and would not haue any thing to diuert him. This king as it was reported, had a meaning to demand some forces against the Turkes which held Constantine, a towne within his realme, the which was rich and strong, and did much annoy him, and for that at the time of his passage into Sicile, *Barberousse* was at Marseille, hee feared also that in his returne he would fall vpon him.

He thought in like manner that in leauing the countrie he should auoid some great accident wherewith the starres did threaten him, if hee remained in Africke at that season, this prince being studious of Astrologie, and too credulous of such diuinations. During his absence, such as loued him not and desired some Innoation in the state, bruted it out that the king was dead at Naples, after that he had beene baptized; and prest his Sonne *Amide*, (who had the command of certaine garisons which were appointed to withstand the inuasions of the Turkes, and the thefts of the *Alarabes*, which did aduere vnto them,) to hasten his coming vnto the Citie, and to seaze vpon the Castle and his fathers treasure, before that his younger brother called *Mahomet* (who remained in hostage at Goulette) should prevent him, and make himselfe king with the helpe of *Francis de Tovar*, then Gouernour of the fort. *Amide* did easily credit that which it may bee he desired, and although in the beginning he found some resistance, which was made him by the *Manufette* of Tunes, (who as it is were the kings Lieutenant general in that Countrie) yet in the end hee prevailed, and slue all his fathers friends & seruants, yea, hee abused his wiues and concubines.

These newes being brought to Naples, *Muley Hassen* was much troubled, & making great hast to depart, he made great instance to haue some forces, the which hee obtained of the viceroy, who suffered him to leuie 1800 men, such as were banished & condemned by justice, to whom impunity was promised, if they went to this warre; & they had a gentleman of the countrie appointed for their commander, whose name was *Baptista Lefredo*: with which troupe the King did assure himselfe that hee should bee able to surpris his rebellious

1543

King of Tremessen  
defeated by  
the Spaniards  
first.

1545

Moores 42.  
Muley Hassen  
king of Tunes  
disposeth again.

Moores curious  
and superstitious.

Sonne disposed  
to seize the father.

Amide incestuous.

B b b b i j j

1545

bellious sonne before hee were settled. Being come to Goulette the Gouverneur G fought to dissuade him from going into the Towne; no nor to approach too neere, before hee vnderstood how the people were affected, and whether there were any men of authoritie of his faction, to assist him: notwithstanding that, some Africanes came to visite him, promising him by ceremonies, othes (setting their daggers against their throates, according to their manner) to aide him, and to die with him if neede were, whome the gouernour wisht him not to trust.

Notwithstanding all that *Tonar* could say vnto the king, and to *Lofredo*, they would needs march towards the towne, before they came thither, they knew that they had bene well aduised by *Tonar*, for they fell into an ambush which *Amida* had laid for them, and were charged by so great a multitude of horse and foot, as they had no meanes to saue themselves. In this defeat there were slaine about thirteenth hundred Christians vpon the place; the rest with great difficulty recovered Goulette, disarmed (having cast them away) and wounded. Among the which the king had escaped, had hee not bene discovered by the perfumes wherewith hee was annointed according to his custome; whereupon he was hotly pursued and taken.

Being deliuered to his wicked sonne, hee caused his eyes to be presently put out, the like crueltie hee vsed to *Nahsar* and *Abdulas* his younger brethren, who were taken with the king, to whome hee reproached that hee did him but iustice, for that he had in like manner made his Vncles blinde, and in the end had slaine them, to raigine. Which being done, *Amida* renewed with *Francis* of *Tonar*, all the conuentions and accords which his father had made with the emperor, and did the same homage. The which *Tonar* thought good to accept by provision, applying himselfe to the time, drawing (for that hee would not seeme too carefull of that which had hapned) a certaine number of ducats from the new tyrant; who also deliuered twenty knights, Rabatins of the blind kings gard, who had been imprisoned for that they had shewed themselves too affectionat to his seruice; yeelding vp also the ensignes, which had bene taken from *Lofredo*, and his body, without a head, that they might burie it after the maner of Christians: And moreouer *Amida* deliuered into his hands for hostage a sonne of his called *Seithen*. But notwithstanding all this, *Francis* de *Tonar*, detesting the fact of *Amida*, as vnworthie to bee tollerated by the emperor, hee did aduertise *Abdamelec* one of the brethren of *Muley Hascen*, (who had escaped with *Araxid*, and liued then in exile with a Lord of Numidia, called *Anensseba*), wishing him to come speedily to Tunes, hauing wach an opportunitie by the absence of *Amida*, who was gone to Biserte to receiue that rich custome of fishing which was neere. *Abdamelec* was not shastfull, but coming secretly to Goulette, hee found meanes to enter into Tunes by night, with a good number of horse which had accompanied him, going directly to the Castle with his head and his face couered, and wrapt in a sheet after the maner of the Countie, where hee was receiued without any difficultie, they thinking it to bee *Amida* who was returned from Biserte, but they soone found their owne error, and being amazed and thought to fall to armes, but they that were most forward, were presently slaine, and the rest so terrified, as they yielded: *Abdamelec* being Master of the Castle, hee caused many of the towne which did fauour him to come, by whome hee was saluted and acknowledged for king of Tunes, but hee raigned but thirte and fixe daies, dying of a pestilent burning fauer. Before his death hee drew *Muley Hascen* out of prison, who receiued this good from him whome hee had persecuted, and retired to Goulette, where hee had left in the hands of *Francis* *Tonar*, many Jewels and mooneables of great price, whereof hee gaue him no verie good account. The Tunesians in *Abdamelec*'s place, did choose for their king a Sonne of his called *Mahumet*, being but twelue yeares old, to whome they gaue foure cheefe men for Councillors and Gouernors of his youth; which were *Abdulages*, who held the dignitie and office of Manufete, *Abdelchirin* *Mefuar*, which is another dignitie, and *Xeriffe*, borne at Burga, a Moore learned in the law of *Mahumet*, and with them one *John Perell*, of the order of the Rabatins. *Abdelchirin*, for that hee was an honest man, was slaine by his companions; who afterwards made a Triumuirat betwixt them, committing all ex-

Defeat of Christians.

King of Tunes taken. Crueltie of the sonne to his father and brethren.

Amida disposed of by Abdamelec his vncle.

Disloyaltie of the Regent to the young king of Tunes.

1545

A cesse and villanie, concerning the kings youth, and promising vnto themselves all impunitie. Among other infolencies, *Perel* hauing seized vpon the Serrail, where the wiues and concubines of *Amida* were, he rauisht them all, which haply was the greatest displeasure *Amida* receiued, for those people are wonderfull jealous of their wiues: but hee tooke a cruell reuenge, hauing soone after surprised the citie, with the helpe of his friends and partisans, so suddenly, as the young king had scarce leasure to get into a little barke and flied to Goulette: he caused *Perel* to be cruelly tortured, and hauing cut off his priuie parts, the instruments of his sinne, hee caused him to be burnt aliue in the market place. He put them also to death which had adhered to *Abdamelec*, and among others fortie Rabatines, whose bodies were eaten with dogs, a punishment which he vsed for them which had committed any haynous offence, causing them to be torne in peeces aliue, and deuoured by his famished dogs. *Amida* raigned about fiftene yeares after, vntill that *Aluch Ali*, whom they called *Lacciali*, gouernour of Alger, deprived him, surprising the towne in the yeare 1560, which hath euer since bene held by the Turke, but for some short interruption, whereof *D. John* of Austria was the cause, as we will shew. As for the poore king *Muley Hascen*, hee caused himselfe to be conducted to Naples, and from thence went to the Emperour to Ausburg, where he reported his misfortunes, and complained much of *Francis* de *Tonar*, who detained his Jewels. The Emperour ended this difference, by a composition made betwixt the parties, and he appointed that *Muley Hascen* should haue a pension paid him during his life, by the Sicilians, and so he was sent back into Italie, and *Tonar* soone after called home from his gouernment.

Revenge of Amida.

THE



## THE 28 BOOKE OF THE Historie of Spaine.

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The

A The Realmes of Castille, Leon, Arragon, and Nauarre, remaine vntied in D. Philip the second.  
Portugal by the death of the King D. Iohn, is gouerned by Queene Katherine his widow, and the Cardinall D. Henrie, during the Infancie of D. Sebastian.

- B 1 His yeare 1545 the Emperour had two seuerall aduertisements, the one of great joy and content, the other of much sorrow and heavinesse: He had newes, That the prince D. Philip had his first son born in Vailladolid, the ninth of Iuly, who at his Christening was called *Charles*, at the which there were great & solemne feasts prepared; but within three dayes after all was turned into mourning and heavinesse, by a strange accident: for the prince's mother, the young child's mother, died, for that (as they sayd) she had eaten something disorderly, contrarie to the state wherein she was; which happened by the negligence of the duchesse of Alua, and the wife of *Comez*, the high Chanceller, to whom the care of her being committed, they absented themselves a little, being desirous to see a certaine fight, so as at their returne they found her dead, or dying. The prince felt that force which is visuall at the losse of so deere a person, yet bearing it with that constancie that was fit for his royall mind; but the loue hee bare her, being a prince of singular vertues, made him to retire himselfe for a time. Shee was much lamented and wanted of all men, for her great bountie and charitie. She was honoured with a royall funerall pompe: her bodie remained for a time in Saint *Pauls* church in that towne, in the custodie of the Dominican Friars, untill that it was carried to the royall chappell of Granado. D. Philip had this sorrow increased soon after with a new griefe, for the death of D. Iohn of Tavera, Cardinall, and Archbishop of Toledo, vnder whose D wise gouernment he had bene bred vp from his infancie, so as he loued and respected him much.

The Emperour Charles hauing concluded a peace with the French king, he presently began to imbrace the affaires of Germanie, which were in combustion, by reason of religion, since the preaching and writing of *Luther*, against the Pope, to whom some princes of that nation, and many townes, did adhere: Which controuersie many graue and religious men did beleue, might haue bene easily reconciled by the Emperours onely authoritie, being assisted by the Estates and Princes of the Empire, without crauing any other helpe. But, according to the common opinion, this prince and the Popes were posselt with one humor, to rule absolutely, the Popes aspiring to bee sole Iudges in matters concerning religion, and Charles aspiring to the like soueraigne power in temporall things depending of the Imperiall function, and not to gouerne himselfe by a certaine necessitie, according to the aduice of the assemblies of the Estates, which they call Diets, by the which hee thought hee was kept in awe.

2 Pope Paul and he concurring in one designe, made a league the six and twentieth of Iune 1546, by the negotiation of the Councell of Trent, and they concluded to pursue the Councell of Trent, published the yeare before, and begun in December: and for that the Protestants did not allow of it, nor would not submit themselves vnto it, it was said, the Emperour should force them by armes, and if he entred into any treatie of peace with them, hee should not doe any thing to the prejudice of the Church of Rome. That the Pope should consigne an hundred thousand crownes at Venice, besides an hundred thousand which he had alreadye assigned, to be employed in this warre. That he should moreover entertaine twelue thousand foot, and five hundred light horse, for six monethes, ouer the which he should appoint a Legat, colonels and captaines. That the Emperour might for this warre take the one halfe of the reuenues of the Clergie,

1545  
Birth of prince  
Charles of Spain.

Death of Marie  
of Portugal,  
wife to D. Philip.

1546  
League betwixt  
the Pope and  
Emperour.

Designe of the  
Emperour a-  
gainst Germanie

Clergie, and sell of abbie lands to the value of five hundred thousand crownes: And if any prince should seeke to hinder their resolutions, they should joyne their forces together to resist him. This was at such time as the Councell began, whereas they made preparation for warre against the Protestants, both in Germanie, Spaine, and Italie, the Emperours designe extending farther, for his intent was (as it appeared since) and was not then vnknewne) That after that he had routed the Protestants, which made the greatest power of Germanie, he would subiect the Estates of the Empire to his will, that he might keepe the Empire in his familie, and make it hereditarie. And to give some proofoe of this absolute power which he did affect, he had made a truce with the Turke, the better to attend this warre, without taking the aid of those princes and States, who had contributed great summes of money, to raise an armie against that common enemy of Christendome. The Protestants had long before made a declaration, That they tooke the Pope and Sea of Rome for their aduersary, and therefore they would not haue him for Iudge, accusing him of impietie, sacriledge, false doctrine, and of usurpation ouer the magistrats appointed by God, and of many other crimes. They offered to giue vndoubted proofes to a free Councell, lawfully called, were it generall, or national in Germanie. They complained, That the Emperour had often put them in hope, but now they saw themselves frustrat: yea, that contrarie to the decree of the last Diet of Spier and Wormes, where it was concluded, That to prepare the way to so holy an assembly, there should be a conference of Doctors, and men of State of either part, which should bring in writing the meanes to liue in peace and unite one with another, attending the determination of such a Councell, and that in the meane time all proceedings against the Protestants should cease: yet they saw the Archbishop of Cologne pursued and condemned, for that he sought to reforme his Clergie; the conference made frustrat by the policie and importunitie of some Monks; the Pope to vse his absolute authority, and all Germanie to be full of armes; their aduersaries picking quarels, with the spirituzie of the Emperour and Pope, so as they were forced to defend themselves, the which was falsly tearmed sedition: Vpon which discontents there were many embassadours sent vnto the Emperour, from the Protestant princes, whereof the chiefe were *Frederic* duke of Saxonie, Elector, and *Philip* Landgraue of Hesse, who drew after them many princes and barons of great place, their friends, allies, or vassalls, with the chiefe Imperiall townes, all which demanded peace, and assurance that it should not be broken by any decree of the Councell of Trent, and a present reformation of the Imperiall Chamber, where there were some of their protest enemies.

Demands of the  
Protestants.

To which demands the Emperour made dilatorie and ambiguous answers, to win time, to the end hee might draw his forces, which came from all parts, into one bodie: so as they, seeing no other remedie, began also to arme, Ausbourg, Vlme, and other townes of high Germanie, being assisted by the duke of Wirtemberg, came first to field, and fell vpon the subiects of *Ferdinand* king of Romans, taking Eireberg at the foot of the Alpes, comming out of Italie, with other places. The duke of Saxonie, the Landgraue and their confederats, raised a mightie armie vpon the marches of Franconia, and marcht towards the riuer of Danow, passing quietly through the lands of the bishop of Vitzbourg, and of other Clergie men. The Emperour, who prepared his campe with all speed about Landshuot, vpon the riuer of Iler, proclaimed them as troublers of the publicke peace, and guiltie of high treason. Being fortified hee came and lodged vpon the riuer of Danow, betwixt Ingolstade and Ratisbone, hauing receiued tenne thousand foot, and five hundred light horse, from the Pope, led by cardinall *Farnese*, Legat, and *Otiluio* his brother, prince of Parma and Plaisance, assisted by many worthie captaines, whereof the chiefe were *Alexander* and *Paul Vitelli*, *John Baptista* and *Frederic Sanelli*, *Iulio Vrsino*, *Sforce Paluinio*, *Alphonso of Este*, and *Ralph Bailloni*: And they had brought him out of the garrisons of Italie, six thousand Spaniards of the old Regiments, vnder the command of *Ferdinand* of Toledo, duke of Alua, Marshall generall of the armie, *John Baptista Castaldo*, *Philip* of Launoy, *Aluaro Sandu*, *Alphonso Vives*, and other auncient and approued Captaines.

Protestants  
preclaimed.

Captaines of the  
Pope armie.

Captaines of the  
Emperours forces

In

A In this Imperiall armie the cardinall of Ausbourg had the charge of the viqualls. There was with the Emperour, *Maximilian*, sonne to the king of Romans, *Emanuel Philibert*, prince of Piedmont, with many princes and noblemen, *Geimanes*. The Protestants armie advanced, being much stronger than the Emperours; they had two generals, the Elector *Frederic*, and the Landgraue, with equal authoritie, which, if they may be, was the ruine of their armie. They had with them *John Ernest*, brother to the duke of Saxonie, and *John Frederic*, his eldest sonne, *Philip* duke of Brunswic, and duke of his sonnes, *Francis* duke of Lunebourg, *Wolfgang* prince of Anhalt, *Christopher* of Henneberg, *George* of Wirtemberg, *Albert* of Mansfield, earles, *Christian* of Furstemberg, *Regrad* and *Kessberg*, colonels; with six companies of Suisses. The two armies lay neere together for some dayes, and the Protestants offered battell to the Imperials; but the Emperour would none, assuring himselfe, that the enemy could not keepe those great forces long together, and that in the end hee which gets the profit of the warre, hath the honour: besides, hee expected *Maximilian*, earle of Bure, with foure thousand horse, and ten thousand foot, of the choise bands of the Netherlands.

The Landgraue, who was a resolute souldier, and therefore feared more by the Emperour than all the rest that were in the Protestants campe, made offer to force the Emperour to fight, if they would giue him credit; but the Elector would not yeeld to it: so as these two commanders not concurring well together, lost many occasions, The earle of Bure came to the campe, and many of the Emperours faction in Germanie, spoyled the Protestants lands, whilst they were in the armie; yea some Protestants, being woon by the Emperour with goodly promises of aduancement, and perswading them, that the warre was grounded vpon other causes than religion. Among them was *Maurice* of Saxonie, who desirous to get the Electorship, was entred into duke *Frederics* country with forces, wherewith king *Ferdinand* had furnished him, out of Bohemia and Hungarie, and had by loue, or force, seised vpon all the townes and places of Turingia, Misnia, and other prouinces adioyning, vnder a colour of charitie; saying, That it was to preclude the duke *Electors* countrey, and lands, the which would haue bene ruined, if any other had bene employed by the Emperour in that conquest: yet the Bohemians and Hungarians vsed as great crueltie and violence, as if they had made warre against the Turkes. The Protestants armie being verie great, and not able to draw the Emperour to battell, being in some want of viqualls, but much more of money, the which they were forced to beg from the townes and comminalties, the confederat princes hating no support from the kings of France and England, as they had expected, hauing sent embassadours vnto them with full instructions, touching that which the Emperour pressed by this warre, to the paeiudice of Germanie, and the neighbour Estates. The heads being also jealous of their owne houes and lands, which they saw invaded whilst they laboured for the common cause, they thought to draw the warre neerer to their owne commodities, whereupon they dislodged, and marched towards Norling, the Emperour still coasting them.

The townes of Vlme, Ausbourg, and others, holding the Protestants partie, seeing the armie retire farre from them, hauing done nothing of import, they began to think of their estates, and the rather, for that the Imperiall armie increased daily, there being a fresh supply of six hundred men at armes come from Naples, vnder the conduct of *John Baptista Spinelli*: and the confederats being retired, they made shew as if they would besiege Vlme, one of the richest townes of all Germanie. Being troubled with these considerations, and terrified when as they vnderstood that the Landgraue had left the duke of Saxonie, and was retired home to his house, leauing the whole conduct of the warre to him, and that the duke marcht towards his owne country, without any longer delay they sent vnto the Emperour, to make their peace. Vlme was one of the first that obtained pardon, paying an hundred thousand crownes, and twelue peeces of ordnance, with their furniture, and receiuing a garrison of ten companies of foot. Ausbourg did the like, and paid an hundred and fiftie thousand crownes, and twelue peeces of ordnance, and receiued the like garrison.

Heads of the  
Protestants ar-  
mie disgres.

Maurice of  
Saxonie turns  
the Emperour.

Protestants  
league dissolved

Di-

Diuers other towines yielded also, and in the end the duke of Wittenberg would make trial of the Emperours clemencie: so as being assured of high Germanie, he began to follow the Protestants amie, and came to Nuremberg. The Prince Elektor rooke some small towines in his way, bending towards Franckfort, to draw money as well from his friends as from the Clergie; and then he turned towards his countrey, his amie decreasing much, for that many, seeing the Emperour to prosper, abandoned him. He being come into Turinga and Misnia, *Maurice* dislodged, having put good garrisons into Leipsie and Dresda, which places he onely preferred, for all the rest the Electors recovered, and then he retired to *Ferdinand*; and they both together came and joyned with the Emperours campe at Egge, vpon the confines of Bohemia. The earle of Bure was come towards Franckfort, with commaundement to enter into the Landgraues countrey, for whom many princes, and among them *Maurice*, his sonne in law, did sue vnto the Emperour for his pardon; but to small effect, for he had a great desire to haue him, thinking him alone sufficient to raise the Protestants affaires, if they were ruined. *Bure* tooke Darmast by composition, and then Franckfort, where they were in great feare to loose their Faires, which many of their neighbours did affect. Strasbourg, a great and rich citie, did also compound. The Emperour coming with great speed to the riuer of Elbe, hauing found a foord, where the Spaniards did him great seruice (for the passage was defended by the Protestants amie) he past his troups, and pursued the Elector, who sought to recover Wittenberg, the chiefe towne of his Electorat, being strong and well fortified: but he slayed him neere vnto the forest of Lochane, the Elector having scarce halfe his forces, for he had not leisure to gather them together, being dispersed. Being thus forced to fight with disadvantage, he was vanquished and taken, being wounded in the face. *Ernest* of Brunfwic, sonne to *Philip*, was taken with the Elector: his eldest sonne recovered Wittenberg, being hurt, whither many others escaped from this conflict. The Emperour hauing this prince his prisoner, vnto him roughly in speech, and king *Ferdinand* more. He was giuen in ward to the duke of Alua, who committed him to *Alphonso Pines* to keepe safely. Within few dayes the Emperour gaue sentence of death against him; the which notwithstanding was reuoked, at the suit of the marquisse of Brandebourg: but to redeem his life, he was forced to vndergo hard conditions: Among others, he did quit the dignitie of Elector, which was giuen to *Maurice*, with all his lands, by the Emperour, who did confiscat them, as being guiltie of high treason; he and his children promising to obey the Imperiall chamber, such as the Emperour should erect; and for his entertainment, *Maurice* was charged to pay him a yearely pension of fiftie thousand crownes: The towne of Wittenberg, and the castle of Goth, were deliuered to *Maurice*, leaving it to his discretion, to suffer *Federics* children to dwell in Goth: and as for himselfe, hee should remaine the Emperours prisoner. There were many other strange conditions imposed vpon him, all which he signed; and refused but one article, which was, a promise to obey the decrees of the Councell of Trent, the which hee constantly reiected, saying, That he had rather die than yeeld to it: wherefore the Emperour caused it to be rased out. Duke *Maurice* being now Elector, and hauing joyned to his owne patrimonie the inheritance of prince *Federic* of Saxonie, he began to be a suitor for the Landgraue of Hesse; his father in law, imploring all his friends, as the marquisse of Brandebourg did in like manner, who in the end obtained a promise from the Emperour, to pardon his life, to remit all other punishments due to rebels, to leaue him his countrey with one fort, furnished with artillery: so as he did renounce all leagues, to the preiudice of him or his brother *Ferdinand*, obey the Imperiall Chamber which the Emperour should establish, giue him all the rest of his ordinance, pay him within foure moneths 150000 crownes, for the charges of the warre, to deliuer the prisoners which he held, and come and craue pardon of the Emperour.

The Landgraue hauing accepted these conditions, by the aduice of his counsellors, considering the present danger, he came to Hale in Saxonie, to the Emperour, on the eight and twentieth of Iune, where, before he presented himselfe vnto him, they brought him the former articles to signe: but for that they had added many things which were not contained in those which the marquisse of Brandebourg and duke *Maurice* had sent him,

Landgraue forced by the Emperour.

Defeat of the Elector of Saxony, and his King.

Conditions imposed vpon the Elector of Saxonie.

Confluence of the Elector Frederic.

Conditions proposed by the Emperor to the Landgraue.

A he would not doe any thing, for the which there was great question betwixt betwixt him and the bishop of Arras, who would needs haue him signe it. Among other things, they had added, That the Emperour did reserve vnto himselfe the interpretation of euery article, and that the Landgraue did submit himselfe to the decrees of the Councell of Trent, for the which he should giue caution.

The Landgraue being prest and threatened, remembering that *Brandebourg* and the new Elector, had promised to maintaine the confession of Ausbourg, he signed, That he would obey the decrees of a holy, free, and generall Councell, where both head and members should be reformed, as *Maurice* and *Brandebourg* would doe. This done, they led him into a hall, whereas the Emperour was set vpon a throne, where kneeling downe before him, and confessing, That he had offended his Maiestie, and deserved punishment, he craued pardon, and implored his clemencie. The Emperour made answer by *George Seide*, That although he had deserved grieuous punishment, yet vnto his clemencie, and yielding to the intreaties of many princes and noblemen, whom he desired to gratifie, he remitted the punishment which he had deserved, either by losse of life and goods, or by perpetual imprisonment. Which done, the Landgraue was carried backe to the duke of Aluaes lodging, where he slept; where, hauing played late at dice, he was amazed, when as offering to goe away, he was staied, and had a gard giuen him: whereat the marquisse of Brandebourg and *Maurice* were much discontented, but there was no remedie, the Duke of Alba and the bishop of Arras saying, That it was the Emperours pleasure. This proceeding, which the Emperour sought to iustifie by glosses, depriued him of the fruit which he pretended of his enterprises: so easily are mans desires and imaginations ouerthrowne.

3 We must now retume to the Portugals at the East Indies, where the Turks sought to expell them. They hauing honourably defended their fort at Diu, and concluded a peace with the Indians of Cambaia, in the yeare 1537, whereas the young king *Mamudo* had succeeded after the death of his vnkle *Badurio*, into whose fauour *Zaffer* the Renegado did still seeke to insinuate himselfe, and to whose wicked practices this last warre is chiefly attributed; deuising still how hee might expell the Portugals, for the effecting whereof he made such secret preparations as hee thought necessarie, drawing men together from other barbarous nations, making of armes, ordnance, and harquebuses: hauing with exceeding charge drawne fure master workmen from Constantinople, and yet they circumvented the Christians, making them beleue, that it was to make warre against the king of Patanao, an ancient enemie, which confined vpon them; and yet they fought with great secrecie to incense the lords of the neighbour provinces, against the Portugals: Notwithstanding they intreated them verie louingly, and obsequiously, knowing that it was pleasing vnto the king. With which policie they had made them so secure and carelesse, as they were wholly giuen to the game of marchandise, and to propagate the faith of Christ in those parts. The Portugals had beene growne so secure, and had so neglected all care of warre, as whereas *Garcia* of Norogoa had left nine hundred foot in garrison at Diu, there were not then aboute two hundred and fiftie, vnder the gouernement of *Iohn Mascaregna*, who had succeeded *James de Soja*; and which was worse, they had no munition to make fortie dayes defence, and for that the souldiers had wanted their pay, many of them had sold their armes; all which was well knowne to *Zaffer*, and to king *Mamudo*, which made their designs more easie, and their hopes greater to be effected from the Portugals. To make their enterprise more easie, *Zaffer* began to giue it out, That the king had giuen him that citie, and that hee would soone come and take possession thereof: And although it seemed strange, it being one of the chiefe towines of Cambaia, and brought great profit vnto the king by trade of marchandise, yet it was the more credible, for that the towne was reduced in a manner vnder the Portugals dominion, and many times annoyed by the Turkes, so as it was not so beneficiall to the lord as it had bene, who long before had giuen another strong place, called Sorrao, vnto *Zaffer*, besides many other places which he had either purchased, or gotten by fauour. He writ vnto *Mascaregna*

Submission of the Landgraue.

Portugals at the Indies.

C c c c c

caregna

1547  
John Mascare-  
na governour  
at Diu.

*Mascarena*, as a friend, rejoicing, that by the kings bounty he had means to be his neighbour continually, and to enjoy more freely the fruites of their friendship: but knowing how distastful new lords were vnto their subjects, he should be forced to come with some numbers of souldiers, to keep them in awe that should not like of his government in the beginning: whereof he thought it good to aduertise him, to the end that *Mascarena* should not suspect, that they would not enteraine peace with king *John* and the Portugals. But *Mascarena* began, in the end, to fall into consideration of these things, thinking, that these great preparations could not be against the king of Patana (as they had giuen it out) who notwithstanding did not moue; which made him feare that it was against the fort of Diu: Whereupon he did write to *D. John de Castro*, Viceroy of the Indies, remaining then at Goa: Hee did also write vnto *Antonio Sosa*, gouernour of Chaul, and to *William Meneses*, gouernour of Bazain, to let them vnderstand in what a strait the fort of Diu was, and what need he had of helpe; and therefore they two should seek to stop the victuals which should come by sea from that coast vnto the enemies, who stayed not long to enter the towne of Diu, with *Zaffer*, being then about six thousand, but with such a number of pioners and labourers, for their workes, as some affirme, they were almost thirtie thousand. Most of the souldiers were Turkes and Abissins.

Diu besieged by  
the king of Cam-  
baia.

Among other aduantages which the king of Cambaia, and *Zaffer*; his generall in this enterprize, had gotten, this was most important, to haue begun the warre in the beginning of Winter, the which begins, in those countries, when as the Spring begins with vs, about the beginning of March. But *Mascarena* knowing with what policie the enemy had wouen this web, and seeking with the like dissembling, to win time, and to provide for himselfe, he dissembled the jealousie he had of *Zaffers* designt: he seemed content with his coming to Diu, and to discouer his mind fully, hee sent *Simon Fco*, a man of great judgement, to visit him, and to congratulate his coming; who, with like counterfeiting, was joyfully and honourably received by the Renegado, yet seeking to effect his designs, he began to discouer plainly to what end he was come thither. He propounded vnto *Fco*, That hee would build a wall which should diuide the commerce of the fort from the towne (the which had beene granted at the peace making, so as it were no hinderance to the fort) whereof *Zaffer* made not any mention; but hee complained, that the traffique at sea was reduced to that point, as the king of Cambaia, to his great dishonour, could not dispose of it, being expelled out of the possession by their violence, whom some few yeares before hee had of courtesie received into his realme, to make them partakers, as other strangers, of the trade of marchandise in those countries.

All this being related to *Mascarena* by *Fco*, he found, that the Barbarian desired as much to haue an occasion to fall to open warre, as he sought to avoid it for the reasons aboue mentioned, and therefore he sent again to *Zaffer*, to let him vnderstand, That whereas by order from the king he would renew some treatie touching the Navigation, it must be done with the Viceroy *Castro*, who being not farre off, would soone resolve, and according to equitie: Touching the building of the wall, hee was not to hinder it, persuading himselfe it should be according to the conclusion of the peace, whereof he sent a copie by *Fco*. The Renegado tooke occasion vpon this writing to breake out into ames, who growing into a rage, rare it, and put the embassadour into prison: Then giuing the Portugals no more respite, hee began to make his approaches; and to assault the fort. *Mascarena* foreseeing all this, had made such provisions as time would giue him leaue, and having an especiall care of their want of victuals; he had sent away the weakest women, with the children, and other vnprofitable persons, in two marchants ships, to Bazain and Chaul: and for that the fort was large, hee had seven bulwarke, and hee so weakly manned, hee diuided his souldiers and commanders, appointing twentie to euery bulwarke, and the rest where necessitie should require. He had also drawne into the fort many Christian marchants which did traffique in the towne, and did provide for all things necessarie for a siege.

The

A The fear of this rocke was in an island where the towne stood, made by a riuer which falls into the sea: (Some haue written, it is Indus, making no difference betwixt Diu and Diu:) That part of the island which lies betwixt the sea and the riuer, makes an angle, and fifteth with certaine steepe rockes; there the fort is built: so as on two parts towards the sea and the riuer, it is safe. Towards the citie, besides the strong walls and bulwarke, there was a large deepe ditch, which did stretch from the sea vnto the riuer. Within the riuer, right against the fort, there was a strong tower, not easie to bee battered, for that towards the chanell (which was betwixt it and the fort, whereas the marchants ships lay) there could no enemies ship come in, being subiect to the canon on either side:

B but in the other chanell they had entrance, but in small barks, the water was so low; and yet the souldiers could not wade through. The Portugals reserved two ships in the great chanell, the which vnder the command of *James Latta*, hauing also armed two smaller vessels like gallies, *Mascarena* commanded they should scoure that coast, to stop the victuals and other commodities which came to the enemies: Wherein *Latta* shewed such diligence, as in a short time hee had taken foureteeen barks, laden with victuals and diuers other things for the vie of the armie. But *Zaffer*, who had long before deuised how this enterprize should bee gouerned, and therefore had brought such a multitude of labourers, in one night he caused a fort to bee made vpon a little hill betwixt the towne and the castle; and hauing made

Fort raised by  
the Barbarians  
against Diu.

C the outward part of stone, many foot thicke, within hee filled it with earth, leauing some loope holes for ordnance. The like hee made in the towne, the which was so high, as it did equal the highest part of the fort, hauing safe parapets: Hee armed the wall on the out side with sackes of cotton, to defend it from the enemies ordnance. This fort being seene in the morning, did not amaze the defendants, being prepared to resist the Barbarians assaults euen vnto the last gaspe, for the honour of Christs name, and the seruice of their king, labouring with all industrie and valour, to frustrate the designs of a treacherous enemy: and then the ordnance of either side began that cruell warre, which did much honour the Portugals name in all the East.

D To the first fort *Zaffer* added a second and a third, with the like speed, both towards the sea shore: and for that the ground was stonie and hard, so as they could not well make their trenches, but with losse of time, they advanced a wall of stone, trauesed in such wise one before another, as whilest they advanced, they were safe from the ordnance of the castle; and with this art they might easily come within a stones cast. There hee began to rayse a strong rampar of stone, thirteene foot thicke, and behind fortified it with earth, the which they brought from the sea vnto the riuer, and so they enuironed the fort on that side towards the citie, where it might be assaulted: And for that there was a great distance betwixt the first great forts, they made some lesser along the wall, in the which they placed small Corps de gard, to defend the workes against the enemies sallies; this renegado planting ordnance and small shot, with great judgement, to batter the fort continually.

E Hee had a designe also to take the tower vpon the riuer, and thereby not onely make the way more easie to take the fort, but also hinder such succours as should come by sea vnto the Portugals, for being master of that port, the armie which came from Goa, should with great difficultie land any men. To attempt this tow-  
F er, they had prepared a great marchants ship which they had kept in the haven, making a sort of wood vpon it; and fortifying it with cotton against the defendants shot, and it was made so high, as being brought vnder the tower at a full sea, it did reach to the top of it: With these and with certaine boates of planks which they thought to make fast at a low water; they resolved to assault the tower; whereof *Mascarena* was aduertised, who feared the successe would be dangerous: Wherefore hee commanded *Latta*, That he should come in the night with his two ships, and fire that engine within the port: for being deprived of that ship, they should hardly at that season provide another, the riuer being carefully kept by the Portugals. On the sue

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and





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upon the walls, but within the houses, where falling to spoyle, they found some little resistance made by the women who were there remaining, who both there and at the walls, did vie armes, and assist their husbands and brethren in so great danger. Whereof *Masfcaregna* being advertised, he with a discreet secrecie (for that he would not amaze them that defended the breach) taking some souldiers with him from places least in danger, went and charged the enemy, whereof some he slue, the rest cast themselves from those rocks into the sea, but few escaped. They fought obstinately at *S. Thomas* bulwarke, where there were about 1000 of the assailants slaine, and they were so wearied, as they were forced to retire: but soone after, having brought fresh souldiers, they gave a more furious assault than before, and were as valiantly repulsed by the Christians: and it is reported for a wonder, that in this cruell encounter there were onely seven Portugals slaine, but many were hurt. Two dayes after they gave another assault, whereas they lost about three hundred souldiers, in which *Fernando de Castro*, and *Lewis de Sosa*, did win much honor. The like did *Francis de Almeida*, who having the gard of *S. Thomas*, about noone time, when as other men vie to take their rest, the enemies ran furiously to the assault, the which he with twenty five souldiers maintained valiantly, untill that some others came to second them, where the fight was cruel for some houres, with great losse to the Barbarians, where they lost 800 men. But the defendants began to be out of hope of victorie, their numbers being diminished by death, and weakened, for that many were hurt, and the assailants on the other side were much fortified, there being come vnto the campe, a supplie of foureteeen thousand souldiers, vnder a certaine lord of Cambaia, called *Moiatecan*: besides, within the fort they had great want of victuals, and many hurt and sicke for want of good feeding. Afterwards the Barbarians began to make mines, with great secrecie, making shew of other approaches; but on *Saint Lawrence* day, having brought one to perfection, vnder *S. Johns* bulwarke, they made offer of an assault, to draw many thither to defend it, but when they thought it time, they retired without the compasse of the mine, and then gave fire to it, which blew all that building into the ayre: in which accident there dyed about sixtie valiant souldiers, and men of account, among which were *D. Fernando de Castro*, the Viceroyes sonne, a young man of great worth, *John* of Almeida, *Lewis Mello*, *Diego Sotomaior*, *Alvaro Ferriera*, *Roderigo Sosa*, *Lorenzo Faria*, *John Brandano*, *George* of Almeida, *Tristan Sosa*, *Francis Lupio*, and *Garcia Ferracia*. It is written, That *Masfcaregna* doubting of some fraud, when he saw the Barbarians retire, advertised *Fernando de Castro*, That he should leaue that place; but he was not obeyed. The Infidels would not looke the opportunitee of this ruine, but suddenly advanced to enter into the place, where they found foure souldiers onely to make resistance, for that of twenty which were remaining alive, the rest were so amazed at this accident, as they could not doe any service. In the meane time those foure, more by the assistance of God than any humane force, staid the enemies furie, untill the coming of *Masfcaregna* with some choyce souldiers, who repulsed the enemy, being fauoured by the approaching night: And in the meane time others labouring behind, they had raised vp a wall of stone, without mortar, sixtene spans thicke, the which they did afterwards rampar with earth: and thus they repaired the ruines of that bastion. They continued their mines to other places, especially vnder *Saint Thomas*, where the Portugals countermines auailing them nothing, they ruined a great part of it. The like they did to others, and were aduanced into the place, and had gotten footing vnto *Saint James* church, from whence the Portugals could not expell them, so as they drew a wall through the middle, and it remained a lodging for them both some dayes.

The Viceroy being advertised of the progresse of this siege, foreseeing their need, sent another sonne of his, called *D. Aluaro*, with foureteeen vessels, who parting from Goa on *Saint James* day, which was in the countrey the very height of the Spring, he arrived (notwithstanding the foule weather) at Batrin: and for that he knew it would be impossible (by reason of stormes) to come all together to Diu, he gave order, they should all get thither as they could, so as all of them arrived, soone or late, as they could worke it out at sea. *D. Aluaro de Castro*, and *Francis de Almeida*, arrived the eighth of August with the greatest part, having not brought about 400 souldiers, who had much courage, but

Surcouer sent  
from Goa to  
Diu.

Bulwarke of S.  
John blowne up  
with mines.

A second as-  
sault.

A third assault.

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A not so much militarie judgement, as the state of their affaires required. They pretended that standing alwaies vpon their defence, they had lost much, and therefore they should fully forth courageously vpon the enemy, and hinder his proceedings.

The good reasons of *Masfcaregna*, did somewhat restrain their forwardnesse: when as hearing that the enemy fought to draw two great peeces of ordnance out of one of the ruined Bastions, they held it an insupportable affront, forcing *Masfcaregna* to giue the leave to fallie forth, who to auoide a greater mischief by a sedition, yielded to this necessitie remedie, to whome he spake after this manner. That it was fit souldiers should be gouerned by their Captaine, and not gouerne him; that they should attend their ensigne, and not take it by violence, as it did behoue a commander and his Councillors, to know how to mannagewarre. But you having now in a manner laid violent hands vpon me, and presented your selues before me with seditious words and lookes, the Maiestie of command is ouer-ruled by an vnreasonable desire, by an indiscreet hope: Go on and God make it successefull vnto you; let them know your valour and the force of your armes: I will be content to follow you, who by right should lead you; & although it be in an vnseasonable time, yet will I be partaker of your toile and daunger. Remember that in going into the enemies trenches, & in fighting, you continue as valiant and resolute as you haue shewed your selues before the fight.

After which speech, when occasion & time serued, he diuided his little army into three small squadrons leauing some few to gard the fort. The first he gave to *Aluaro de Castro*, the second to *Francis de Meneses*, and himselfe remained with the third to succour where need should require: which action was performed with as little discretion as it was beguine: For they were no sooner in the enemies trenches but they began to doubt of the euent, and although they did terrifie those that were then in gard, killing some, and putting the rest to flight; yet when as they saw the great squadron began to march from the bodie of the armie, they were so surprised with feare, as they had no care but how to saue themselves by flight, neither could they which had retained more valor, make the retreat without disorder. The losse was great; for among a hundred that were slaine, there were diuers of great worth, as *Francis de Meneses*, who led the second squadron, *Francis* of Almeida, *D. Lope Sosa*, and *Edouard de Meneses* sonne to the earle of Feria, who would not be partaker of his companions defect, but making a stand to withstand the furie of the Barbarians, contemning their horrible cries, and fighting valiantly, exhorting the rest both by his words & example, to vanquish with the sword and not by flight, he dyed honourably. *D. Aluaro de Castro*, mounting vp a wall, had a great blow on the hinder part of his head with a stone cast out of a sling, the which battering his head pece did hurt him verie sore, causing him to fall backward, where hee had bene slaine, if *Masfcaregna* had not come presently to succour him, & carried him into the fort, as he did all the rest that were wounded. This vnfortunate action, which hapned the first of September, did much weaken that small garrison: yet *Masfcaregna* fainted not, but provided such remedies for his defence, as time and means would giue his leave: The enemy did for ruine the Bulwarkes and courtines with his mines, as planting diuers peeces of artillerie in those mines against the Portugals, they did wonderfully annoy them within the fort, wherefore the besieged were forced to labour day and night, and to make new defences, either fighting or working continually, having little leasure to eat, or rest, their number being so small.

The Viceroy *D. John de Castro* had bene advertised of the death of his sonnes, who sup-  
pressing his particular griefe, vied great diligence to provide a remedie for the generall good: He therefore first of all dispatched *Aluaro de Albuquerque* with order to gather together those few Portugall ships, that were in those seas, and having put souldiers into them to faile presently to Diu, the which he effected, comming thither the last of September, with five ships and so many men as the garrison was increased to twelue hundred; so as they might with more ease make head against the enemy. Soone after he sent five other ships from Goa with four hundred souldiers; and with them many Artificers, and some Architects for the vse of building, as as they grew daily more confident, neither did they feare, (having heard that a certaine kinsman of *Ziffer*, who had bene

Importunite of  
some Portugals

Success brought  
to Diu.

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Victorie of the  
Portugals at sea

D. John Collo  
the viceroie  
comes to relieve  
Diu.

beene sent to Caire to lewie men, came sailing towards Diu) to encounter him with their armie, whome hauing fought with all, defeated and taken him with many others prisoners, there being sunke or dispeised at Sea, they returned ioyfull to their Companions. They would not saue one of their prisoners aliue, but being slaine, they cast their heads into the current of the riuer, to carrie newes vnto the enemye, except that of *Xassers* kinsman, which was set vpon the top of a lance. But the Viceroy with all his diligence, could not draw such an armie together, as hee might hope to raise the siege, before the middest of October: so as hauing about seventy ships great and small, hee beganne his voyage, and hauing surmounted all difficulties, being forced by soule weather to stay some daies at Bazain, hee came to the coast of Diu, the seventh day of Nouember: where hee presently sent for *Mascaregna*, being desirous to vnderstand particularly in what estate they were, where they tooke counsell how to put souldiers into the fort, and to charge the enemies camp, which being done, *Mascaregna* returned, and prepared to receiue the succours on the side towards the Sea, where the enemye least suspected it; and hauing planted ordinance in all places, where they might annoy them, they did it in such sort as it did much aduance their affairs, neither did the enemies shew themselves fearful, but they answered them with the like art and courage, and foreseeing that they meant to charge the campe at one instant, both from their armie at Sea, and their fort at land, they did fortifie that part towards the riuer, with a gard of fiftene thousand Souldiers.

The Viceroy had fore-seene all this, and therefore hee vsed a politike stratagem, on the ninth day at night, hauing drawne two thousand souldiers out of the ships into the fort, hee caused the whole fleet to stand as it were in armes, some holding burning torches, some held two-lances, and some an oar hand, and a match light in the other, all men of no seruice, causing the ships to moue but softly, as if they would giue an assault to that part of the riuer, where the enemies feared most, and to gouerne all these things hee had left some captaines, himselfe being gone to land.

All things being readie, the souldiers hauing reconciled themselves vnto God, in the morning they went out of the fort, the Viceroy hauing caused all the gates to bee set wide open, and leauing a gard within the fort, commaunded by *Anthonio Corrigia*, they did not feare with fife and twentie hundred souldiers, to goe and charge an armie of forty thousand in their owne trenches. The enemye was verie watchfull of the landing of the Armie, where they most feared the daunger, for that they were perswaded there could not come any great numbers from the besieged, wherefore they had placed the best of their forces on that side, which made the Portugals victorie the more easie. *Mascaregna* had the fore-ward, with foure hundred choise souldiers, who being entred into the Barbarians trenches, had fought valiantly, and they began to retyre, when as fresh men arriuing, hee had good need of succours, and so they did fight often that day, with an interchangeable inclination of victorie, yet the Portugals aduanced still; and hauing wonne one of their forts; in the end by their exceeding valour and the fauour of heauen, they defeated the Barbarians; and put them to flight, some escaping by a bridge which they had made, ioyning the Island to the firme land, all the rest of what age and sexe soeuer, were made subiect to the reuenging sword of the Conqueror, who incensed with crueltie vsed against them at that seege, by a bridge which they had made, as they not only slue men, women with childe, and infants, but euen their tame cattell.

Victorie gotten  
by the Portu-  
gals at Diu.

*Rumecano* the Sonne of *Zaffer* (who had the chiefe charge of the army) was found dead, with *Audecano* a Capitaine of Cambaia, who came the day before vnto the armie with fife thousand Souldiers, and *Adecano* a Capitaine of strange souldiers. They tooke the royall Standard of Cambaia, with many others, they recouered their lost ordinance, and tooke thirtie and fife peeces of the enemies; but the spoile gotten afterwards

A wards in Diu did much enrich the Souldiers. They write that this cruell seege continued eight moneths: there dyed one thousand fife hundred Portugals, and in this last battell onely sixtie, and foure thousand Infidels. The Viceroy hauing taken order for the repaying and new building of the fort, hauing also rewarded the well deseruing souldiers, returned to Malaga.

4 During the warre in Germanie, whereof wee haue formerly made mention, there was a marriage concluded in Fraunce, betwixt *Ioane* of Albret, the heire of *Navarre*, and *Anthony* of Bourbon, duke of Vendosme, a prince of the bloud royall of France, the marriage was celebrated at Molins, in Bourbonnois. This realm of *Navarre* was reduced vnto a Province, when as the duke of Alua sealed thereon in the name of the king *D. Ferdinand* in execution of the sentence of pope *Iulio* the second, and had been alwaies gouerned by Viceroyes and Lieutenants, as wee haue said. In the year one thousand fife hundred fortie and two, *D. John de Lauega*, Lord of Grayal, was viceroy, in whose time *D. Ferdinand* of Toledo, grand childe to the duke of Alua, raised the walls of Lombrie, which stood vntill that time: *D. Lewis* of Mendosa, Marquess of Montedear succeeded the Lord of Grajal in the gouernment of *Navarre*, in the yere one thousand fife hundred forty and three; and in the year one thousand fife hundred forty and fixe, *D. Aluaro Gomes Manrique* of Mendosa, entred into the gouernment, and succeeded in the year one thousand fife hundred forty and feuen, *D. Lewis Velasco*, at which time this marriage was consummated.

The emperor hauing gotten so great and absolute a victorie, as hee thought, he now held the reynes of all Germanie in his hand, he sends *D. Ferdinand* of Toledo, duke of Alua into Spaine, to persuaide his Son to come vnto him into the low countries; whether he went carrying his prisoners with him in triumph, leauing *Ferdinand* king of Romans his brother to gouerne the affaires of the empire in his absence, and for that *D. Philip* coming out of Spaine, he must leaue some great one there, with the title of gouernor; and to giue that dignitie to any lord of the countie, it would breed ieaousie in the rest, he resolved to send *Maximilian* of Austria, prince of Hungarie, his nephew thither, to whom hee had designed for wife *D. Maria* his owne daughter, with a dispensation from the pope; for they were cousin Germans. This Prince came and imbarked at Genoua, soone after the duke of Aluas departure, being accompanied by the Cardinal of Trent, the yong duke of Brunswike, the earle of Mansfield and other noble men, & arriued at Barcelona, with a prosperous wind, whereas all the chiefe noblemen of Arragon and Castille came and met him as their Gouernour and Viceroy, and conducted him to Vailledolir, where the marriage betwixt him & *D. Maria* was solemnized. These princes being married, they gouerned Spaine for a time in prince *Philips* absence, who parted in the same fleet, & in the same vessel that had brought *Maximilian*. Being arriued at Genoua, he staid there fifteen daies, where he was visited and honoured with gifts and presents, by all the princes and potentates of Italie, and by the estates of the emperor his father. From Genoua he came to Milan, where he had a solemne entrie made him, and then by Mantoua & Trent hee continued his voyage through Germany & came to Brusselles, where the emperor attended him, who made a progresse with him through all the prouinces of his hereditarie countie, causing an oth of fealtie to be taken vnto him as to his onely heire.

At the estates of Castille who were held at Vailledolir in the year 1548, it was decreed that the emperor should be intreated againe, (as he had bene often) to pay the money which he had borrowed of the king of Portugall, by colour whereof he did not pursue his right vnto the Molucques, for the which there were deputies sent vnto him into Flanders; who offered him in the name of the estates, to discharge that debt, so as hee would graunt them that traded for sixe yeares, making the landing and entring of Spices at the Groin, as he had formerly ordained; which sixe yeares being expired, the emperor should receiue the benefit of the trade; whereunto he gaue no great care, for that hee would not displease *D. John* king of Portugall, to whom he bare great affection.

6 At that time there came vnto *Maximilian* of Austria, and *D. Maria* of Castille his wife, gouerning in Spaine, *Malley Basfon*, a Prince of the Moores, and Lord of Velas de la Gomera in Africke, who had bene brought into Spaine by *D. Bernardino de Mendosa*.

Navarre.  
Marriage of  
Ioane heire of  
Navarre to An-  
thony duke of  
Bourbon.

Castille.

Prince Philip  
goes into Flan-  
ders.

Mendosa

Malley Basfon a  
Moore demands  
succor in Spaine

1548

*Mendes*, generall of the galleys, to demaund succour, against *Muley Mahumet* Xetife of Marroco, who had expelled *Muley Hamet* his kinsman, of the race of the *Morins*, out of the realme of Fez. This Moore was honourably entertained by *Maximilian*, but touching his chiefe businesse, hee aduised him to goe vnto the emperour, the which hee did, and past through France, but hee could not obtaine that which hee pretended, notwithstanding that hee offered to doe homage to the emperour, and to pay him tribute for the realme of Fez. Hee knew well there was no great assurance in the promises of those Barbarians, who are naturally disloyall, and that it was in vaine to make any enterprises in Afrike, if hee did not altogether follow it selfe it would proue but a fruitlesse toile and charge. After long soliciting, *Basfon* returned into Spaine, and made a like sute vnto *D. John* king of Portugall, who gaue him some succours, the which had like to haue ruined him, but afterwards hee made good vse of them.

7 The Councell continued at Trent vnto the seventh Session, touching the doctrine and reformation of Prelates, and the Pope seeing that Germanie was in such a combustion, as there was no likelihood of any reconciliation, hee thought it expedient for his affaires of Cologne to draw the Councell out of Germany, and transference it to Bologna, a towne belonging to the church, causing a decree to bee made in the eight Session, as if this translation had come from the motion of the Fathers that were assembled, by reason of the indisposition of many which fell sicke through the bad constitution of the ayre and the discomforts of the cold and moist country. The Legats went, and were followed by the Prelates and Doctors of Italie, but the Germanes were discontented: wherefore the emperor vpon the complaints which were made, sent his embassadors vnto the Councell of Bologna, (which hee called an assembly) which were *Francis Yarega*, and *Martin Velasco*, to the end the Councell might be setled againe at Trent.

The Princes and States of the empire being assembled at Ausbourg, did also write verie earnestly vnto the Pope, beseeching him to cause his Legats to returne to Trent, and to continue the Councell there, vntlesse he wold poole that which had bin wel begun. The Pope referred it to the fathers that were at Bologna, who could not be induced to retaine that which they had refused by a common consent, and as it were (said they) by the inspiration of the holy Ghost.

The emperor being discontented at the Popes obstinacie, thought to finde some means to reconcile the controuersies in Religion, without attending a councill any longer, for the which hee caused a booke to be made, which he called Interin, containing in substance all the doctrine of the church of Rome, & the ceremonies thereof; and to giue occasion to the Protestants to receiue it, they were allowed to communicat vnder both kinds, and for Preests to marrie. It was censured by the Pope in those two articles, and was reiected by some of the Protestant Princes: but afterwards the Councel was returned againe to Trent, after the death of *Paul* the third, vnder *Pope Iulio* the third.

8 The emperor being come this yeare, one thousand five hundred and fiftie, out of the Netherlands, to an imperiall assembly at Ausbourg, doctor D. *Pedro Gualta*, (being newly come from Peru, where he had commanded four yeares) came unto him to giue an account of his gouernment, of the fruits whereof hee brought him a great summe of gold, the which did much further his affaires. This man by his wisdom and good gouernment, had ended the sedition and rebellion of the *Pizarres* in that countrie, which had continued many yeares much vnpleasing to the emperor; and therefore hee was very welcome: wherefore I haue thought it conuenient to make a breefe relation of the whole action. Wee haue formerly made mention of the quarrell betwixt *Francis Pizarro* and *James of Almagra*, either of them seeking to command ambitiously ouer his companion in that rich countrie, which they happily conquered with mutuall duetie, and their common armes: wherein they had gotten great honour if they could haue maintained themselves, but they grew into factions, and to ciuill warr, pretending nothing lesse in the end, then to make themselves absolute Lords, and it hapned after many attempts and enterprises, to the preiudice one of another; that *Francis Pizarro* had bene vanquished in a great encounter, in the yeare one thousand five hundred

Council transf.  
ferred from  
Trent to Bala-  
ria.

**Interim of the  
emperor rejec-  
ted by the Pope  
and Protestants**

1550  
Sedition at Pe-  
ru for the go-  
VERNMENT.

Lib. 28.

Lib. 28: died forty two and his brother Ferdinand taken who notwithstanding was soone after set at libertie, yet not without great difficulty. . . . the mis-

Having afterwards repaired their forces, and comming againe to fight, the misfortune fell upon *Almagro*, who being led to *Culco*, hee was there publicly, but beuillfully, beheaded, by the commandement of *Ferdinand Pizarro*, who was a little before his prisoner. The son of *Almagro* carrying the same notice, born in that country of an Indian woman, desirous to reuenge the vniust death of his father, found means to come by night into *Lima*, (otherwise called the towne of kings) where hee surpris'd *Francis Pizarro*, and a brother of his, and cut their throates in their owne lodging, and if *Consaluo Pizarro* their other brother had beene there, hee had past the same way, but hee

was gone to make warre at Quintero, in the prouince of Caucaza, *Gonzales*, being aduertised of this accident hapned to his brethren, brought backe his *Souldiers*, and beganne to make a cruell pursue against young *James of Amegra*, and hee on the other side to make head against him, so as the whole Countre was for some yeares miserably afflicted with these factions, vntill that the emperour sent a gouernour thither with some forces called *Vasco de Castro*, who did somewhat suppress these feditions, going first against *James of Amegra*, whome hee besieged in Culco, forcing the Inhabitants to deliuer him, hee causing his head to bee cut off without any long processe.

C Ferdinand Pizarro, (who had put his father to the like death) being come at that time into Spain with great treasure, it may bee for that hee would not bee in Peru at the coming of *Pédro de Castro*, and give an accompt vnto him of his actions) was there committed to prison in the Castle of Medina, where sometime after at the instance of the kings Attorney generall, and vpon the accusations which were sent from the Indies, his proceesse being made, hee was condemned to loose his head, and the chiefe reason was; for that hee had vniually and rashly put *James of Almagro* the father to death.

Almagra the father to death.

It is said, that through the quarrels of these mutines vnto that time, there had perished one hundred and fiftie thousand Indians, sometimes taking part with the one, sometimes with the other. By the death of the heads it seemed the troubles had bene ended and suppressed, there remaining none but *Gonsaluo Pizarro*, who kept himselfe close: but the change of the Governour made them greater than before. For it seeming to the emperor, or to the chiefe of his Council, that *Felso de Carrifra* was not fit to gouerne that prouince of Peru, hee called him home, and sent *Vasco Nugnes de Pelez*, in his place, with so absolute and seuerer a Commission, as seeking to execute it, he caused in a manner all the Spaniards that were in that countie, to renolt with the Indians, hauing for the first act of his Tragedie declared all them guiltie of treason, which had carried armes, were it for the *Pizarros*, or the *Almagras*, not considering how farre this generalitie did extend, for among all the Spaniards in Peru, and the Guldiers entertained there since the Conquest thereof

1550

Francis Pizarro murdered.

- Sentence inconsiderate and unjust.

Gonsalvo Pizarro  
10 head of the  
rebels,

Death of the  
governour Vase  
Nugnes.

D. Pedro Gus  
fca governour at  
Peru.

Disturbance of  
Gusfca with  
the rebels at  
Peru.

their commander, *Gonfalso* was such after this restraint of the Gouverneur, they of the Councell disagreeing among themselves) as they were forced with all speede to deliuer him; to gouerne this warre, the which prooued difficult, for *Pizarro* being assisted by *Francis* of Caruaial, a great Captaine, and an old experienced Souldier, hee then declared himselfe openly against the Emperour, and contended for the Soueraigntie of Peru, hauing made the Towne of Cusco the chiefe of that countrie, his store-house for the warre. *Vaseo Nugnes* striving to resist them somewhat rashly, was slaine in an Incounter neere vnto the towne of Quitoa, and his head was carried to Cusco, and there made a publike spectacle, and sorne to all men, a brother of his called *Vela Nugnes*, being then a prisoner, who had no better fortune afterwards.

To bee reunning of this rout, *John Anuares*, *James de Silva*, and *James de Centon* remaining heads of the emperours part, vntill there were some other order taken, gathered all the souldiers they could together, but they were also defeated by *Francis* Caruaial, so as they had great difficultie to mainteine their masters authoritie vnto the yeare one thousand five hundred fortie and sixe, that the Emperour after long deliberation, and by the aduise and choise of his Councell, sent D. *Pedro Gusfca* thither, a clergie man and of the Councell of the Inquisition, a graue, wise, and discrete man, to whome hee gaue a more ample power than to any of the precedent Gouvernours, with the title of President of the royall audience of Peru: parting from Seuille that yeare, he came to Nombre de Dios, notwithstanding that hee vnderstood that there was there in garriſon *Ferdinandus Mexia de Gusman*, vnder *Pedro Alfonso Hinoioſa*, Gouverneur in that Countrie for the party of *Gonfalso Pizarro*, who had a litle before put *Melchior Verdugo*, one of the emperours Captaines to rout, and chased him as farre as the fort of Carthagena, which is vpon the North Sea, *Hinoioſa* remaine at Panama, which is opposit vpon the South sea. It is the narrowest place of all the firme land of the Indies, betwixt the two Seas. D. *Pedro Gusfca* did in this action shew a great resolution, for hee had bene aduertised at the neere Islands of this rout, and that the port of Carthagena was the onely landing place for him, yet hee would needs cast anchor neere vnto Nombre de Dios, which place was held by the said *Mexia*, with a garriſon of eightene hundred Spaniards, where hee sent *Alfonso Aluaredo* to land, in ioyning him to aduertise *Mexia* of his coming, and to sound him how hee stood affected. The which *Aluaredo* performed so well, as *Mexia* and hee parted good friends in effect, though they made shew to the contrarie. For some daies after the President *Gusfca* was received honourably into that place, yea, with ioy and content of the whole garriſon. Thus this religious man being politike and modest, did for the first fruits of his coming, winne this fort and them that held it, without any tumult or blowes, who thinking himselfe well fortified, began with grauitie and authoritie to sollicit the rebels and their leaders, that they should acknowledge their errors, to repaire the which, hee gaue to vnderstand, that they had nothing to doe, but to imbrace the emperours clemency, and the grace and pardon which hee offered them. *Hinoioſa* who was at Panama vpon the South sea, had bene aduertised of the presidents arrival, and although hee were none of the most obstinate rebels, yet would hee see how hee would carrie himselfe at his first entrie into his government, being somewhat discontented that *Mexia* had spoken with him without his leave and priuie, writing in choller vnto him; but *Mexia* was nothing amazed thereat, but by the Presidents aduice went freely to Panama, to *Hinoioſa*; what discourse they had, the euents did shew: for *Mexia* returned as freely as hee went, and presently the President departed, and went towards Panama, where hee wrought so with good words, persuasions and promises, as he drew *Pedro Alfonso* of *Hinoioſa*, and all them that were with him to the emperours obedience. They say, that the greatest motiue to make them resolute was, that they saw with the President the Marshall *Alfonso* of *Aluaredo*, who had bin a dear friend to *Francisco Pizarro*. These things succeeding thus happily, the president holding it a great advantage to haue won *Hinoioſa*, hee thought it now time to presse *Goncaluo Pizarro*, to come vnto himselfe, and to acknowledge his master. He gaue him hope

of

A of good viſage, if hee did obey, if not, he protested his vtter ruine, writing vnto him, and sending him letters in the Emperours name (from whom he had brought many blanks signed) the bearer whereof was *Ferdinand Panguada* borne at Placentia in Spaine. The emperours letters were dated at Venloo in Guelderland the 17 of February 1546, & the Presidents the 26 of September following. *Gonfalso* was at the time of this dispatch in the citie of Kings (so called for that the first foundations thereof were laid, the day before the feast of Kings, which wee call Twelſe day) where hauing some intelligence of the Presidents coming, hee had called all the heads of his party vnto him, to consult what was to be done; in the end they resolved to send vnto the emperour, and to informe him of the causes of their rising, and to iustifie themselves for the death of the governour *Nugnes*, and it was concluded, that the Deputies should carry letters from all the townes in Peru, and that they should demand the generall gouernement for *Gonfalso Pizarro*: That in passing by Panama, they should informe themselves of the president *Gusfca* authority, and should acquaint him with the cause of their voyage, with protestation, that if hee attempted any thing, or did presume to enter into the Countrey of Peru in armes, before their returne and the Emperours answer, they would resist him by armes. The deputies were *Ierome Leyſa* Archbishop of the city of Kings, *Lawrence* of Aldana (who commanded the garriſon there) *Thomas* of saint Martin prouinciall of the order of saint *Dominicke* at Peru, and *Gomes de Solis de Carceres*, some of which being suspect to *Pizarro* (namely the prouinciall) he was glad to be rid of him, and to estrange him from his designs, procuring the bishop of Sancta Martha to goe the voiage with them. Thus the deputies being dispatched, they imbarke in diuers ships, and sailed towards Panama, causing *Lawrence Aldana* to aduance, and aduertise them what was done there. In the meane time there was a conspiracie discovered against the person of *Gonfalso*, which had bene practised, as they said, by *Vela Nugnes*, the deceased governours brother, who was then a prisoner, following *Pizarro*, but not in custodie, for the which hee lost his head, being publicly executed, to the great griefe both of Spaniards and Indians, who sawe well that this would make the peace more difficult. *Lawrence Aldana* being come to Panama, and hauing conferred with *Hinoioſa*, and spoken vnto the president, he was presently wonne by them, hee forgot his companions, and took an othe to the Emperour, perswading the president *Gusfca*, to go to field to fight with the rebels, if they giue him not a good answer. The other deputies coming neere to Panama, and aduertise what *Aldana* had done, did the like, and ioynd with the president: who gaue foure shippes of warre to *Aldana*, with some souldiers, commanding him to run vp Southerly and Westward, and to trie if hee could seize vpon the port & towne of Kings, there to make a body of all those that desired to maintaine the Emperours maiestie, and to giue all hindrances hee could to *Pizarro*: he left a good garriſon at Panama, hee paid his souldiers bountifully, hee made *Hinoioſa* generall of the imperiall army in field, hee confirmed all the other captaines in their first places, and filled them with hopes and promises to haue better: Hee caused the prouinciall *Thomas* of Saint Martin, a man of great authoritie with the Spaniards, to imbarke with *Lawrence Aldana*, being fit to fortifie the imperiall party, to whom hee gaue many blanks signed by the Emperour, that hee might fill them with letters directed to the captaines that were with *Gonfalso Pizarro*: Hee sent D. *John de Mendoza* into new Spaine, to D. *Antonio de Mendoza* the viceroi to bring him some succors, and others were sent by him to the gouernours of Saint Domingo and other prouinces, to the same effect. Whilſt that *Pizarro* expected newes from Panama, and from his deputies, they brought *Fernand Panguada* bound vnto him, who (as we haue said) had bin sent from the president *Gusfca* vnto him, with letters from the emperour, and had bene slaine by him who commanded in the fort of Saint *Michael* for the rebels: The Councell was assembled to heare the charge and report of this prisoner, but *Pizarro* suppress the letters. Being heard, al their opinions were nothing but Roderonades, rebellions, fire and murder, and to conclude that they must keep the Emperours army from entering into Peru: whereupon they sent for *Francis de Caruaial* who held the second place among the rebels, and was then at Plaza: hee came to *Pizarro* with 150 Spaniards, 30 field peeces, and about 400000 crownes; passing by the towne of Kings, they told him that they had discouered foure shippes at sea, but they knew not what they were

*Gonfalso* aduertised by his  
chiefe adherents.

D d d d

were, nor whither they went: *James de Mora* gouernour of the fort of Truxillo, was sent forth to discouer them, who found that it was the little fleet of *Laurence Aldana*, with whom hee spake in the port of Malabriga, and hearing what had passed at Panama, hee staid with him encreasing his armie with his shippe; and so they went all to Truxillo: from which place *Mora* was sent towards Caxamalcan, a neere Province to draw all them together which had a desire to serue the Emperour, carrying with him many blankes, the which hee filled with good words, assurances of pardon and promises to the Captaines of that Countrie, all which in a manner did abandon *Pizarro*, who being at that time much troubled for the reuolt of *James de Mora*, thinking to provide for the fort of Truxillo, hee sent *Doctor Garcia de Leon* thither, but hee reuolted in like manner, and added an other shippe with twentie fouldiers to *Aldana's* fleet. *Gonsaluo Pizarro* was then certified to what end *Aldana* was come into that Sea: being full of rage that hee had bene thus abandoned, hee deuised with himselfe how hee might stay the rest, being resolute to make warre with all violence. Hee went to field with about a thousand Spanish footemen, and three hundred horse, and a great number of Indians which followed him. The Captaines of whom hee made accompt, were *Francis* of Caruajal his lieutenant (pretending to share the fruites of his victories with him) *Doctor Caruajal* and *Doctor Cepeda*, *John Acosta*, *Vélez de Guevara*, *John Torrens*, and some others of lesse note. In his armie the Generalls Standard was with the Emperours armes alone, but all other ensignes and cornets had *Pizarro's* blacons and deuises, testifying that hee termed himselfe King of Peru. *Martin Silueira* and *Alphonso de Mendoza* were left to guard the towne of Plata. *Anthony Robles* was made gouernour of Cusco, and others in other places: all which hee enioyned to send fouldiers and money speedily to the campe, and to publish his declarations and patents in their gouernements, that hee was not in armes against the Emperour, but against *D. Pedro Gasca*, who ambitiously contrary to the Emperours commandement, had proclaimed warre against him, and assailed him first. All that were surprized going to ioyne with the imperiall troupes were forced to march vnder his ensignes, or to die. Hee caused *Peter* of Villosa a Iacobin frier, to bee put in yrons, for that hee went in the disguised habite of a souldier amongst the troupes publishing the Emperours pardon, which he offered to all those that would returne vnto his seruice: and he sent *John Acosta* towards the sea, to hinder the descent of *Laurence Aldana*, who had newly withdrawnne the gouernour of Guanico, and all the fouldiers, and had sent them to ioyne with the troupes of *James de Mora*, at Caxamalcan, in reuenge whereof *Pizarro* caused Guanico to bee fired. To encrease his miseries, the Inhabitants of Cusco, disdaining to be gouerned by *Anthony Robles*, a man of no worth, in the night they opened the gates to *James Centon*, who, liuing in the mountaines and woods in great miserie; cuer since that hee and his companions had bene defeated, seeking to reuenge the death of the gouernour *Vasco Nugues*, had now come out of his holes, vpon the occasion of this warre, which was made by the President, and had put himselfe into the citie with some rattered fouldiers, which hee had gathered together; being fauoured and fortified by them of Cusco, both Spaniards and Indians; where hee defeated the gouernour *Robles*, who going towards *Pizarro's* campe; with most part of his garrison, and one hundred thousand ducats, hearing of *Centon's* enterprise, had turned head: They fought within the wallles, where hee was defeated, taken and his head cut off, retaining all his fouldiers which were appointed to succour the rebelles, by force or faire means. Soas *Centon* finding himselfe fortified with foure hundred foote, and two hundred horse, he led them to the fort of Plata, to chase away *Alphonso de Mendoza* who had the guard thereof.

*Cusco* being wonne, the towne and forts of *Saint Michael*, *Mercedille*, and *Procellin*, their gouernours, and fouldiers, abandoned *Gonsaluo Pizarro*; all which garrisons went and ioynd with *James de Mora* at Caxamalcan. *Luke Martines* who should haue guarded Arequipa; could not get thither; for hee was raised prisoner by the way by his owne fouldiers, who made those of *Jerome Villega* for their head, and went to *Centon's* troups. Against whom *Pizarro* marched, causing *John Acosta* to aduance with those forces he had

Captains of Pizarro's partie.

Cusco reuolted from Pizarro.

Townes & forts abandoned Pizarro

A had with him at Quitoa, but confounded with such ordinarie reuolts, not knowing whom hee should trust, hee beganne to vie crueltie, and without anie other reason then distrust, hee caused some captians to be slain in his presence, the which did not secure him no more than a new oath, which hee caused the fouldiers which hee had remaining to take. *Laurence* of Aldana with his fleet of six shippes had come neere vnto the towne of Kings, and had caused three of his shippes to enter into the channell of the river, to see if hee could execute the Presidents charge, wherefore *Gonsaluo Pizarro* marched thither, and lodged his armie neere vnto the shoare, hauing commanded the inhabitants to bee in armes, and some of them to follow him vpon paine of death. Whilst hee laie there in campe, there passed many messengers and mediators from either part, to come to some composition, according to the Presidents instructions, who desired to end this warre by the mildest means that might bee, but it was in vaine; *Pizarro* could not awaye his owne ruine; neyther could hee by anie care or diligence stay his men from running to the imperials campe, which should haue made him resolute to embrace the pardon which was offered him. Euerie day there were some wanting in his campe, notwithstanding that hee put them cruelly to death that could be taken: *Francis Brano Laguna*, being taken by his horsemen which were sent forth to scout, hee commanded that hee should be strangled, but at the intreatie of many, especially of *D. Agnes Brano*, wife to *D. Nicholas* of Ribera hee gaue him his life, notwithstanding *Laguna's* fled away, wherewith *Pizarro* was in a manner madde, and hee grew so furious, as no man durst come neere him vntill hee called him. His affaires being in these bad termes, all that were in his armie, were amazed and discouraged, but hee himselfe and his owne followers were most of all, whenas they vnderstood that *James Maldonado* aduertized by *Martin de Robles*, that they sought him to put him to death, was fled vnto the enemye, and that *Martin de Robles*, who had leaue to goe to the towne of Kings that was neere, had gone to horse backe the next day early in the morning; and going forth by the port which leadeth to Truxillo, hee had said openly, that hee went to the President *Gasca*, the Emperours lieutenant, and that whoeuer loved his life, and would not die like a traitour, should follow him, and leaue the tyrant *Pizarro*. The same night *Martin Lopes* fled out of the campe, and there grew such a tumult, as the fouldiers were ready to kill *Gonsaluo*: wherewith hee was so terrified, as hee dislodged, and went and camped two leagues further from the towne, giuing the charge of marshall of the campe to *Doctor Carnual*, commanding him to keepe a carefull guard that none disbanded, but hee also abandoned him that night; leauing willingly his rich moueables and furniture, where hee had many goodly horses of seruice, and about twentie thousand ducats in coine, and got to Truxillo, being soone after followed by manie other gentlemen of name and qualitie: *Gonsaluo Pizarro* did not beare the retreat of anie one more impatiently, than of *Doctor Carnual*, complaining often that hee himselfe had made him reuolt: for that (said hee) hee had made shew to trust more in *John Acosta* than in him, hauing lately sent him towards Cusco, by the mountaine, to trie if he might recouer that hee had refused to giue him the daughter of *Francis Pizarro* his neece in marriage: And hee it is remarkable, that being in these perplexities, hee sawe with his owne eyes two of the common fouldiers flee out of the campe, trusting to the swiftnesse of their horses; crying out as loud as they could, God saue the Emperour, and confound the tyrant *Gonsaluo Pizarro*. Then hee resolved to dislodge from thence, taking the way to Arequipa; whether hee brought not the fourth part of his men, for most of them had left him by the way, so as being come into the province of Nascana, he had not about 300 men in his armie: Hee had recommended the towne of Kings, to *Anthony Ribera*, *Martin Pizarro*, *Anthony de Lyon*, and other Spaniards, whom hee held faithfull vnto him, but whenas they sawe him retired, they called the people into a field without the towne, where they had planted a standard with the Emperours armes, and there they caused the letters of a generall pardon to be published, which they had formerly received and kept, the which was ioyfully embraced by them all: Then hauing taken the othe, they did

Crueltie of Pizarro.

Pizarro abandoned by his fouldiers.

D d d d ij aduer.

aduertise *Laurence Aldana* (who lay there by at anchor) that hee should come and take possession of the towne in the Emperours name, the which hee did, leaving the charge of his shippes to *John Fernandes*, aduertising the President *Gonzalo* presently of all that had passed: and that *Gonzalo Pizarro* was gone from thence some eight dayes iourney, with a small traine. As for *John Acosta* who had bene sent to Cusco, he had like to haue bene slaine by the way, by *Pasco*, *Sotomaior*, and other conspirators, who escaped and came to *Aldana*.

*Acosta* being freed from this danger hauing caused some of the conspirators which he had taken, to be strangled, hee came to Cusco, and was let in (for there were no souldiers in the towne) there hee reformed the gouernement, displacing those Magistrates which *Centon* had made, and substituting others, leaving a sufficient garrison vnder the command of *John Visco*, *Taxis*, and with the rest of his troups hee went to seeke *Pizarro* towards Arequipa; but hee was not farre gone, before that they of Cusco had changed all that hee had done, and restored *Centons* old officers. *Centon* who went to Plata, drew vnto the Emperours seruice *Alfonso de Mendoza* with all his souldiers, and then all together beganne to follow *Pizarro*, to see that hee should not escape out of the Countrey of Peru, all the towne beeing in a manner reduced (some hauing expelled, and some hauing slaine their gouernours with their garrisons) and vnwillingly acknowledged the Emperour and the President *Gonzalo* his lieutenant generall, who vpon the newes of this happie successe, went from Panama by sea, with five hundred Spaniards, old souldiers, and great prouision of armes, and munition: he came nere vnto Toinben, whither Embassadors and Deputies came vnto him from all partes, to offer him men, money, obedience and seruice in such abundance, as hee had reason to countermand the succours which hee had demanded of the viceroy of new Spaine, and of other gouernours of the Provinces of the west Indies. From thence hee sent *Hinojosa* to Caxamalcan to command the troups, which were there assembled, and himselfe came with the armie to Truxillo, appoynting them all a time to come in the valley of Sanfaua. *Gonzalo Pizarro* beeing come to Arequipa, hee found not any creature there, for all were gone to ioyne with *Centons* troups, who aduanced to fight with him, the which hee did, but to his owne losse: for hee was defeated, and forced to fle, hauing three hundred and foure score souldiers slaine vpon the place, with some captaines, and almost as many taken prisoners, with which *Pizarro* fortified his army, distributing them among his bands: and of his part there were onely one hundred men slaine. By this good successe some others were induced to runne the same fortune with him, he promising them great recompences: so as holding his forces to be sufficient, hee returned towards Cusco, with an intent to fight with the imperiall army, wherefoeuer hee should find it, the which beeing assembled in the valley of Sanfaua, there were found to be fixeene hundred harquebuziers, five hundred pikes, and seuen hundred horse Spaniards, whereof the captaines were *Peter Alfonso* of Hinojosa, commanding in qualitie of Generall, *Aluaredo* marshall of the campe, *Doctor Caruial*, *Pedro* of Villos, and other Captaines: *Gabriel de Roias* was master of the artillerie: The leaders of the horsemen were *Pedro Cabrera*, *Gomes* of Aluarado, *John Saneira*, *James Mora*, *Ferdinand Mexia*, *Roderigo Salezar*, and *Alfonso Mendoza*, all which had revolted from *Pizarro*. The President had for his counsell, the Archbishop of the towne of Kings, *Thomas S. Martin*, provinciall of the preaching friers, with many others. *Peter Valduia* gouernour of the Province of Chiliane, came and ioyned with his armie, a man of great experience in matters of warre, worthe to be opposed against *Francis Caruial*, who was the most redoubted captaine the enemy had; and in the end vnfortunate *Centon* came and ioyned with them, with about fortie horse. Being all together, they marched towards Cusco, whither they vnderstood that *Gonzalo Pizarro* was come with his army. The Countrey by the which the imperials did march, was rough, defart, and without victualles, so as they suffered much, vntill they came to Andaguara, where the Countrey is peopled, and furnished with victualles and other commodities: wherefore they stayed long there, for that they would not be consumed with trauell, and the tediousnesse of the winter, if the enemy should

Victorie of Pizarro.

Army imperiall pursuing Pizarro.

A should seeke to prolong the warre, the which he might easily doe, hauing the towne of Cusco, and the river which passeth by the valley of Seguinagrane at his deuotion. In the Spring time of the year, one thousand five hundred fortie and eight, the President caused his army to dislodge from Andaguara, and crossed many narrow passages of the mountains without any difficultie, and many rivers; whereas *Pizarro* might haue annoyed them much, if hee had not bene negligent, and then came and lodged vpon the declining of the hills; in a discommodious place, about the valley of Seguinagrane, in the which *Pizarro* was camped; who wanted not any thing, hauing the towne and ciuer behind him at his commandement; whereas the imperials suffered much hunger, cold, and other discommodities: yet notwithstanding the President did forbear to fight; being aduertised that a good number of the Spaniards that were with *Pizarro*, did but watch an opportunitie to abandon him, and to revolt, which he desired might be before they did fight, that he might haue the weaker opposition. But they could not temporize long in that bad lodging, whereas the cold which was great in that season, did so benumme the souldiers, as they could scarce hold their armes; and also for the needrenesse of the two armies which were daily in skirmish; so as they were forced to come to a generall battell, the which was sone ended. For the ordinance was scarce discharged, but many of *Pizarros* armie disbanded openly, among which were *Doctor Cipeda*, *Garcilazo de la Vega*, and *Alfonso Pères* flit captaines; and all the souldiers which remained at the rout of *Centon*, went away in one Squadron to the imperials, which made the rest retire and to fle the battell, some going towards the citie of Cusco, which was five leagues off, and others to other places: they that were most affected to *Gonzalo*, and most guiltie remained about him; who being foure in number, were of opinion to cast themselves into their enemys troups, and to die fighting valiantly, rather than to be led bound to an ignominious death; but *Gonzalo* told them, that seeing Fortune had turned her backe, it were better to die Christianlike, acknowledging their faults, than to perish like pagans in such vanities. Being then enquired by the imperiall horsemen, he yielded his armes to *Pedro de Villos*, great Prouost of the armie, who led him before the President, by whom hee was much blamed for his obstinacie, yet hee shewed himselfe nothing dejected, but answered resolutely to what hee was demanded. Being giuen in ward to *James de Centon*, he was for some daies well and modestly intreated, not suffering any one to disquiet him either in word or deed. All the other Commanders were in a manner taken that day, either with *Gonzalo*, or in the pursuit, except *Francis Caruial*, who was afterwards found and deliuered by his owne souldiers, being hidden among the reeds in a moore, thinking to renew the warre if hee might escape. All the rest were somewhat lamented, but not hee; for hee was exceeding cruell, and the chiefe author of *Pizarros* rebellion; and it was said that by his inhumane counsell, *Pizarro* had caused above fixe hundred gentlemen to be murdered, and thrice as many good souldiers, Spaniards, with an infinite number of Indians; and that he neuer was at the death of anie one, but he did reuile him with all the opprobrious words he could invent. The rebelles campe remained a prey to the imperials, whereby they were greatly enriched: and to prevent reuenges, which do commonly follow ciuill victories, *Ferdinand Mexia*, and *Martin Robles* were sent thither with two companies. Afterwards the prisoners processees were formally made. The chiefe of the rebellion were condemned to die, as guiltie of treason. *Gonzalo Pizarro* had his head cut off, the which was for a time set in the market place in the citie of Kings, for a publike spectacle with this Inscription. *This is the head of the Traitor and Tyrant Gonzalo Pizarro, who being rebelled, and hauing taken armes in the realme of Peru, against the most mightie Emperour Charles the fifth, his prince, was vanquished fighting against the standard royall in the valley of Seguinagrane, and hath bene thus worthily punished.* All his goods were forfeited: his proud palace which hee had built in the citie of Cusco was ruined, the soile sowed with salt, and a pillar erected with a table containing the sentence of his condemnation. He died constantly retaining his accustomed proud look, he was royally attired in silke imbrodered with gold and pearle; which the executioner had. His bodie put into a coffin was honestly buried in Cusco. *Francis Caruial*

Death of Pizarro.

Death of Gonzalo Pizarro.



1550 was executed in like manner with nine other captaines, but their bodies were quartered and hung in the high wayes. Many also of the most seditious were hung vpon trees on the high wayes. The President hauing thus punished the chiefe mutines and rebelles, hee caused a generall pardon to be published in Cusco to all the rest, forbidding any one to reproach the fault hereafter, vpon paine of death.

This victorie was wonne the ninth day of Aprill, one thousand five hundred fortie and eight, happie doubtlesse for the Emperour, for if *Pizarro* had wonne it, Peru had bin lost for him, and Spaine deprived of the treasures of that Countrey, which are great and incredible. The President found himselfe much grieved when hee came to reward such as hee had drawne from *Pizarros* faction, to whom hee had made great promises, for there was not any common fouldier but he held himselfe worthy of a gouernement: and he could not please them all, but he supplied this defect with store of ducats, which abound in that golden region. Then hee beganne to settle some order in regard of the Spaniards, which were feudatarie Lords over the Indians, how they shuld carrie themselves to the Indians their subjects. Hee created a Parliament or royall Audience in the city of Kings; to the which any man that was grieved might appeale, and giuing hope to them that remaind at Peru, by the aduertisement hee said hee had receiued from the Emperour, to haue a Viceroy very soone hee had them farewell, and went away in December one thousand five hundred forty and nine, carrying with him about two millions of gold for the Emperors part. He came from the city of Kings to Panama, where hauing rested some dayes, hee went by land with his baggage to Nombre de Dios, vpon the north sea, where hee arriued happily: For, had hee staied a little longer at Panama, hee had bene in danger neuer to haue seene Spaine more. For that certaine other rebelles led by *Fernand* and *Pedro Contreras* (whose father was Victroy of Nicaragua) came and seized vpon Panama, thinking the President had bene there, and spoiled it: and mistaking him, they pursued him, thinking to finde him vpon the way, and to stripe him of his treasure, making an attempt to enter into Nombre de Dios, but they were repulsed by the garrison and the inhabitants. The gouernors and garrisons that were neere made a head, and went to field, and disperfed them in some encounters, in one of the which one of the *Contreras* was slaine, and the other lost, so as hee was neuer more heard of.

This second reuolt did somewhat stay the voyage of the President *D. Pedro Gasca*, who embarqued in July 1550, hauing suppressed two importaunt rebellions at the West Indies, beeing followed by a great number of noblemen Spaniards, who were rich in gold and siluer of the spoiles which they had taken, or for recompences in these seditions; hee arriued happily at Saint Lucar of Barameda, and from thence went to Seuille, where hauing rested some dayes, hee passed into Germanie to the emperour, whom hee found at Ausbourg, by whom hee was graciously receiued and honoured for his good seruices, who in reward thereof some moneths after made him Bishop of Valencia which fell void.

But let vs returne to that princes affaires in Germanie, and what hee had to treat of at Ausbourg, whereas all things did succeed according to his desire, the negotiations of great Kings being like vnto other mens, seasoned with sweet and sower, by him that gouerns the whole world, and for the good of men, who else would forget him if they should alwayes prosper. This mightie Emperour, a Conquerour and wise, according to the world, and the common opinion of all men, finding after much toile, by a hard and preiudiciall experience, that hee was farre from that which hee pretended to doe for the good of his house, by armes and force, against the libertie of the Electors, and the Estates of the empire, hee sought to attaine vnto it by the means of some convention, and therefore hee did presse his brother *Ferdinand* to resigne vnto prince *Philip* his sonne his right and dignitie of King of Romans, whereupon they grew to a great quarrel, to pacifie the which *Mary* Queene of Hungarie their sister, was forced to returne to Ausbourg, from whence shee parted a little before: He pursued this resignation by all the means and policie hee could, for that it was the next infallible stepe to bring *D. Philippe* to the empire, but *Ferdinand* would neuer yeelde to it, thinking that if hee made

Emperour solicited *D. Ferdinand* to resigne the dignitie of King of Romans to his son *Philippe*.

this

A this dangerous alienation, all his sonnes (hauing a good number) should remaine without estates and meanes, wherein hee had reason. Hee had sent into Spaine for *Maximilian* his sonne to come to the diet, being a milde and courteous prince, and very pleasing to all Germanie. *D. Philippe* hauing layed to be king of Romans, parted from Ausbourg, and tooke his way towards Genoua to returne into Spaine to gouerne it.

*Peter Lewis Farnese* Duke of Placentia and Parma, hauing bene slaine the yere before by his owne subjects, some thought by the Emperours procurement, for that *Fernand Gonzague* gouernour of Milan, did instantly setze vpon the towne of Placentia, *Ottauio Farnese* his sonne, distrustful the Emperour his father in lawe, hauing married his bafe daughter, and seeing himselfe contemned by the new Pope, hee sought support and protection from the French; whereat pope *Iulio* was so offended as hee thundered out a sentence of Excommunication against him, by the which hee declared him fallen from his estate, giuing it in prey to the Emperour: whereupon *D. Fernand Gonzague* spoiled the territorie of Parma and the French sent succours to Duke *Ottauio*, which caused a new warre betwixt the Emperour and the French king.

9  
*Ottauio Farnese* excommunicated, the cause of new warre.

1551  
Extortions of the emperor vpon the Germans

This warre beganne in the yere of our Lord God, one thousand five hundred fiftie and one, by means whereof the Germanes freed themselves from manie violences, which had bene offered them both in generall and in particular by the Emperour, beeing made proud with his victories, which hee sought to make all men feeble, as well Catholics, as Protestants, vnder diuers pretexts, offsome to be satisfied for the charges of the warre, which hee said hee had made for the libertie of Germanie; of others by the waie of chastisement, for that they had reuolted, wherein hee said that he proceeded mildly, quiting much of his right to ease and spare them. By this means there was neyther towne nor countrey, estate nor condition of men, amongst the Germanes, which were not vexed by taxes, and by sower speeches and threats, if they presumed to tell him of his due tie, or to put him in mind of his conuentions and promises. Finally, hee would haue all depend vpon his owne will. Thus hee heaped vp a great treasure; and they say, that hee had wrested from the Princes and Protestant townes, about five hundred peeces of great ordnance, wherewith hee did furnish his places and forts in Italie, Flaunders and Spaine. In these discontents the Towne of Magdebourg vpon Elbe, which had bene proclaymed and straightly besieged, for that it resisted his Edicts, was now more slowly prest, so as they had meanes to free themselves vpon honest conditions, *Maurice* Duke of Saxonie thinking it best to compound this warre, hee beeing the chiefe of it, and to attend the deliuerie of the Landgrau of Hesse his father in lawe, whom hee had brought the Emperour, vpon a promise, that hee would not detain him prisoner, and yet hee kept him, and carried him vp and downe as it were in triumph: Whereupon hee often besought the Emperour to haue regard vnto his honour, which was engaged, and seeing him make no accompt to set him at libertie, hee entred into league with *Albert* of Brandebour, the Landgraues children, and others, and all they with the French King, who marched speedily with a great armie towards the Rhine, giuing it out, that it was to restore the Germanes his good neighbours, and auncient friends to the French, to their true and first libertie, which was taken from them by *Charles* of Austria, tearing himselfe Emperour. The Protestant Princes went to armes also, and committed great spoiles in Germanie. But that warre was ended by the deliuerie of the Landgrau, and by some things that were granted or promised to the Protestants.

10  
League betwixt the princes of Germany and the French king against the emperor.

1552

The French King beeing come neere Strausbourgh, and hearing of this accord made by Duke *Maurice* without him, hee returned discontented, retayning for his charges and paynes, Metz, Thoule, and Verdun, Townes belonging to the Empire: And the Emperour finding himselfe bound to recouer them, hee layed not, but came and layd siege to Metz in the beginning of winter: What the successe was you may read in the French historie.

*Metz besieged by the emperor*

The



Port of Barcelone  
sounded by  
Leon Strouff.

Dragut a  
sea-mon pirate.

Africke a towne  
in the realme  
of Tunis taken  
by the Spaniards.

Munitieria in  
Africke taken by  
the Christians.

The fathers being yet at Trent, *Maximilian* of Austria with his wife *D. Maria* of Spaine passed there, being returned out of Spaine, who crossing from Barcelona to Genoua, had bene in some danger, being pursued by the gallees of Fraunce, whereof *Leon Strouff* was generall. Alittle before hee had entred into the port of Barcelona, and carried away some vessels which had bene prepared for *Maximilian's* passage, whereof the imperials complained, saying that there was no open warre.

Whilest the Emperour toyled both mind and body in Germany betwixt the storms of the Councell, the Protestants, and his owne affections, being also entred into a new warre against the French king: the Turkes and pirats of Africke spoiled the coasts of Naples and Sicile, whereof Spaine was not free. The chiefe Leader of these theues was *Dragut Rais* (whom others call *Orgus*) who had surprized the towne sometimes called *Aphrodisium*, and in our time was named *Africke* by vs, and *Mehedie* by the Moores, belonging to the realme of Tunis, sometimes a rich towne opposite to Sicile. This *Dragut* had succeeded *Barbarousse* in boldnesse and policie, and was bred vp vnder him; of a poore gallee boy, hee grew a noble pirate: hee had bene taken about the Iland of Corfica by *Lactin Doria*, and made a gallee slave; but after some time he deliuered him for a small ransom, to the great preiudice of Christendome. Being growne more insolent than before, he committed infinite spoiles vpon Sicile, Calabria, Naples, and the coasts of Genoua and Spaine, and thrust on with the like ambition to the two brethren *Barbarusses* hee would haue a retreat for the safety of his thefts, and beallo called *Xec* or *King*. Whereupon hee surprized this towne of Africke, which was then well peopled and of great trafficke: by the wealth whereof he made himselfe fearefull to all the coasts of Italie and Spaine, and of late scouring the Tyrene Seas, whilest that the gallees were busie to passe and repasse the princes *D. Philippe* and *Maximilian*, had sacked and burnt *Rapallo*. So as the Emperour was daily importuned to chase him out of that dangerous nest, who commanded *D. John de Vega*, viceroy of Sicile, and *Andrew Doria* prince of Melfi, the chiefe Author of this enterprize, to gather an army together with all speed for this action. Many voluntaries came to reuenge the publike and priuate wrongs, and to win honour, but especially with the hope of spoyle, which they thought would be very rich, for besides the great booties, which *Dragut* brought, he had with large rewards drawne many merchants thither, and namely the Lewes which were expelled Spaine and Portugal were retired to that towne. *Andrew Doria* soliciting the preparation of the fleet, whereof hee was generall, the Emperour hauing giuen the charge at land to the viceroy of Italie: and for that he thought that before the whole armie should be ready to goe in to Barbarie, this cunning pirate might doe some harme vnto the Christians, he therefore aduertized *D. Bernardin de Mendoza* generall of the gallees of Spaine, to stand vpon his gard on that coast. Hauing then receiued three gallees from the duke of Florence, foure from Malta, and three from the Pope, with those of Naples and Sicile, making in all foure and fiftie gallees, well manned both with souldiers and mariners, in the end of Iune they bent their course towards the towne of Africke: hauing viewed it, and burnt some vessels belonging to the Moores, it was resolved first of all to take *Munitieria* a little towne neere it with a castle, the which hauing few inhabitants, *Dragut* had fortified with a good garrison of Turkes being to bee feared that whilest they were at the siege of Africke, he might annoy them continually from thence, if the pirate who was then abroad should make his retreat thither with any number of vessels, as hee was pretended to doe, neither was hee out of hope to succour them. The towne was taken with small toyle, but finding it a worke of more difficultie, to force the castle, being brauely defended by the Moores and Turkes, they caused *D. Garcia de Toledo* generall of the gallees of Naples to land, who battering the Castle with eleuen peeces of ordnance, made a breach, the which they defended long, but in vaine, for in the end they were all slaine or taken prisoners: the Christians hauing lost about three score of their best souldiers, besides a cannon breaking in one of the gallees, it split and suncke, yet they saued all the men and furniture. Then they turned towards Africke, *Doria* hauing furnished himselfe with munition at Goulette, and sent to leuie more men in Naples

Situation of the  
towne of Africke

Aples and Sicile: and then did *D. John de Vega* passe, hauing left his sonne *D. Aluaro* to gouerne the Iland. They spent some time about this new prouision, so as the Turkes within Africke had more leisure to fortifie themselves, both with men and all other necessities: which made the siege tedious and difficult to the great losse of the Christians, for that *Dragut* hauing an intent to draw the army from that enterprize, spoiled the coasts of Italie, and burnt some weake places, doing the like at sea to the Merchants, so as *Bernardin* of Mendoza had worke to defend the coast of Spaine, whilest that this pirate annoyed the Ilands of Majorca, Corfica, and Elba: but this could not remoue *Doria* from his resolution, who held it an vnprofitable thing to spend that summer in running after *Dragut*. The Christians fleet being returned well furnished to besiege the towne of Africke, and the situation and strength thereof being well obserued by *Vega* and other captains of experience, there were diuers opinions among them, for the difficulties that were propounded by one and other. The towne stands vpon a long tongue of land, right against Sicile, being three miles in compass, it lookes towards Malta, and Gerbe, and is enuironed by the sea on three partes, the fourth being to be attempted by land, and therefore it was so secured as it could not be battered with anie armed vessels, but on two narrow flanks, the rest of the channell being so shallow, as no vessel of anie burthen could approach; so as they found this enterprize more difficult than they did at the first conceiue it. They held the wall towards the firme land to be well fortified, with five towers of equal distance, and a great ravelin in the most eminent place, the which did come farre forth, and was well flanked. The question then was, on which side they should batter it, for to attempt it by sea they held it impossible, for that none but small gallees could come neere it: some would haue the ravelin first battered by land, for that it would annoy them much that should goe vnto the assault, if they should batter the curtain: And others maintained that it was more easie to make a breach in the Curtine, and hauing battered the defences which flanked it, to secure themselves with it, and with some trauesse: for that it was not the custome of warre to attempt a place where it was strongest; but weakest: with this aduice they planted their ordnance, and beganne to batter from the breake of daie vntill night, finding that old wall more hard to ruine than they expected: wherefore hauing viewed the breach, and finding it not sufficient, they left it to make another: And in the meane time they had so battered the defences of the ravelin, as the defendants could no more vse them, and the rather, for that the Spaniards were so farre aduanced with their trenches, as they ouerthrew any that shewed themselves with their small shot, so as they thought they might well attempt it there by scale. They had already retired their ordnance from their first batterie, holding it fruitlesse, and wholly relying vpon their second: wherewith the Generalls were much grieued (not well agreeing among themselves) knowing what a blemish to their reputations, and a losse to Christendome their retreat would bee: wherefore they laied hold of that course, which was held to bee the onelie means to take the towne: They had spent great store of munition in their batteries, and beganne to be scant; and therefore they were fully resolved to scale the ravelin, and to make a diuersion towards the sea, the gallees should at the same instant make an offer to assaile the towne on that side. Wherefore on the second daie of Iuly the Spaniards of the regiment of Sicile, giue an assault to the ravelin, with great courage and resolution, and entred it, where they might haue preuayled, if they of the gallees had come forwards with the like courage, or at the least with that order that was set downe: but hauing shewed themselves too late, they made no diuersion, and they that had entred the ravelin, were repulsed with great losse: which successe did wonderfully assist the whole campe, not knowing what course to take to saue their honours, so as there was small hope in this siege, through the disagreement of the Commanders, either of their seeking to execute his charge apart, whenas the situation of the place required an vnion both of minds and forces.

They wanted souldiers by their continuall skirmishes, the Moores and Turkes defending it with an vndaunted courage; they wanted munition, and were shortened for victualles, hauing none but what came from Sicile, which could be in time provided.

1553

It was therefore resolved to send *Marc Centurione* to Genoua for new men, who brought in tenne gallies twelue hundred Spanish foot, which were given him by the gouernour of Milan, and some munition from the common weale of Genoua, and the Duke of Florence, which fortified the campe and gaue them courage to make new enterprises. They were aduertised by a Moore, that *Dragut* being retired into Barbarie, was resolved to relieue them by land, who hauing made the Moores his friends, by his great bounty and valour, gathered a great number of them together, which ioynted to seuen hundred Turkes, hee thought might worke some good effect, who making often attempts, and they of the towne falling out at the same instant, did much annoy the Christians, till in the end many being slaine in a furious skirmish, and many more hurt, hee dispaired of euer doing good. It was not without losse to the victors, who had manie slaine, and of great valour; amongst which was *Fernando de Toledo*: Some say hee was gouernour of Goulette, and others, marshall of the campe to the Spanish foot. Matters being thus bettered within the campe, for that after this attempt, *Dragut* retired himselfe to Gerbe, to attend the ruine of his nest, they resolved to make triall of their last force, and not suffer themselves to be surprized with the fall of the lease, which ypon that coast would hazard the losse of their fleet. They concluded therefore to make three batteries, two by land, and one by sea, with a caualier or mount made of timber and earth, and set vpon two gallies, whereon they might plant some peeces of batterie.

*Dragut seeks to relieve the townes of Africke*

This being brought vnto the wall towards the sea, wrought a wonderfull effect, and so did those at land, for that vse had taught them better the nature of that place, where they had made many attempts and spent much munition. On the tenth day of September they came to the assault with great resolution and good order in all three places; where they found very great resistance, but it was first entred by the sea, where they found the wall weakest, and therefore had made the greater breach: they wonne it foot by foot, and in the end many of them being retired into the rauenin to make their last resistance vnder a Turke, which was their leader, they neuer gaue it ouer, vntill death, so as the slaughter was great: There were manie prisoners taken, some say about tenne thousand, others but seuen thousand. The wealth was not so great as was expected, for that euer since *Dragut* was Lord thereof, it was nothing but a retreat for theues and pirats. The prisoners were carried into Sicile, whereas the women and children were sold good cheape, the men that were fit for labour, were distributed among the gallies. The viceroy caused the breaches and ruines to be repayed, and left a garrison of Spaniards there, vnder the command of *D. Aluaro* his sonne. Whilest that the armie remained there for the finishing of the fortifications, they had a cruell storme, which continued foure daies, and did them much harme, after which they returned all home safely to the great ioy of all Italie, for this victorie. *Muley Hesen* the dispossessed king of Tunes died at this siege. Soone after the Viceroyes returne, it was resolved in the Emperours counsell, that the towne of Africke should be raised, as a place lying too farre off, of great charge, and hard to be kept.

*Birth of Henrie Bourbon King of France and of Nauarre.*

13 This yere one thousand five hundred fiftie and three *Joane* of Albret the presumptiue heire of Nauarre, was deliuered of a sonne, and he was named *Henrie*, who should ioyne the rights of Nauarre to them of the house Bourbon which made him apprehend the Crowne of France.

*Dragut* after the losse of the towne of Africke, being retired into the Island of Gerbe, hee aduertized *Sultan Solymán* of this losse, who retained him into his seruice, and honored him with charges. *Doria* being aduertized in the Spring, that *Dragut* was gone to Gerbe, whereas by a long narrow channell, hee entred into a poole, wher hee might at ease trimme his gallies, and goe out to his theeuing at pleasure, *Doria's* armie came sodainly vpon him and besieged him, who to defend his vesselles had a Towrie which garded the channell, and withall, hee had built a Bastion to couer him. Notwithstanding they must in a short time haue all perished with hunger; both hee with his Turkes, and the Moore which was Lord of that Island, who being loath to breake his faith, would not yeelde him prisoner to *Doria*, yet hee perswaded him to

*Dragut besieged at Gerby by Doria's fleet swimming.*

1554

A to finde some meanes to escape, else they should bee all famished, for that the Island was but little, barren, and had small provisions to liue withall. Being then forced by necessitie, hee set all his Turkes, Moores, and slaues to worke, who beganne to make a channell in a lower part: the which hee continued daie and night vntill hee came vnto the sea, neyther was hee discovered by the enemies. And lo in the night time hee escaped this imminent daunger with admiration, *Doria* being much discontented that the Turke had circumvented him with such a stratageme, and moreover that in his retreat hee had taken two of his gallies: but not so satisfied, pursuing this pirate, hee lost seuen more, which were cait away in a storme, with the death of about a thousand persons. The Turkes armie being then at sea, and *Dragut* ioynted with it, being in all a hundred and fise gallies, and thirtie other vesselles, they entred into the streight of Messina, and tooke the towne of Augusta in Sicile, which in auncient times was called Megara, from thence he landed in the Island of Malta, and attempted the strong Castell of Saint Angelo in vaine: then comming to the Island of Goze, they sacked it, and carried away many slaues. Finally he came into Barbarie, and tooke Tripoly from the Knights of Malta, hauing held it forty yeeres.

*And now Doria's gallies left.*

There was some discord betwixt *Amida* King of Tunes, and *D. Lewis Perez* gouernour of Goulette, who pretended that the Barbarian after the vsuall manner of the Moores had broken his faith with the Emperour, touching the accord made with *C. Muley Hesen*, when he was put in possession, and therefore hee annoyed him much: so as *Amida* fearing worse, made a new accord, and bound himselfe to giue euerie yere vnto the Emperour twelue thousand crownes, to pay the garrison of Goulette, and moreover fiftene Barbarie horses, and eigheteene falcons, to furnish wood for the vse of Goulette, to release all Christian slaues within his realme, and not to suffer anie more to be made, and finally, that hee should not receiue anie pirates, but should aide and defend the Emperour with all his forces against any one that should seek to offend him.

*Amida a King of Tunes makes a new accord with the emperor.*

The marriage of *D. John* prince of Portugall, sonne to King *John* the third, and of *D. Joane* the Emperours daughter, was consummated in the yere one thousand fise hundred fiftie and foure, the which confirmed the friendship and alliances betwixt their houses and states. But this yong prince who was not fully seueenteene yeeres old, dyed within a yere after his marriage, leauing the princeesse his wife with child, who eigheteene daies after was deliuered of a sonne, whom they named *D. Sebastian*, King *John* and Queene *Katherine* hauing not any more children remaining: *D. Joane* being risen from her child-bed, went into Castille to gouerne the realme in the name of the Emperour *Charles* her father.

*1554 Portugal.*

14

*Birth of D. Sebastian of Portugal.*

The Emperour finding himselfe much broken and troubled with many infirmities, made his will about that time at Brussels, committing in the meane time the execution of many things to his sonne *D. Philip*, for that which concerned the affaires of Italie: And as for Flanders and the Countreies adioyning, hee himselfe with Queene *Marie* his sister, widow to *Lewis* king of Hungarie, would gouerne.

15 This yere a marriage was concluded betwixt *D. Philippe* prince of Spaine, and *Maria* Queene of England, for the effecting whereof the Prince made preparation to goe into England, hauing foure score great shippes and fortie carauells, in the which, besides the noblemen and knights which did attend the Prince, with their ordinarie traine there were foure thousand foote, Spaniards to defend the fleet, and to serue in Flanders, in the warre against the French: hee tooke shipping in Biscay hauing a prosperous wind, leaving for gouernesse in Spaine *D. Joane* his sister, who (as we haue said) was in the beginning of the yere, left a widow by the prince of Portugall. About the middle of Iulie hee came within sight of Hampton, where there was a fleet of sixe and thirtie shippes, some of the Queenes, some of the low Countreies attended to gard him, it being dangerous sailing vpon that coast; there came from South Hampton a shippe royally appointed, being followed by tenne others, which were sent by the Queene to receiue the princes person, and his whole Court, in the which were many noblemen of England

*Marriage of D. Philip and Maria Queene of England.*

1555

land sent to that end, and to present vnto him the order of the Garter, which he received with a ioyfull countenance, and put the garter on his left leg. Hee would not haue anie go into the ship with him, but the duke of Alba, *Ruy Gomez de Silva, Antonio de Toledo* and *Pedro Lopez*, the first was his lord steward, the second lord chamberlain, the third master of his horse, and the last a steward also; but afterwards other noblemen and the whole court landed, with their furniture, which continued three days. During the princes stay there, he was entertained with all the state that might be desired, from thence he went to Winchester, where the Queene attended him, and where the marriage was celebrated. On the 25 of that month, there was first read the renunciation of the emperor his father, by the which he resigned vnto him the realme of Naples, & then the articles of the capitulation made in regard of that marriage. The Emperor would not, neither did the English thinke it fit their Queene should marrie with any one that had not the title of a King, so as the realme of Naples was assigned vnto him, and soone after the Duchie of Milan. Whereupon the Marques of Pescara was sent to Naples, to take possession in his name, which ceremonie was done the 25 of Nouember, with great solemnity in the presence of cardinall *Pacheco*, then viceroy, and of the prince of Bisignano, who was created Syndic of the city to that end.

*Philippe made king of Naples.*

*Death of pope Iulio the third.*

*Death of pope Marcell.*

*Pope Paul the fourth.*

*Death of queene Isabella the emperours mother.*

*Death of Henry of Albrecht king of Nauarre.*

*Gouernours of Nauarre.*

*Death of D. Pedro of Nauarre Marquesse of Cortes.*

In the yeere 1555 died pope *Iulio de Monte*, hee was of a quiet disposition, louing his people, but irrelolute in his greatest affaires; which grew of a desire he had to be friend both to the French king and Emperor, who hauing not that art that was requisite to reconcile their old quarrels, hee found himselfe often deceiued in his designs, and was not beloued of any of them. He was succeeded by *Marcell Cernin* of Montepulciano, cardinall of Sancta Croix, a man of a verie good life, giuing great hope of his good gouernment; but hee died within three weekes after his election, confirming a common opinion in the people of Rome, that the Popes which change not their name, die presently. His successeur *Iohn Peter Caraffa* cardinall of Ostia, failed not to change his name, whom they named *Paul* the fourth; hee was called *Cherish* or *Thietin*, of the name of an Order of religious men, whereof hee had bene the Author, at such time as hee was Bishop of Chieti or Thieti in Abruzzo, he was also surnamed the Warrior.

16 The fame yeere Queene *Joane* mother to the Emperor died in the towne of Tordeillas, hauing benee alwayes troubled in her fences, and distracted, since the death of king *Philippe* her husband, vntill that she was threescore and fiftene yeeres old: this princeesse troubling her selfe infinitely for that she thought she was condemned, and that they kept her as a prisoner, this ambitious humour of command would not suffer her to take any rest, so as this sharpe and violent humor of melancholie, which she had as it were by inheritance from the Queene *D. Isabella* a Portugall, wife to *D. Iohn* the second King of Castille her grandmother, was continued and augmented in her.

17 *Henry* of Albrecht king of Nauarre died about that time at Pau, in the fiftieth yeere of his age. He ordained as the Kings his predecessours had done, that he would be buried in Pampelone, whose bodie was layd at Lescar in Beame. To whose possessions, and right to the realme of Nauarre, *Joane* of Albrecht his onely daughter succeeded, being married to *Anthony* of Burbon duke of Vendosme. This realme detained by the Emperor, was in the meane time gouerned by Viceroyes: about the yeare one thousand fife hundred and fiftie by *D. Barnardin Cardenas* duke of Magueda, in whose time *D. Philippe* prince of the Asturias and heire of Castille, Arragon &c. was sworne prince of Viana: and in the yeare one thousand fife hundred fiftie and two *D. Bertrand de la Cueva* duke of Albuquerque took vpon him the gouernement; it is hee that was in Guipulcoca whenas the French held Fontarrabie. By him there were certaine light enterprises made vpon the frontiers of France, and vpon the towne of Saint Iohn de Lus in the precedent warres, and by the diligence of the said Duke of Albuquerque, the prince *D. Philip* was declared king of Nauarre with the emperours consent, by the Estates of the Countrey, being assembled at Pampelone, in the yeere one thousand fife hundred fiftie and sixe. About this time *D. Pedro* of Nauarre Marquesse of Cortes, and Marshall of the realme of Nauarre, died at Toledo, leauing for heire to his possessions *D. Ieronimo* of Nauarre, in fauour of whom her husband *D. Iohn de Benavides*, was made marshall.

The

1555

A The warre had benee verie hot these last yeares betwixt the French and the imperials, vpon the frontiers of Artois and Picardie, and in Piedmont; the which had extended into Tuscaine, whereas *Peter Stroff*, who commanded the French forces, was defeated in battell by the Marquesse of Marignan General for the emperor. Sienna had benee long beleaged by the Imperials, and defended by the French, but in the end it was yeelded, and made subiect to the duke of Florence. But the French notwithstanding this bad successe in Tuscaine, began to grow strong in Piedmont; and seemed to threaten the duchie of Milan, where there wanted a Gouernour, *D. Ferdinand Gonzague* being called in Flaunders to iustifie himselfe, as hee did, of the flaunders wherewith hee was taxed by *D. Iohn de Luna* a Spaniard, Castellan of Milan and the Chaunceller *Tancerne*. *Ruy Gomez de Silva* embraced this occasion, who being much beloued by king *Philip*, and finding the duke of Alba to be a great competitor in his Maiesties fauour, hee had practised long by all the policies of a Courtier to send him from Court, besides hee was suspected to fauour them that did molest *Ferdinand Gonzague*, to the end that being called thence, the duke might haue means to be sent thither, with a large authoritie, the which succeeded according to his desire for the warre increasing in Piedmont, and ill managed by them that commanded, the king resolved, the emperours Councell being also of that minde, to send the duke of Alba, to reduce it into some better estate. But hee would not accept of that charge, which indeed was great and weighty, if hee might not haue such authoritie giuen him, as hee might gouerne with honour, and hope of good successe. Wherefore hee obtained a title, which was neuer before granted to any of the emperours Ministers, passing with full power and authoritie to gouerne the realme of Naples, and the duchie of Milan, as well in peace as in warre, and to gouerne all as if his Majestie were there in person. And for that hee knew how weak the forces were in Italie, for want of money, before his departure hee would haue great prouision made both from the lowe countries, Spaine and Italie; so as with an opinion to doe great matters, not onely by the same of his authoritie and valour, but by the great sum of money which was assigned him, he gaue order for his speedy passage beyond the Alpes. Hee sent Commissions before to haue men, artillery, munition, victuals, and pioneers in a readinesse, and himselfe came in post the twelfth of Iune to Milan, the successe of that warre you may read in is proper historie. The duke of Alba hearing of some alteration intended vpon the confines of the realmes of Naples, was invited to goe thither (notwithstanding that the king had already sent *Bernardine* of Mendoza thither, with the title of Lieutenant, in the place of Cardinall *Pacecco*, who went away hearing of the dukes arriual in Italie) making *Iohn Baptista Castaldo* his Lieutenant in the state of Milan.

*Sienna iustly her liberte.*

*Duke of Alba sent Viceroy into Italie.*

*Emperor Charles resignes the Government to his son.*

18 The emperor this yeare one thousand fife hundred fiftie and fife, broken with toyles of the world, and willing to free himselfe of so great a burthen, and to satisfie the desire of his sonne king *Philip*, to whom although he had giuen the title of King of Naples, and afterwards of duke of Milan, yet the government remained at the disposition of the emperours councell, he resolved to renounce the absolute government with the titles of all those realmes & states, except the empire, so the which his brother *Ferdinand* should succeed. So calling his sonne into Flaunders, he made this renunciation with great ceremonies in the town of Brussels, the fife and twentieth day of October in a great assembly of the Nobilitie, Prelates, and deputies of towne, the Queene of Hungarie, and *Maximilian* the emperours sonne in law, with some other princes being present, but all Spaniards, officers & others of what qualitie soeuer, were put out of the hall, and not any suffered to stay, but such as had busines, or had benee called: So as from that time all matters were handled by the said kings Councell, and he was called both king of Spaine and Castille. But before the resignation of all his realmes and estates in this honourable assembly, he gaue these instructions vnto his Sonne for the better government of his estate.

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The

## The instructions of the emperour Charles, when hee resigned his estates, vnto his Sonne Philip.

I Haue resolued (most deare son) to come now to the point of resigning into your hands the full administration and absolute gouernment of al my estates & realms, as I haue often told you; wherefore my pleasure is, that against the morning you giue order for the performance of this act with all due ceremonies: you shall also giue order with speed, by sending messengers into euery part, that both gouernors, inferior magistrates and people, acknowledge you (as in duty they are bound) for their superior, yielding you due obedience, & that al persons (except such as are subiect to the empire) take the oath of allegiance. The like oath I will haue the generals of armies & al the commanders of martial forces take, that they may from henceforth in the point of loyalty depend vpon your selfe & no other. The more rare this president is of princes which haue bin content to resigne their estates vnto their successors, the greater are the signs not only of my loue to you, but of the assurance I haue of your good inclination, & my great care to see your estate settled. I could defer this act (as most princes doe) vntill my death; but hauing a desire rather to imitate the smaller number of fathers in this point, I haue chosen willingly by this act in my life time, to make my selfe superior, rather than a companion to any. It is a weak trial of the valor & resolution of a prince, to subdue kingdoms by force, in comparison of conquering himselfe, being thus far content not only to bridle al ambition & desire of rule, but to submit himselfe to a certain kind of obedience. Against this course, sensuality doth strue with all her force, and in exchange of al worldlie satisfactions which are enjoyed by the prerogative of absolute authoritie, setteth before our eyes the rigor of the laws, to which as to a common bounder, princes (setting their authoritie aside) must leuell all their actions, as well as priuat men. To blind our vnderstanding farther with like veiles, the same sensuall consideration stirreth vp by way of admonition a prouident forecast of diuers inconueniences wherinto many fall, that haue made themselves subiect to the will of other men, by the diuersitie of their conceits and censures, the which by the corruption of the care of priuat interest are apt to swarue from the right rule of integritie. It may be that some will be terrified with this common supposition; that princes which are once possessed of authoritie may resigne it at their owne pleasures, but they must resume it at the pleasures of other men. Yet fatherly affection hath preuailed in me more than all these zealous considerations, and quietie also in some part, for finding my selfe now aged (which may be accounted greater in regard of my sickely estate) my satietie of glory in this world, and wearinesse of toiles, finding moreover that by my continuall trauell vnto this day, I could not satisfie in any part the dutie which belongeth vnto the profession of a Christian; I find my selfe inflamed with a most earnest desire to free my selfe from so manie troublesome incombances, and then retire my selfe to a meere religious kind of life, and sit for a Christian. On the other side the consideration of your age, being now ripe and fit for gouernment, together with the expectation which you haue gotten in the world by managing the greatest affaires of Spaine with great iudgement, do moue me the rather to proceed in my resolution. Being moued by all these good considerations, I haue thought it fit to lay this weighty burthen vpon your shoulders, and to cast mine owne, which time and trauell haue now weakened & disabled. I do confidently hope that the subiects of al my provinces shal haue cause to thanke God first, and then me, for this resolution, in respect of his gracious vantage they shall receiue at your hands, succeeding in my place: neither is it burthensome vnto your selfe, that by his occasion during my life, you shall settle your selfe more firmly in my dominions.

It remaineth then (my most deere Sonne) that with the same tender and fatherly affection which hath moued me to this, I put you in minde; also, that about all things you set before your eyes, the feare of God, which ought to be the ground of ciuill gouernment, and so to frame (as much as in you lies) the hearts of your subiects, keeping carefully in mind that which we cannot prouide (by reason of this short & transitory life) by any other means, more worthily & more honorably, than by leauing vnto the world

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A when we are gone a good report of our commendable actions. Persuade not your selfe (deare sonne) that because the prerogative of commanding many estates giues great satisfaction and libertie in this world, which euer flattereth the sense of man, that it is not in like manner accompanied with many crosses, and often intermingled with a kind of subiection, either by the restless ialousie with which the mindes of Princes that demeane themselves disorderly are tormented, or in respect of the continual care which they take for the preservation of their estates. Deceiue not your selfe in beleeuing that the regiment hath any kind of proportion with those mightie burthens which are imposed on you by my giuing place; for whereas Spain is a realme of continual succession, and therefore firme and secure, the estates of Flaunders, Italie, and Germanie, are more strange vnto you, besides they are more variable and troublesome in their owne disposition, and their opportunity of crauing aide from Princes which are mighty & buffe which confine vpon their countries is more dangerous. Ad hereunto that many kingdoms bring many cares, for euery final addition (where the burthen was sufficient before) putteth al things out of order, euen as a stomack which hath once receiued what sufficient nature, euery superfluous bit causeth an indigestion & surfet of that which should serue for sustentance. He makes a great trial of himselfe that gouerns one state well, but to gouern more than one well, is almost above the force of man. No man can at one time attend diuers actions, for euery ship must haue her proper pilot, euery armie his general, & much more doth euery estate craue a particuler gouernor. But the greedines of man hath so much exceeded these prefixed bounds, & forced reason with such violent assaults, as the greater princes are the more desirous they are to get. It is now held basenes, not only to depart from any thing already gotten, being more than enough, but not to seek by al means to increase it. But seeing reason is so far ouermastered herein by sensuality, and that our age is wholly disposed to ambitious designs, I will forbear to spend any more idle words, in persuading you to that, the contrarie wherof is generally obserued. I will rather yeeld this libertie to the worlds abuse, with this excuse notwithstanding, that either all, or the greater part (and especially those that are accounted generous) do the like, and would euer do, if opportunity and means were answerable to their desires. But yet I require you with all loue, that you endeavour by all means to correct this common error, and aspiring humor in your selfe, aiming at a greater good, which is, to gouern wel those subiects that are vnder your command: the which is honorable to the world, & acceptable in the sight of God. To this end I must let you vnderstand that the liues of princes stand like glasses before their subiects eyes, who looking daily into the same, as the liuelie mirrors wherunto they should endeavour to conform their courses with al obedience & loyalty, they discern more easily the good & bad that is therein exemplified: wherefore how circumspect and powerfull shoult princes be, they must not thinke that their actions can bee concealed from the world; for although during their own liues they may sometimes scale vp their subiects mouths, stay their tongues and restrain their pens, yet soon after they will breake out with greater violence, & inueigh more bitterly against their honors. Wherefore let your carriage be such towards your subiects, that in respect of the great care they find you haue of the, they may the better like of your directions, repose themselves vpon your wisdom, & liue securely & contentedly vnder the protection of your valor, for that the mutual affection & loue betwixt the prince and his subiects, doth vndoubtedly spring from this root. Remember alwaies, that it is fit that he which gouerneth a state, shold be as vigilant & careful of the quiet & safety thereof, as a shepheard is of his flock, or housholder of his familie. To giue a certaine rule concerning this point, I would haue you to vnderstand that all the cares which princes take of their estates are referred to the consideration of one of these two times, that is, either of peace or war, betwixt which two al our actions are spent, and therefore it is wisely said, that the maiesty of a prince hath as great need to be assisted with a council of great policie & wise fore-cast in time of peace, as of a great and strong armie in time of war. Wherefore a princes whole care & course ought to be in the first time to haue a respect to his subiects quiet & content, and in the later to their securitie, from whence growth satisfaction on both sides. And men without all question are more securely gouerned with good intreaty vnder a voluntarie subiection, than by enforced seruitude, and more firmly kept in obedience

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ence

ence by loue than by violence. A Prince should euer prefer the leauing of his dominions to his successors by means of the peoples loue, lesse absolute & more durable, than by their feare, lesse durable, yet more absolute: It is feare, that holds the subjects loues, and bindeth their inuoluntaries, but no longer than some fresh occasio is offered to shake this feeble yoke from their necks, and so settle their loues and loyalties vpon some other mightie potentate, who shall bee both willing and able to protect them from all wrongs, which being once done, they will neuer be willingly drawne to their first obedience. It doth also often happen that the secret hatred which proceedeth from feare, inforceth them without any respect to make attempts for their deliuerie. Some hold that the best way for a prince to keepe his people quiet, is to keepe them poore: but in my opinion they stray much from the path of policie: The reason is, for that euery hope or likelihood of bettering their estates vnder other rulers, moueth them to lay new plots, and to desire innovations. I doe as little allow of their policie, who to diuert their subjects from practising any alterations hold them in continuall action, especially if their employments be barbarous and base; for besides that it breakes their hearts, experience doth teach that for desire of ease they will affect alterations, for as the end of feare deserues reproofe, so the means that leade therunto are also reprouable. How much the way of winning the peoples loue ought to be preferred before the course of keeping them in awe, may easily appeare by a due consideration of the causes from whence these affections haue their beginning: The causes of the peoples loue are iustice, gracious vsage, and fauours, all which deserue praise: The causes of their feare are grieuances, ill vsage and oppression, which merit blame. Look what the cause is, such is commonly the effect, whereby it followes necessarily, that as out of loue is drawne a regiment more firme and stable, though more moderate, so out of feare proceeds a kind of power more absolute in shew, but yet lesse durable: the like proportion holdes in the peoples hearts, for where they loue there is all satisfaction, mirth, sweet conuersation and dutifull respect, but where they feare, there is suspicion, strangeness, discontent, quarrels, melancholie. Out of the impressions which feare breeds wee can expect no better fruits than hatred, but from that deuotion which loue kindly assured confidence, whereupon we ground the common prouerbe, Loue is among kind folkes, and feare among enemies. The parts which beside respect of Religion, are required in a Prince for the better government of his estates, & settling in his subjects hearts a loue, and reuerent respect both of his person & state, are chiefly three, Faith, Iustice & Continencie: Faith makes him intire in all his proceedings, and a man of his word, for without it no man would giue credit either to his practises or promises: Continencie makes him to be reuerenced with respect, and imitated with commendation; it giueth him an excellent aduantage in a large field; correcting severely the faults of subjects that offend in that degree, the which he could not doe without blushing if himselfe were culpable: Iustice teacheth a prince how to reward the good and to punish the bad, to giue euery man his due, to restraime men by correction that are apt to erre, & to encourage others by his rewards that are desirous to deserue wel: besides it makes the princes blood, his honor, and his estate secure, without which vertue no force is able to keep the subjects faithfully affected to their Soueraigne, for it is the propertie of all people when as they neither find reward of good deserts, nor punishment of offences, to grow first into distrust, & then into despair, which passions corrupt their mindes, hauing once gotten the masterie. Wherefore let the due consideration of what is iust and honest be alwaies preferred in all your princely purposes, that being once settled in the subjects hearts, that iustice is duely administered, they will euer remaine satisfied with your direction, especially if besides this fauour, they liue in abundance, hauing free traffike to all parts, and quietnesse of minde, for men toile and trauell during the course of their liues, not only for their Princes & superiors, but for themselves and families. Doubtlesse, to maintain the people in abundance of all things necessarie for the preseruacion of their liues, is not only commendable in a prince, but doth worke great effectes in winning the hearts of men, the which may bee easily provided for, by a carefull fore-sight of the times of death, making diligent prouision for necessities in due time, so as the benefite may wholly

A lie redound to the peoples ease, and not to the princes gaine, by inhaunting of prices and preferring of priuate benefite before publike content. A prince may alwaies hold himselfe rich when as his subjects that liue vnder him, are rich; for vpon any extremitie he shall bee frankly releued by their beneuolence: good vsage setteth their loues, and bindeth their deuotions. Experience teacheth, that fauours of this kind are neuer forgotten, that a small consideration in time of need winnes more vnfaigned loue than greater benefites when there is plentie: And that those fauours haue alwaies had deepest impressions in mens gratefull thought, which concerne maintenance and the preseruacion of life in time of necessitie. It is sufficient for a prince in this cause of prouision, to take order that hee lose not by the bargaine, or if hee desire to gaine something for the releefe of other charges, let it bee no more than an honest merchant with a good conscience may gaine, for to these boundes may the politicke prouision of princes ayme, but no farther, either in respect of honour or authoritie. If a Prince will bee beloued of his people, hee must giue them cause to thinke that hee loueth them; assuring himselfe that their thankfulness must grow from his desert, their loue from his prouidence, & their content fro the peace and securitie which they enioy vnder him; and that according to the fruits of fauour which the people reape by the Princes policie, they frame themselves to liue contentedly, vnder the gracious shadow and protection of his princely wings, relying vpon his wisdom and carefull gouernement. Otherwise there is no doubt but, subiection being in it selfe both burthen some and odious, they would soone take some new course to settle their quiet and securitie by some other means, freeing themselves from all cause of feare, which (as I haue said before) is lesse durable, and lesse secure, and therefore lesse pleasing to the state of a Christian Gouernour. Let no Prince imagin that with solemne shewes and publike sights alone subjects are delighted and pleased in their own conceits, for those things are not acceptable, but whe as their minds are satisfied in matters which do import them more. Vpon this ground and to the same end I must also aduise you in any case to vse that moderation which is fit in charging the people with tributes or any other kind of impositions, for albeit that States cannot bee ruled without some kind of releefe, in respect of the manie occasions and excessive charges wherewith Princes are D burthened in times of peace, but much more in time of war; yet vnto euery thing there belongs a meane, which in all occurrences is the perfect rule of humane actions, especially those which any way grieue the subjects hearts, considering that euery princes power is grounded vpon their conformitie to his directions and vniforme assent to seruice and honor him: wherefore this meane must be sought out with all care, & being found it must be put in practise with great temperance; and worthily preferred before all other courses, seeme they neuer so commodious and profitable. If the continuall toile of warre hath inforced mee at anie time to holde a heauie hand ouer my subjects in this kinde, I protest this course was alwaies against mine owne liking. Touching this point of obseruing a conuenient meane in all impositions and taxes, you must consider that the reuenues of a prince, whether they be publike or priuate, are raised two waies, the first by augmentation of the old, the other by addition of new, for vnto these two heads all the intentions to get money which are put in practise by the princes of our age may be reduced.

In like maner the waies by which money may be drawn from the subject & others, are voluntary or forced. The voluntarie may be contained in the sale of customs, offices, and other like alienations of commodities and rents. That which is forced may in like maner be exemplified in such taxes and ordinarie tributes, as are imposed vpon the people with out recompence: the first hath in it a kind of sweetnesse, for that it is seldom vrged by necessity: wherefore it is requisite to limit the other kind by this, and when necessity requires rather to sel offices & rents, than to inuent any new grieuances to the people. I haue many times resolved with my selfe to deale after this maner, but haue euer bin diuerted by occurrences from bringing into my state that custom of selling of offices, and making magistrats for life, which is vsed in the court of Rome, for it is a matter of great import, & a means to bring a sudden gain into the princes purse, for the next vacatio, either by remoue, imprisonment, or death, yeeldeth as much or very little lesse than the ordinarie rent, which by

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their accompt is to bee answered. No doubt this was a course of great consideration, and of especiall commoditie to the superiour, as may bee gathered by this reason of experience: That the Popes in how great povertie soever they finde the Church at their first entrie to the Sea, yet they neuer want meanes to procure money after the first beginning of their government.

It is true that in the Court of Rome, as it should seeme, the sale of Offices, which haue annexed vnto them ordinarie administration of iustice, brings not so great danger vnto the State, as it would doe in other Realmes; for that auarice is not the chiefe object in that place, of mens intents, but rather hope to raise themselves to greater honour from this ground, and access to all times vnto the Pope, vpon this occasion, which carrieth with it many other especiall comodities. But the Princes of the world may in like manner deuise to set ambition in the eye of Officers, as the object and end of their offer to buie Offices, by rewarding such as carrie themselves well with great honours, and disgracing those that shall deale otherwise. By this meanes you may change the object of your Officers; from courtousnesse to a desire of rule, and to supply the humours of authoritie, which is alwaies accessarie to Ambition.

The second meanes to seeke reliefe from the subiect (which I termed forced) is heauie and odious, yet by the good discretion of Ministers which deale in those affaires, and by the presidents of other countries lying nere about, where they are oppressed by their Governours, this grieffe may bee much qualified. The Prince in this case may doe much good vnto himselfe, by giuing easie access vnto his person when occasion doth serue; for hee must take a fit time to acquaint them with his occasions, hee must seeke in some sort to free himselfe of their hard conceits, and ease the other part by fauours of other kinde: hee must iustifie his actions in the iudgement of the world, eyther by prouing the cause of this grievance to bee verie vrgent, or colouring the same so cunningly as it may at the least appeare so, or endeavouring to send some away satisfied, if it bee possible. This not voluntarie, or forced way, is subdiuided into two other parts, into perpetuall burthens, as customes, or temporarie: as subsidies: and this later at the time of the first imposing, makes people to grieve for a while in respect of the paine which pincheth them, but this grieffe cannot long endure, for that one instant, and one paiement freeeth them, especially if the prince make protestation of his vnwillingnesse, and with all make apparent to the peoples meane capacitie; the necessarie cause that vrgeth him thereunto. The other kind is farre more grievous and offensefull, albeit in time the people grow better acquainted with that course, and beare it as well as they can, for that there is no remedie. Sodaine impositions, although they seeme grievous at the first, yet by a prince whose lineall succession is not well settled, ought to bee preferred, as portions which are more sharp and yet more quick in operation, are before those that are more gentle, yet long and tedious in curing the sick; and the rather in this case, for that Princes colers are suddenly replenished. Above all things you must haue a great care, that during the leuie of this aid, your Officers adde nothing to the burthen, either by extremitie, dissatisfaction, or demand of fees, for we find daily that by such extraordinarie extortions, men are more incensed in respect of the wrong and violence, then with the principally, which is disbursed for the satisfaction of their Soueraigne. The subiect is much impouersished by this hard course, and yet the Prince reapes no benefit thereby; nay, when hee shall haue need to craue a new supply and aide from them, hee findes them more feeble and lesse able to relieue his wants. Rents increase by raising new impositions vpon occasions; by bettering the trade, by reducing forfeitures to the princes pleasure, by limiting all necessarie charges, and cutting off such as are superfluous. The field of raising new rents is exceeding large, yet the prince is bound to walke in it with all possible respect, so farre as it concernes the peoples grievance: hee must especially abstaine from imposing of heauie customes vpon such things as his subiects are enforced to send abroad, as Sicilie doth graine, and the Realme of Naples wine and Silke. The like consideration is to be had of things brought in from foraine parts for the supply of other wants at home: for

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A vpon these two reasons experience and time hath grounded the ordinarie traffique that holdeth betwixt countries for their naturall necessities. Wherefore in these causes princes ought to haue a care that their reuenues may bee answered in a meane, rather than by excess; for the more moderate customes are, the greater store of needfull things are brought home vnto our doores, in respect of the great gaine which marchants make by selling at the second hand: and for the like respect the greater store of superfluous things are transported by the subiects into foraine parts. By this meanes the rent is rayled large about the measure which a great imposition would yeeld: The people want no foraine commodities for their reliefe, and yet their purses are filled by the vent of superfluous things at home; so as they may be the better able both to satisfie their princes custome, and contribute also vpon such reasonable occasions as shall occur in policie: vpon other things which are rather brought in for wantonnesse and pleasure, than for necessarie vse, a more weightie imposition may bee layed, for the estate (which may well forbear the losse of commodities) is not dammed thereby, if some, to satisfie their humors, will needs buy, it skilleth not though they pay somewhat deerer for their fantasies. Besides, some are discouraged sometimes with the great price, which otherwise would acquaint themselves too much with the pleasures which make men effeminate. Princes that seeke to increase their old rents, by raising of their wonted impositions, must be careful, that they doe it rather with a limitation of the customers commoditie and gaine, than leaue it, than with the peoples losse, that answers it: for a grievance in this kind were in effect as ill as any other imposition. There must be a care also taken, that a convenient respite may be allowed the subiect for the payment of his taske. As for example, if the prince haue need of money in Summer, then to seile the subiects the Winter before; for they are apt to take the time of this delay for a kind fauour. This leuie of money must beput into the hands of ordinarie officers, and not to appoint any new to disquiet them, or to rise their wealth, vnder colour of seruice to the State; for such parts are most hatefull vnto them. But, as I sayed before, a prince ought first to consider, whether it be possible by selling or ingaging some part of his reuenues, to supplie the vrgent occasions of his estate, before hee seeke to helpe himselfe by the purse and sweat of his subiects: for otherwise, as the wiser sort perceiue that, whatsoeuer they doe or say, they shall bee still forced to contribute to their superiour; that on the one side their old burthens are increased, and on the other, all meanes cut off, by which they might haue vent for their commodities; all traffique either ouerthrowen, or much decayed, by the which they were wont to releue their wants with foraine commodities, it is not possible but they will eagerly desire an alteration, and attempt it by all meanes possible. Touching this point of molesting the subiects with impositions as little as may be; it importeth much, that they be agreeable to the nature of the country where they liue; that the people may beare the burthen more easily; for from those places which yeeld nothing but men, princes may not demand money. England yeeldeth an example of this kind; for on that side which lyeth next to Seeland, they selle not their borderers. You your selfe may draw some money out of Spaine, Germanie, and Flanders, when occasion doth serue, but out of Italie both men and treasure. Moreover, when you impose any burthen, it is not amisse to set the rate in the beginning high, that the people may hold it as a fauour, when as, at their request, it is brought to some reasonable tearmes. They may be eased also, by admitting their excuses which they make in respect of time, and giuing care with patience to that which they are able to alledge for some tollations; you must alwayes haue a care to leaue them satisfied in some sort, at the least to comfort them with kind words, and make them capable of the just cause that moued you. You must lay before them the times, the reasons, and the occasions which inforce this course, providing alwayes, that all gracious dealing may be thought to proceed from your selfe; and whatsoeuer is offensefull, sharpe or odious, referre it to your officers. You must moreover haue an especiall care, that all profits so deerely purchased with the peoples groanes, be brought to your owne hands, and not employed on distributed to the priuate vse of persons that are put in trust to gather it vnder you. It importeth also, your estate very much (deere soine) to keepe credit with the marchant, which will alwayes succeed happily; so long

long as you assigne vnto them conuenient commodities, in consideration of their bonds, G  
and maintaine them euer in securitie, especially with the state of Germanie you must take  
this course, for the holding them thus engaged in your estates and realmes, by reason of  
their interest and bonds, without erecting of any sorts, which they detest much. You  
may no lesse assure your selfe of that Estate which is of great importance in Italie, than  
the French king held the Florentines tied vnto him by the trade of Lions, as wee haue  
found by plaine experience. Now seeing it is not possible that a prince of many estates  
and countries should alone be able to gouerne them all, nor any one of them (all things  
considered) it is requisite that this defect be supplied by the meanes of ministers and de- H  
puties, that may helpe to support so great a burthen: Whereupon it followes of necessitie,  
that to chuse such as be worthie and sufficient in all respects, is a matter which doth much  
import the State; wherefore I will speake vnto at large of this matter, to the end you  
should not want a rule to know them, and employ them in the seruice of the State. I  
would haue you consider, that the properties belonging to worthie ministers are these:  
First and principally, wisdom and vnderstanding how to manage their affaires that are  
committed to their charge; secondly, loue to their superiour; and lastly, vertue in them-  
selues: to the end that by wisdom they may haue knowledge, and by vertue disposi-  
tion to execute the trust: for otherwise, either through ignorance they shall not know, or  
by frowardnesse refuse, or through malice grudge, to discharge their duties. These are  
the qualities without the which the prince cannot relye vpon their worth, nor the peo- I  
ple be pleased with their actions. But as there is great difficultie both in finding out and  
observing such, so experience doth teach, that all princes which haue beene serued by men  
of such sufficiency in these degrees, haue ruled happily, with great contentment to their  
subjects, and eternall glory to themselves, notwithstanding that they haue themselves bin  
somewhat dissolute: for what made the name of the Emperour *Iustinian* immortal, besides  
his profound knowledge, but the great worth of his counsellors & ministers, both in peace  
and war; for by their helpe in both seasons he effected great matters. Doubtlesse it is an  
argument of great wisdom in a prince, when as nature hath not enabled him in the first  
kind of perfection, which is, out of his owne sufficiency to rule the State, yet at the least  
to marshall himselfe in the second ranke, which is, of such as employ men in their ser- K  
uice that are capable; for thus they draw the quintessence of many pregnant wits to their owne  
vse, and grow to vnderstand more than a number that know by themselves: as foure eyes  
must needs see more than two, by the course of nature. But wee may hold that prince vn-  
fortunat, which refecth in a third proportion, being neither able of himselfe, nor willing  
to giue eare to others that are more sufficient. A prince can neuer want meanes to reple-  
nish his owne Court with men fit for his seruice, if he will be carefull to seeke them out  
where they are, esteeme them, and acknowledge their deserts, by good effects. Let him  
rather make the first motion, and not deprive himselfe by daintinesse of a worthie seruant:  
for that prince is rather proud than politicke, who perswadeth himselfe, for that his  
treasures are greater than other mens, therefore euerie man should creepe before they L  
call, especially the wise and vertuous, who many times carrie minds as haucie as  
princes, and in that respect desire not to submit their liberties to the will of any  
man, preferring the freedom of a meane fortune, before the golden fetters of a prince  
that either knows them not, or regards them not. The reason is, for that wisdom  
and vertue are in themselves a kind of superiouritie, or rather the verie true superiouritie  
it selfe, for that wee see that Empires, treasure, fortunes, fauours, and natures ornaments,  
are subiect to corruption and change, by alteration of time, or accidents, as it pleaseth God  
to dispose: But the riches of the mind, such as wisdom and vertue are, can neuer be di-  
uided from the partie that possesseth them. The minds of honest men are much estran-  
ged, when they find how little their superiors esteeme them, preferring a wicked and lewd  
person before a loyall heart, a flatterer before a faithfull minister, a man puffed vp with  
vnderferued fauours, before him that seeketh to purchase grace by desert, an idle drone  
before a painefull officer. Those princes erre exceedingly, which want iudgement to  
conceiue, that vertue cannot bee valued, that it deserueth more than any one con-  
giue: that all fauours which a prince bestoweth vpon worthie seruants, are both honour-  
able

A rable and profitable, and that a prince cannot employ his treasure with greater gainie by  
interest in any trade, than by rewarding such as are both vertuous and politike. No-  
thing can bee made more plaine; nothing can be found more necessarie; considering  
how impossible it is, that any prince should either winne great honour, or achieve  
great matters, without able ministers. Beware you erre not in this point, but seeke  
for worthie seruants, and retaine them in your seruice with all honour and preferment,  
setting this downe for a Maxime, That in a matter of importance a resolute and wise  
Counsellor shall stand you more in stead with his sound aduice and iudgement, than  
your legions of souldiers with their armes, or whole mountaines of treasure in your  
cofers.

B Doe not beleeeue, for that a prince is wise and vigilant himselfe, he therefore needs  
not any able ministers; nay, you may obserue, that the greatest princes of the world haue  
alwayes sought to draw vnto them the greatest number of rare men. Who was euer  
attended on by a greater number of this qualitie, than *Cesar*? whom I hold to haue  
beene the greatest prince that to this day, both in peace and warre, hath either ru-  
led ouer prouinces, or commanded armies. It seemeth rather, that these propor-  
tions and qualities are linked together with an indissoluble knot, that when the  
prince is valiant and wise, so are his officer, when the prince is faint-hearted, so are  
his ministers.

C If we allow a grounded excellencie in the prince, it is to be presumed, that the same  
can neuer brooke an insufficiency in those that attend on him, whereas the weakenesse  
of the princes iudgement cannot be capable of his seruants excellencie. From hence  
our common prouerbe taketh his first originall; Like will to like: Equals are most apt  
to consent in loue; and hee that will ghesse probably of the disposition of a stranger,  
whom hee knoweth not, must consider with whom hee keepeth companie. Consider  
of this point of employment and election with an especiall care (my most deere  
sonne) and herein it shall be sufficient for you to imitate and follow me, your father, a-  
lone, who during the course of my life haue indeuoured to haue about me men of great-  
est esteeme, both for counsell and execution. To the care which is to bee had in respect  
D of them, for their vertue, wisdom, integritie, and loue, I would haue you also  
for your owne part bee carefull to employ such persons in the affaires of Italie, as are  
best acquainted with their humors, and are most suitable to the conditions of that  
State; providing that they may bee thoroughly instructed in those points, without re-  
spect of any priuate interest, or speciall loue or bond to any. The like course I would  
haue you take in Spaine, and your other Estates, especially in chusing the leaders of  
your armies; for vndoubtedly the fitnessse of your ministers for those places which they  
hold, is a matter of verie great importance in all actions of gouernement. Wee read  
of *Hanibal*, That he was most fortunate at land, yet verie vnhappie in all actions be-  
longing to the sea. And how many doe wee find in generall experience, which are  
E exceeding fit for the nature of one people, and vsuit for another. Sometimes wee meet  
with persons absolutely wise, and that carrie themselves with great commendations in  
all places, and at all times, and vpon all occasions that are incident to their charge; but  
wee find them rare: of others that are onely fit for speciall affaires there is no great plen-  
tie in the world, and therefore they must bee employed in that facultie wherein they  
are held most sufficient to serue: for it is a matter of no small importance, to make  
choyce of such a minister to any end, as is found most excellent in his owne pro-  
fession.

F Make your speciall choyce out of diuers ages, and diuersitie of gifts, for so shall  
you bee sure to light on those that are most fit. Bee carefull that vnder your most  
trustie and most sufficient Counsellors, some may be trayned and instructed for the  
seruice, when their date is at an end, least otherwise the fortune of your great gouernment  
seeme to be bounded within the terme of their continuance; for priuat persons haue  
their periods, but policies in States well gouerned should be perpetuall. Let the Romans  
serue for an example in this case, who to prevent the danger that might grow by com-  
mitting the burthen of direction to one onely man, assigned by way of succession (in case  
he



he should perish that had the chiefe command (sundrie gouernors vnto euerie armie. In any case beware you do not lay your most important causes in a time of danger, vpon the shoulders of such persons as were neuer made acquainted with affaires of equal weight: When any such occasion doth happen, your safest course is, alwaies to preferre the judgement of your eldest counsellors, who speake out of experience.

Aime not at honor in the choice of your counsellors; respect those of a middle age, where gifts are answerable: for as the younger sort is commonly euer credulous and bold, so others that are neuer called vntill their later daies, are suspicious, incredulous, irresolute, and commonly leaue the world before they can be made fit for their calling: but they that haue made proofe of their sufficiencie for the space of many yeres, and vpon verie dangerous occasions, waxing white headed with the toile of seruice, and the cares of gouernement, ought euer to be reuerenced and respected, as a necessary wret to turne the jarring strings of disagreeing humors at a councill boord, to perfect harmonie. I would also haue you in this point of imitating the militarie discipline of Rome, to make a medley of your councill, betwixt wise old men, and yong men of great hope: for such a speare, like vnto that of the Pithagorians, consisting of so many fundrie parts, as treble, meane, & base, will yeeld that sweet consent which is to be wished in all policie. By this meane princes shall not need to make their musicke of one string, they need not build vpon one hope, nor addict themselves to one certaine qualitie: for many times among those that are yong of yeaues, we find persons old of vnderstanding, and among aged men, counsellors that haue greene heads, and flourish both in wit and fortitude. In this case, such yong men are accounted old, and such old esteemed yong: The middle sort are to be marshalled on either side, as their conditions and qualities incline to one or other, more or lesse; for ministers ought not to be respected for their yeaues onely, but for their judgements, manners, and conditions in the execution of their charges. And yet, besides these ordinarie obiects, according to the age and qualitie of euerie one, seeke also to haue knowledge of their natures and priuat affections: for it is not sufficient for a generall that conducteth an armie through any countrey, to haue a generall Idea of the countrey in his mind: but it is requisite he should haue a particular knowledge of the countrey it selfe, whether it abound with water & other necessarie prouisions, or be in want, which first of all causeth a dearth, and then ruine. A prince must euer presuppose, that although the quicke conceit of some ripe heads, makes them soone to take instruction of a new charge, recommended by superiors, and to grow fit for the managing thereof, the greater part notwithstanding is for a time vncapable, and during that time may commit disorders, and offend the subiects in their customes, priuiledges, and rights: which, seeme they neuer so sleight, either in respect of themselves, or of any other accidents of lesse account, yet must they needs be valued according to the rate which they had in generall opinion, and the great disturbance which is bred by want of obseruation; for small sparkles may kindle a great fire, if they be not quencht in due time, with moderation.

Now that you may the better know who are the wise and worthie ministers, that deserue imploiment in your estate, you must vnderstand, that true wisdom may be gotten by foure meanes especially: The first is, by experience of occurments in the world; wherefore it is said, That they which practise much, must needs learne much: And this kind of wisdom our auncestors exemplified in their owne kings, the Greekes especially in *Agesimachus* and *Meneleus*: who by varietie of matters put into their hands, and by occasion of that which by their accidents and consultations they generally vnderstand, may easily grow wise, and learne (as the proverbe saith) at the charges of other men. The second meane is, by the instruction of histories; for thus they come to knowledge both of actions and reasons, in times past; they make their applications and effects, and thereby setting downe rules vnto themselves, for the direction of their owne affairs, not onely purchasing honor and reputation by their knowledge, but wax great by the toile of other men. Of this kind we may find paterns both in *Solon* and *Socrates*. The third course is, by travelling into diuers countries, and by obseruing the diuersitie of lawes and policies: for this particular collection of foraine wisdom, may be sensibly applied to particular occasions of their owne. And this kind of wisdom is ascribed vnto *Nisser* by Antiquitie. The fourth

meanes

meanes to attaine vnto it, is, by long life: for although a man should learne but one good lesson euerie yere, yet time, at length, would make him generally wise. *Neslor* may stand in this degree for a faire president, of whom it is plainly said, that he vnderstood very much for that he had liued very long. And I cannot see how a yong man may be capable of a try of the other three first kinds of wisdom, both for that he cannot in a short time gaine so great experience as is necessarie to this effect; and moreover, youth wanteth that well seasoned consideration that is requisite: neither, are a few yeaues sufficient for men to, travel, well, and to obserue that which breedeth judgement. Lastly in respect of the defect and want of time, he cannot draw a true picture of that apprehension which old age hath gathered. I denie not, but by the meanes of some prudent ministers & counsellors, a yong prince may attaine to all foure kinds at once, if he retaineth about him a conuenient number of men, wise in their degrees, and not onely vse their counsell in his great affaires, but with all regard follow it.

Wherefore there ought to be great regard had in the choice of these men, especially to chuse wise men, which by way of instruction and historie, can conceiue, especially with any small experience, of the affaires of the world, and the benefit of their many yeaues, which is the most secure, and least deceitfull mixture of these kinds of wisdom, that can be limited, saying that those persons which are best furnished with all these kinds, ought to be preferred before all others. The wisdom of ministers ought to be referred to the same two times we haue formerly spoken of, of peace and warre, whereunto all the considerations, forecast, and prouisions of a prince, ought to be directed.

The goodnesse of ministers and officers, which is the second part that is required in them, may be judged of by the good name which they do carrie, and by their good behaviours. A man is said to do well foure waies, by chance, by cunning, by the beginning of the habit it selfe, and after that by vsage and practise, if it be fully perfected. Good workes done by chance, or to a cunning end, are distinguished from those that are done at the first beginning of the habit, for that they neuer spring from any virtuous intention, as the other do, though both may be indifferently accompanied with good effects. And for that the secrets of the mind are hard to be discovered by the judgement of man, for that God alone doth see the inward part of our hearts: wherefore men do greatly erre in making vse of them, being impossible to attaine to a perfect knowledge of those persons, but by a continuall obseruation of their actions with speciall care. In the first kind, which is of things done well by chance, it is not possible there should be any good intention, for that the partienner thinks of that he hath in hand. Much lesse in the second, where all is directed to a cunning end, for that malice bears the sway. The third and fourth degrees, where men either begin a virtuous habit, or haue attained it, the intent is alwaies good; yet the effects and operations of the third doe not alwaies fall out so happily as of the fourth: for the third proceeds sometimes from a sence not fully seised, nor thoroughly corrected by the restraint of reason, & raines of vertue, which onely ruleth their intents, and accompanieth their actions, else there should be more difference betwixt the members of this distinction. They that by cunning will seeme vertuous, in respect of endlessse feare least their ill meaning should be brought to light, standing in the mid way to the marke which is common to all men, like a bow drawne from the other extreame, they cast false shadowes of suspicion, linger in mistrust, and affright themselves with fancies: their daies are troublesome, their nights vnquiet, their cares infinit, and therefore our Saviour might boldly say, *He parietes pelles*. But they that are sincerely and intirely vertuous, relying onely vpon their bountie, and worth, liue in continuall peace, with content of mind, and without all feare of oppression, I refresh in the will and duetie to their superiours, either by binding them by rewards and fauours, or by contenting them with honour and authoritie, or by sisting them with such commodities and pleasures as they most affect, or by setting their inclinations to deserue well, in offering occasions whereby they make proofe of their fidelities: For as it is most proper for mans nature, to proceed with courage where they find their seruice thankfully rewarded vpon iust cause, so princes are apt to trust vpon

upon duetiall of their ministers integritie. But the way to make them constant and sure against all assaults, is, to tye them, not with any single bond, but with all these together, if it bee possible. Let no prince thinke, that it is more safe, in consultation touching his affaires of Estate, to trust domesticals, and such as are most deere unto him for other ordinarie causes, but lesse able to aduise, before others that bee farther off, so as they bee more fit, onely of feare to seeme more vnthankfull to the first, and deprive them of their due: for the end will be, that by this opinion hee shall preferre men of no worth nor vnderstanding, before others that are more sufficient and necessarie; which is the most absurd and sencelesse error which hee can commit, touching this point of election of ministers. I would haue all other considerations of riches, fauour, and all other gifts of fortune, yeeld in your esteeme to vertue and worthinesse: for where a prince finds qualities agreeable, it is his part to thinke how to enrich and aduance them; for the meane their estates are whom the prince shall raise to high degrees, the greater shall their bond appeare, and the more sincere and firme their duties and affections. In rewarding your seruants good deserts, I would wish you to endeavour as much as you may to gratifie them according to your desires, and to haue an eye to their owne ends: for some seeke ease onely, and abundance of commodities belonging to this life; others hunt after honour and authoritie; and some couet satisfaction in other kinds, according to their feuerall humors, or as such fauours either are indeed, or at the least are held by them most suitable to their conditions and qualities: without respect of these affections of men, a prince should often loose the thanks which bountie expects: for many desire rather to fast than to be crammed against appetite. Among other rules it shal not be amisse to note, that nothing bindeth loue more firmly, than when a prince bestowes a benefit out of his owne free choice, without the instance or soliciting of any fauor. The first we must ascribe to the fauour of our Soueraigne alone; the second we may diuide betweene the prince that giueth, and the friend that moueth it. Some haue commended and allowed a distrust and disagreement betweene ministers of State, as if it were the best meane to acquaine a prince with the truth; but this course was neuer pleasing to my humor, neither could I euer find how so bad a cause as discord, could euer produce any commendable effects in a princes service. A kind of emulation is not amisse, so as it tend onely to incite honourable minds to shew themselves more worthie of the princes fauour, to deserue better in his service, and to be fit for a better place when time shall serue, as we read of two of *Cæsar* Corporals: but in no wise let it grow to malice or dislike; for the prince may neuer shew more fauor to one than to another, as it falleth out sometimes, for that it will not be possible alwayes to keepe the ballance euen, but the partie which receiueth lesse is tormented with ialousie, fretted inwardly with spight, blinded with disdain, and all, in the end, turneth to the prejudice of the princes service, and the publicke action.

Among these, and out of these, ought the prince to make choice of a sufficient number to serue him in the place of counsell, and employ the rest in other seruices belonging to the State: for being guided by their aduice & counsell, he can hardly erre, but may rather rest assured, that his wortheie acts shal purchase honor & immortalitie to his name; wherefore strue to abound in these rather than in any other treasure whatsoeuer: and feare not least facilitie, in being led and directed by the aduice of worthie men, should rob you of the honor which belongeth to your rare deserts; for that the chiefeest commendation is not ascribed vnto him that either giueth counsel, or hath charge to execute, but vnto the prince, vpon whose resolution all depends, and who out of his iudgement and discretion, assigns to euery man that part for which he is most fit, in his owne opinion: for although there may be aptnesse in the timber, yet to make choice of the best for building, and employ it to the best vse, shewes the skill of a good workman. Besides, if the prince, out of a i jealous and suspicious humor, be mistrustfull in this point, how easie a matter is it at all times, vpon diuers colours and pretences, to change, alter, or deferre his resolution, so as whatsoeuer they inuent shal be ascribed to his own perfection. A prince can neuer want occasions to sound their opinions, and to make profit of their deep iudgements, without imparting the secret of his purposes to any one of them.

My meaning was to discourse with you about this point of chusing able ministers, at large,

A large, for that, in my opinion, the weight of this subiect required no lesse: wherefore I repeat it againe, That a prince can neuer become great, nor maintaine his greatnesse, without the seruice and assistance of sufficient counsellors & officers: And therfore (my most deere sonne) I require you carefully to open both your eyes and eares in this respect, and to be diligent in searching out the qualities of men, for your better instruction: All offices, administrations, and governments, which are giuen for a short limited time, are most secure from those suspicions & ialousies which long continuance in office and authoritie doth breed; being impossible, in so short a space, to make parties, or to procure followers. And although this course be not alwayes free from those dangers and discommodities, which are incident to gouernors, who either want experience, or acquaintance with state; yet a moderate exchange ought, in my conceit, to be preferred before a perpetuall: for the people (be the gouernors neuer so religious and iust) seele a kind of fastidie at the least, and as well in this point as in others, delight, in change; vsing the same as a counterpoise to that irksome loathsome nesse which groweth out of the continuall vse of any one thing without alteration.

Let your maner in giuing audience to suitors be easie, liberal, and ordinarie, whereby not only the subiect is pleased with the same, reputing this access as a respite, for that it giueth them opportunitie to ease their grieuances by their superiors fauor: but on the other side it maketh the prince more wise, when euery day by this meane he cometh to the knowledge of new accidents, new impressions, & new opinions. The prince also cometh to vnderstand all the affairs, humors, passions, and plots of his own subiects, and their interest, which is, as I said before, one kind of wisdom. To this end therefore, and for a thousand other good effects, a prince ought to visit all his estates often, but in such sort, as many progresses and extraordinary charges which belongs vnto them, may not be burthen-some to his subiects, and a blemish to his owne authoritie: for things that are accounted excellent, if they be made common, they loose a great part of their estimation in the eyes of the world. If their progresses be seldom, in like maner, they giue some suspicion of neglect, and carelesse regard of the peoples good; they giue encouragement to depuries and magistrates, to follow their own humors: and moreover, they make their subiects despair of all hope of refuge to the princes presence, and of recourse to the same in time of necessity: for, as I said before, this is a meane to ease the subiect, and to curre the magistrat. In giuing audience, let your care be to send euery man away with some satisfaction, or at the least with good liking of your affabilitie. Heare such as offer you petitions with patience, and answer them with compassion. Prouide alwaies, that the power of those that are most mightie ouerway not the right of them that are miserable; haue no respect of persons, but looke only to the iustice of the cause. If any man appeare before you in a rightfull matter, who is otherwise ill spoken of, regard not at that time his conuersation, but his complaint, nor what he is in life, but what he speaketh. Now to the end the parties which haue recourse vnto you, appealing from your officers, or charging them with corruption, may be more thoroughly conuincid by due prooffe, and more easily induced of themselves to confesse their faults, stretch out your hand as farre as in honor you may, in granting them new Iudges, or Commissioners, who together with other ordinarie officers, will be more careful to carrie themselves vprightly in such offices as are assigned to their cares. The way to plant a firme resolution in your officers, to deserue well, is, to reward them bountifully that haue shewed their worth: for by this meane, by the discharge of his dutie in a meane place, he will endeavour to be held worthie of an office of more esteeme: notwithstanding there is great reason why the prince, vpon these occasions, should haue due respect to the credit and honour of his officers, and to vse such moderation in this kind, as without wrong to the plaintifes, their reputations may be tendered. Examining weightie causes with deliberation; but be careful to giue quick dispatch to matters of small moment, especially if they concerne persons that are in miserie. Vse the like expedition in matters concerning poore men, orphans, dowes, churches, education; maintenance, charges left, tutorship, debts, and such like charitable causes, of which you are in conscience bound to haue an especiall care, and to protect them in necessity. That there can neuer prosper where such causes are neglected, for that God which makes no difference

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rence of persons, but assuredly vs. That he will alwaies haue one care open to the forrowfull complaints of simple soules which suffer wrong, will punish kings and magistrates for their contempt euen of their Christian subiects. I would exemplifie this danger by some speciall example of Gods iustice in my time: but the verie ground of charitie set downe in a word or two, may serue, and for the rest I leaue you to the tendernes of your owne conscience, and the counsel of your Confessor. The like course must be taken with tradesmen, artificers, marchants, and husbandmen; for these kind of people can neuer follow the court, nor without ruine to their estates, spend their goods, labour and time about suits: for it were better to be speedily dispatcht with some losse, than to be tied with a world of Processors, Aduocates, and Notaries, in hope of getting all; considering how much the losse of time, in regard of their trade, importeth them. Whatsoeuer may be ended at one hearing by your selfe, dispatch: what you are not able of your selfe to rid, recommend it by way of tables and memorials in other affaires. It shall not be amiss, for quicke dispatch of causes, to assigne to euerie officer his particular taske; for otherwise it were not possible for one man to run through all. In case of necessitie the prince may commit his office, for his owne ease, to his faithfull ministers, in imitation of the knife which in old time was used in the sacrifice at Delphos: for there was such a fashion deuised for the reliefe of poore men, which could not long attend without great losse, as one man alone was able by the helpe of its many parts, to serue all the priests. In criminall causes, where there is question of life and death, and other capitall punishment, proceed benignely with seueritie, and seuerely with benignitie, according to the state and qualitie of the cause. Applie your fences to the circumstances of the person, time, and place, the manner, and such like considerations. Be content to imitate the rule of *Leibos* in this case, which was apt to bend according to the obliquitie of the subiect vnto which it was applied by art: So must princes follow occasions, if they will rule with commendation. This is not to make difference of persons touching the right it selfe, but to iudge of right with wisdom and discretion, according to the kindred indifferences that are aptly offered; proceeding notwithstanding, where we find the like respects in all degrees concur with like consideration: for the people are not grieved with setting downe any resolution, how grieuous soeuer it may seeme, but diuersitie of punishments for one and the selfesame fault, where no certaine reason can be found of the diuersitie. If any conceiues this counsel to be in any sort repugnant to this Maxime, That all lawes should be equal, inflexible, vncchangeable, &c. hee must be answered, That it is onely understood of the dead letter of the law which as it neuer speaketh and resolue in one manner, so ought it in respect of it selfe, to be indifferently interpreted and executed: But there is another reason of the liuing law, which is the prince and his ministers, especially touching Commissions which bee received from him: for they ought to execute the dead letter of the law with such respect and moderation as hath beene mentioned before, so as they bend it with equitie, but breake it not with wilfulness: Wherefore there is a certaine power given vnto the prince about the lawes, and by the rule of conscience which is imprinted in the heart of him or them that are set vnder him, the cause is qualified according to the reason of the circumstance; for rigor is not alwayes right: neither may we say, that they rule best, which vrge the letter without respect to the reasons; that rather follow the words of a text which is mute, than the due consideration of a quicke interpretation, which is more sensible. Provided alwayes for the preservation of Maiestie, and maintenance of lawes, That howsoeuer it may please a prince out of his owne conceit to dispose, in ouertuling any matter, with respect either of the person or time, augmenting or abating the reward of any good desert, or punishing of any fault, the same be not drawne to consequence, or enforced as a precedent to those that shall liue after him. They that gouerne know better how to moderate these cases, than the lawyers that plead; and many things are incident to politike direction, which neuer come within the compass of an ordinarie Aduocate. Contention betwixt husbands and wives, masters and seruants, parents and their children, neighbours, kinsmen, friends, and such like, conjoynded in the strait linke of ordinarie officers, ought rather to be ended by a friendlie arbitrator, with spare of charges which belong to suits, than by a seuerer iudge, who decideth all things by extremitie. The best course for a prince

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A prince is to censure causes by due circumstances without partialitie, and that the difference which shall appeare betwixt his moderation and the written law, may rather seeme to arise out of a right in equitie, than an error in affection. I would haue all the courts of iustice offend rather in compassion than rigor or crueltie, vnlesse there be a notable example to be made for the terror to the multitude. In all kinds of rewards be bountifull above the common course, and alwaies chuse rather to leaue a light offender (whose crimes are not manifest) unpunished, than to condemn an innocent, or to leaue a peece of seruice unrewarded, at the least with favourable words, with praise and cause of hope, until time and opportunitie may yeeld a more ample satisfaction. Be careful that compassion & facultie in remitting punishments, be tempered with such a reasonable meane, as is neither encourage men to offend, nor give occasion of many errors which grow by too much lenitie. Let it suffice, that your subiects liue vnder you with industrie, and as becometh men without giuing scandall or ill example to the world. Proceed not to that kind of curiositie which makes many rulers to inquire & search what men doe in the most priuate and secret places of their houses: this humor is many waies offensive, for both in breedeth respect to the prince, and oftentimes great harme to the party, without desert. Though some be not absolutely chaste, yet so they be found wary in auoiding all cause of scandall & remainst of offence, the prince hath reason to reserve the judgement of the secrets of mens hearts vnto God, and the correction of secret sins to his diuine Maiestie: for where our eyes can see no vice, there is no reason that our hands should execute. Keepe one care alwayes open for the aduersitie parties; beware of slotting your judgement, especially in causes of iustice vpon the first impression; for time trauell eth for truth, and oftentimes graue deliberation ease the hee of her burthen. In those occasions a moderation should be had in such regard, as neither the subiect be induced by too great facility to attempt any practice of vnlawfull action for the furtherance of his intenc, nor discouraged by too great rigor for expecting reason at your hands; for both extremities are dangerous. Whilst that you are in choler, or haue made your selfe a prey to any other passion, or respect of priuate interest, be verie careful neuer to giue sentence, or at the least not to put the same in present execution, least afterwards appeales be made vnto your selfe from such vnjust sentences and executions; by the parties that are wronged, when you are come vnto your selfe. You may read in histories, of a poore woman that appealed from king *Philip*, being transported with passion, to the same king *Philip*, qualified with a due consideration: and of the penance which was enjoined by *S. Ambrose* to *Theodosius*, after the massacre of *Thessalonica*.

Touching the orders of your familie and Court, I haue discoursed with you at other times, out of which you may draw rules for the direction of those affaires: be alwayes mindfull that your guards be entertained about your person, according to the wonted manner, rather to set forth the maiestie of gouernment, than in respect of danger of your life for euident necessitie. Touching the wearing of your apparel, there is no doubt but princely garments, fit for your estate at certaine times, doe both grace your person, and strike a kind of awe into the peoples hearts: Notwithstanding to sute your selfe ordinarily more plainly, & according to that fashion which is most general, doth win great loue, as I haue obserued by mine owne experience: for nothing pleaseeth the subiect more, than to see sometymes a rarelesse contempt of those outward complements, in which some princes note their princelie felicitie. The like consideration must be had touching your diet, and other necessaries things belonging to your person and your Court, with a careful regard, that neither hatred be purchased by excess, nor contempt by too great equalitie.

To the time of peace likewise belong diuers kinds of works worthe of a princes care, which draw the subiects eyes to admiration, and his heart to thankfulness. In this degree we marshall whatsoeuer princes either build or repaire for the peoples good, as adorning cities, amending highways, repaying bridges, making riuers nauigable, charges in bringing waters, in repairing of churches, hospitals, guild-halls, publicke places, and towne walls, taking order for the reformation of abuses in religion, Vniuersities, Colleges, and iudiciall places, in limiting the fees of Counsellors, excluding auarice from courts of conscience, and corruption of magistrats in the bringing vp of orphans, marriage of poore maids, and redemption of prisoners. Blessed is the heart that thinketh on those

things, and the hand that putteth them in execution; for by this it meanes the subject shall not onely be provided for in the common course of life, but the pleasures and commodities of persons, places, and conditions, sealed in happinesse: Yet in these cases also care must be taken, that the people be not overburthened, for it is all one to them, whether oppression creepe in by this or any other meanes; which they cannot remedie, and where the people themselves are urged to an extraordinarie charge, they hold not the prince to be an author, but an executioner. To the time of peace also belong many considerations, provisions, & forecalls, concerning warre to the end that whatsoeuer accident happens, the prince be not taken altogether vnprovided on a sudden, or driven to seeke shelter when the storme is imminent. But to auoid confusion about these times, I must warne you, for a conclusion in this point, that as an honorable peace is the end of war, so must your peace be gouerned by such great discretion & diligent foresight, as the war may also be secure to the state when it happens. I come now (my most deere sonne) to discourse with you of some points belonging to the time of war, whereon it standeth you in hand to thinke aduisedly; as well in consideration of your present estate, as also for the increase thereof, whensoeuer just occasion shall be offered. To these ends of preservation and enlargement by way of counsell and aduice in time of peace, and of armes in time of war, a prince ought wholly to addict himselfe, and neither spare paine, diligence, nor danger, in any enterprise, that enable him to attaine them happily. A prince ought to be more heedful to looke into the accidents & occurrences of war, than peace; for that war aboundeth more with vnexpected adions, with disorders not foreseen, and when they happen, for the most part, are irrecoverable: A gain, for that war is lesse restrained by the curbe of ciuile lawes and officers than peace, depending commonly vpon the will of him that is most powerful, as most commonly it is kindled by a greedie desire of one to raigne about the rest, and is afterwards maintained by the feare of a necessarie defence: both which affections are so forcible in the mind, as they will rather constrain you to make the satisfaction of your will the object, than to looke into the means whereby you may compass it. These cares and preparations for war, are most necessarie for princes & potentates, whose vnquiet estates are often troubled by foreine enemies, who lay plots to annoy them. These and such restless neighbors giue euery day just occasion to be offended by them. This is your case, who being seated betwixt the power of the Turk, & the iousie of Christian potentates, could not designe a matter of any great effect, though you gaue your selfe to rest. But let not this scruple greatly trouble you, for that discontinuance of professing armes, wil in time do you more harme, than the maintenance of your reputation by them can any way trouble you. Experience doth teach, that all men feare to incense an enemy who hath his armes readie drawne to strike. Besides, as men wax old with time, so states are weakened with sloth, and in effect consumed by the canker of idleness, whilst that others that cōtend with martial enemies, are not onely maintained in health, but augmented daily more & more in force and vigor, as mans bodie is by exercise. Vpon the laying downe of armes, & discharge of troups, the subjects grow wanton, and wild at home, finding so great a part of their wonted burthen eased: and this we daily see, that hauing bin long accustomed to this pleasing ease, you shall hardly bring them again in awe, to haue the patience to endure your impositions, & their former franknesse and readinesse to supplie your necessities. On the other side, the multitude of soldiars tainted with the libertie of ambition and other humors of camp, wil hardly frame themselves to lead an honest sober life at home, which hath often bin the cause of tumults & vprores in monarchies. Besides, I cannot see how a prince that ruleth many estates, can euer settle any resolution to liue in peace, in respect of their ambition & greedinesse that are about him, their emulation & iousie that are equal to him, and their feare and suspicion that are vnder him: For they that are of the first sort dispose themselves to giue occasion of offence, out of a desire to subuert the estates of other men, the second, to settle their own fortunes; and the third, to prevent oppressions & injuries: wherefore it is wel said in our proverb, that he which cannot take hard measure at the hands of other men, must keep them low that are most apt to offer it. It is therefore necessary for a prince, especially being possessed of so many estates as you are at this time, to dispose your selfe effectually to a care of such things as belong to warre, whereof hauing fit occasion

A to discourse at this present with you, & taking my beginning from the chiefe parts thereof, I say, That this care standeth chiefly vpon arms, forts, and garrisons, vpon order for provisions to be made for them, knowledge of the qualitie and conditions of States, & of the people that inhabit them. The care of an armie consisteth in the setting downe of a certaine and conuenient number, and in giuing good orders and directions for their maner of fight. The number must be such as will suffice for any braue attempt their Leader will vndertake. The rate will fall out fitly, if no error be committed either in too much or too little; for too little will not serue, and excess is euer a cause of confusion. Opinions haue differed exceedingly concerning this point, but the best and most expert agree, That an armie consisting of 3000 foot, and 4000 horse, is sufficient for the execution of any worthe enterprise. The reasons that are brought for prooffe herof are many, & of great force, for this proportion is reasonable, neither superfluous, nor wanting. According to this proportion an armie may be better disciplined, it may be better entertained with pay, and supplied with victuals and all other things necessarie. It is more easily repaired after some great losse, either by sickness, or any other accident, and it may be better employed and maintained in all places. The people that receive them find more ease in their charges. A prince may better stand vpon his gard with such a force; and a victorie gotten by a reasonable number is more honourable. To conclude, it is in all respects most agreeable to the maner of seruice in our age, as they can best iudge that haue often had prooffe thereof by their owne experience. Whereas huge armies are, we see few come to fight, and therefore a lesse number might serue the turne, as it did the Romans in their warres in many countries, when as they brought multitudes of men: As it serued *Alexander* in ouerturning *Asia* and might, perhaps, haue serued *Hannibal* against the great forces of *Rome*, if either he had receiued due supplie from home in due time, or could haue made the soldiars which he was driuen to leaue in other countries, as resolute as his owne, which was not possible. The Romans during the state of the commonweale, afterwards the Emperours, and the Turks at this day brings greater forces to field. To which presidents many answers may be giuen, especially, That this both was and is done rather for a kind of glory, to extend their forces ouer all, than for any other need of helpe in war: for an armie so proportioned, as I haue said, is sufficient of it selfe for any notable attempt, as may be proued by many effectual reasons: for hardly shall you find a place whereas a greater number than I haue mentioned, can be put in battell, by reason of impediments which grow by ditches, rivers, lakes, mountains, woods, & such like, whereas a reasonable armie may escape them by the conduct of a discreet General. This proportion is to be kept exactly by such princes as resolute and are euer enforced to stand vpon their gard, & keep their forces in a readinesse, whether their occasion be offensive or defensive: for by this mean they shall be able to beare out the charge, and dispose at all times of their companies, as aduantage shall be offered. The Turks policie is worthy to be imitated in this point, who notwithstanding his great numbers, hath drawne the resolution & glory of his forces to his Janizaries alone, which are a certaine number, and more easie to be satisfied. These standing fast, the rest are kept in order by that means, whereas otherwise it were very difficult to content all the companies. In the same respect *Cesar* gaue most honor to the tenth legion, but with another kind of moderation & respect to the rest than the Turke vsed. Some thinke, that in respect of many occasions to diminish the prefixed number, either by drawing some into garrisons, or by employing them otherwise, or by some accidents that may fall out, an army should consist of a greater number of sufficient men: but to one that hath the perfect skill of warre, this number doubtlesse may suffice, so as the companies that are withdrawn for other seruices be instantly supplied: for thus shall the number & the armie be the same, as the tenth legion was euer one and the same, notwithstanding accidents. Neither would I haue you to persuade your self, that by often changing armies wax weak, but rather, if supply be quickly made, more gallant & more courageous: for thus we reape the benefit of those forward & resolute men, which being newly come, are far more ready to hazard their liues, for that they know not what the danger means, nor haue not the consideration & stay which time brings: on the other side the valor of old soldiars is more thoroughly refined by experience. By this meanes also the readie wayes are opened, to recompence and honour those that



battel to another, scoureth through all the ranks. Let vs ad the deceitful vse of late artillery and chiefly to offend the bodies of men in field. But for that the first shot may be made to play with great aduantage, where those squadrons are close, & other rules of that Romane discipline carefully obserued, you shall seeke out particular instructions among my notes: And moreouer what fit considerations may be vied in the choise of commanders to an armie, what moderation should be obserued in causing the common souldiers to depend vpon their Generall, & other commanders put in trust by him; besides other meanes for the setting of your best securitie.

I will now passe vnto other things which come into my mind to aduise you touching the carriage of your selfe in this time of warre: but by the way I must once againe put you in minde with great earnestnesse, that this care of finding out the best way of marshalling your forces in the field, ought in reason to bee one of the chiefest that you must embrace, as well for occurrents of warre, as to make your name immortal among all nations. Your fleets at sea ought in like maner to haue their particular respects, touching which there seldom chaunceth any cause of inuouation. The chiefest cares, that all necessarie imployments that belong to Nauies, be alwaies in readinesse: That the vessels be rigged, augmented, and imployed euer in some seruice for the state, so far as is conuenient with securitie. Aboue all things settle those affaires in such a certaine course, as your gallies and other shipping may bee properly belonging to your selfe, or to the state, and not to your captaines, officers, or other priuate men, for hauing reposid the whole weight of your fortune and reputation vpon the safegard of those vessels, they will not easily or willingly be brought to hazard them where the smallest danger shall appeare. The charge of getting ships of price into their hands, together with the difficulty of repairing and supplying them in case they should miscarie by any mischance, doth make men so fearefull of the worst, as oftentimes a publike opportunitie is lost, while priuate respects are tended. By taking of this order you shall bring all men to depend vpon your selfe, and you shall neuer need to depend vpon any: I speake not of the large allowance which will be made by officers, when they serue themselves for their owne commoditie. Cause your forces to be viewed and surueyed, & their munition to be reuiued & repaired: where you find the rate superfluous, abate, where too scant, augment it. Auid extremities in any wise, either of too much or too little discretion must be the measure of these considerations. Be carefull alwaies to furnish your places of strength, with sufficient gouernours and trustie garriisons. Let your number rather offend in excesse than want, for of both there is lesse danger in an ouer-plus, both for that the onely valour and resolution of the souldiers hath often supplied the weaknesse of the place, in respect whereof the Romans euer trusted more to the courage of their men, than to the strength of the place, as also in respect of those that fall sicke and die, or runne to the other side, or are cut off by any other meanes, so as the whole number is neuer scene to fight at one instant: fortifie your selfe with sure forces against the enemy, with your tents pitched, trusting rather to forts raised in the field, than to the situation of townes. On the other side when you beginne to quarrell and invade, you must rather assaile your enemies by the help of offes, and sconces, built of purpose to annoy him, than seeke to win his places of strength, with losse of time, and an intollerable charge. This course is secure and certaine, as the other is deceitfull and dangerous: whereof you shall find further profes among my notes for memorie.

Touching the maner of erecting forts with speed and litle charge, and the best meanes to settle a wauering estate, the best way is to make aduicely the whole position and situation of the place, and to fashion out of it the frame that shall be fit; applye your industrie to the plot of nature, with such certaine reasons and vndoubted rules, as both the whole may answer to the parts, and the parts vnto the whole in due proportion and workmanship. Thus must you proceed from one estate vnto another respectively, standing alwaies thus far refulore touching the rules of fortification, That although no place can be impregnable, yet it shall bee sufficient that ours be such as the enemy shall haue small hope to win them, either in respect of long time, or the great expence which such a labour will require, being threatened by many misfortunes & disadvantages,

A pages. The prouisions of war consist in victuals, artillery, munition, supplies and coine, which altogether in effect import no more than an abilitie to mainteine continually so great a force of trained men, as out of the same an armie (when great need requirerh) may be drawne by the Soueraigne, or forces sufficient in all respects for the vses aboue mentioned. Hereupon followeth, that a prince, who either resoluerh or is enforced to stand vpon his owne defence, must think vpon a kind of warre with which he may be able to rule both the charge and weight that goes with it. Wherefore I had a meaning to set downe a certaine order in my armies, which might be sufficient to bring this to passe, but I could neuer find any fit opportunitie to put it in execution. My intent was first to leuie a gallant army of Flemings, Spaniards, and Italians intermixt; being thus assembled; I meant to keep them euer in one estate, either in warre against the Turke, or some Christian Princes which I could not avoid without great danger, or great dishonour: Then I did thinke it good to capitulate with this armie, that all booties of great matters belonging to the publicke like state, as artillery, munition and such like things, being gotten either by the sacke of Townes or spoile of the Countrey, should be properly referred to the princes chamber, the rest left vnto the souldiers. Notwithstanding I resolved to bind the souldier to sel & deliuer vnto the Princes officers at a reasonable price for downe all victualles, garments, household-stuffe and other goods pertaining to their necessarie vses or their commodities. These things I would haue kept in store vntill the souldier should haue need of them againe, with some conuenient profit vnto my selfe; By this prouision both Prince and Souldier should be supplied, but the souldier most: For besides the comfort of receiving ready money at all times for that they get, they shall be also sure of all necessarie things at an easie price. If we compare it with their losse, who buy all things from the Merchant, or the stranger who still followeth the campe, it ought not to offend the souldier, that his Prince should draw some litle portion to his owne releefe of that vnmeasurable gaine which otherwise would be diuided among commorants. I thought moreouer that it would proue profitable to the souldier, and safe for the Prince, if a certain officer were appointed in the campe, into whose hands the souldiers (being imployed in any dangerous seruice) might confidently commit their money or the pillage of best price with full assurance that in case it chanced to them otherwise than well, all should be deliuered to their heires or to such persons as they would appoint; imitating in this point those captaines which to be the better assured of their souldiers, take vp money of the officers in presse to pay the companies. Cesar vsed the same policie, and thereby was free from all feare, either of the officers, whose credit he had by this means engaged, or of the souldiers whose pay was alwaies readie. Besides other obligations, a reasonable gain might be afforded after so much leaue their armor or their stocke vpon any dangerous employment, & that their contracts and directions touching those things shall be faithfully performed, whatsoeuer happen vnto themselves, they will hold it for a greater aduantage to leaue their substance in a truste hand, rather than to carrie it about with them: If any chance to die without heires in bloud, or limitation, in warre, who should succeed him; the goods may iustly be assigned to the Princes chamber, as wee see by the ciuill Law, the prince inheriteth their estates that die without any certaine heires. It may be jealousy, (which the baser sort is euer apt to conceiue of the princes policie, to enrich himselfe) may discourage some, supposing vnder euerie bait to find a secret hooke, vntill that experience hath cleared the clouds of this false imagination, wherefore the way to breake this ice, is to appoint a certaine number of the chiefest of the campe, whom we may most boldly trust, to beginne this order, and to bring in their shares; for who is either so suspitious or foolish, to be either priuar soldier, captaine, or Colonell, that had rather carrie all his goods about him, in continual hazard both of enemies and boores vpon euerie sinister accident; than leaue it in safety, and with some aduantage to themselves, or to their heires who may recouer it. It may be said that prouision for the carriage of these things will be chargeable; but that may be holpen by another meanes, if the souldier out of the gaie and interest of his goods laid downe in trust, be bound to answer it, for that the goods doe still remaine his owne, and the charge is satisfied with over-plus. Touching these carriages; you shall find a modell and memoriall



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memoriall among my notes, for the private souldier is greatly eased by this new invention, having nothing to care for but his armes and himselfe, so as the whole campe in generall should be more light: besides the greatest part of the treasure and goods of value belonging to the campe should rest euer in the princes hand, so as he might vie them for the furtherance of his attempts in warre, as wee see the proofe of things left by like trust in the hands of merchants. Thus by the money which shall remain in the princes hands, by their deceale without heires, either by descent or disposition of will, of such as were the right owners of the same, and by the gaine which doth accrue vnto the prince by selling victuals and other implements at the second hand, but yet to the souldiers ease, in respect of that which he should pay vnto the merchant or victualler for the like, the prince may make himselfe more able to maintain a mightie armie long, as you shall discover more particularly by my notes. But as I haue said before it is expedient that with this the prouision of valiant souldiers able leaders, and good orders doe concur, although the vulgar sort doe accompt money to bee the sinewes of all warre. I haue oftentimes had cause to iudge of this comparison, and therefore may be the better beleued in setting downe a difference: It is a strength where other parts more needfull are compleat, but a sillie sinew where the chiefeest members are disordred. Allow me those abilities and politike prouisions in a princes armie with perfection, whereof I spake before, and no doubt but the warre will maintaine it selfe: for we cannot find that a wortheie Generall and leader of a good and well directed armie, euer wanted courage to beginne, or means to maintaine the warre, as well with pay by means of pillage and such other gaine, as with victuals euen out of the enemies countrie. Besides, a prince may alwaies keepe his troups in heart, by putting them in hope of honour, profit and all kinds of reward, when time doth serue, although prouision for the present bee scant, so as they know the princes ability and fortune to bee sufficient to performe his promises. Then may the Prince, imitating the Romans, repose greater trust in souldiers that are both valiant and well affected to his gouernement, then either in deepe trenches, or places strongly fortified: I meane, such a Prince as either hath a will or is enforced against his will to hold his sword alwaies in his hand, and to looke for hard measure. If all the charges of warre should bee drawne out of a princes cofers, it were not possible it should continue long. To prevent this inconuenience, it seemeth good to some, to haue the warre made to a profitable end, but it is not verie easie as I thinke to giue an instance of this aduice, considering experience doth teach, that by offensive warre the countrie is ruined, the people spoiled, and the prince impouerished, and in a defensive warre, of what qualitie soeuer the gaine be, men may not expect that it should answere the charge that doth grow thereby. Imagine that this inconuenience may bee eased by good counsell, and applying batterie to the chiefe places onely, which either by their wealth, or the releefe which others bring in by their means, may yeeld satisfaction and recompence for any charge, without being forced otherwise to fight in vaine, or for the opening of a passage which is alreadye giuen you, into the enemies state: yet it cannot bee denied but for many other respects, and in sundrie other cases, the warre, which without such a kind of releefe is no way tolerable, by means thereof is made secure and free from all dangers and disorder of any moment.

Now for that supplies are necessarie for the maintenance of a continuall armie in one and the selfe same estate, I thinke it verie requisite for the seruice of your campe, that throughout all your realmes and estates, the which in your choise are fittest to set out men, a particular muster bee taken, and a Register precisely kept of all the youth that are able to beare armes, so as it may bee done without offence to the people, or incensing the haucie hearts with rage and malice against their Soueraigne. M As I said before, your tried Souldiers must bee kept in practise, least their spirits grow dull and their bodies vnable by sloth and discontinuance, so would I wish those young souldiers were trained by sufficient leaders, that they may be the better able to serue when they are called for. In this generall muster especiall choise ought to bee made of such men as by nature are giuen to the warres, and apt of their disposition,

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A sition; that are in good estate to liue, and especially that haue families, for of such a man may looke for better proofe, and reliee more on, for that they haue somewhat to lose at home, they esteeme their reputation, and feare shame and punishment more, the which they that haue lands and goods to answer for their good behaviour, cannot so easily auoid as they that haue nothing: Besides they are encouraged by a respect of bloud to a care of their owne houses. These persons may in no wise be drawne out of families, that haue but one man in them, or so few, as the pressing of one man may indanger the whole familie for want of food, but you must presse them where they may be spared without danger, and encourage them besides with the hope of credit, and commoditie to bee gotten by their merits in the campe, for otherwise wee see that being brought with discontentment to the field, their deserts proue according. Thanks be giuen to God, you are soueraigne ouer many great realmes and great estates, in which you may raise such martiall troups without offence, as they may not onely bee sufficient to defend, but to offend others if you liue in vnion of good correspondence, with your friends and kinsmen of the house of Austria: by this agreement you shall settle your owne power, and become a comfort and support to those that loue you, and a terror to such as enue you: On the other side assure your selfe that discord among neere allies, will blemish your authoritie, put heart into your enemies to make designs against your greatnesse, and so distemper your friends, as they shall not be able to resolute which way to bend their affections. Standing thus vnited, you shall haue great opportunitie (besides the Italian & Spanish forces) to dispose of the Germanes, as your need shall require, the which is a martiall and a verie honorable nation. I know that this mixture doth oftentimes cause disorders in a campe: but yet by one that knoweth how to temper this light discord with a moderate emulation, they may be employed to most excellent and rare effects, in respect of the great difficultie and almost impossibilitie that euer they should ioinc or agree together in offensive mutinies, distractions and disobedience of any kind. I cannot forbear to report vpon this iust occasion what I haue often aduised you of before, that you respect with all due regard your cousin the king of Bohemia, to the greatnesse and inestimable value of whose mind, the greatest empires are too narrow bounds; D and doubtlesse vpon euerie fit occasion, you shall see effects answerable to this conceit which the world hath of his worthinesse. Beleeue this confidently, that there is more good to bee expected from the loue, which springeth from consanguinitie (although that sometimes causes of vnkindnesse may arise, than from the fairest shewes and greatest professions of good will that can bee made by any stranger. Now for that all offences and vnkindnesse are most bitter, growing among persons that are neere in bloud, if they be not quenched in due time: to prevent a greater inconuenience, cut off all iust occasions on your side, setting downe this lesson for a rule, that it is an art more wortheie commendation to yeeld in some sort to those that are allyed, to continue their affection, than to end quarrels & vnkindnesse with other persons, by enforcing them to yeeld to our authority. E But to conclude my counsell touching the care, which must bee taken of this trained youth, is, that it may alwaies serue as a Spring to supply the armie: for the better pleasing of their humors, and winning of their loues, it shall be fit to priuilege them with a libertie to wear weapons, especially on those daies that are appointed for their exercises, and to make the best shew they are able of their forwardnesse. I would also haue them graced with some speciall fauour, as occasion serues; and exempted from all seruile burthens in Countries. Then would I wish you wholly to direct your care to a due consideration of your estate in general, and of the countries in particular vnder you: Look vpon their condition, situation and qualitie, consider both of their abundance, and wants, and of sufficient meanes to liue, as water, wood and graine, that supplie being made from other places that haue greater store, all loue and kindnesse may be entertained among people that are subiect to one Soueraigne power. Though policie did not prescribe this care, yet christianity wold challenge it. Cause plots to be drawn of all their greatest tiuers, mountains, streits & passages, that by repairing vnto your map, vpon any accident, that shall happen, you may dispose of things with greater certainty. Be careful not only to know the dispositions & humors of the (which is very necessary for great princes) but also their alliances and



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and factions, whereby you shall be alwaies able both to bridle their vndutifull affections, and to prevent their praesides, if they breake out into extremities. The balance of authority is in your hands, all credit comes from your selfe, & therefore gouern the scales with some moderation, so as that side may be heauiest which is best affected to your party. Provide against all dangers, & serue your turn by all such opportunities, as may further your intention. If any countie doth liue in danger of an enemy, that doth frontier vpon them, secure them in such sort by captains, officers, & garnisons, as they may be freed from fear of all wrong. To be short, I would haue you cast vp an euen reckoning, & make a iust account of their inclinations, their power, their wants, their store, their agreement, their diuisions, their alliances, their habits, their customs, their affections, their dependances, their affinity, their comodities, & their discomodities, that by easing one & charging another, you may turn all things to your best content. Then wil it be time to turn your eye to the like consideration of their accompt. In this point you must resolute with ripe iudgement and great care, making fit proportions by comparing sundry circumstances of persons, places, times, natures, customes, neighbours, officers, adherents, and other accidents, as are incident to so strong a knot of ciuill policie. These things being vnderstood and wisely pondered by him that hath the helme in hand, there is no doubt but he may euer march vpon a firme ground in any enterprise he takes in hand, for in knowing our own & our enemies strength, in weighing circumstances with an equall hand, & being able to apply the best advantages, that wisdom & experience can find, to profitable vses, consisteth both the hope & hap of victorie. I know that diuers courses must be taken according to the diuers qualities of the nation, & the situation of the countrie. Touching the first, whether it be peopled, or scant of men, armed or naked, valiant or cowardlie, pleased or discontented. Touching the second, whether it be full of mountaines, valleyes, plaines, woods or riuers, whether it abound with victualls and all other commodities that are fit for war, or is barren or beggerly. Aboue all things be sure you neuer be drawn into quarrels, with any mighty potentate for the reliefe of such as rather burthen than ease, in danger than helpe your estate, which else may turn to your great disaduaantage. Besides these rules, I would prescribe a number more of like effect, the which long experience (the mother of true wisdom) hath imprinted in my heart, which other men perhaps which go more by aime than by art make small accompt of. War ought alwaies to be vnderaken vpon a iust quarrell, and directed to no other end than to a safe & honorable peace which cannot be purchased without wars. In war he that spendeth most in accompt, spendeth least in want; doubt of this opinion who list, my selfe can warrant it. It is not good to enter into a quarrell without forecast, how to make it good, but after it is once begun, there is neither dalliance nor delay without danger. To him that hath best skill & vnderstanding how to manage war, it will maintein it selfe, so as good order may be taken from the first beginnings, and the proofe of euerie peece of counsel that experience maketh good, may serue for found direction in other things that happen afterwards. Let provision of all things be made in the best kind, & euer with an ouerplus, for in that which is left can be little losse, & although there were, yet there is no proportion betwixt it and the dangers that may grow in weakening braue attempts with scarcitie. Let al your proceedings & inuentions tend to victorie, for that is the final end of the art of war, to which men attaine with seasonable prouisions, discreet orders, & wise gouernment. In the beginning wisdom, diligence, & warines is required, courage in the pursuit, & a constant resolution vnto the end; you must euer giue the first assault, rather then attend vntil you be set vpon: And although your fortune should be so bad as to be preuented in this course, yet must you seek by all means to diuert that force by the great aduantage that is gotten by making warre vpon some other princes countrie, or doing some good peece of seruice to stay the frowns of fortune. Repose not the only staie & hope of your martiall proceedings eyther vpon your companies of horse by land, or your fleet by sea, for they are things without fence or reason; & wee see that at sea the greater number preuaileth comonly, besides the deceits & vncertainty of the sea. But touching these instructions thus scattered and other considerations to be obserued in the whole course of war, I wil refer you to my noates which wil giue no smal light, how to demean your self vpon all occasion, the which (considering your present estate) are likely to happen.

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A I will now speake first of the warre against the Turke, as that which I hold to bee of greatest importance, most certaine, and most daungerous, as well in respect of your profession and faith, which ought to be preferred by a Prince of your religion and conscience before all other ends, as also the Turke is the mightiest enemy, that either at this day you haue, or are like to haue. You may assure your selfe that he is a certaine enemy, not only through the malice which he beareth to your self and faith, but by the grounds of his owne politike, or rather tyrannous estate, which presse him to bee alwaies readie and in armes to withstand all attempts. It is hard for him to worke any great effects in Hungary, as well in respect of the long course of the riuer of Danow, and of the champagne country, as of the situation of Vienna, and the neighbourhood of Germanie. In other places likewise his next neighbours are either mightie or troublesome, and such as in proceesse of time may bee more easily brought vnder than at this instant, standing alwaies with their swords drawne to defend their liberties: They are not like vnto the Sophie, whose deepe wisdom and great valour makes his forces to bee feared more than the greatnesse of his owne estate: But God knoweth whether his next successours will be able to supply the want that is found in his fortune. In other places the borders are not all inhabited, for they lie waste most commonly vpon the greatest parts of the dominions and realmes that are possessed by this tyrannie for these respects: And for his soueraigntie vpon the sea side, besides the discord and diuision which is among the Christian princes of our age, there is no doubt but hee shall be drawne to turne his whole forces vpon the Ilands, and your estates in Italie. It is not probable to thinke that hee will breake with the Venetians before hee breake with you, for doublelesse hee will imagine, that in warring against Venice, your forces will come in to aide: but beginning first with you, it may be hee will hope that the Venetians will remaine reuters. One reason may be giuen in this respect, which is, their discontinuance from all exercise of armes for so many yeres: Another, for that commonweales consisting either of popularitie or peeres, in respect of the long life which they presume to be most certaine in their estates, and their hope of preferment from degrees of good to better, which is euer greene, do euer trust more in the aduantage of time, and such accidents as may fall out in the changes and alterations of the world, than in anie warre that is attempted by great Potentates, and will either not at all take armes, or so late, as they had done better, not to haue meddled. Moreover, hauing already fastned their tallons in his sides, and put a sharpe bitte into his mouth, by the possession of the Ilands of Cipresse and Candie, it is likely they will stand long vpon their gard, before they will hazard themselves to offend or defend any man. Adde herunto that the estate of Venice standing wholly vpon merchandize, they can not forbear the trafficke they haue in the Turkes Dominions: Now wee see that the Turke is by little and little growne proud, hauing multiplied your daungers by the greatnesse of his power, which is now so aduanced to the toppes of Fortunes wheele, as wee may rather hope that it will breake with its owne burthen, or that it may be weakened by policie, or warre, than looke for an ouerthrow by some miracle from heauen, or by the power of Christendome, for as men are sinfull, so God is iust.

No doubt but the Turkish Empire hath a period, but in Gods fore-knowledge, not in mans fore-cast, and therefore vntill wee chaunge the course of our euill liues, wee stue in vaine to moderate the plagues of his deserved indignation. I know many haue bene of the mind, and are yet at this day, that it is impossible for anie Potentate in Christendome, to set downe any course by his owne force to keepe vnder this aspiring miscreant. And therefore by a generall league and combination of all princes this worke must be effected. Notwithstanding, when I consider by the light of long experience what poore effects haue issued from this deuice, and what fraude doth often lurke amongst such consorts, I am of opinion that you should wholly relie vpon your owne strength: and before the attempting of anie famous enterprise, examine what your owne estates are able to performe, and then those which your neighbours and allies haue promised. I haue found, and you haue reason to remember how the French king

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carried himselfe concerning these occasions vpon a chasteiſe ieałouſie and a private ſpleene: men will have humours whiſt they manage the affaires of this world: your wiſeſt courſe is to provide that they may not prejudice you. The way will be more eafie by conſerring the good will and affection of your allies of the houſe of Auſtria alone. But for the full accompliſhment hereof with commendable effects, you muſt reſolve according to the proper and true meanes, which are, wiſedome and infallible conclusions out of the grounds of long experience.

The first point is to consider aduicely what kind of warre may most auaile you, to defend, offend, peruert, or diuert. Touching a defensiu warre, my opinion was alwayes to haue it absolutely excluded, for what is it else but a laying of our selues open to a manifest consumption of strength from time to time, not without great hazard of the whole in a short space, or by long delays, as things fall out, and with despair of any satisfaction or restitution. This kind of warre hath bene generally held by all men of experience that made profession of armes, to be the most vnprofitable and most dangerous of all the rest: but whenas men are enforced thereunto by necessitie. An offensive warre which reason persuadeth to be made against him in Greece, both in respect of our inferioritie by sea, and for many other reasons which concurre, I hold it very hard and in a manner impossible to bee brought to any good effect, seeing that diuertions are so easie and commodious vnto him: for as it is impossible to make preparation for such a warre, without discouerie, great charge and losse of time, so the Turke will plainly foresee our designs, and frustrate our executions. The warre which we call preuentiu ought to bee esteemed the more fite, for that the multitude of souldiers which the Turke carrieth alwayes with him to maintaine his owne designs, and to frustrate our purposes, is infinite. The course of diuersion can auaile as little, presupposing that offence goe before which I haue specified: whereupon I may conclude, that none of these simple kinds are for your good: I might proceed and discouife particularly, and according to their severall teames and differences touching euerie one of these; but by the strengthening of this discouife with sundrie other reasons of importance that concurre, it will appeare that out of the conclusions of these severall kinds, there ariseth a mixt kind of warre, most fite for your occasions: for seeing there is no remedy but you must haue warre against the Turke as I said before, since we can neither make a warre merely offensive for the reasons I haue laid downe, nor ought once to thinke of preuention without ports, we must presuppose that such a warre may bee defensiu in act, but offensiu in prooffe, yet simply neither offensive nor defensiu, according vnto the speciall rules and notes of both in simple rearmes.

Let this warre thus tempered goe forward with a wife care to diuert, and so by little and little it will take a safe course to prevent; and in the end procure meerey offensive to the enemye. But before I come to exemplifie this patterne, and set downe my plot, I must put you once againe in mind, that in making warre against the Turke, you must redie more upon stratagems and the Art of warre, than in multitudes of men, watching all opportunities, his troubles and incomburances in other warres, his losses and ruines by them, the partialities which fall out oftentimes betwixt the successfulls of the State, and the diuisions amongst themselves: All these things may induce a better knowledge how to make our partie strong, but about all things bind youn Gods fauour. But for that this fauour ought to bee procured, partly by such meanes on our side, as are incident to the discretion of reasonable men, you must vnderstand, that nothing can bee more expedient for you, than agreement and intelligence with your friends of the house of Austria, as on the other side proportionally it standeth them in hand, for the better effecting of any enterprise, to bee firmly vnited vnto you, and to acquaint you with their purposes. These things provided for, you may easily come to the knowledge of the true course which it becometh you to holde in maintaining this kind of warre: for if by any fit occasion which shall be offered, the Turke being either ingaged in other warres, or his estate declining at home, you shall see reason to beginne

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A the quetrell, and to prevent his resolution. You may doe it best towards Hungarie, making your vncle now designed Emperour, acquainted with your intent, keeping the warfare out of the champagne Countreies, and farre from the river of Danow, where-of the Turke standeth in great neede, in regard of his carriages for such an armie: Besides, forcing him to passe by places which are not fit for his great troopes of horse and multitudes of foote, there is no doubt but you may hope for a verie happie end of your designs. But in case not any one of these occasions be offered, yet you may procure one by your owne discretion, making the yeere, wherein he maketh his preparation to serve your turne, by temporizing warily and frustrating his designs by delays and shifts, according to the circumstances and advantages which shall be offered.

The next yeere when either hee doth not, or perhappes can not so speedily ad-  
 vance, or arme his troupes as hee desireth, in respect of the great prouisions hee is in-  
 forced to make, then would I haue you to aduance, and to fortifie that part of the  
 Countrey which you haue gotten before that hee can bee readie to impeach your cour-  
 ses vpon the frontiers, and defend it with the like resolution. Againe, vnto the matter  
 in such sort, as when hee begins to castrate his companies, and to retire his forces,  
 you may bee ready to renew the warre, and thereby force him to make a new defence.  
 By this meanes you shall inforce him to continue his great armie still in pay, which hee  
 is not able to indure, or else to bring such meanes forces to field as hee may bee easily  
 dealt withall, and by consequence change the manner of his warre, which were no  
 C meane step to an honorable victorie, for thereupon setting downe a new and discreet  
 course for direction, you may presume of a most fortunate successe. Wherefore you  
 haue reason both to graunt and offer all kinds of aid, both of men and money. I meane  
 to the King of the Romanes, who shall fitly serue your turne, to keepe the ballaunce  
 euen, till you finde a fitter opportunity. And for that wee know, that vpon anie  
 worthe peece of seruice the Turkish forces are verie apt to shrinke, for that they relie  
 wholly vpon their strength, being also apparent that this blow must rather giuen by  
 stratagem than by force, it shall not be amisse to touch those meanes which are likely  
 to aduance our purposes: you must be very careful to drawe them into streit places,  
 where the warre for want of carriages and other necessarie prouisions may proue  
 D verie cumbersome, as both I haue specified before, and experience hath taught in the  
 warres of Albania. Againe hee must bee encountered with so strong an armie of foot,  
 as it may bee able to withstand his troupes of horsemen. Which in respect they are  
 for the most part vnarmed, might bee easily effected. It is a point of especial confi-  
 deration also to put forth a Squadron of choicemen to entertaine the Ianifaries in fight,  
 from the beginning vnto the end of the battell, leauing in like manner conuenient  
 forces to incounter the rest of his armie: for whereas the manner of the Turkish discipline  
 is alwayes to referre the valour of the Ianifaries for the last supplie and recourse to vi-  
 E ctorie, when the rest of the armie shall see that they haue bene charged from the  
 beginning of the fight, they will, no doubt, bee much troubled with this alteration,  
 and the Ianifaries themselves amazed and disordered with a stratagem vnlooked for.  
 It cannot bee obiected, that this deuice will serue but once, for in truth it will force  
 them to forsake that course for euer, when they shall see their policie preuented, by  
 which they haue many times preytaied against the enimie. It cannot be denied but  
 by meanes of this prouision *Hannibal* more than once defeated the Romane Legions,  
 and the Romanes themselves vsing the like stratagem against the Latines, in the  
 verie bowelles of their owne estate during the time of their dissentions and warre,  
 obtained victorie. About all things bend your care to stirre the people to rebelli-  
 on against their Gouernours, by good vsage, exemption &c. This may bee brought  
 F to passe most speedily, by removing camps, and erecting forts in the Countrey,  
 both for defence and offence, than by places inhabited, as you may find set out at  
 large in my Memorials: I haue there set downe the meanes to make them speedily,  
 and with small charge, the true reason by which they may be brought to good effect,  
 the way to hemme in, to cut off, and to subdue securely with good prouisions, the  
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forces of any great estate, with very few of them ; as we find that *Cesar* himselfe dwelt in France, by the report of his Commentaries. The least beginning of good successe, will presently draw downe the Turke, to make warre against them, where you shall bee best provided to encounter him : for it standeth him in hand to be ialous (as he is) of that reputation in armes, and opinion of superiouritie above all princes, which he hath hitherto held, for feare of disorders and reuolts, which euerie little declining of his might might cause in his mightie estate, by reason of the discontent wherein the people live in respect of his tyrannous gouernement.

You haue likewise to consider of your warres with the crowne of Fraunce, the which are of great consequence in respect of the solide and vnited forces of that realme, and the continuation and league which they may easily continue with other Potentates of Christendome, and chiefly with the princes and states of Italie, for the ialousie wherein they live of our greatnesse. But besides that point whereof I warned you before, speaking of the danger that is in leagues, and the small effect that comes of them, you haue besides this one secure and sound prouision in readinesse at all times for your further comfort in this verie case of France, that so often as you shall assault that king within his owne dominions, which is not hard to doe, considering in what manner his realme is enuironed on euery side, you shall be sure to draw him backe, and so diuert him both from Italie, and from other enterprises. Surely the French king warreth in Italie to his great advantage, as well in respect of the peoples disposition to innouations, as of the great gaine he sometimes makes by one only attempt, in comparison of his small expences: we should haue sene the prooue not many yeares since, if the French could haue made vse of that advantage which they held at Cerifoles, or at the taking of Cassal, after the great overthrow which immediately after the reuolt of Siena the Turkish fleet gaue to ours in the Sicilian sea. Besides, the Italians are so much grieued, being curbed by Milan, Naples, and Sicile, as they are glad of any oportunitie to weaken our suspected forces, and doe willingly offer themselves to any one that will promise to ease them of their burthen, and to set them free, not foreseeing that the French, if they were once masters of the like forts within the body of the state, would be as much, or more offensue to their liberties.

The warre of Piedmont will make the French king wearie in a short time, if you endeavour to fight hand to hand as they do : for by a custome which they haue long obserued, to leaue no enemy behind, you shall verie easily bring this to passe, if you hold some strong towne well fortified against their force, proceeding there from hand to hand as you find occasion : If they diminish or abate their armie, increase yours, so as you may be able to take some place of importance, which being weake you may fortifie. Thus by the helpe of places, and of so great an estate on your backe, you may make warre in winter. And to these ends if you be prouoked by occasion, I had once resolved for their speedie riddance and dispatch to cut off their passage out of France to Turin, raising two or three forts betwixt Turin and the Alpes : for when they shall be forced to maintaine a mightie garrison, and their prouisions on this side the Alpes cut off, it would be hard for them to furnish themselves with sufficient store of victuals and munition out of their owne countrey. In assaulting the French King at home, there are two kinds of warre which promise prosperous successe; the one is by the commoditie which you haue to draw your forces sooner together, and to enter into the heart of his Countrey, where you shall find abundance of victuals and other things to maintaine a sufficient army. Before the French king come into the field, I would haue you seeke to make waie for your selfe, and so to aduance, enlarging your owne course, and cutting off your enemies best oportunities by forts built in the Countrey, as I aduised you before speaking of your warres against the Turke, which course *Cesar* himselfe obserued, when he made warre in that countrey. Sometimes oportunitie may be given either by the declining of the aduersie partie vpon some braue attempt of yours, or by your good successe and their misfortunes. Whereupon you may so preuaile as afterwards you may lay plots to compass that which is not yet conquered. Diuisions may happen in the countrey, and a thousand other accidents, especially in this age, when as loue and charitie so decay, whereby an enterprise begunne

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A with iudgement, may be greatly furthered; will men must not disdain to goe forwards by insensible degrees, for so goeth the Sunne about the world; for it is impossible that a kingdom of such strength, and at vnion within it selfe, should bee at one instant swallowed vp by anie foreine enemy. But if the least part which is one, bee drawne from them; and added to a stronger part than their owne, the odds will grow within a while to be so great, as they that find the want will smart for it. Surely, if I had vnderstood the reason from the first beginning of my proceedings against Fraunce, which I haue learned since by long experience, and the consequence of manie braue attempts which I haue made against this realme, vndoubtedly I would haue brought some rare effects to passe: But it may bee that God hath referred that for your greater glorie. One onelie difficultie is to bee thought on in this case, which is, that the French may sooner enter into Italie by certaine months, considering the season of the yeere, and forwardnesse of the Countrey, than wee can enter into Fraunce: But this aduantage must be prevented by another stratagem: for as soone as you find that the King hath entred into his charge, and made his prouisions, deuise to trouble him in Fraunce with so sufficient an armie, as he may bee constrained to increase his forces on that side; and so giue over all other intended enterprises. It is needlesse to set downe anie other rules for your proceeding in this course, so long as you are Lord of the Lowe Countries, and firmly vnited to your friends and allies in Germanie. Against this mischiefe I find two certaine remedies, the one by entertaining the French King in Italie, and assaulting him in France, at one instant: The other in making shew to be readie, and to set forward in so good time, as hee shall haue other matters to thinke on than his attempts against Italie. You shall easily attaine to your desired end, in proceeding after this manner, as well in respect of the ialousie which the King in his absence hath of that estate, as to auoid the danger that may follow, if hee leaue his frontire townes behind his backe enuironed both with forts and troups; as *Cesar* dealt at Marseilles, making warre against *Africanus* and *Petrus*. By this meanes smaller forces may serue your turne, and all the brauerie and terrour which the French intended in their coming forward, shall turne to your aduantage; and hauing another armie ready to aduance, you shall be master of the passages and force him to abandon that garrison which hee left enuironed with your forces vpon the frontire.

D The other way to inuade France, is to set vpon the frontires, and then goe forwards; but this requirerh too long time, and serueth rather to diuert the French Kings course from Italie, than to feede our hope with gaining by the match, in respect of the little likelihood to winne anie great townes vpon the frontires, for the French king is mightie, and will come armed to rescue rather than leaue it in daunger: Besides, the winning of a towne by batterie, requirerh a long time, and a wanton charge. It is verie true that the difficultie may be recompensed in some sort, by making choice of such places as import the cause wholly, or in the greatest part; but of all these waies the first hath most valour, and is most likely to prooue successefull. I remember well, that when I assaulted Fraunce towards Landerley, my intent was to haue entred into the bowels of that Realme, before the coming of the Suissers, but after that I had made some staie about the winning of certaine townes vpon the frontire, the facilitie that I found in preuailing against the first that were attempted by my forces, made mee to change my mind, and to engage my selfe there, with an assured hope that I might with the like successe go through with the rest; before the King should be strong enough to march: but being staid there longer than I either thought or expected, the King had oportunitie to make himselfe stronger with ease, to defend himselfe with greater securitie, and to constrain mee by force to retire, and to yeelde to an agreement which was then made rather (to tell you plaine) to colour my retreat, than for anie good effect that followed.

F Now if in making warre against France you should preuaile in your attempt, to the which (for that it were against the skill of Armes) I can not beleue you will be eter drawne without great likelihood of victorie; you must labour effectually to bring it to that point: Pursue your aduantage in such sort as I haue said, for by this meanes the king being forced for the most part to supplie his wants from countires farther off, before hee shall be ready with new forces, you may come vpon him with a fresh enterprise: But if hee

worst should happen vnto you, (which God forbid) you shall alwaies haue leisure to repair your strength, and so much the more freely, both for danger and all other inconueniences, if you can put off the hazard nere to the point of winter, so as the credit which he getteth in that action may not further his affaires in Italie: To these ends a gallant armie consisting of a reasonable number, shall auail you more than huge multitudes. And against France also you may greatly strengthen your estate, by maintaining a continual number of foot, to match their ordinarie troupes of horse, as you shall find it set downe more plainly in my Reports, with full consideration of all accidents, augmenting your proportion against the Turke, according to the rate wherein he exceeds the French king and others, princes of Europe, in force. It standeth neither with your iudgement nor skill, in any of these cases which I haue set downe, to giue your first onfet vpon anie place which requireth long time, great forces, & excessive charge before it can be won, vnlesse you be first sure of some secret intelligence within the towne, or priuie to some great defect or want which pincheth them, whether it be of men, munition, leaders, victuals, and such like necessarie things which they can not forbear; or haue some certaine knowledge of the vnsettled humors of the people, or of some chiefe magistrates, or of diuision within the bodie of the state it selfe, so as you may assure your selfe before the cardes be dealt, to win the great rest by setting it vp.

These occasions ought not at anie time to be neglected, vnlesse you meane to abandon the due consideration of the Art of Warre, for otherwise the enemy gaineth too much time for the preparing of his forces, and brings his desires to passe; whereas on the other side, it is hard to maintaine an armie long with victuals and other provisions at a siege without making some roome at the first for the passage of his conuoyes. I remember well that I once undertook an enterprise against Prouence in France, my Rendez-vous was at Marseilles, which was the cause that my hopes were made frustrate, and my charges lost, and withall, my retreat was exceeding dangerous: And which is worst of all, the eyes of *France* the French King were opened by this meanes, so as hee plainly discovered the dangers of his realme, and forthwith sought to settle himselfe at Turin, and to make his residence in Piedmont where the French did afterwards make warre to their best advantage, discouraging the ready meanes of diuerting all attempts on that side against France, besides the credit which they got by the action with the States of Italie.

If they had knowne (as I haue said) how to vse this prosperous successe to their best advantage, I doubt not but they had often put all the estates you holde thereabouts in daunger: Seeke therefore alwaies to assault the French King in his owne Realme, and to prevent his first attempts, for otherwise you cannot when you will ridde your hands of him, by making a diuision from Italie, if hee may be suffered to put in his foote, for then the difficultie of repairing your armie with supplies of Spaniards, considering the situation will be verie great, wherein all consisteth, for they being defeated by anie mischance, it giues great encouragement to the States of Italie, to laie new plottes, especially the Venetians, whom euerie little blast doth easily awake. Persuade not your selfe that your deere friends in Italie, seeing your power decline, will euer adhere to your misfortunes with the hazard of their owne estates, but rather secretly reconcile themselves to him that hath the vpper hand, and follow the Victors good fortune. I would not wish you to applye your whole care about the recouerie of Siena, which will be hardly effected, I graunt the Duke of Florence hath bene jealous to that State, considering his oportunitie to annoy them, both by neere neighbourhood, and the power of his authoritie: This plot if it might take effect, will bee a notable president to all States, and make them warie how to intermeddle against your power: And which importeth your cause most of all, you shall by this meanes cut off all intelligence betwene the French Kings forces, and the States of Italie, who finding the French settled within the heart of their Countrey, will be more apt to ioyne with them in friendship, and relie vpon their strength, rather than when they see them farre off in Piedmont; and much lesse if they can be drawne on this side the Alpes, whereas their fauour cannot bee commodious, nor their displeasure dangerous. It shall also much auail

Auail in your dealing with the Crown of France, to bee fully informed of the humors and affections of all such persons as are in greatest fauour with the King, on that stand for the best offices; thrust your hand secretly into all their competitions, and drawe the strongest partie vnto you with all the Art you can: for neuer can the Theater of publique Actions afford more favourable shewes in your behaile, than when it shall bee moued vnder hand with inuisible deuiſes. If euer Fortune fauour you so much, as that either by alliance, or anie other kind of agreement, you shall bee able to remouue the French out of Piedmont, wincke, at all other things. Doe the best you can where-by the Realme may bee induced, to desist from armes; so shall you bee secured from tumults and many other kindes of crosses, which are more dangerous, and not knowne to euery man; if afterwards anie occasion be offered of doing your selfe good, forbear not to lay holde of it. Thus shall you euer be most secure concerning causes which belong to Italie. This is the ground vpon which in the end it behoueth you to settle the strongest sinews of your soereign power, and therefore haue alwaies an eye vnto it with an aduised consideration.

The reason is not all one for the French to bee now put out of Piedmont, and as if they had neuer held it, for in the opinion of the world it will be more disgrace vnto them, than the winning thereof before did yeeld them profit. Wherefore in all your capitulations and agreements let your eye leuell directly at this end, and your plottes of policie aime alwaies at this marke. For beleue me son, and I assure you out of my long experience, that Piedmont alone will benefit you more, than if on that side which lies next vnto Flaunders, you had bereft him of the third part of his owne kingdom. Seeing then wee are entred so farre into the State of Italie, and engaged in the highest mysterie of State, wee must proceed a little farther in this politike discourse. I will tell you once againe, that by the life of this one artere the pulse of all your great power doth beate. This waie your eyes must bee euer bent and open to all oportunities: First I would haue you vse all deuotion and curtesie to the holie father, and the apostolike See; I would wish you to bee verie kind to the members of the same, as the Cardinales, Bishoppes, Prelates and other of the Clergie belonging to the Court of Rome. Be euer readie for the defence of them and the Catholike profession. In all elections of Popes, D see that you labour not by anie vnchristian, vnlawfull, and indirect meanes to pferre anie of those Cardinales that are your especiall friends: Striue not to make one faster than another, so as all Competitors bee worthe of the place, for in these factious actions the holie Ghost doth worke: And it is better to submit our likings to the prouidence of God, which turneth all things to the best, as wee may vnderstand by that which is recorded of *Mathias* in the Text, than to follow humours or respect particulars.

There is no question but anie of them may bee wonne by due respect, and admit they should become strange, yet after you haue sought to reconcile your selfe into their fauours by such meanes as are prescribed you by the holie Ghost, hauing your territories included in the midst of their Countrey, you can neuer want the choice of manie meanes belonging to the world; by which for your last refuge, when there is no other meanes, you may insinuate your selfe more easily into their good opinions: I meane either by alliance with their chiefe friends abroad; or bestowing pensions and sundrie curtesies vpon such persons of the Clergie as they most affect at home, with as thousand such like complements, as may please them daily, without any hinderance to princes of your qualitie. This is the waie to make the Pope your friend, though at the first hee were elected by a faction of Cardinales which depend not on your affection, for hardly shall you find anie hawke so haggard but hee will prey vpon all apt advantages: Hereof you must haue an especiall care, the end whereof is the general good of Christendome, rather than anie respect of your owne priuate interest; though manie perhaps doe not so much regard those bonds which ought to moue them simply to make a Pope, as they doe the profit when a Pope is made to their purpose.

The territories of the Church lie (as we may say) in the very heart of Italie, but so inuironed with yours, as they may serue for a garland: if Siena were once recouered, they should

should then be compassed in on all sides with your forces. So as the way which you shall take, according to the rule set downe before, shall be made more easie by your diligence, and the fauours which you meane to bestow, shall more readily bring forth those good fruits which you desire among them. So long as goodly men are preferred to that Sea, there is no doubt but charitie, religion, & care to keep the seamless coat of Christ vntire, will moue them both to tender and defende your loue. If men delighted more with worldlie honours should hold those places (which God forbid) yet would they be alwaies glad to make a friend of one who they are not able to incounter with hospitalitie, besides his deuotion to the popes theslues. The curtesies which you may likewise vse to the cardinals your speciall friends, wil much fortifie this warie & discreet cōsideration. Apply your care frō time to time to win many friends amōg the cardinals, as well old as yōg, the which may be easly effected, in giuing the prebends & such dignities as they desire. The like course I would haue you hold with the Bishops & other prelates of that Court: but haue a care to deale most bountifullly with such persons as are most inward with his Holines.

About all things ground your selfe vpon the conscience and equity of your demands, in dealing with the cardinals & other friends; but in cases that require grace and fauour, see that you rely vpon the bountie of the Pope himselfe, lest you be deceiued of your expectation. Stricke not to afford all commodities out of your estates to the court of Rome, with a bountifull and a willing heart, & if necessitie inforce you to breake with the Pope, yet vse the matter with such temperance and warinesse, as the world may rightly vnderstand the reason: and acknowledge that the cause of this stratagemme grew not from your desert, but that you were inforced thereunto for your owne safetie. Religion is the bond of loue, and therefore nothing is more contrarie to hope and expectation of good successe, than to leaue an ill opinion in the minds of men of your affection towards those that hold the place and credite of Gods ministers.

In matters pertaining to accēpts in general, conforme your self at all times with obedience & humblenes to the certen & infallible determination of his Holines, & howsoeuer causes of vnkindnes may arise, yet let the world see your religiō is vnchangeable. Touching the Venetians you may easly take order, if you find it good for your selfe to continue in the league with the, being as I said before, so disposed to rely wholly vpon times as they will wander between these vaine & idle expectations, suffering theslues willingly to be drawn on from day to day, & consuming still with a soft fire of ambitiō till at length they become a prey to some martiall power without any great difficulty. Moreouer the Turke, hauing shut the from Corsu, wil soone becaue the of Cipres & Candie, & restrain them much: And considering that the trade of Venice standeth wholie vpon merchandise, you may neuer vnder take anie enterprise vpon hope of their assistance, especially against the Turk, if it be not at such time as they are very lowe, and you in great prosperitie; and yet euen then also it might be thought that ielousie & feare of your good fortune wil work more in their suspitious conceits, than any other due consideration, or respect whatsoeuer. Experience hath taught that these mean conceits, whose humor is to apprehend more than anie can containe, lose more by emulation than they get by policie; but when soeuer you haue cause to breake league with them, assault them first, & with all celeritie, for as they desie in wait to worke vpon the first aduantage that their neighbors miseries doe afford, so states which haue often had proofe of this strange inclination, look warily to their attempts, & hold no strider league with the than stands with their owne necessities. If then you shall begin to plie the lustily before they can haue leisure to combine with other states, or make prouision for war, a matter so long neglected by their sloath, as it will appeare they haue quite forgotten their first alphabet; & as in popular estates fear breedeth infinit confusions, so may you make your profit of their ignorance. If this be doubted of, you can desire no plainer proofe, than their want of carriages, as of policie in letting slippe so many braue occasions as these late yeeres haue offred. It seemes that they presume out of their sloathfull humor to maintaine their dignitie by certaine quiet ordinances, and sober institutions made by their gowne men: & herein fortune hath bin more fauorable to them; but yet it may be said without offence or error, that commonweales so qualified, doe neither know nor vnderstand in what sort to vse their power to their best benefit.

This

A This weaknes being found, in setting first vpon their estate, I do assure my self, that with that sodaine alteration, and many other troubles and disorders that will ensue, you may bring some great enterprise to passe, before they be awaked from sleepe, or resolued among themselves what to spend, or whom to relie vpon, what Leaders to imploy, or haue reuiued their old discipline or manner of making warre so many yeeres neglected in their gouernement. Their courteous desires to cut off all cause of charge in time of peace, their ignorance in training men that may be fit to serue when need requires, their want of leaders in the bodie of their owne estate that may withstand the violence of any mightie potentate, that maketh head against their force, will alwayes giue aduantage to your policie, in taking the first start of them: you may boldly imagine that by this means you shall inforce them to their owne defence, whereas if you giue them leisure to beginne the warre, and to assault you first in the realme of Naples, they might doe great harme, in respect of their kind vñage towards them, and their ciuill gouernment which is yet fresh in memorie. If you find no likelihood that they will fall to their defence, inforce them what you may, and seeke to preuent their purposes by meanes of diuision in some good sort, for herein consisteth the greatest aduantage of your actions. I must now let you vnderstand that in seeking to assault them first, your greatest care must be by all means possible to thrust into the verie centre of the State, for hauing forced them to put garriſons into all the strong places which they hold, it is not possible they should bee able at the same time to keepe the field. In the meane time you cannot but find some great want in one or other of their forts, either of leaders, garriſons, prouisions, or payes; you may find out the struing humors that are set a worke by faction in general, or of persons discontented in particular. In any one place that your fortune shall be to take, vse your happy beginning as an extreme to further good, and leaue a president and encouragement to others, by your princely dealing with those, so as they may more easly be brought to yeeld vpon reasonable conditions and honourable offers made to Burgers, Leaders, soldiers &c. with other meanes which circumstances, time and place shall present to your discreet consideration. If you be once master of the field whatsoeuer is not strong will remaine at your deuotion, or they shall be inforced to come to field, where they can not long continue their garriſons being prouided: for hereupon a battell must ensue, which D in respect of their long discontinuance of armes, and want of knowledge & experience of the seruice of these times, will be greatly to their disaduantage, and disgrace, so as they may be diuerted first from the realme of Naples, which is one of their best hopes, when they may approach without opposition.

Be carefull also that no other prince in Italie grow too potent, although he seeme to depend wholly vpon your crowne; for in this case you must be no lesse careful to contain those which make shew to be your friends within reasonable bounds, than to keep downe your enemies; holding it for an infallible ground, that they which make profession to follow you, and are most forward in your seruice, would be the first (vpon the least disaduantage and declining of your fortune, and hope to better their owne) that would turne E into the other side. But as the many diuisions and factions in Italie doe make the labour hard, to keepe that which you now hold, as sometimes it happened betwixt the States of Greece and the Romans, you must euer presuppose this principle, that the Estates of Italie desire aboue all things to see a Duke settled at Milan, and a King at Naples; to this end tend all their practises, for that is a meanes to weaken your incroching power, and withall to free themselves from forreine seruitude: The reasons are, for that with petie princes they may treat at all times vpon euen hand, with you they promise faire in ialousie, and perseuere in dissimulation. Again, a Duke of Milan, or a King of Naples, which had no more estates than that alone to build on, would feare and hope with them, and euer tie himselfe to them in a firme league of friendship, against forreine forces for F his owne securitie, which is the strongest bond.

But with you they neither dare enter into league, lest thereby you should grow more strong, nor warre, lest with an ouer-match you should weigh downe their policie. Besides, a doore well kept is a defence for all that liue vnder one rooſe, and in one familie. The Venetians aboue all wish for this, because they might haue great choice in setting

setting downe their plottes, and more helpe at their need. The Pope hath also bene as apt as others to combine and practise to this end: but your best remedie against this humour will be to take advantage of the divisions and factions which happen daily among themselves, and to maintaine by continuall action, your reputation in armes, holding good intelligence in euerie state, appointing able and sufficient ministers to attend the Pope: by sitting with a golden hooke where the streames are troubled. As for Italie you need not feare anie daunger, if you can devise to keepe them from combining craftily within themselves, and especially with the French King on that side the Alpes, which is not hard to doe, for him that standeth euer watchfully vpon his gard, and hath in his head discretion to see, and in his hands meanes to prevent their purposes. The safest course as I haue aduised you before, is to nippe off the first buddes of ambition before they ripen to your prejudice, or feed to the hazard of your gouernement.

These briefe notes (my deare sonne) I thought good to leaue with you, as certaine grounds and principles, whereunto you may resort for resolution of doubts as occasion shall be offered. I am not ignorant that many circumstances may change the rules, but yet the reason of them well obserued will direct you, in what sort to deale, howeuer fresh occasions may inforce you somewhat to digresse and varie from my former obseruations. Touching the manner in particular of fashioning your policie, both in time of peace and warre to the best vse, with extraordinarie plots for the performance of greater actions, rather sensibly conceiued in my head vpon likely grounds, than warranted by certaine prooffe during the time of my flourishing in the world, I referre you to the complete discourse which shall euer witness both my loue to you, and my trauell for your happinesse. For a conclusion of this point, I charge you by the interest which by nature I may claime, and by the durtie which by the lawe of God you owe me, that in all enterprises you set the rule of conscience before your eyes, and what stratagems and policies soeuer you vse to attaine vnto your desires, yet let the ground and end be iustifiable in his sight who weigheth all things, not by humane passion, but by his most holie ordinance.

Be kind in naturall affection to all the branches of your honourable house: Continue league and friendship with your ancient allies: Prevent the first beginning of your enemies attempts: Beware of sugred words, where reason maketh you to suspect ill deeds: Be sure of sound aduertisements from euerie state: Be iust at home, and bountifull abroad: so shall your end be suitable to your entrie, and both to that vnspined wish which your fathers loue affordeth you. I will neuer cease to pray for your good successe: in you I resteth to proceed in such a course as praise may found your purposes.

### D. Philip the second of that name, and 23.

*King of Castille &c.*

Among other aduertisements which the emperour had giuen vnto the king D. Philip his sonne, he had exhorted him much to make a peace with the French, and to keepe it; Mary Queene of England did also affect it, being desirous to haue him by her to haue some issue: whereupon they entred into treatie, and there was a truce concluded for 5 yeeres, by the which it was agreed that euerie one should remaine in possession of that he held. By this truce which was both profitable and honourable for the French, *Ozauio Farnese* duke of Parma returned into fauour with king Philip. But soone after the Pope falling in quarrel with the king of Spaine, touching the *Colonna* whom he had excommunicated, and deprived of their goods, as rebels to the Church, hauing made his nephew *John Caraffe* duke of Paliano, & giuen vnto his son, but yet an infant, the castle of Cavi, belonging to *Marc Anthonie Colonne*, with the title of Marquesse; the D. of Albaviceroy of Naples, hauing commandement from his master to presse the restitution of the *Colonna* to their possessions, had protested that he would do it by force, who (hearing that the *Caraffe* did fortifie Paliano, ypon the confines of the realme of Naples) sent the erle of *Sanvalentino* to the *Caraffe*, exhorting them that they would not attempt a thing so preiudiciall to his Maiestie, and that they should doe all good offices to pacifie the Pope, and to

take

A take away the occasions of these tumults, seeing that they might expect more from the King of Spaines bountie, by quietnesse, than from their vnclie, by such dangerous and not durable Innouations, which could not produce any thing but warre and ruine. The Earle complained also in the Duke of Albas behalfe, that his Holinesse had vsed all them sowerly that were friends to the Emperour, and to the King of Spaine, and that hee daily gaue new occasions to thinke, that his heart was estranged from them, for that to wrong the fauorites, friends, and dependants of the house of Austria, without respect of anie, was a signe of much hatred which was borne them; and small account that was made of them: besides arming and leuying new troupes daily, the which were sent vnto diuerse places of the frontire, and finally causing a fort to bee built vpon the confines of the realme of Naples, and employing men therein, that were suspected to the house of Austria, did shew plainly that hee had done them wrong, or meant to wrong them, and then defend it by force. But this was against the quiet of Christendome, seeking to ouerthrow the hope of a generall peace, which with great toyle was lately grounded vpon a truce: and to receiue into Rome, not only the enemies of his King, but open rebelles, was nothing else but to approuer their treacherie, and to haue an intent to vse their counsell or seruice to preiudice his Maiestie, seeing they were so familiar, in his Court. The which hee should beleue hee could not long endure, beeing of so generous a mind, and of so great power as hee needed not to feare anie man; and if hee had endured until that time, it was onely in respect of the holie Sea, desiring peace about all things, whereunto the Pope should bee more inclined than he, in regard of his dignitie and charge.

The Pope answered pertinently to euerie one of these points, shewing that it was not fit for anie man, much lesse for a Catholike King, or his ministers to seeke (vpon anie colour whatsoever) to hinder the Popes authoritie ouer his subiects, that he might take knowledge of their offences and punish them, for the respect hee should beare to anie Potentate: and that hee (although that the King of Naples were feudatarie to that Sea) tooke no care for that which was done in that kingdom, much lesse should hee with such vehemencie seeke an account in Rome of the Popes actions, who was a free and absolute Lord: But touching that which was spoken of armes and soldiers, it was neither in that citie nor anie where else, a preparation to warre, but for the safetie and defence of his person and State, seeing that hee had cause to feare secret treason, and that which they could not doe by poison, they would seeke to effect by the sword, and they that could not deprive him of his life, would with ignominie spoile him of his estate, hauing before his eyes the example of *Clement* the seuenth by his too great trust. And as hee could not altogether blame his Maiesties royall conceptions, so hee could not excuse the malice of some of his followers, who haue thought therein to please him, whom hee also blamed, for entertaining anie hard conceit in the Kings mind, causing him to suspect his Holinesse actions and his nephews, so as happily he had commaunded him to send some troupes vnto the frontiers of the territories of the Church, vnder *Bernardin* of Mendosa, and that they had made other demonstrations nothing conformable to the peace, which the Duke seemed to desire, according to the intent of the King his master. Touching enemies and rebelles which hee said hee had receiued into Rome, hee answered, that hee might well know, that that Citie had bene alwayes a common Countreie, wherewith the King should not be grieved: Besides, the Duke of Alua, who made all this noyse, should consider how much the Pope of Rome was reuerenced and respected by him, seeing that hee had receiued and fauoured *Marc Anthonie Colonne*, who had bene excommunicated by him, with all those that should receiue or assist him. And as for the Kings well taking of it, it was well knowne, and of what power hee was, seeing that hauing scarce taken in hand the gouernement of his Realme, hee would haue soueraine Princes respect his Maiesties fauorites, the which hee entertained in other mens estates: But notwithstanding hee did hope that God would fauour the iust cause, and that being forced to take some other resolution, hee trusted to find them that would helpe the oppressed.

But



1556

Truce broken  
betwixt France  
and Spaine.Cardinall Car-  
raffa's legate in  
France.Duke of Guise  
sent into Italie.John de Luna  
flies into France.Charles resigns  
the empire to  
his brother.

But after this they fell to open armes: the Pope apprehending the preparations which were made by the Spaniards in the realme of Naples, had recourse vnto the French King, and to the forces of Fraunce, the ancient refuge of Popes oppressed. This was an occasion to breake the truce, and to bring Fraunce and Spaine againe to armes. There had been a league made by the procurement of the cardinall of Lorraine (before the conclusion of the truce) betwixt the Pope, *Henrie* the French king, and the Duke *Ferrara*, whereof the Duke should be generall in Italie, in qualitie of the Kings lieutenant. Cardinall *Carraffa* the Popes Nuntio was sent into France for Legat, who brought a sword vnto the king, in signification of warre, at whose instance there were three thousand foot appoynted to bee sent to Rome, whereof part were speedily imbar- ked in those gallies which brought this Legate to Marseilles. The Pope hee stood vpon his gard, entertained capitaines, and gaue commissions to leue men, causing the places about Rome to be fortified. The duke of Alba seeing the French king ingaged in this quarrell, entred in hostile manner into the territories of the Church, where hee tooke many places, and brought his army nere to the gates of Rome, which made the Pope to importune the French King for succours. Afterwards hee tooke the towne of Ostia, and the castle; the which had wonderfully amazed the Romans, if *Peter Straffy* had not bene, who since his defeat, being no friend to the Spaniards, had liued in Rome, and had accompanied Cardinall *Carraffa* into Fraunce, and returned with him to Rome by the kings commaundement, who employed himselfe wholly for the *Carraffa*s who had all the authoritie, wherefore hee was verie pleasing vnto them. By his industrie and valour, Ostia with some other places were recovered from the Spaniards.

The king desirous to releue the Pope, sent *Francis* of Lorraine Duke of Guise into Italie, as the Popes souldier, with whom, and with the Duke of Ferrara hee had made certain conuentions, for the entertainment and safetie of the armie, consisting of twelue thousand foot, French, Suisses, and Grisons, and two thousand horse, with the which he passed the Alpes in the heart of winter.

About this time *D. John de Luna* was in Flaunders, who (as wee haue said) had bene called thither touching *Fernand Gonzaque*: hee seeing himselfe very severely handled by the Kings ministers in that businesse, seeking a strict accompt of him of the munition of the castle of Milan, being accused to haue employed it to his owne priuate vse, hee resolved to flee from Brussels, who coming into Fraunce, was graciously receiued by the Christian king, and an honourable pension given him for his maintenance. Hee wrote from thence to his sonne *Diego*, that hee should deliuer the castle of Milan (where he remained in his fathers place) to whomsoever his king should commit it, and that neither hee nor his brethren should euer swaue from his seruice. And so it was deliuered by way of prouision to *Alonso Piesconi*, by order from the catholike King, and afterwards to *Alonso Figueroa*, who was sent Castellain thither, fearing the danger.

The Emperour *Charles* heing the last yeare made a resignation of all his realmes and dominions, shewing a rare President of his fatherlie loue, and of a wife and temperat mind, hee resolved also to write vnto his brother touching the gouernement of the Empire, and leauing the gouernement of his states more free vnto his sonne, retire himselfe, and spend the remainder of his life in a free and quiet contemplation. Wherefore on the seventh day of September this yeare one thousand five hundred fiftie and sixe he sent doctor *Saler* into Germany to his brother *Ferdinand* with a resignation of the gouernement of the empire with the Crowne, Scepter, and other Ornaments; pretending, that being vnable to vndergoe that burthen, by reason of his age, and the infirmities which did afflicke him extraordinarily, hee perswaded the Electors to confirme the said *Ferdinand* in his place, being yonger, stronger, and more apt to beare the burthen of such an empire, to whom there was giue by the providence of God, for a naturall enemy the Turk, who was mighty & alway watchful, the which was now most to be feared, for that he heard he was making a great preparation for war. He did write particularly to euery one of the electors touching that businesse, & a very familiar letter vnto his brother, recommending his son vnto him, that he would direct and assit him in all occasions, with his counsell & help. On the 14 day of the moneth he went from Gaand into Zeland, his ships attending him at Fleisingue

Lib. 28.

*Fleisingue*, but for that the wind was contrary, hee was forced to staie many daies at *Zuyt- bourg* a village betwixt *Fleisingue* and *Middelbourg*, which turning faire, hauing taken his leaue of his sonne, and giuen him his blessing, and imbraced all the Princes and Noblemen, hee tooke shipping with his two sisters *Mary* widow to *Lewis* King of Hongary, and *Leonora* first widow of Portugal, and then of France, who would needs accompany him in this voiage.

He came in a eleuen daies to the coast of Spaine, and landed at *Laredo* in *Biscay*, where before that he receiued any of those Noblemen that came to doe their duties to him, hee kneeled downe, and gaue God thanks, for that in the last yeeres of his life, hee had suffred him to come and die in that country, which had alwaies bene most deere vnto him, and by whose meanes he knew he was come to the hight of that honour and greatnesse: And then imbracing those Noblemen and Grandos of Spaine very louingly, hee past by *Bourgos* to *Vailedolit*, whereas his Nephew *Don Carlo* was, to whom he gaue many good instructions, putting him chiefly in mind of religion and Iustice, wherewith some daies, and leauing his sisters there, that he might haue no let to attend the life which hee had propounded, he retired himselfe to the Monastery of *Saint Iust* of the Order of *Saint Ierosme* de la *Vera*, nere to *Placentia*, a desert place, in the Prouince of *Estreamadura*. Here, with foure seruants onely to serue him in his necessity, hee past his life in continuall contemplation, giuing great almes and doing other good deeds of charity, for the which hee had receiued a hundred thousand ducats yeerly out of his great possessions. Pope *Paul* the fourth hearing of his resignation, was much troubled, thinking that the Emperour could not doe it, seeing it was necessary, that beeing desirous to leaue off that degree, wherunto hee had bene advanced by the Popes authority, hee should resigne it into the Popes hands, whose office it then was to write vnto the Electors to prouide one that were worthy of that dignity, who was to obtaine the ordinary confirmation from him, wherein *Ferdinand* afterwards found some difficulty.

Queene *Leonora* being in Castille (shee had a great desire to see the Infanta, *D. Maria* of Portugal her daughter, who remained at *Lisbone*, wherein there was some difficulty vpon the point of honour and conuenience, whether the mother should goe into Portugal, or the daughter into Castille, so as the Emperour was forced to write somewhat sharply vnto the king *D. John*. In the end the daughter came to see the mother in the city of *Badajos*, which was the last time of their meeting.

The king of Algier with the helpe of an army at sea of Turkes, of two and forty gallies, and many Moores at land, did much annoy the coast of *Africke*, and in the end came to *O- ran* thinking to take that towne from the Spaniards. Being incamped there the seventh day of August, and viewed it where they might plant their battery, they beganne to cast vp trenches about the wall, planting some peeces to batter the castle of *Alchaizer*, but it was very indircetly done, for they lay open both to the artillery of the fort, and to that of the port *Remisene*, so as very many of them were slaine. Whereupon they were forced to make new rampars, and to find out a better seat for their lodgings, the which were on e- uery side discovered, their army being great, for besides 12000. Turkes, there was an infinite number of Moores, both horse and foote. They staied there some daies before they resolved to batter it, for that they could not find a conuenient place, but that they should be wonderfully annoyed by the ordnance from the fort, which standing high discovered the country round about, and shot into their trenches. In the meane time the besieged sallied forth dayly to skirmish, and carried away the honour in a manner alwaies: and al- though there were not about two thousand souldiers in the whole garrison, which were diuided in *Merfalcabir*, the castle *Alchaizer* and the towne, yet the Earle of *Alcaudete* the Gouernor sent them continually forth to annoy the enemy. But the Moores resolving in the end to batter it, and come to an assault, on the fifteenth day of August they beganne to batter the castle in two places, where they themselves receiued the greatest losse; for be- sides many others, all their gunners were slaine, so vnskillfully they had planted their bat- terie, so as at night they withdrew it, knowing that all their endeavors were vaine. The next day the Turkes began to retire towards the sea with dishonor, making all possible speed to get into their gallies, which lay at *Sorzet*, and the Moores on horse-backe lauing them-

1556  
Charles the  
fifth passeth in-  
to Spaine to a  
solitary life.Interview be-  
twixt the mo-  
ther and the  
daughter.Oran besieged  
and valiantly  
defended.Turkes and  
Moores flee  
from France.



1556

themselves by flight. The reason why they received no more losse by the Spaniards' <sup>G</sup> in their retreat, was for that they heard thereof late, when as most of them had recovered their galleys, or were fled away on horse-backe.

There was some slaughter made of the Moores that were footmen; but the greatest part of them were pardoned, for that being of the country; the Spaniards would incense them as little as might bee, notwithstanding that they were treacherous and of no faith. The Earle tooke some of their baggage which the enemies had left behind them for haile, with one peece of Ordnance, and if they had had three or foure hundred launces to follow then suddenly, few of the Turkes had escaped, for that they were all in a confusion, and most of them without armes. This sodaine retreat of the Turkes at the enterprise of O- <sup>H</sup> ran, eased the Catholike Kings army of much toyle, hauing bene many daies doubtful, whether they should goe and releue this towne, or carry the Spaniards into the Realme of Naples, to the Duke of Alua.

1557

After all the broiles in Italy, betwixt the Pope and the King of Spaine, and the taking and retaking of many townes, in the end both parties seemed to incline vnto a peace. The Pope being a man of a small discourses and ignorant of his owne affaires, fearing to be abandoned by his foraine forces, which hee could not entertaine but with great charges, which his means would hardly supply, suffering himselfe to bee gouerned by <sup>I</sup> men which deceived him, and applied all to their owne priuate posits, with supreme authority, men of no faith, and which had many practises; hee therefore yielded to their persuasions which did mediate a peace betwixt him and the King of Spaine, amongst which were the Duke of Florence and the Venetians, desirous to diuert this warre, which could bring nothing but spoiles and ruines. The Duke of Guise lying neere to Rome had newes of the battaile of Saint Quentin lost by the French; wherefore hee persuaded the Pope to take some course for himselfe for that hee should bee forced to returne with his army or the greatest part thereof into France, to succour that Realme, which he saw in apparent danger.

Pope yields to  
treat of a  
peace.

King of Spaine  
desirous of  
peace with the  
Pope.

King Philip did in like manner write vnto the Venetians, shewing how weak the Popes hopes were growne, yet he offered all honourable conditions of peace to his Holinesse, referring the composition to the Iudgement of their common-weale, if the Pope and Viceroy should disagree: Hee did also send commaundement to the Duke of Alba, that hee should procure a peace with all conditions; and so as his friends and seruants might not bee oppressed, hee should accept any accord from the Pope, with whom hee meant not to bee any more in disgrace, and that hee desired no greater fruites of the victory which hee had newly gotten, than to be at peace with his Holinesse. The Duke was then ready to inuest Paliano, but the Cardinall of Santafiora continuing to negotiate this peace, had often sent *Alexander Placidi* his Secretary vnto the Viceroy, to let him vnderstand, that the Pope at the intreaty of many Cardinalls, had yielded to a peace, and sent him these conditions.

That the Pope was well pleased to receiue Philip king of Spaine, and the Duke of Alba into fauour, pardoning all the iniuries they had done vnto the Church, so as the Duke with all his troupes did within tenne daies depart out of the territories of the Church leauing the townes and forts taken in that warre free vnto the Pope: and that hee in like manner would cause the Duke of Guise to depart for France within tenne daies. The Duke of Alba although he knew the king his Masters mind, and were himselfe desirous of peace, yet would he make vse of the occasion, and haue it with all advantages: And therefore hee answered the Cardinall, that those propositions were to be propounded to men that were vanquished, and not to victors: But if the Pope would haue peace with the king of Spaine, he should accuse his owne iniustice, for spoiling the Colonnes, and his error hauing imprisoned so many of his Maiesties vassalls and seruants; making warre against him, and calling in the French to preiudice his states, for the which hee should craue pardon: a proposition which shewed rather the pride of that Nation, than the mind of the Prince, to whom it was no small blemish.

The Caraffi seeing the present danger, & doubting the vast designs of the Spaniard in this great prosperity, according to the which they doe commonly guide their passions, either insolent

Duke of Alua  
answer touch-  
ing a peace.

1557

<sup>A</sup> insolent or dejected, they perswaded the Pope to retire into France, or to some other place of safetie, leauing garisons of Frenchmen in all the forts belonging to the Church, to kindle such a fire in Italie, as neither the Spaniards nor their partisans should euer bee able to quench. But the Pope who naturally did not loue strangers, and had received small seruice from the French, reiected it as a desperate Councell, yet being resolu'd rather to imbrace any partie than yielding to the Viceroy's propositions, to do a thing contrarie to his mind and dignity.

At such time as they treated of this accord, the Viceroy (the more to terrifie the Pope) began to aduance with his armie towards Rome, with an intent to giue an assault to the Citie, and then retire, yet it was giuen out that hee had a meaning to take it, but his designe was made frustrate by the vigilance of the Caraffi. The duke hauing relation from Palazzo and Moschera (two of his Captaines, whom he had sent in the night to view the citie) that giuing a sudden assault towards Port Maior, with the helpe of some peeces of artillerie, it might bee easily forced, hee removed with the armie, and staid at Colonna, where the sixe and twentieth day of August at night, hee caused his armie to march in this order. The light Horsemen were in the forward, hee made a great Squadron of all the Spanissh foot, which serued for the battell, and the Dutch had the rereward, and on their flanks they had other troupes of horse. And for that they were in some doubt of the French which were at Tiouli, they sent <sup>C</sup> some troupes of horse and foot on the right hand to stay the enemye, if they should haue any notice of their enterprise. Hee then sent about three hundred before with ladders, and other instruments to climbe vp, and to breake open gates if need were, that being brought by some neere way neere vnto Port Maior, they might giue a sudden assault, and being seconded by some horse which were neere them, they might enter the Citie, and keepe a port vntill that the rest of the armie arrived.

Duke of Alua  
goes to assault  
Rome.

The order was that they should present themselves vnto the wall about the seuenth house of the night, but there falling a small continuall raine, the waies were so broken, as being constrained to take a longer course, it was brake of day before they arrived, so as being discovered by some of the Countymen, they aduertised them of the citie, which made them retire speedily, leauing their ladders against the walles, and many cloakes wherewith they had couered themselves from the raine, yea, and some armes, but the slackenesse of the enemye in the pursute was the cause that there were not about fise and twentie or thirtie taken.

Cardinall Caraffi had intelligence by the Secretary Placidi, when he came from the viceroy, that the armie began to rise; whereupon hee doubted they would assault Rome, or Tiouli, and take the French vnprovided, so as hee gaue them warning ouer night, and hee himselfe (not making it knowne to the Romanes, in whom he had no great confidence) wacht all night with the duke, and was in armes, doubling the sentinels wher as they most doubted the enemye. *Ascanio de la Corne*, who commanded the horse that went to second the 300 foot, seeing the lights about the wall, and the gards in a readines, held the enterprise to be discovered. And to confirme this opinion, foure light horsemen went forth earlie to get some bootie, they thinking by reason of the darkenesse of the night, the number to be greater, and that they had laied an ambush, whereupon they retired.

The duke of Alba comming neere vnto Rome, and seeing his men had not done any thing, thought that they stood readie within to receiue them. And for that he vnderstood by certaine spies, that *Stroff* had led foure hundred Horse and twelue companies of Galfcons the euenig before out of Tiouli, it confirmed him in his beleefe, that they were entred into Rome, hauing notice of the Spaniards comming, wherupon hee caused the armie to retire to Colonna from whence it came: without doubt if hee had but attempted it, Rome had bene taken and sackt. The citie was so ill garded, as a lesse armie would haue forced it, for that the Romanes were enemies to the Caraffi, for the wrongs they thought they had receiued of them, and of the soldiers that were within the citie; of the which the Galfcons did not spare their goods <sup>not</sup>

Rome in danger  
to be sackt.

H h h h ij.

1557

nor honors, & the Germans, enemies to the Pope, spoiled the church & altars. The Pope considering of these things, & lamenting the miseries of the time, being forced to countenance and not to punish those wretches, who called themselves defenders in name, but in effect were destroyers of that miserable citie, beganne to bee fully resolved to peace, and the rather for that hee did visibly see the danger wherein hee was, being certified that the Citizens of Rome had resolved, that if the duke of Alba returned, they would send to capitulate with him, and open him the gates vpon honest conditions.

The duke of Guise, and *Peter Strass* entered into Rome after this tumult, who talking with the Pope, aduised him to accommodate himselfe vnto the time, as wise men doe commonly. They laied before him the vnfortunate losse of the French king, whereby there was no hope of any greater succours, and that hee should remaine without a Generall, for that hee was to returne speedily into Fraunce, which would bee no small prejudice vnto him, for that his Nephewes, who were to gouernethe warre, were of small experience, neither would they belecue them that vnderstood more in that art, but intreated them ill, keeping backe their entertainment, so as seeing his holiness without money, and without Capitaines, they did not thinke the warre could continue long: wherefore they counselled him to make the speediest and best accord he could with the king of Spaine. The Pope gaue an attentive care to the free speeches of these Noblemen, and resolved to make an end of the peoples miseries, wherefore he called the embassadour of Venice vnto him, intreating him to goe and informe that Senate of the estate of things, and to exhort them in his name to make some good accord with the imperials.

After manie treaties, in the end a Peace was concluded by the Cardinals of Santafiori and Vitelli; and afterwards by *Caraffa* and the duke of Alba, who met together at Cavi. And so by either of them hauing full authoritie from the Pope, and the king of Spaine, the following accord was published the 14 day of September.

1 That the Pope should receiue from the duke of Alba in the name of the king of Spaine, the submissions that were necessarie to obtaine pardon from his Holiness, but afterwards the Catholike king should send a man expresse to that end. And so his Holiness should receiue the king into fauour, as an obedient Sonne, admitting him to all the graces of the holy church, like vnto other Christian Princes.

2 That the Pope should renounce the league contracted with the French king, and remaine a Neuter, louing them both equally, as his Sonnes.

3 That his Maiestie should cause the townes and Cities demanteled, which had bene taken and held since the beginning of the warre, to bee restored, if they did in any sort belong vnto the Apostolike sea.

4 That the ordinance taken on either part in that warre should be restored.

5 That his Holiness and his Maiestie should forgie all offences that had bene done them, and remit all spirituall and temporall punishments, granting them a generall pardon, with restitution of their honors, dignities, faculties, and iurisdiccions, wherof they had bene deprived, in regard of that warre. From the which were excepted *Marc Antonio Colonna*, *Afsanio de la Corgna*, and other rebels, the Popes vassals, who should remaine in the same censure and disgrace, during the Popes pleasure.

6 That *Paliano* should be deliuered into the hands of *John Bernardino Carbone*, sonne to the Popes Cousin, but faithfull to both parties, deliuering the fort as it was at that time: and that the said *Carbone* should sweare fealtie to the pope and king of Spaine, and to obserue the articles concluded betwixt the Cardinal *Caraffa*, and the duke of Alba, hee hauing the gard of *Paliano*, with eight hundred foot, which should bee paid equally by the Pope and king.

Besides these there were (as some write) other secret articles concluded betwixt *Caraffa* and the duke of Alba, concerning *Paliano* and that duke.

During these broiles betwixt the Pope and the king of Spaine, the warre was as violent vpon the frontiers of Artois & Picardie: where the duke of Sauoy being general for the king of Spain, entred with an armie of 40000 men, he besieged *S. Quentin*, defeated

Peace betwixt  
the Pope and  
the king of  
spaine.

*S. Quentin taken.*

and tooke the Constable which came for to relieue it, and then tooke the towne: after which the duke of Guise was called home out of Italie.

The duke of Sauoy hauing taken *Catelet*, and some other places in Picardie, dissolved his armie: after which the French king hauing raised a great armie commanded by the duke of Guise, hee tooke *Calis*, *Guines*, and all the land of Oye, from the English in the heart of winter. Soone after the Marshall of *Tertres* went with an armie into *Flanders*, where hauing taken *Bergues* and *Dunkerke*, and besieged *Grauelin*, hee was charged by the earle of *Egmont*, his armie defeated, and hee himselfe taken. After which rout the French king leuiued new forces, and came

and camped about *Amiens*: And king *Philip* on the other side being nothing inferior in forces, lodged neere vnto *Dourlans*. Whilst that these two mightie armies which lay so neere one vnto another, held all the world in expectation of some bloodie battell, God inspired the hearts of these two great Princes with a desire to quench this warre without effusion of blood, and to preferre an accord before a doubtful victorie: wherefore their Deputies being assembled in the Abbaie of *Cercampe* vpon the Marches of *Artois*, hauing propounded certaine Articles, a peace was more easily concluded at *Castell Cambresis*, vpon the newes of the death of *Marie* queene of England. The conditions were:

1 That king *Philip* being a widower, should marrie *Elizabeth* eldest daughter to king *Henrie*.

2 That *Marguerite* of Fraunce the kings Sister, should bee given in marriage to *Emanuel Philibert* duke of Sauoy, and that in consideration thereof, all his country, townes, Castles and iurisdiccions of Sauoy and Piedmont should bee restored, except the townes of *Turin*, *Quier*, *Pignerol*, *Chiuas*, and *Villanoua* of *Ast*, which should continue three yeares in the French kings hands, and that in the meane time the king of Spain should retaine *Ast* and *Verceil*.

3 That all the Townes and forts which had bene taken in these last warres, should bee restored on either part, whether they did belong to those kings, or to others which had followed their parties, and namely the Island of *Corfica* to the Genouois, *Montferrat* to the duke of *Mantoua*, and the towne and castle of *Bouillon* to the bishop of *Leege*.

4 That they of the house of *Longueuille* should bee put in possession of the countie of *Saint Paul*, and the king *D. Philip* of the countie of *Charalois*, the Soueraignie referred: but there was no mention made of the *Siennois*.

5 That the two kings should doe their best endeouours to entertaine the peace of Christendome, and should procure the continuance and ending of the generall council begun at *Tren*.

This yeare one thousand five hundred fiftie and eight, queene *Leonora* sister to the Emperour *Charles* the fift, died in *Februarie*, at *Talabernula* three leagues from *Badajos*. Shee was first wife to *Emanuel* king of *Portugall*, and then to *Francis* the French king, she was honoured with a royall funerall pompe: And in September following, the emperour *Charles* ended all his toiles, and past to a better life in the monasterie of *Saint Iust*, where hee had remained two yeares: his bodie was left there to bee afterwards buried in the monasterie of *Saint Laurence*, which king *Philip* his sonne did since build with great charge and state, in remembrance of the victorie gotten against the French, and the taking of the Constable on *Saint Laurence* day, the tenth of August. Hee left an immortal fame of his valour, more than any of his predecessors had done in many hundred yeares before, for that in him all those vertues might be seene, which are to bee desired in one, that should gouerne his people iustly, and command armes and manage warre iudiciously: He was verie religious and pitifull to the poore, wherein he seemed rather prodigal than liberal: In his eating, drinking & apparel he was very temperate & modest, so as he might well be a president to any priuat man, as well as to great princes, in the practise of that vertue: He had a care of iustice, to haue it duly administered, although the continual wars wherein he was afflicted made him to endure many defects: Hee not only spake the language of euery nation

on

Death of Queen  
Leonora.

21

Death of the  
Emperour  
Charles the fift.

Praxis of the  
Emperour  
Charles.

H h h h h j j.

1558

on where hee commaunded in Europe, but also those that were not vnder his gouernment, for hee spake the French and Sclauon tongues readily. In other things hee was not learned, but eloquent, shewing great grauitie in his speech. It seemed that his good fortune did sturue with vertue to fauour him: Hee was prompt in execution, and constant against any apparent daunger, little esteeming death. Hee was so accustomed to the toyles of warre, that vntill hee grew aged, it seemed no trouble vnto him. Hee liued eight and fiftie yeares fixe moneths and fixe and twentie daies, his funerals were celebrated with great pompe throughout all the cities of his realme, yea, throughout Christendome, euerie one seeming both in publicke in and in private, to be partakers of this generall losse.

In December after, king *Philip* his Sonne caused his funeral to bee made at Brussells with great state and pompe, where all his most glorious enterprises were represented. Spaine this yeare besides the losse of two such great Princes, was not a little annoyed by the Turkes army, which going from Prouence, landed some men in the Island of Minorca, beyond the port of Maone, and there, after some difficultie and losse, they tooke *Citadella*, where there were not aboute five hundred men to defend it, of whome there were aboute foure hundred slaine, the Turkes disdaining that they were forced to batter it, and to giue some assaults before they could take it. And so valour which is wont to bee admired and respected of the enemy, did now cause a contrarie effect in the hearts of these barbarous and cruell men, and hauing spoyled the towne and the whole island, they returned with many prisoners into Prouence.

Armie of Turke  
in Minorca.

Death of D. John  
the third king of  
Portugal.

22 A little before the emperours death, *D. John* the third of that name king of Portugall, died at Lisbonne, to the great griefe of his subiects, by reason of the infancie wherein hee left *D. Sebastian*, the griefe of the Crowne. Hee was a stately and beautifull Prince, and of haucie enterprise, hee continued the Nauigation of the Indies, with great happinesse and reputation, and made the name of Christ to bee knowne to many barbarous nations. Hee made many leagues with the Potentates of the East and South to abate the Turkes power, yea with *Tamas* king of Persia, to whome hee gaue succours of men, artillerie, and all other munition for warre, teaching him and his people to warre after the discipline vsed in Europe, that they might annoy the Turkes: yet he was blamed, that to spare money, he had caused many forts in Africke to be rased which the kings his predecessors had won with great charge and losse of men. Notwithstanding, he left manie monuments and marks of his pietie, according to those times: for in fauor of him, the Pope made *Miranda Portalegra* & *Leira*, bishopricks, and the cite of *Ebora* an archbishoprick; he reformed many Abbayes, taking away the superfluous reuenues of the rich, and giuing them to the poore: Hee made an vniuersity at Coimbra, increased the cite of Lisbonne much, the which is the greatest and best peopled of all Spaine, and by the persuation of the Clergie receiued the Inquisition into Portugal, being vntill that time reiected by his Predecessors, by reason of the abuse: *L* Hee was a verie great fauourer of the Iesuites: and dyed in Iune, in the Palace of *Ruiere*, in the five and fiftieth yeare of his age: hee was interred at Belem.

1559  
Castile.

King *Philip* being at Gand, hee sent *William* of Nassau Prince of Orange, and *D. Fernando Aluarez* of Toledo, duke of Alba (who had left Italie and his charge to the duke of Sesse being sent in his place) into Fraunce, to sweare and confirme the articles of the peace in his name: and the duke of Alba had an especial commission, to make the matrimoniall promise of the king of Spaine to *Elizabeth* of Fraunce, according to the accord, and to solemnize this act, as it is vsual for great Princes that are absent. This was celebrated at Paris in Iulie one thousand five hundred fiftie and nine, but the feasts and ioy of this marriage prouoed momentall for thark. *Henry* was hurt with the splinter of a lance, and died, as you may read at large in the Historie of France. Before his death he wold haue the mariage of his Sister *Marguerit* with the duke of Sauoy consummated, which was a great content to that poore prince dispossest of his state, who feared much that the kings death which was vndoubtfull

Marring of  
king Philip  
with Elizabeth  
of France.

1559

A full, would be a great crosse vnto him. King *Philip* (after the consummation of his marriage, by the duke of Alba) sent *Ruy Gomez de Sylua* vnto his queene, with a rich diamond, valued by some at eightie thousand crownes, by others, at an hundred and fiftie thousand, with order, that she should prepare her selfe to goe into Spaine the next yeare. And hee finding himselfe freed from troubles, and hauing disposed of the affaires of the Netherlands, appointed gouernours for euerie prouince, and ouer them *Marguerite* of Austria, his sister, duchesse of Parma, he tooke shipping at Fleissingue, in September, and arriued at Laredo in Biscaie, verie happily: for he was no sooner landed, but there did rise so violent a storme, and such contrarie winds to that nauigation, as, had hee bene at sea, he had bene in verie great danger, or, had he bene in Flanders, he could not haue parted in six monethes. They perswaded him, that his presence in Spaine was verie necesserie, for that by their acquaintance with the English and Germans, many of the Court, and other Spaniards which had followed the warres, seasoned with *Luthers* opinions, had spread them there: to root out the which the Iudges of the Inquisition sayd, that they were too weak, the king being absent.

King Philip re-  
turns into Spain

23 Being arriued, it was his chiefe care to haue a strict search made for them that had any ill conceit of the Romish religion, and to haue them rigorously punished: so as that yeare there were two hideous spectacles presented, one at Valladolid, and another at Seuille, of people of diuers conditions, sexes, and ages, condemned to bee burnt aliue; among which there were some of noble families. Some sayed, it was a secret plot betwixt the two kings of France and Spaine, at the conclusion of the peace, for hee of France had begun the like persecutions within his owne realme, and with his owne officers first. The Archbishop of Toledo, the chiefe Prelate in Spaine, was much suspected to decline from the Romish Church, wherefore he was put in prison, and his rents sequestred.

Persecutions in  
Spaine for re-  
ligion.

This yeare the Roman Sea was voyd, by the death of Pope *Paul* the fourth, being fourelore and three yeares old; before his death being duely informed of the villanies of cardinall *Caraffa* and his brethren, being his nephewes, hee banished them out of Rome, and deputed them of all their dignities and offices. The cardinall lost his place of Legat at Bolonia, the duke of Paliano the command of the armes and of the gallies of the Church, and the marquesse of Montabello, the gard which hee had of the Popes person, and of the palace. This Pope was succeeded by *John Ange de Medici*, a Milanois, and was called *Pius* the fourth: at his first coming to the Sea he caused cardinall *Caraffa* to be put in prison, and strangled there, and the duke of Paliano, the earle of Alife, and other of his predecessors kinmen, to be beheaded, being convicted of many crimes. He did intimate the Councell of Trent, which had bene left off since the yeare 1552, but it began not vntill the yeare 1562.

Death of Pope  
Paul the fourth

During the warres of Europe, Asia and Africke had not bene at peace; for that famous pyrat *Dragut* hauing gotten the island of Gerbe from *Solyman* that was lord there, of whom he caused to be hanged at Tripoli, giuing the place to another lord, for a tribute of six thousand crownes, and yet soone after hee depriued him: but those people, notable to endure his tyrannie, tooke armes against him, and sought to make a new lord. Tripoli had also bene taken eight yeares before by *Dragut*, from the knights of Saint *John*, who to reuenge that disgrace, sought to recover it this yeare. The people of Spaine desired nothing more, than to keepe vnder the Moores and pyrats of Africke, who being neere vnto them, may easily trouble their nauigation, and annoy the Southern coasts: Wherefore it was not difficult for *John Valette*, a French man, great Master of Malta, to persuaade the Catholike king, and the Councell of Spaine, to send an armie to the conquest of Tripoli, from whence *Dragut* and other pyrats did dayly annoy the Spaniards. *Dragut* was much hared, not onely of the Christians, but also of the Moores, ouer whom hee vsed most cruell tyrannie, seeking by treacherie, or by open force, to kill the chiefe Commanders, and to make himselfe lord of their States: Among which the king of Caruano was the chiefe, from whom hee had taken a great part of his estate: and for that he was of great force, hee was reuerenced among his people,

1559

Tripoli besieged  
by the Christi-  
ans.

ple, almost like a Pope among the Christians; wherefore it seemed he might helpe G much in this enterprise, against this famous pyrat, if (as hee had made offer) he would shew himselfe fauourable. *Valette* being encouraged by his offers, hee began to treat with the duke of Medina Celi, then Viceroy of Sicile, and afterwards in the Court of Spaine, by the Commander *Guimaraes*, his embassadour. At the first there was some difficultie, the king being in warre against France, but a peace concluded, hee resolved to attempt the enterprise of Tripoli, sending *Guimaraes* with his resolution, and letters of Commission to them that should haue the execution thereof. Hee carried letters to prince *Doria*, That hee should with all speed make ready the armie, being now mid Iune; who being verie old, and vnable to beare armes, gaue the charge thereof to H *John Andrew Doria*, being his lieutenant, writing vnto him into Sicile. The duke of Sessa had commission in the State of Milan, to make ready two thousand Spaniards for that service: and *Aluaro de Sando* to go thither in person with the footmen that were vnder his charge within the realme, and with the two thousand Spaniards. The Viceroy of Naples had order to send two thousand Spaniards of the regiments of that realme; and the Viceroy of Sicile had the title of Generall in this action.

*Guimaraes* having performed all these Commissions, in the end hee came to Melsina, the seventeenth day of Iulie. Euerie man was carefull to execute his Commission, and the great Master, to whom the king had giuen the chiefe care to manage this enterprise with discretion, and to asist it both with his counsell and force, laboured by I all means to get the armie forth, that they might performe some worthe action before Autumne: But they had so many crosses, as the nauie could not possibly get out of the port of Sarragosse in Sicile, before the first day of December. There were leuiued for this enterprise by *Sando* in the State of Milan, besides those men aboue mentioned, two thousand five hundred Italians, all old souldiers, and three Companies of Germans, which had remained there since the last warre, commanded by *Stephen Leopardi*: and so all these souldiers were sent to Genoua to imbarke, where they had many difficulties, and the Spaniards mutined, so as *Sando* and *Lorenzo Figueras* had some difficultie to pacifie them with foure payes: then putting them into certaine ships, the first of October they went to Melsina. K

Of the two thousand Spaniards out of the realme of Naples, the Viceroy would giue but five hundred, hee fearing to leaue that coast without a good gard, for that the Turkes armie, being fourescore sayles, was then at Velona; breeding a doubt in the Christians, where this tempest would fall: But in effect it was by *Solyman* to keepe our men from the enterprise of Barbarie; for that the great Master having some monethes before sent two foists into Africke, to discouer, one of them was taken by *Dragut*, whereby he understood the Catholike kings preparations, and his designs: so as having but five hundred men in Tripoli, hee suddenly hyred to the number of two thousand Turkes and Moores; writing thereof to Constantinople, whereupon hee resolved to send forth this fleet. Moreover, there were leuiued within the realme twelue Companies of Italians. In Sicile also there were twelue Companies, among the which, as in those of Naples, there were many banished men, who were fierce and warlike, but verie mutinous. L

All these men, being about thirteene thousand, were commanded by valiant captaynes: *John Andrew Gonzaga*, sonne to *Fernando*, was Colonell of the Italian foot leuiued in the State of Milan, and Marshall of the campe to all the Italians that went in that action: *Luigi Osorio* was master of the campe to the Spaniards of Sicile: *Bernard Adams* was master of the ordnance, whereof they carried great store, both for field and batterie: *Peter Velasques* was Commissarie generall of the armie, and the Commander *Charles Iesters*, was Colonell of five hundred harquebousiers, sent by the great Master, beside foure hundred valiant knights in the galleies, of that Order. There were in Sicile of galleies, three from the Church, whereof the charge was giuen by the Colledge of cardinals (the Sea being voyd) vnto *Flaminio* of Anguillara, thirteenth of *John Andrew Dorias*, payed by the king, seven of the realme of Naples, gouerned

Numbers of Christian Armie going to Tripoli.

1559

A ned by *Sancio Liens*, tenné of Sicile, commaunded by *Berlinghery Requesens*, squire from the duke of Florence, vnder *Nicholus Gentile*, five of the Order of Malta, and one galliot, five of *Anthony Dorias*, commaunded by his sonne *Scipione*, two of *Bandinello Sule*. To these were added two galliots of the duke of Medina Celi, the Generall, one of *Lewis Osorio*, and one of *Frederic Staues*: so as they were in all foure and fiftie, besides eight and twentie great ships, of the which *John Andrew Gonzaga* was Generall; two galleons, one of Malta, the other of Cicala, with five and thirtie brigantines and fregates: so as they reckoned in all an hundred and nineteene yessels. They carried great store of munition for the warre, and victuals to feed 30000 men foure monethes.

B There was some difficultie to imbarke the Spaniards of Sicile, mutined, for that there were many monethes pay due vnto them; but *Fernando de Sylus*, marquisse of Fauara, being left lieutenant by the duke, satisfied them with two monethes pay. Going from Messina to Sarragosse, in October, they stayed there many daies, by reason of the contrarie winds. Their long stay there did much prejudice them, for it not only bred a sicknesse among them, whereof there died about two thousand, but also many fled away, especially of the Sicilians. The first of December the galleies parted from Sarragosse, with great hope of a prosperous voyage, the ships sayling towards Cap passero, being towards night, with an intent to goe to Secci di Palo; who hauing left the ships behind, and a contrarie wind blowing in the morning, they were forced to returne againe into C Sarragosse. The galleies fearing if the contrarie windes should grow great, it would breed them great danger in this long voyage, being much before the ships, they resolved to get to Malta. Here the galleies, with the Generall in them, and other men of account, were honourably entertained by the great Master, for some dayes, the winds being still contrarie to their intended voyage. It was then resolved, that two and twentie galleies should returne into Sicile, to bring the ships to Malta; most of which arrived after some difficultie: Five of them stayed vntill the first of Ianuarie, and three vnto the twelfth, among which was the galleon of Cicala, which running to Cap passero, was there spoiled by the Sicilian souldiers that were in her, who killing their commanders, fled away. The like happened vnto a ship which carried Sicilians also, of the which *Vincenzo Castagnola* was captaine, who was not slaine by them, but verie cruelly intreated. Some dayes before there arrived seven Companies of Spaniards, sent in three ships by the Viceroy of Naples, to fill vp his number of two thousand, according to the kings commaundement. There came in like manner a galleon with many refreshings from Sicile, and great store of munition.

They were haunted still with that infectious sicknesse in Malta, whereof many dyed, giuing in the beginning apparent signes of the vnfortunate successe of this armie. Thus the secret judgements of God doe often make mens counsels and resolutions vaine, the which in regard of the cause are held good, but are not approved by his diuine providence, it may be to confound the wisdom of men, but without doubt for our offences.

E In the yere 1560 *Isabella*, or *Elizabeth* queene of Spaine, was conducted into Spaine, to the king *D. Philip* her husband, being accompanied by *Anthony* of Bourbon, king of Nauarre, with other lords and ladies: she was receiued at Roncevaux by the cardinal *D. Francis of Mendosa*, bishop of Burgos, *D. Inigo Lopez* of Mendosa, duke of the Infantazgo, and many others, who conducted her to Guadalajara, where the marriage was celebrated. At that time *D. Gabriel de la Cueva* was Viceroy of Nauarre, in the place of *D. Bertrand* his father, deceased, who gaue the new queene a stately reception passing by Pampelone. The same yere the prince *D. Charles*, sonne to king *Philip*, was (sworne, and acknowledged to be true successor in the realmes of Castille, Nauarre, Arragon, &c. after the accustomed manner of Spaine.

F But to the returne to the warre of Barbarie. The Catholike kings nauie stayed many dayes at Malta, by reason of the contrarie windes; so as in the beginning of the yere the Generall (although he were perswaded by the great Master to stay vntill the weather were better settled) commaunded the armie to imbarke, and about the middest of Februarie he came to the island of Gerbe; where hauing discouered two ships of Alexandria,

1560  
Queene of  
Spaine condu-  
cted into Spaine

1560

Alexandria, laden with marchandise, lying within the chanell, they tooke and spoyled them: but they vsed no diligence to take two vessels that went with oares, which lay more within, the which afterwards were no small hurt vnto them. *Dragnet* was there with seuen hundred Turkes and Moores, on horsebacke, and three thousand foot, being then in quarell with the Xec, or lord of the island, who also had good numbers of Arabians and Moores, and expecting aid from the Christians, was continually in armes against his enemies.

Christians army  
at Gerbe.

*Dragnet* held that part of the island which was towards the chanell, having kept those two vessels readie to send vnto Constantinople, or to flee away, if necessity forced him, hauing no hope to escape on the other side, whereas the Xec lay with his forces, especially if all the Christians armie were landed, whereof a part went to land, to fetch fresh water, being led by *Aluaro de Sandys*; where skirmishing nine houres together, during their watering, they receiued no great losse, and slue many enemies: In the retreat *Aluaro* was shot in the flanke, yet could they not possibly take any one prisoner, to be informed of the state of things: which was afterwards thought to haue stayed the victorie, and to haue ruined their enterprize, when as, by the taking of the two galliots, *Dragnet* could not possibly haue escaped, after which the taking of Tripoli had bene easie, neither should hee haue had meanes to send to Constantinople, to aduertise them of the state of things in Barbarie, and to procure an armie. It was knowne afterwards, that there was great store of money and jewels, which *Dragnet* sent by *Plucially* the pyrat, vnto the Bassa of the port, to procure succours from the great Turke: so as if they had taken and burnt them, they had obtained a happie victorie; the which was not done, partly through the negligence of them that commaunded, and partly by the great diligence of the enemy, who would not haue the Christians know what past in the island, for that there was not any creature living found in the two ships, all being fled to land. In the morning before day the Christians parted with their armie, neither could they put any to land in a fregate, to discover the state of the island, the Moores were so careful to defend the shore.

Occasion of a  
victorie lost by  
the Christians.

Two dayes after there came eight gallies to Gerbe, the which had stayed at Malta for some prouision, where landing vnaduisedly to water, they were charged by the Turkes, who slue an hundred and fiftie good souldiers, and tooke some prisoners, among which was capitaine *Pedro Vermudez*: and of the chiefe of them that were slaine, were foure Spaniards, *Adrian Garzia*, *Alphonso de Guzman*, *Pedro Vianega del Rio*, and *Francisco Mercato*: which disorder did much trouble the Generall, being now at Secco di Palo with the whole armie; and they were all much discontented, to heare afterwards, that a fregate of the knights of Malta, passing neere vnto Gerbe, had bene told by two Renegadoes, that *Dragnet* was there, and that *Plucially* was gone with two galliots to Constantinople: And, which was worse, the armie was forced to stay some dayes at Secco di Palo, by reason of contrarie windes, being an hundred and fiftie miles from Tripoli, where drinking fresh water digged in those sands, but of a pestiferous qualitie, it brought a pestilent infirmities into the armie, whereof many dyed. In the end a South-east wind arising, it did hinder their course to Tripoli, and slaying there infinite numbers dyed, through the corruption of the ayre and water, this pestilent disease increasing daily, hauing wasted a great part of their munition, and broken the Admirals ship by the mariners negligence, hauing also lost two smaller ships laden with victuals, at Chercheny, they had not many men in the armie for this enterprize, expecting footmen from Naples and Sicile, and the Galeon of Cicala, two galliots, and some ships, which had bene kept backe by contrarie windes. Wherefore they resolved to returne, and to land at Gerbe, where they arrived the two and twentieth day of March, and on the seuen and twentieth *Aluaro de Sandys*, Marshall generall of the campe, landed with their men, and some field peeces, to lodge in good order neere vnto certaine wells of fresh water, two miles from the castile, towards the West. At their landing *Aluaro*s nephew died of a pestilent fever, carrying his name: a young man of great hope: he was much lamented by him, and the whole armie.

Christians slain  
by the Turkes  
in watering.

Christians army  
land at Gerbe.

Ha.

1560

Lib. 28.

Having at night made three squadrons of all his men they lodged neere. *Sandys* not thinking it fit to goe vnto the wells, for that hee found by many coniectures that the Moores had receiued them as enemies, wherefore it would bee dangerous, if flooding late, they should bee charged by the enemy. At night the Xec sent two men with a sayned Embassage, intreating the Generall to goe to Tripoli, for that hee had bene receiued quietly by his subjects, who would take it ill if the Christians should remaine in that island; but in effect they came to discover the campe. They were entertained vntill the morning, and then an answer was giuen them, that they had landed at Gerbe finding the winds contrary to goe to Tripoli, but yet they had done it willingly to put the Xec in possession of the island, before they went to Tripoli, which they intended afterwards. They therefore desired to see him well settled, to buy refreshings with their money, take water, and as soone as the windes were faire, goe for Tripoli. In the morning hauing put all their men in battaile, they marched towards the wells, being sixe miles off, the souldiers hauing endured much that night for want of water, hauing not brought any out of the gallies, so as they marched with great thirst, *Sandys* being carefullest at their arriuall, disordering themselves hauing a great desire to drinke they should bee charged by the Moores, and receiue some great losse. They marched in three squadrons; in the forward went the great Commander, with the knights and souldiers of Malta, and with the Germanes and French, which were not in all about two thousand.

*Andrew Gonzaga* commanded the battaile, consisting of three thousand Italians, and in the reere ward were three thousand and sixe hundred Spaniards: And of either side they were couered with a wing of three hundred shot, leauing in the midst a conuenient space for the baggage. But if they came to a battaile, one of these wings was to ioyne with the forward, and the other with the battaile; hauing marched a while, they were staied at a certaine bogge, by a field peece: *Sandys* with the shot which were towards the shore, advanced to recouer the wells, which hee found had bene spoyled by the Moores, and filled with stones and sand, so as hee was forced to send for Pioners with tooles to cleanse them: neither did the Moores yet shew themselves, being an apparent signe

Order of the  
Christians army  
at Gerbe.

that they had an intent to charge them in their lodging, so as they marched in good order, forbidding any man to disband vpon paine of death. Then they met with foure Moores of Authority sent from the Xec, with a designe to view the army, but with an excuse of a friuolous Embassage, where they were entertained with good words, whilst that the army advanced toward the wells, and then were dismist with a generous answer from the Generall: That seeing the Xec could not come vnto him, being staied by his people, that hee should rest satisfied, and that hee would soone bee with him in his castile, rejecting their proposition, that the Duke should advance with foure horses onely, as the Xec had done, that they might parle together. Yet for all this the Moores, who lay two miles off, couered with a little hill, did not moue, seeing the order of the

Christians army to bee verie firme, wherefore they did forbear vntill they lodged, imagining that hauing endured much thirst that day and the night before, they would in their lodging fall into a confusion with a desire of drinke. Which did not follow by *Aluaro de Sandys* great care who caused them still to keepe their ranks: Notwithstanding that Colonel *Spinola* hauing too eagerly advanced to entertaine a great skirmish, was in great daunger with some Harguebuziers that were with him. But the Marshall foreseeing this danger, had sent capitaine *George Ruiz* with two hundred Harguebuziers of Sicile behind certaine walles to fauour their retreat. The Moores attempted also to breake the ranks of the Christians in other places, with great courage and readinesse, but with little losse that day, onely capitaine *Ruiz* being hurt in the shoulder with a lance, died within few daies after.

The skirmish ended two houres before night, and the Christians lodged, hauing caused the wells to be cleansed during the skirmish.

The day following they fortified their lodging against the enemy, and the gallies were sent for to furnish themselves with water; but three daies after they went forth in battaile, to goe and fight with the enemy, which did not succeed, for the Moores with their

Xec,

1560

Xec, did often intreat the Generall to receiue them for vanquished, offering to bee subjects to the King of Spaine. Having first taken hostages, *Michel* of Baraona a Colonel was sent with two companies of Spaniards to take possession of the castle, and the next day the Generall entred, with the chiefe of the army, the Moores shewing themselves very obsequious, bringing abundance of victualls vnto the campe. The Arabians Mahamidi were also paised with their Xec, who had faithfully kept the passage of the bridge, as they had bene appointed at Secco di Palo. They afterwards held a Councell, how they might keepe that Island with the kings deuotion, the which they held to bee verie necessarie, for by that meanes they should take a retreat from the Turkes and Moores which did robbe vpon those seas, and withall they should secure Sicile, Sardinia, Malta and other places, and to that end they should build a fort, making vse of the castle to keepe their victualls and munition, and for some wells: besides hauing their materials necre, with other commodities for the speedy doing it.

Fort built in  
the Island of  
Gerbe.

On the seauenteenth of March the army began to lodge about the castle, where they had appointed to build a fort, *Antonio Conte* being Ingener, assisted by *Bernardo Aldano* and *Sancio de Lieu*, within two daies after the worke beganne, it being diuided amongst the Nations after this manner. Being to make foure Bulwarkes, the charge of one was giuen to *Andrew Gonzaga*, and to the Italians, an otherto the great Commander, and to them of that order, the third to *Andrew Doria*, and them of the gallies, the Generall reseruing the fourth for himselfe, so as within few daies it was put in defence. But neither the ayre nor the water were healthfull for them that were not accustomed vnto it, so as many died daily, and more fell sicke, which was a lamentable spectacle. There was an hospitall provided, and the bishop of Majorca who was also gouernour, did what hee could to preferue the souldiers. They had newes that they prepared an army at Constantinople; and the great Master of Malta doubting some danger called home the great Commander with his Gallies and men, the which parted from Gerbe the eight of Aprill, leauing the charge of supplying that Bulwark to *Pedro Vries*, for that they made great hast to leaue it defensible, the Duke resoluving to imbarke, being verie carefull to furnish it, although that all things did not succed according to his desire. The king of Caruano came to visit him, and there past great kindnesse betwixt them, but the Xec would by no meanes meet him, yet hee came once halfe a mile out of the castle to treat with him, being accompanied with a great number of Moores. The Generall was earnest to haue store of victualls brought from the ships vnto the campe, but they that were interested seemed to haue small care of the publike good. There were two thousand foot Italians, Spaniards and Dutch appointed for the gard of this fort, with fifty horse vnder the Colonel *Michel* of Baraona. There was order giuen to haue the Xec take the oth, who should aduance the armes of Spaine. And then hee resoluved to part with the army in the beginning of May, but hee was staied vpon some controuersie growne betwixt the Christians and the Moores, vpon a light occasion; but it was wisely pacified, and some that had most offended punished.

The fame of the army increasing, and the solemnitie performed the fifth of May, a mile from the campe, in the presence of *Monreal* the Generals Secretary and some of his gentlemen, the Xec did swear vpon the Alcaron to bee faithfull to the king of Spaine, to pay euery yeere fixe thousand crownes, foure Estriges, foure Lanerets, foure Falcons, and one Camell, and in like manner the Moores, that were with him did swear vassalage and fealtie vnto him. Then order was giuen to imbarke the army, wherein they were verie slacke and negligent, vntill that there came a message from the Great Master to the Generall, assuring him that the Turkes gallies being foure score and fise had parted from Gozo on the eight day of that month at night, with an intent as hee did coniecture to relieue Tripoly, and then to seeke out the Christians army, hearing that it was vnsumished of souldiers, and out of order. Then euery man desired to bee at sea, so as the confusion was great, and their opinion diuers, but most concurred to go presently to sea.

The Generall went to *John Andrew Doria* being not well recovered of a great Infirmitie, to resolute of all things, leauing a charge with *Aluaro* to haue his men readie, so as returning at night he might not stay; *Doria* being resoluved to put to sea, and hauing giuen order

Xec swears a  
bedience and  
tribute to the  
King of Spaine.

1560

A order to the ships to follow him, he left a gallie called the *Contesse*, for the duke to imbarke in, being light, and well furnished with slaues, that all things being ordered, hee might goe and joyne with the armie. The Generall would not omit any thinge that night, being before the twelfth day, but hauing giuen good instructions to the gouernour of the fort, he spake with great efficacy to the souldiers which remained, assuring them, That the armeie at sea being in that accident in greater daunger than the fort, it was fit he should be where the perill was most apparent, entreating them after this manner vntill the day began to breake, when as he with *Sandy* came vnto the fregate which should carrie them to the gallie that was gouerned by the Commander *Guimerano*. But hee made a signe vnto him with his hand, that hee should retire to land, for that the Turkes armie began to appeare, with an intent to charge the Christians. After *Doria* resolutions to get out of those shelles, there arose a contrarie wind, which did hinder him: so as the Turkes Generall hauing cast anchor but fixteene miles from Gerbe, the night before, hauing sent *Cara Mustafa* gouernour of Mitelen and *Musciuly* to discouer, he vnderstood in what confusion the Christians were; being readie to depart, hee then resoluved to set vpon them at the breake of day: with which resolution hee came on with a prosperous wind, when as *Scipion* going forth with a squadron of gallies for the gard, hee was so suddenly surprisid by the Turkes, as hee had no time to aduertise the armie: so as euery man being amazed by this sudden accident, they had no other care: but how to flee, but it was done with that confusion which a sudden feare of an ineuitable daunger doth usually bring. *John Andrew Doria* distrusting his Admirall gallie, for that it was old and heauie, hee resoluved to draw neere to land, being forced to recover the fort in a barke, being a mile off: the gallie was presently abandoned, and lestin the slaues hands, who being at libertie, carried it to the enemy. It was a miserable spectacle to see that mightie armie scattered in an instant, some one way some another. There were seuen gallies which sought to saue themselves in the channell of Gerbe, where most of the men leaping into the water, although they were farre from land, sought to saue their liues by swimming; so as all the shore was full of men.

24  
Armie of Chris-  
tians miserably  
lost at Gerbe.

The Marshall *Sandy* ranne thither with a great troupe of shot and pikes, to defend them that came to land, for that the Moores, being treacherous and inconstant, had presently changed their minds, and slue and spoyle as many as came vnto their hands. The Generall to auoyd this other mischiefe, sent word vnto the Xec, by the king of Caruano, and the Infant of Tunis, That hee should forbid his Moores to annoy the Christians, putting him in mind of his faith formerly giuen. But they prepared to flee also, fearing the Turkes, pretending, that they went to gather together some Arabians Mahamidi, with the which they would returne, and saue the Christians, wishing them not to trust the Moores of the island, who were not well affected to them. That morning there were nineteene gallies fell into the enemies hands, with the Admirall, the rest saued themselves in diuers places, by flight, the which was attributed to the courage and good counsell of the Commander *Anthony Maldonado*. The great Master had called home his gallies to Malta, as hath bene sayed, to provide for the daungers of that island; but afterwards hee sent backe three, vnder the command of *Maldonado*, who in this confusion going to sea, was followed by many gallies, relying vpon the skill of this knight, the which succeeded happily. The duke and *Sandy* stayed vpon the shore, to defend those poore wretches which came from the gallies, from the Moores, giuing them clothes and armes, which were prepared for them that should defend the fort.

The same day they held a Councell vnder a tent, where were the Generals *John Andrew Doria*, *D. Aluaro de Sandy*, and the Commander *Guimerano*. *Doria* said, That it was necessarie for them to depart speedily, whilest that the enemy was busie in giuing chase to the gallies, which he meant to doe in a fregate, carrying them to Malta, or into Sicile, to gather together the disperfed gallies, and to arme others, to make head against the Turkes armie, if hee should seeke to annoy any place of the kings. *Sandy* did counsell

the duke to goe to attend his chiefe charge of Sicile, the which was now in great danger, and if he did it not he should faile much of his duetie: but for his part, he would remaine in Gerbe, being thereunto bound both by the duetie of his charge, and the seruice he ought vnto his king, seeing there remained about three thousand, besides the appointed garrison, some of which escaped from the gallies, and some were neuer imbarcked, being sicke, and not fit for the warre, and yet they were to be respected as Christians; besides, there being many which had followed him in the action, it was not fit he should seeke his owne safetie, and abandon them.

These with other his reasons were allowed of, and it was resolved, they should depart that euening about Sunne set, in nine fregates, some other knights and officers following them: but a contrarie wind stayed them that night. But the next day there happened another disgrace: for the Generall meaning to keepe the Turkes from the shore, whilst they pursued the gallies that retired into the chanell, hee caused the artillerye of the fort to bee mounted, among which was a Culuerin, which being overcharged, brake, and flue some that were nere vnto the Generall. The losse was exceeding great in those gallies that were taken, not onely of the vessels, and of many souldiers that were in them, but also for that there were many men of account flaine, or taken prisoners: among which were *Flaminio* of Anguillara, Generall of the Popes gallies, *Sancio de Lewis*, Generall of them of Naples, *Berlingheri* of Requesens, of those of Sicile, the bishop of Majorca, *Gaston de la Cerde*, the Generall sonne, with others. But at the Turkes returne from the chase of the gallies, they prepared to fight with the ships which were full of souldiers, being sixe and twentie; all which they tooke without any difficultie. Some write, there were about 3000 men taken in the ships & gallies, and drowned, seeking to flie to land. The Viceroy of Sicile, and *John Andrew Doria*, escaped, and came to Malta, and from thence to Sicile, hauing first given order, that a fregate of aduice should be sent to them that were in the fort at Gerbe, of their safetie, and that the Commaunder *Guimerano* was sent into Spaine, to informe the king of this accident, and to intreat him to send *D. Bernardin de Mendoza*, Generall of the gallies of Spaine in Sicile, to ioyne with such as were escaped, and to make the bodie of an armie, whereby they might succour the besieged at Gerbe. They of the fort were verie joyfull of these newes; and *Sandy*, who was made Generall by the duke, confirmed them with many good reasons, that they should vndoubtedly expect it, omitting no paines to fortifie the place.

*Pialy Bassa*, who was Generall of the armie, resolving to take the fort, did write to *Dragut* (who a little before the Christians had come the second time to Gerbe, was gone with all his horsemen to Tripoli, to defend it) That he should send, or come with all the forces he had, to besiege Gerbe, sending him also prouision of victuals, and munition for that enterprise. The Bassa landed his souldiers, and began to fortifie his lodging nere vnto the wells where the Christians had camped. *Sandy* did not thinke it conuenient to make often sallies, hauing no great store of good men, and too many that were vnproufitable, which was his greatest trouble, hauing neither victuals nor water sufficient for a long siege. But he resolved to draw it in length, for many respects, hoping that they should be releued, it importing his Maiestie much, not onely for the losse of the fort, but also for many good souldiers, and captaines of qualitie, which were there exposed to apparent danger. The Bassa hauing all the garrison souldiers of Barbarie, with other necessaries, made his approaches nere vnto the fort, where they were daily in skirmish, about certaine wells, where the Christians kept a gard without the fort, but in the end they tooke them from the besieged. The Turkes prest them with their trenches, and prepared a great batterrie against the fort; but their greatest miserie was, that by the losse of their wells, and the great heat in those Southern countries, many began to die of thirst, hauing but little water which they had reserved in vessels; for the water which they drew out of the wells was so salt, as it did cause thirst, and not quench it. *Sandy* seeing how much it did import to be thus kept within the fort, and to be deprived of water, he resolved to make a great sallie, and to chase the enemy from their trenches; the which had bene successefull, if the

Turkes campe  
about the fort  
at Gerbe.

Wells left by the  
Christians at  
Gerbe.

A souldiers had kept the order prescribed them. There were forth sixe hundred Italians, and as many Spaniards, all harquebussiers, with an hundred Germans, pikes, who sailing forth by two ports, should come and ioyne together, cloy the ordnance, and kill all that should resist, expressly forbidding them to fall to the spoyle. Fifteene were others also flood readie to succour where need should require. At the break of day they went forth, killing many of the enemies, with which charge *Dragut* himselfe was burnt: they cloyed three peeces of ordnance, tooke some Ensignes, and were masters of the trenches: but forgetting the order was giuen them, some being too bold, aduanced so farre, as they could not be rescued by their companions, and some too greedie, fell to spoyle; B whereby they were in such disorder, as the Turkes embracing the occasion, turned head, and charged them, striking such a terrour into them, as they basely fled. There were many men of worth died fighting valiantly, among the which were the earle *Gabieno Anguillara*, capitaine *Carlo d'Aro*, and some others. The Turkes pursued them that fled euen vnto the fort, where the artillerye from the bulwarkes made a great slaughter of them. But the want of water, through the losse of the ships, was of such importance for the besieged, as without doubt it was the cause of all their miseries, and in the end of the losse of the fort. They were forced to make their bread with salt water, their victuals were verie salt, being prouision taken out of the ships, the season of the yeare in that climat was exceeding hot, their tayle great, and continuall, so as their thirst increased as their water C decreased. Those poore wretches, to stie the occasions of great thirst, eat liard, so as they grew so weake, as they could not endure the insupportable toyle of warre, but died without remedie. Many seeing that they must die of thirst, fled to the enemy, and although they knew well, that they went to a perpetuall slaueerie, yet they ranne when they had any opportunitie, to giue themselves vnto the enemy for drinke, and to no other end.

Thirst encreased  
of in the fort of  
Gerbe.

They had not much water remaining in their cesterne, and that which they digged within the fort was salt, like vnto the sea water: whereupon a Sicilian, called *Sebastian du Polere*, offered to draw a good quantitie daily by Alambick, and to make it fresh: *Sandy* promised him a great recompence for this inuention, and caused the Germans to make D eighteene Alambicks, hauing no more matter to worke with; but they could not draw about sixe and thirtie barrells a day out of their wells, which was a small prouision for so many thousands of thirstie persons. The salt water being distilled, was so sweet, as tempering it with the well water, it made a pleasant mixture: so mingling the water of the wells, the distilled water, and that of the cesterne, together, the Generall diuided it among the souldiers, giuing a double portion to them that carried armes. The diuision of this drinke was verie strange, whereof the gouernour of the fort had the chiefe care, being a matter of great importance, and therefore it was distributed in a place where there was a good gard, whereas the souldiers past in order, hauing a sponge hanging at a line, the which being put into a tub of water, he tooke it and sucked E as much as was allowed him.

Salt water  
made fresh by  
Alambick.

The Turkes continued their workes, and had aduanced their trenches euen vnto the fort, and the souldiers ran daily vnto them, yea they who had the charge not to suffer others to run away, were the first that went themselves, and some were so villanous, as they had plotted to set fire on the powder, and to blow vp all. Some affirme that there were fiftene hundred which had fled to the enemy, whereof there were many souldiers of known valour, and some nobly borne, but not nobly minded, selling bodie and soule to stie the want of drinke. The Turkes sought to win the fort by mines, batterrie, and assaults; and the besieged repulst them valiantly. In the end of Iune *D. Aluaro de Sandy* hauing viewed the prouisions carefully, and finding that they had not wood for sixe dayes, which was F most necessarie to distill their water, and that they had not sufficient of cesterne water left, to serue the souldiers three dayes, they being about a thousand, seeing matters reduced to that extremitie, he called the captaines and chiefe officers to counsell, hauing first appointed that the souldiers should haue double allowance both of meat and fresh water alone, with some litle wine which had bene reserved for them that were wounded.



*Resolution of Aluaro de Sandoval for their last refuge.*

He spake vnto them at night, letting them see to what estate they were brought, and repeating in what manner they had defended themselves with judgement and valour, against the violence of their enemies; and that seeing themselves now vanquished rather by hunger and thirst than by armes, he knew not a more honourable resolution, than to put that generous course in practise, which in most desperate cases hath giuen a glorious victory to braue and resolute souldiers. They therefore concluded that night to make a gallant sallie, and to charge the enemies, who least dreamt of it. In the morning, two houres before day, there went forth at the port towards the sea, six captaines with three hundred men, being chosen out of all the nations, and hee himselfe followed with the chiefe of all his men, leauing some behind to gard the fort: of those that he led hee commended some to remaine in the reeward, with certaine captaines, and to kill all them that should disband. He commanded the foreward to goe directly to the Bassa and *Dragut*'s tents, he himselfe chusing to assaile the great tent, where there was a great corps de gard. With this order they sallied forth with great resolution, some marching towards the Generals tent, and some towards the other: They past three trenches valiantly, to come vnto the tents, and *Sandy* defeated the corps de gard, where making a great slaughter, he put all into confusion: but hee found himselfe suddenly abandoned by his men, meaning to aduance, not any one remaining with him but *Marotto*, the Sergeant Major, and captaine *Persuccio* of Nizza, of the which *Marotto* was soone after wounded and taken prisoner, and yet he fighting still with the enemies, being followed by *Persuccio*, who had offered to conduct him to the galleys, in the end hee freed himselfe, and recovered a gallie, whereas hee neither found victuals nor clothes, being all wet: wherefore he sent a messenger vnto the fort, to will *John d'Alarcone*, the Treasurer, to send him clothes, and some prouision for the souldiers of the galleys, with some oares, to the end they might conduct him, by the chanell, into the fort, exhorting all them that were yet remaining to defend it safely.

The newes of their Generals life was some comfort to the captaines and souldiers, but they began presently to despaire of all helpe, but by some accord with the enemy, hauing water but for two dayes drinke. There were many Christians dyed in this sallie, but most men of command, the rest being either fled vnto the enemy, or gotten vnto the fort. The Treasurer *Alarcone* went vnto *Sandy* with prouision, and yet they could not part that day, the galleys being battered continually by the Turkes artillerie. They within the fort were so full of confusion, as they knew not what to resolute, and although there were some captaines which did encourage them to attend the Generals returne, yet the feare of the greater part was such, as they forced the rest to yeeld, to another resolution; and they had already set vp a flag on *Spinolas* bulwarke, in token of a parley: whereunto the Turkes made answer with the like signe. Whereupon three captaines with an Ensigne went vnto the campe: but the Turkes seeing no flag of truce set vp in the galleys, as well as in the fort, *Pisly* commanded that they should assaile them both by land and sea. *Sandy* being surprised with this unexpected surie, he with captaine *Clummet* disposed the souldiers as well as they could for their defence, finding in them a great willingness and resolution: but seeing afterwards that they made no shew of hostilitie in the fort, and that the Moores, Turkes, and Christians seemed to bee vnited, they also sought to escape, so many flying away, as *Sandy* had not about thirte men remaining with him; at which time *Dromax Ares*, a renegado of Genoua, captaine of the Bassas Admirall, came vnto the galleys prow, who spake vnto *Aluaro* in Italian: My lord, you can no longer defend your selfe, fall not therefore into the hands of these base people, but yeeld your selfe, and chuse a better partie: I will not yeeld my selfe to thee: hot to any other, answered *Sandy*, but I will goe with thee, if thou wilt promise to bring me vnto the Bassa: The renegado promised him, and receiving him into a little boat, being ouer laden, it sunke, and they were wet. Being then conducted to the Bassas tent, hee receiued him with honour, and discoursed much with him touching his defence: but he refusing to accept of any offer vnworthie the name of a Christian knight, was conducted to Constantinople; and presented to the great Turke.

*Sandy*

*D. Aluaro de Sandoval taken prisoner by the Turkes.*

*Sandy* seeing the captaines which went forth to capitulate; he blamed them, foretelling them, that they should not haue any thing obserued; as it fell out: for hauing agreed, That all the officers should come forth freely, with five and twentie souldiers in a companie, they were most of them put to the sword, and the rest taken prisoners, onely they had libertie which went forth to capitulate. The fort was spoyled, but the gaine was small. The General *Pisly* hauing stayed there eight dayes with his fleet, he went and made a stately entrie at Tripoli; then returning home, he was forced by contrarie winds to stay in a port of Sicile neere to Sarragoffe: where some Turkes, going to water, they receiued much losse by the horsemen which garded the coast.

The next day *Lewis Sahamedra* went vnto the Bassa with a safeconduct, touching the ranfome of prisoners, lamenting much the miserie of those noblemen he found there, and wondering at the smiling countenance wherewith *Sandy* entertained him, who shewed himselfe like one that was neuer altered by the crosses or smiles of fortune. The Bassa gaue him good hope of ranfome; but the wind growing faire in the morning, he weighed anchor, and went on his voyage: Coming to Constantinople, he entred in great triumph, causing the prisoners to be carried to his house: In which *Aluaro de Sandoval* shewed againe his generous mind; for some shewing him a bathing house, a place appointed for many slaves, he refused to enter into it, letting the Bassa vnderstand, That it was no fit lodging for him: and the Turke (not without wonder at the greatnesse of his mind) commanded, that he should haue chambers appointed for him. They were all presented with great solemnitie before the great Turke, who stood behind a window to see them, they all refusing to accept any visiting conditions, that were offered them by the great men of the port. *Sandy* was carried to the tower of Mamero, whereas those prisoners which once enter, doe neuer, or seldom, come forth. *Sancho de Lieus Berlingheri*, and others, were sent to the tower of Pera.

After this great losse, new miseries pursued some of them that escaped: for *D. Lewis Oforio*, and the vicont of *Cigale*, being come into Sicile, hauing bought a Turkish gallie which had beene taken from *Plucially* the pyrat, a renegado of Calabria, it was taken from them by the Viceroy, in the port of Messina: Whereat these two captaines being much moued, they meant to passe into Spaine, to complaine vnto the king, going in two of their vessels; but they were set vpon by a gallie and two Turkish foists, and taken almost without any resistance. *Cigale* was led to Constantinople, with *Scipio* his sonne: the father dyed there, and the sonne denied Iesus Christ, from whom came that famous *Cigale*, who was a Bassa in our time. The Commaunder *Guimerano* hauing the reputation of a great mariner, was made Generall of the galleys of Sicile; but at his first going forth with seuen galleys, hee was incountried by *Dragut*, neere vnto the island of Lipari, hauing eleuen galleys well armed, who tooke him with his seuen galleys, and led him away. Among the prisoners was the bishop of Cattanea, of the house of *Caraccioli*.

In the king of Spaines countries of the Netherlands, they of the reformed religion increasing mightily, notwithstanding the rigorous Edicts which had beene made by the Emperour, the Councell of Spaine thought it fit to bring in the Inquisition to suppress them, appointing certaine Inquisitors of the Faith, who should haue a care that no forbidden bookes should bee read, nor kept in their houses, and that no man should dispute against the Romish religion. But the king hauing promised, That hee would not spure against the Romish religion. But the king hauing promised, That hee would not charge his subiects with such an intolerable yoke as the Inquisition was, and the Inquisitors finding that they could not by any means put it in practise, they sought to bring it in by a covert means, vnder colour of making new bishops in the country; to effect the which cardinall *Granuelle* sent doctor *Somnius* to Rome, as you may read more at large in the Historie of the Netherlands.

This yeare 1561 the king of Spaine made great instance at Rome, to haue libertie from the Pope, to dispose of some of the tenthes of the Clergie of Spaine, which amounting to a great summe yearly, he meant to apply to the good of Christendome, and especially of his realmes of Spaine, arming a great number of galleys more than had bin accustomed to defend those coasts, being continually annoyed with multitudes of pirats, who had

IIIII iij

their

*Fort at Geryé taken by the Turkes.*

*Pisly Bassa enters Constantinople in triumph.*

1561

*New bishops in the Netherlands*

*King of Spaine seeks to procure a great summe of the revenues of the clergy.*

1561

their retreats in the ports of Barbarie: And as many of the noblemen of Spaine shewed themselves readie to contribute out of their owne reuenues, to so good and necessarie a worke, so the Pope did not refuse to gratifie the king, but stayed his resolution, for that he would not displease the Prelates of Spaine, who did not seeme verie willing to beare this burthen; and the Pope desired more at that time than any other (when as they sought to draw the Councell againe together) not to giue them any great distast.

1562

The warre beginning to grow hot in France, for matters of religion, the Protestants being in armes, after the massacre of Vassy, the French king craued aid from the Pope and king of Spaine, who were verie willing to giue him the best succours they could. The Pope, on the sudden, could not send him above two thousand foot, and two hundred harquebusers on horsebacke, vnder *Fabritio Serbelloni*, his nephew, Generall of his forces at Auignon: who finding himselfe too weake for them of the Religion that were in that country, demanded new succours, and had two companies of lances sent him: but the Catholike king offered to send tenne thousand foot, and 3000 horse, of the which the French accepted 3000 Spaniards, and 3000 Italians; but they came late, after the battell of Dreux.

King of Spaine  
sends succours  
into France.

D. Carlo prince  
of Spaine grie-  
uously sick.

The prince D. Carlo, sonne to the king of Spaine, appointed the sole heire of so many realmes, playing at Alcalá de Henares with some young youtnes, his play-fellows, hee fell vnfortunatly downe the staires in the palace, where they stood playing: in which fall hee was so hurt in the head, as the Physicians dispaired of his life. In this mournfull accident the king referred his fatherly affection to the will of God, writing into all his realmes, That they should with their devout prayers procure the princes long life, if it were for the glorie of his diuine Maiestie, and the good of his subiects. Some write, that hee was strangely cured by the bodie of Saint *Diego*, who dyed some hundred yeares before, a religious man of the Order of Saint *Francis*, the which the king caused to bee brought into the princes presence. This bodie was kept in a shrine of yron, which *Henrie* the fourth of that name, king of Castille, had caused to bee made, and layed in a chappell built in honour of him. This shrine being brought and opened in the kings presence, they found, with great admiration, that the bodie was nothing corrupted, nor a haire diminished, but breathing forth a sweet fauour: where causing the princes bodie, halfe dead, to be layed vpon it, he began presently to amend, and within few dayes after recovered his perfect health. But euery man hath free liberte to beleuee it, if he please.

This yeare, besides the kings priuat sorrow for the dangerous sickness of his sonne, hee had a publicke discontent for the losse of some gallies, nere vnto the port of Hetradura. D. *Bernardin* of Mendosa, some call him *John*, was Admirall of the fleet of Spaine, who was readie with two and thirtie gallies, well furnished, to make an attempt against the Moores; but they were surprised with a cruell storme, and in the end three were swallowed vp in the sea, of the which the Admirall was one, where *Mendosa* was; and the rest were driuen into the nere harbours verie much shaken: of the L three there was not any liuing creature saued, and of the rest there dyed verie many: so as some write, they lost two thousand persons, others five thousand. The which, with their former losse at Gerbe, was verie grievous to the house of *Mendosa*: for the same yeare *Indice*, brother to this *Mendosa* the Admirall, sailing from Genoua towards Spaine in a galley, it was so tost with contrarie winds, as the mariners not able to help themselves, they were swallowed vp; so as *Mendosa*'s bodie could neuer be found, yet the bodie of the galley, and of the rest that were dead, were recovered.

Bernardin, or  
John de Men-  
dosa drowned  
with some  
galley.

1563

Councell of  
Trent.

The Prelats being assembled againe together this yeare 1563, they began to prosecute their sessions, and it ended in December, hauing continued almost eightene yeres, but with many interruptions, not without the protestations of many princes and Christian States, of some pretended nullities, as well in the manner of their proceeding, as in the substance of their decrees. But among all the questions, that of Precedence betwixt the kings of France and Spaine, was vied by their embassadors with great vehemencie; and in the end it was sent by the Fathers to Rome, to be decided by the Pope, and the Consistorie.

These

1563

A These two great Princes hauing both at the Countess and in Rome, where they attended a definitiue sentence, their partisans that were affected, and others which discouered without passion, many pertinent reasons were produced on both sides, both by word of mouth, and by writing: whereof for that it concerns this subiect, I will make a brieue repetition.

The Spaniards said, that take it how they would, were it for temporall or spiritual matters, Spaine was of greater dignitie than Fraunce, and that it was in a manner iudged by law, custome, and the opinions and authoritie of the most learned, that the kings of Spaine should haue the prerogative for their excellencie and nobilitie, and for the merits to mankind, and especially to the Church of Rome. Antiquitie (said they) in these matters imports much, whereof Spaine retains the vndoubted marks: for since the first peopling of the earth, the name of Spaine hath bene famous to the world, and preferred in that nation since the time of great *Hercules Oron*, or his next descendants which haue raigne there, and hath neuer bene extinguished, whereas the name of the French is new.

26  
Controuerse  
betwixt the  
French and  
Spaniards for  
precedencie.

Markes of the  
antiquitie of  
Spaine.

The Spaniards by the consent of all men, are descended from *Tubal* one of *Japhets* children, which his posteritie hath called *Iubal*, of whom the mountaine *Iubalda*, called by Geographers *Iubeda*, retains the name: But the Celtes and Gaules to whom the French haue succeeded, or (to doe them more honour) with whom they are in a manner incorporated, haue their beginning from one *Samotew*, who according to *Berosus* was the younger Sonne of *Tubal*. The situation of Spaine as to her dignity, it holding the first place in the Geographicall maps: but if the greatnesse of the countrie giues power to kings, and that they are valued thereby, who knowes not but that Spaine is much greater than France, whereof the kings of Spaine doe yet hold a good part in Soueraigntie? It is, vnquestionable, that euer since there were kings of Spaine, their dominions haue bene larger then those of France: it is apparent in the raigne of the Spanish Gothes, who did not onely hold at one time Spaine bounded by the Spanish seas, and the Pyrene mountains, but also the country of Languedoc, vnto the riuer of Rhosne, and that which is now of the realme of France beyond Garonne, and moreover in Afrik a great part of the countrie: The greatnesse of the empire of the king of Spaine at this day is different, who holding the best part of Europe, with many places in Afrik vpon the Mediterranean sea haue discouered a fourth part of the world, vnknowne to the ancients, and thereby enriched the rest with temporall commodities, as it hath done that new world with spiritual blessings, causing those barbarous nations to bee instructed in the knowledge of God. To which new regions the monarchies of the ancients cannot bee compared in greatnesse, much lesse the empire of Fraunce at any season. And to increase their greatnesse, wee may adde vnto these reuenues the rights which they haue gotten to the empire of Constantinople, not only as successors to the earls of Flanders, but by contracts made with the *Pakolagnes*, expelled by the Turks, & in like maner to Ierusalem, which euery one holds to be, the chiefe

Tubal father to  
the Spaniards.

Situation of  
Spaine.

Greatnesse of  
the king of  
Spaine's domin-  
ions.

Right of the  
kings of Spaine.

E in dignitie among all the Christian realms. The gifts of nature are also verie considerable, where there is any question of the preeminence of realms and countries; wherein Spaine excels France without contradiction: for there is no Region in the world more temperate than Spaine, nor better indowed by nature, be it in fertillitie of the land, in bountie of the fruits, or in any commoditie it doth produce, and as for the men, they are a quie both of body and mind, industrious, warlike, and fit to command, as the world hath found by experience. Spaine hath bene alwaies knowne to be a nurserie of good souldiers, and the mother of great Capitaines, and wee need not doubt, but that *Hanniball* (who made the Romans to sweate and tremble) if hee had any magnanimitie and courage, hee retained it from the instruction and breeding he had in Spaine in his youth. Spaine hath in former times giuen vnto Rome a *Traian*, an *Adrian*, two *Theodosius*, all emperours, valiant and triumphant, with many holy and learned Popes, guiders of the church, among the which *Damasus* was great and admirable. As for the Nobilitie of the kings of Spaine which raigne at this day, it is incomparable, for they be successors to the kings of the Gothes, and allyed to them in blood, and as it were graft into the stockes of the famous family of the *Balkes* and *Hamales*. But to draw their Genealogie neerer and more personally,

Fertilitie of the  
land of Spaine.

Emperours and  
Popes, Spani-  
ards.

Nobilitie of the  
kings of Spaine.

Authors

Authors agree that they descend from the Merouingiens and Carlouingiens, the founders of the estate of the French, whereby it followes that they haue right vnto the realme of France, so as they cannot be taxed of fraud when as they shall seeke to settle themselves there to aduance their monarchie. If you consider their prowess and victories, wee haue no need to go beyond our owne age: for the emperor *Charles* the first king of Spaine, hath alone wonne more famous victories, than all the other princes of Europe. The French are witnesses to their costs, and that mightie and ferefull Germane Nation, which hee subdued in lesse than tenne moneths, and brought all the Princes, Towns and states of the Germane empire vnder his obedience: he repulst the Ottomans forces both by Sea and land, and conquered the realme of Tunes in Afrik. But it is verie remarkable, that notwithstanding any warre which Spaine hath endured since it was freed from the Romane yoke, being invaded by the Gothes, Moores, Arabians, and other nations, yet the Spaniards haue alwaies preferred their libertie, and retained their manners, their language, and their religion, and haue drawne others vnto it, with whome humane changes haue made them to liue and conuerse. Seeing then by antiquitie, largenesse of dominions, power, victories, generous actions, and finally by all that may purchase greatnesse and temporall dignitie to nations and their kings, Spaine is to bee preferred before all; it followes, that the first place is due to the kings of Spaine before all other Christian kings, and by consequence before him of France. But for that the question of this precedence hath bene moued in a generall Councell and disputed before the Pope and the sacred Senate, it is no lesse requisite to set down the testimonies which Spaine and her kings haue of the spirituall fauour of God in his Chatholike Church, wherein they shall bee found to exceed in graces, and spirituall gifts, the kings of France, and all other kings, and their realmes, as also in deuotion and merits to the Popes, and to the Sea of Rome, the onely iudge of this controuerse. It is certaine that Iesus Christ hauing finished the worke of mans redemption, ascended into heauen, Spaine among all other Pagan nations was first aduertised of this great benefit; as also by signes and wonderfull prodigies, shee had the first feeling of his comming and birth: for the Spaniards had first of all this credit to see the Apostles personally among them, and to heare the Gospell preached by them, and to beleue, which is confirmed by many graue and faithfull authours, and by the ancient and vndoubted traditions of the churches of Spaine, saying that *S. James* had been sent by the Apostles to the Spaniards, had preached among them, and made many disciples, where returning to Ierusalem, had led some with them, who assisted at the third General Councell, (whereof mention is made in the fifteenth of the Acts of the Apostles) and had their voices there, this holy Apostle being president: who hauing bene put to death by *Herod Agrippa*, and his bodie cast vnto the dogs, it was gathered vp by the said disciples, and transported miraculously into Spaine: and by their peaching infinit families had bene conuerted, where afterwards many received the Crowne of martyrdom, whose memorie is famous in the church: the authoritie whereof commands euery man to beleue that the virgin *Mary* being liuing, appeared to *Saint James* in the Citie of Saragosse before hee parted from Spaine, exhorting him to cause that church to be built, which is there dedicated to her, which is the most ancient of the Countree, and it was not long before the Princes of the Apostles, *S. Peter* & *S. Paul* came into Spaine, where with an incredible zeale in a manner all the people were conuerted, vnto the Asturias; whereof *Torquatus* the Asturian, was one of the first to giue testimony of their constancie in the faith, for the which he was executed at Rome. The Prelates of Spaine, were at the first councels, especially at the first at Nice, whereas *Cosmas* that famous bishop of Cordoua signed the decrees thereof, before *Nicolas* bishop of Gaule: The church of Rome is beholding to this *Ozium* a Spaniard, for the donation made vnto it by the emperor *Constantin*, who had bene instructed by him in the catholike faith. After this sacred general councell, there were many others held in Spaine, of the which that of *Aliberi* in Granado is famous, whereas *Helen* the emperors mother was with her grand-child *Constantin*. But since there haue bin frequent Councels in that nation, namely in Toledo, during the Goths raige, where the kings did assist, & shewed themselves ready to execute their decrees. There is no contradiction, but the

Spaine first inhabited in the Gospell.

Virgin Mary seen in Spaine.

Councels in Spaine.

A but the kings of Spaine were made Christians before them of France: the memorie of king *Ricardo* is and shall for euer be honourable, who chased *Attilius* out of Spain, & did persecute heretics, of which Catholike Princes the kings of Spaine which raigned at this day are true successors, for that they suffer as any one within their dominions to speake against the holie Catholike Apostolike and Romish church. To maintain the which without blemish vpon earth, there is nothing like all the Christian gouernment to the inquisition of Spaine, exceeding in holie seueritie and profitable rigour all the inquisitions of other kingdomes and estates. These the laws and constitutions of Popes are receiued, reuerenced and practised, the which are not in France, whereas the Canon law is abrogated, and whereas they haue often sent Popes and Councels, censuring their decrees, which are irreprehensible vnder color of certain pretended liberties of the French church, wherof their kings make themselves protectors to the preiudice of the sea of Rome. The first princes which opposed themselves against the spoiles of the Moores invading Spaine, abandoned by the defeat & death of king *Roderike* the last of the Gothes, haue been holy & wel beloued of God, wherof there are most autentik signs in many places. To *D. Garcia Ximenes* first king of Sobrarbre, the deliuerer of Spaine, was giuen fro heauen for his arms adored crosse vpo a green tree in a field at *Arges*. *D. Enigo Arisla* one of his successors, by the like fauor receiued a crosse arged in a field at *Azure*. Many miracles are reported to haue hapned at the Christenings of kings of Spaine. Some of the haue cured the kings euil, & many haue expelled diuels. In the citie of *León*, is kept a holy standard brought from heauen by *S. Isidorus*, one of the Patrons & protectors of Spaine, in the which there is painted a bishop on horseback, holding in one hand a crosse, & in the other a sword, vnder which the kings and catholike princes of Spaine fighting against the Moores, haue obtained many victories. By the constancy of the kings of Spaine, especially of them of Castille, who haue neuer varied in religion, since king *Ricardo* aboue mentioned, they haue had the honor to root the Moores out of Spaine, & to cleanse the countrie of those blaspheming Iewes. In acknowledgement of which graces, they haue alwaies freely giuen the first fruits of the conquests and glorious victories which they haue obtained against Infidels to Popes and churches, building more goodly abbeies, Cathedral churches, Monasteries and Colledges, than any countrie in the world, and giuing them large indowments, wherof that of Toledo is a strange president, for the archbishop hath about 300000 ducats of yearly rent, besides that which concerns the church & chapter, & the rich dignities & Prebends, the reuenues of which archbishopricke exceed the ordinarie of many kings. In Spaine, the Ieronimitans haue had their beginning, with the order of *la merced*, of the redemption of captiues, & many other orders of holy knights, which haue been a terror to the Moores and Infidels. But aboue all, the Iesuits are a worthie brood of Spaine, courageous defenders, & aduancers of the Catholike Apostolike and Romish religion cherished by the kings of Spaine, in fauor of the holy Sea, and continually entertained by them, & sent into all the parts of the world, to make war with their spiritual armes, whilst that they did valiantly, with their materiall armes fight against infidels, & root out hereticks: for which good offices, they do rightly carry the name of Catholike, the which is much more excellent than that of most Christiania which the French kings vse, for sectaries, & they that are straid from the church dare boldly call themselves Christians, but not Catholikes; the which were absurd for that this appellation is not proper but to those that are of the true familie of Iesus Christ, euery distinguished by this name of Catholike, receiuing no other superlatiue note; and therefore of greater dignity, the which hath been confirmed in the house of Castille & Leon, since the king *D. Alfonso* the first, who raigned in the yere of our Lord 737 for a make of their piety & merits. By the which they are both by law and priuiledge from the Pope worthily advanced to the first sears among Christian kings, and therefore to be preferred before them of France, in all assemblies, both spirituall and temporall.

Against these reasons the French and their partisans maintained, that the French king should haue the precedence, not only for that they had been long in possession, but also by right, hauing wel deserved it, and for many reasons answering those which the Spaniards had objected. The embassadors of France complained much that the fathers of the Councell had done wrong vnto their king, in admitting of this action, although they had surceased, and

*Ricardo* a Catholike king

Inquisition of Spaine.

Kings of Spaine Saints, come from heauen.

Church of Toledo.

Iesuits first bred in Spaine

Name of Catholike.

Preiudice done to the Kings of France by the Councells.

1563

Testimonies of  
the preemi-  
nences of the  
kings of France

and would not decide it, the which they should have rejected, having also allowed them of Spaine to sit alone out of France, by way of provision, until that the Pope and the Consistorie of Rome had determined calling thereby in question the precedence of the kings of France, over all other Christian kings, the which had bene for many yeares praesided & confirmed by the judgement of Popes, and the testimony of the most famous Lawyers, and ancient writers. For, Saint Gregory, the Pope saith, that the king of France doth as much exceed all other kings as a Royaltie doth a private man. Pope Stephen the third saith, that the French nation shines above all others. Besides doth maintaine, that the kings of France carrie the crowne of liberty & glory above all other kings. That they are as the day star in the midst of a cloud coming from the South, which cannot be darkened. That the banners of France march first, over the which no other king can pretend any advantage of honor. Boniface of Vitalianis, an Italian, Auditor de Roma, said as a Greek author, & many others have left in writing, that who named a king simply, it was meant by him of France. Besides, the ranks of Christian kings is seen in the Registers of the court of Rome; and in those which they call provincials in all the Cathedral churches, in which the king of France precedes, & they of England & Spain are set after. That it was worthy after these holie & learned judgements, to bring it again in question; & they held it for an insupportable injury to the kings of France, who in effect are not subject to the Popes judgement, nor to any other jurisdiction in this matter, nor in anything that concerns the rights, preeminences & prerogatives of their crown, which they were to maintain by the means which God had given them: whereupon they made a sharpe invective in open Council against the Pope, by reason of some former opinions he had declared at Rome: yea they did tax him bitterly, for that he did challenge unto himself all power about the Council, suffering nothing to be determined but what had bin allowed by him at Rome: That he shewed himselfe too vnthankful & ynjust to France and to her kings, who had alwaies bin benefactors to the holy Sea, seeking to put them from their lawfull rank, and cruel to all Christian people, in that he rejected the iust demands of all Catholike princes which was, a necessarie reformation of the manners of the Clergie, & of that which was corrupted in the discipline of the Church, & especially of the abuses of the court of Rome. That instead of bread of health, he gave Scorpions, sowing discord betwixt the kings of France and Spaine, under colour of these importune precedencies, tending to cause a pernicious warre in Christendome: wherefore they said, that reserving the reverence that was due to the holy Sea of Rome, wherein France and her king meant to continue, they could not acknowledge Pius 4 for a common Father, nor true Pope, but for an unlawfull vsurper of that dignitie; they protested nullity of the acts and decrees of the Councell, which were but repetitions of that which Pius had set down, declaring that they had comendement from the king their master to retire, with all the Prelates of France, least by their presence they should seeme to allow of his attempts against the dignities of the kings of France, the priuiledges of their crowne, and the liberties of the French Church.

People anim-  
corruptible  
Indge.

The Parisians of the French nation both at Rome and at Trent discoursed at large both by word & writing: seeking to satisfie the curious multitudo (which it may be is the most incorruptible iudge in such courtousies.) And for that the Spaniards wold bring their nation from Tubal, one of the neere descendents of Noah, they to pay them with the like money, laied for a foundation of the antiquitie of the French Nation, that the Gaules and the French were one nation, and one people, issued from Gomer, grand-child to Noah, and that this nation of the Gaules did extend from the river Tanais, unto the Western & Atlantik Ocean, in which circuit at this day is contained Spain, France, Germany, Polonia, Russia, with the Gottike & British Ilands; and these people were generally called Commerians & Gaules, a name taken from their progenitor, Gomer, who was also surnamed Gal, which signifies escaped from the waters, that is to say, the Deluge. But since to distinguish their troups & members, as they dispersed themselves, they took other names, as of Galates, Albins Theutons, Germans, Cimmericians, Cimbres, Cicabians french &c. drawn fro their aduethes or the situatio of the regions where they lodged, or fro the princes & captaines which did lead the: yet the name of Gaules hath bin alwaies retained by them which haue held the country on this side, or on the west part of the river of Rhin, for a perpetual marke of their antiquity,

People com-  
banded under  
the Gaules.

Lib. 28.

1563

A antiquitie, taken as is said, from the deluge, that all the foresaid people were in old time of the same maners, that is to say, free, open, warlike and conquerous; courteous to their friends; fierce to their enemies, vying for a long time one language, taken at the diuision of Babel, which was the Teutonick, more pure at that time than it hath bene since, by reason of the mixture of nations: And thereupon the Gaules which dwelt on this side, and the Germanes or Teutons, which remained on that side the Rhin called Brethren: That the inhabitants of Spaine at this day could not attain to this antiquitie, although they say they are descended from Tubal the brother of Gomer, for Gomer Gal was the eldest of Iaphets children, as they are set downe in the holy Scripture, and Tubal was the fifth, who made another branch, the which came but late into Spaine, having taken another way. That one Iberius issuing from him, had given the name to Iberia Asiatika, which at this day is the Countrie of the Georgians, from whence out of doubt the Iberians Spaniards are come, but long after the Deluge: And that on the other side some wandering troups came into Spaine under the conduct of one Sepherad, whose descent the Rabins bring also from Gomer; of whom there is no other record, but that having crost Africke, which was held by the posteritie of Cain, hee had entred by the strait into Spaine; and that hee had called that continent by his name Sepheride; turned since into Spereide, and in the end into Hesperide.

Iberians Span-  
iards.

C Moreouer (said they) that the names of these two stemmes or fathers of nations are verie considerable in this question of antiquitie and nobilitie, being most certaine, that in all the names of these first men, there was something mysteriall and propheticall, which gaue a note vnto posteritie. But the word Gomer signifies a man perfect and finished, and Tubal signifies seed, which begins to spring. There is an honourable mention made of Gomer, and his descendants in all authors, as giuen to religion and sciences: And if wee shall beleeeue Berossus, as wee haue him at this day, and drawe the Gaules from one Samotheus brother to Gomer, hee commends him to haue bene the wisest man of his time: whereas there is no worthy mention of Tubal, to ground nobilitie on. When as the Scripture speaks of the children of Tubal, it puts them in the ranks of D mercers, pedlers, & horse couriers, frequenting the Tyrians faires & markets. The Spaniards themselves say that Tubal and his people were first seated in Iberia Asiatika, from whence they without doubt came, which haue peopled the greatest part of Spaine, who were therefore called by the Greekes and Latins Iberians, which is the true and most ancient name which we find of that region of Europe, which wee call Spaine, which name was brought from Asia. Before this transmigration of the Spaniards or Iberians out of Asia into Europe, the Gaules, who were also called Celtes, had run beyond the Pyrenees, and being as it were in possession of Spaine, did this honour to the Iberians that were new come, to giue them passage through Gaule, and a dwelling beyond the mountains: and although that afterwards growing insolent against their benefactors, there grew contention and warre betwixt them, yet they were reconciled, and thence comes the name of Celtiberians, a people famous in the war, with whom the Romanes had to do in Spaine; the which were long subiect to Princes and Captaines, Gaules and Celtes, whereof the name of Brigus one of their ancient kings (which word is of the ancient Gaule) makes mention: and the names of Celiques and Callaiques or Galliques haue bene for many ages preferred among the people of Spain, whereas now the Countries of Portugal, and Galicia are, for assured testimonies that the Celtes and Gaules had been seated in Spain before that euer the Iberians Asiatikes had set footing there. As for the name of France or French, which their nation carries now, they were agreed that it was new, but with all they maintained that it was most honourable, for Franc signifies fierce and valiant, free from all seruitude, active, noble, and an honest man; and for that they had giuen it to the nation of the Gaules, not conquered by them, but rather freed from the tyrannie of the Romanes, and of the barbarous nations which did spoile it, it did nothing derogate from the antiquitie and nobilitie thereof, nor to the fraternitie which they haue alwaies had with the Gaules, seeing that both these names are still in vse, and common to the Nation, that of Gaule and Gaulois being much vsed in solemne acts both spirituall and ciuill.

Name of Spaine  
come out of Asia

Name of France  
or French.

It

It is certaine that Gaules is as it were the generall name, and French a particular, so as the Spaniards in the search of Antiquities cannot find any other, but that the French being somewhat dispersed from the bodie of the Gaules, by the violence of the Romanes, who prest them; and to whom they would not yield but by extremity, were in the end vntoed againe vnder one Crowne; whereas by their vertue they erected a realme in Gaule, of the French familie of the *Merovingiens*: And they may read in Histories that the Romanes possiding Gaule, found alwaies them of that nation, dwelling vpon the banks of Rhin and Meuse; whereas now bee the Prouinces of *Cleues*, *Auliers*, *Gueldres*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Friseland*, and the neighbour Countries, knowne to all Authors by the name of *Sicambrians*, who were hard to manage, alwaies contending for their libertie, vntill they had freed themselves from the yoke and tyrannie of the Romanes, which *Sicambrians* of the Rhin did afterwards take the name of *Frances* or *French*; and haue imparted it to others: So as wee may by good proofes conclude, that when as in the time of the emperour *Valentinian*, the *Sicambrians* French erected a realme in Gaule, that they were no new people, but of the same nation, whereof a number became more eminent than the rest, not for any desire to rule ouer them, but in hatred of the Romanes tyranny, and to repulse the *Burgongnians*, *Gothes*, and other barbarous Nations, which spoiled the Countrey, and held their brethren in seruitude.

Having freed them, and ioyning all in one bodie, they erected this French monarchy, which hath exceeded all others in dignitie and valour, adding to the name of Gaule that of *Fraunce*, in honour and remembrance of their deliuerers, who held the Scepter and Soueraignty as due vnto them; but the *Belges*, *Celtes*, *French*, *Acquitanes*, and finally all the Gaules made the bodie of the estate, vnder one common bond of ciuill libertie, one honouring another by mutuall courtesies, for as the Gaules had reuerenced the French armes which had freed them from seruitude and oppression, so the French for their part, had receiued with honour the ciuilitie, lawes, and religion of the Gaules, & made an equalitie of free right betwixt them.

*Spaine a prey to the barbarians.*

The Spaniards haue no memorie to brag on, for as *Pharamond* made warre in the lower part of Gaule Beligike, Spaine was then a prey, and torne in peeces by diuers cruell and barbarous nations, hauing neither feare nor courage to resist them. The *Gothes* beganne to shew themselves on this side the *Alpes*, and to frame a royall estate in Gaule, making their seat at *Toloufa*, but they held it not long, for the French sent them soone beyond the *Pyrennees*, to contend with the *Vandales*, *Alanes*, & *Sueues*, who had already wholly subdued Spaine, and hauing diuided it among them, fell to iarre about their portions, at the coming of this *Gothic* nation, who had no conformitie nor acquaintance with the Spaniards, as the *Sicambrians* had with the Gaules, but was a meer stranger & an enemy, seeking nothing but spoile. The Spaniards hauing bene conquered by the *Gothes* from the Romanes, and the aboue named nations, they fell out of one seruitude into another, which continued about one hundred and twenty yeares; and their condition was very miserable from *Valeria* the *Arrian* king vnto *Ricardo* the Christian: for all that time was a meere conquest full of desolations and ruines, without any forme of good gouernment, whilst that the raigne of the French Gaules was felid in pietie and iustice, and did prosper in armes, subduing the *Burgongnians*, forcing the remainder of the *Gothes* which were on this side the *Pyrence* mountains, to goe to their companions in Spaine, and rooting out the rest of the Romanes in Gaule. *Ricardo* and some other kings following him held some better order in their gouernments, and made lawes grounded vpon naturall equitie & iustice, the which are at this day in price: There past some raigns in this nation, in the which the princes being made Christians, did willingly take counsell in spirituall things, of the Clergie in national counsells which were often held, and namely at *Toledo*.

*Abuse of Councils in Spaine.*

In like manner the Clergie did reuerence the royall authority, and did freely receiue fit orders for their estate in temporal things: & we must confesse that whilst this harmony lasted, the Spaniards & their affairs did prosper: but when their Councils were conuerted into assemblies of the states (where also the Clergie would euer haue most authoritie) when as instead of treating of the doctrine of Iesus Christ, and the due dispensation

A of his heavenly blessings among Christians; studying to refigure errors with knowledge and charitie, and to reclaim the manners and affections of men, to the rule of true iustice. By holie Constitutions they did handle with contention the preheminiences of Prelats in their diocesses and iurisdiccions, disposed of the estate of Kings houses, of the honours and offices thereof, and of the gard to their persons, reconciled quarrelles among great men, and dealt in other such worldly affaires, all vnder the authoritie of Councils, whereby all was corrupted, euery man forgetting his ranke, in the end they found proud and obdurate Kings in that State, who in disdain of the impertinencie and exesse of such pastors (and for their cause of religion it selfe) abandoned themselves to all vice and impietie, so as God to punish them gaue way to the *Moors* and *Arabians*, who entred into Spaine, and made such a spoile, as both Clergie and Laie men, King and Subiects, Noblemen and Clownes, finally all degrees smarted many yeeres. That from these lamentable calamities the defenders of the Spaniards preheminance and their kings, seeke I know not by what Art to draw glorie, saying with ostentation, that their nation hath alwayes preferred among the *Gothes* and *Sarazins* which haue ruled ouer them) their Language, Religion, and Libertie: wherein they shew themselves verie vaine; for as for their libertie, the Histories shew the contrarie, neither had they kept their religion pure: And as for their language, they of the French partie said, that the Spaniards had wringed it to no purpose, yea if they would consider it well, they should find, that it gaue them no grace, but did rather blemish them. If they will say, that in

*Moors the scourge of Gods iustice.*

*Vanities of the Spaniards.*

C Spaine they neither speake the *Gothike*, *Arabic*, nor *African* tongues, they must also adde that they speake not *Spanish* there. The French doe freely confesse that the true Languages of the Gaules and French are not much vsed now in *Fraunce*. Doe wee not know that either of them spake the Roman tongue in those daies? for hauing bene long subiect to the Empire of Rome, they were forced to learne the tongue, and to vse it by an expresse Lawe, as all other people did, which were subdued by this proud Nation.

This Roman tongue was retained both by the Spaniards and French to this day, yet mingled and corrupted by other tongues: but there is one notable difference, which giues the advantages to the French, which is, that although they haue some words and termes remaining of the Roman tongue, yet haue they very few that are meely strange, D but are of the old *Sicambrian*, *German* and *Teuton* tongues, which is the common language of the French, and of all the ancient Gaules, whereas that which the Spaniards vse at this day, consists of the Roman, *Gothike*, *Arabic*, *Moorish*, and *African* tongues, a perpetuall note (vnlesse they change it) that they haue serued the *Gothes*, *Moors*, *Arabians*, and *Africans*, the which is yet fresh: And therefore it appeares that the Gaules being deliuered from the Roman yoke, by the French their Country men, hauing made one body, and one people, haue since preferred their language better and more generously than the Spaniards: and (which doth more import) increasing still in power, dignitie and good gouernment, they haue alwayes maintained their estate and libertie, keeping any other nations from supplanting them either in al or in part, were hee Christian or E Infidell, and therein they doe much exceed the Spaniards, who haue suffered themselves to be controlled by the Infidell *Moors* about 800 yeeres.

*Argument taken from the situation of Spaine vaine.*

And whereas they thinke to extoll Spaine by reason of her situation, about all the regions of Europe, for that say they, it represents the head in the Geographical Maps: they answered, that it was a fruituolous induction, grounded vpon the speculation of children and idle persons. That in truth Spaine makes a chiefe part of Europe, but that proues not that it is the best part. If in the description of Authors it be set before France, that giues it no preheminance: for by this reason Ireland should be preferred before *Italie* and Spaine it selfe, for that *Ptolomie* and other Cosmographers after him set it first in F their geographical descriptions.

And for that there was no contradiction but to the greatest Princes greatest honours are due, they were agreed vpon this point: But the French said, that the honourable greatnesse which consists in dignitie must not be measured by the greatnesse of his dominions, nor the multitude of his subiects, as the Spaniards would doe. That seeing they did confesse that the Realme of *Ierusalem*, which did neuer equall the fourth part of

Kkkkk

Spaine,

1563

Dignitie and  
greatness of  
Spaine wherein  
it consists.

The Spaniards  
Empire is a  
charge to it selfe.

Spaine hurtfull  
to all Christen  
domes.

French alwaies  
beggall to the  
Spaniards.

Spaine, should be preferred before all Christian realmes if it were standing, they shew plainly that this greatnesse which giues preheminance, doth not consist in quantitie of ground, but by pietie and iustice, by the valor & vertue of kings, and of their subiects, & by their bounty, they and their estates increase in reputation: In all which it is very apparent that France hath the better. But discoursing of this greatnesse which consists in quantitie, they said that the number of realmes which they reckon within the continent of Spaine, is a vanitie and euident signe of the weakenes of that nation and of their shame; witnessing that Spaine hath bene dismembred into many parts, which hath not hapned in France, since it was a realme, in the which they might haue made a dozen better realmes than those of Arragon, Granado, Gallicia, and the Castilles, being reduced to their ancient limits, the other forcine estates, where they commaund, are no profitable accessaries to Spaine, as Sicilie, Naples, Sardynia, the Netherlands, no nor the Indies: These members lie too farre off, and doe more trouble than aduance their kings affaires. Let the Spaniards then heape together all the realmes, duchies and counties which are of the iurisdiction of Spaine in Europe, and let them adde thereunto Peru, and new Spaine, and for an increase let them bring their pretended rights to the Empire of Constantinople, and to the realme of Ierusalem, France will alwayes ballance all this euen as a small bullet of gold, and will equall in weight a greater masse of other metall. This greatnesse, said they, of that Spanish Empire, is too new to be esteemed, and too yong to presume to goe before France; the which is venerable for his lustie age, and hath maintained her Crowne about 1200 yeeres, with so great honor, as it were folle to repeat the attempts of her feudataries and vassals, the which shee hath happily calmed and quenched. This Spanish pride, glorious but of late, is too delicate to stand of it selfe, the which time will discover. This arrogant presumption is like vnto the pomegranate, which being growne in few nights, aduanced it selfe before the Pine tree which had indured many a sharpe winter, but it withered away with the first wind, the Pine standing firme and immouable.

But as for the commodities which the Spaniards say that the greatnesse of their kings Empire brings to the rest of Christendome, they answered, that it was quite contrarie, & that there was no nation in Christendome but complained of the wrongs & injuries they receiued from Spaine, neither was there any one pleased with any good was brought thence, vpon which tearmes France stood. The commodities, said they, which people receiue one from another, proceed either from meere liberalitie, or by way of commerce and traffike, or else casually, and as it were by reflection of that which a nation doth for it selfe, which notwithstanding redounds to the profit of their neighbors. They know not in France, what the Spanish liberalitie is proceeding from charitie. The commerce and traffike which these two nations haue together, doe without doubt incommode France, and cause a dearth of victuals and other commodities, besides it doth daily withdraw the labouring people & Artisans (which are said to be the riches of a country, being incited with the Indian gold) which hath course in Spaine. And it were difficult to find a president of any deed or enterprise of the Spaniards, which hath turned to the profit or ease of the French. But what benefits and good offices haue not the Spaniards receiued of the French nation? since the time of the Gothes raigne in Spaine, these people being alwayes in the pawes of some tyrant, the French were forced to goe and deliuer them. Vpon this occasion King Dagobert passed the Pyrennees, chased Suintilla, a disordered and cruell man, from the royall throne, and setled Sisebut a good prince. Lewis 8, and his son S. Lewis, so the end they might not diuert the weakne of the Spaniards, and the affront which (said they) was done vnto them by D. Berenguela, wife to D. Alphonso 9 king of Leon, when as shee ceased vpon the realme of Castille, the inheritance of her eldest siller D. Blaunch mother of S. Lewis, causing her son D. Ferdinand to be inuelted, the French being busied in greater affaires. They will say, they haue made warre against the Sarazins, the vniuers of Spaine, when they threatened to invade France, and the other regions of Europe; That they haue staied them with their owne forces, and in the end expelled them: It is their custome to bragge, but they cannot giue the lie to so many wortheie Authors of all nations, and to their owne Annales which they the contrarie. The French are not so malicious

licitious to deny that the Spaniards haue not caried themselves valiantly in many encounters against the Moores, holding their country and houses, but to say that they alone had subdued them, that were not fit. Let them for euer thanke the French, who haue giuen them the means: Let them acknowledge, that to attaine vnto their deliuerie, the French made the way, and brought the ladder, mounting with them, yea before them: where vnto they had neuer attained without the French. Did not Charles Martel prince and gouernor of the French defeat the barbarous Africans, when as being masters of all Spaine, they passed the Pyrennees, presuming to deuoure France? Every man knowes that in two memorable victories, which he obtained against them, the one in Touraine, the other in Languedoc, he slew about 400000, by which routs they were so weakened, as the pietie Kings of Spaine, who had begonne to lay the weake foundations of the realmes of Ouiedo, Leon, Arragon, and Nauarre, in the mountains, had some leisure to fortifie themselves. The same Charles Martel, did not he keepe the country of Cartellogne with the forces of France, whereof he made a bulwarke against the Sarazins of Saragosse, Valencia, & those that were lodged in the neere countrie of Nauarre? They would gladly deface the memorie of so many painfull voyages and worthy exploits done for them by the French during the raignes of Charlemaine and his sonne Lewis, who did so long keep the Moores on this side the river of Ebro, that the Asturians and Castillians might on their side aduance against the Barbarians, for that it may be they would blush at the report of these things whereof we cannot speake but to their great dishonour. They should remember, & can not dissemble it, that D. Alphonso 2 of that name king of Leon and Ouiedo, surnamed the Chast, for that (although he were married) he would not haue any children, seeming to haue a desire to recompence Charles the great for so many good offices which hee had receiued, inuited him to come into Spaine, vpon a voluntary promise, that he would cause him to be acknowledged by his subiects, for the lawfull successor of his estates: then hauing lightly changed his opinion by the persuation of his courtiers, hee did forget both Gods honor and his owne, making a league without any scruple with the Moores: whom hee did arme against the French, being vpon the way, for that said the Spaniards they would not subiect themselves to a stranger. This was the cause that the French armie receiued a notable rout in their retreat. The French being incensed at this bad vsage, began to neglect the affaires of Spaine for a time, which gaue meanes to the Moores to increase their power, and to settle themselves for many yeeres, God letting them know by this seuer and long punishment, how much he was displeased with their treacherie & ingratitude, the which shewed a manifest contempt of religion: Notwithstanding the French did not forbear to succour the Spaniards many times at their great neede. Read the Annales of Spaine, you shall find, that King D. Alphonso the first of that name in Castille, and the 6 of Leon (it is he which took Toledo from the Moores, and vniited it to Castille) was virtuously assisted by great troupes of French, led by the Earles Raymond of Burgundie, Henry of Bezancon, and Raymond of Tolouza, who purchased him the surname of Brave, by reason of many goodlie victories, obtained against the Moores attributed to E this king, although that most were done by the French, and their commanders, to whom he was not vnthankfull. For in requitall of their vertues, he married all three to his owne daughters. Raymond of Bourgundie left vnto his sonne D. Alphonso Raymond the Royall keeper of Castille, by the right of his wife D. Yrraca: and Henrie of Bezancon was the stennie of the royall house of Portugal. The same Spanish Histories make mention, that at the siege of Saragosse, in the yeere of our Lord 1118, being held by the Moores, D. Alphonso the seuenth, who called himselfe Emperour of Spaine, for that he held all the Christian Realmes in that country, had in his armie the earles William of Poitiers, Rotron of Perche, with them of Cominges and Bigorre, the vicount of Lauedan, the bishop of Lescar, with many other French noblemen and knights, by whose valour the citie was taken, & made the chiefe of Arragon, and many routs giuen vnto the Infidels. It was not by the sole forces of the Spaniards, although they were all vniited, that the famous battell of Muradal was won: it were too great ingratitude, or senseless malice, not to acknowledge it, the which their owne Writers doe witness, that in the army of king D. Alphonso the fourth of that name in Castille, there were about 100000 strangers, & most French:

Kkkkk j

and

Treacherie and  
ingratitude of  
the Spaniards  
to the French.

Generositie  
of the French  
to the Spaniards.



and in like maner at the battell of Salado; at the siege of Algezires, and such like actions, it is most certaine that the Kings of Fraunce, and they of Nauarre, who then came from the French, neither spared men, nor treasure, no nor their persons, witnesse *Philip* of *Eu-*  
*reux* king of Nauarre, who died at Seuille or Xeres. They did confesse that the Spaniards predeceffours had fought valiantly against the Moores, according to their means, but it was for themselves, and their owne private commodities, and to return into their houses, the which did not much concerne the profit of other christian people. Whereas the French without any private designe, moued with the only zeale of religion at the simple persuasion of Popes, and at such time as they did assist the Spaniards, haue enterprised most holy and difficult warres, against all the forces of the East, drawing vpon them the warrelike nations of the Turks, Arabians, Chaldeans, Egyptians, and others of Mahumets sect, from whom they took the city of Ierusalem, all Palestina, and Syria towards the sea, erecting a realme there, which they held and defended valiantly, to the good of all Christendome, wherein the Spaniards cannot say that they gaue any aide; and yet they intitle themselves Kings of Ierusalem, and aspire to the Empire of Constantinople, which elates haue cost Fraunce so much blood, so as they haue no reason to quit their rights, being grounded vpon a donation and inuestiture of the Empire of Constantinople, made by Pope *Leo* the tenth to King *Francis* the first, and to his successors, when the Potentates had enteruew at Bolonia.

Interests of  
the French for  
the publick good  
of Christendome

Experience doth teach vs daily, to what vse the forces and treasure of the Kings of Spaine are employed, and of what import they be to the state of Christendome. The nauigation of the west Indies, and the possession of those great and vast deserts seeme verie honourable and fruitfull vnto them, and they make great ostentation of the gold, silver, and pearle that comes from thence. These things, which are not worthie to be put in the ranke of things to be wished for by vertuous men, seeme to giue content, and to bring some ease to this common life, the which we passed more sincerely, and it may bee more commodiously before the discouerie of these countries. In one respect they are verie auailable for the Spaniards and their kings; for they are as it were sinkes and common sewers, to draine away and confine all their banished men, bad husbands, bankrupts, infamous persons, and finally all men that are hurtfull to their other subiects, for with such men the west Indies are for the most part peopled. Moreover, it is certaine, and it doth plainly appeere to those that consider things rightly, that all other regions and states of Europe, yea and Spaine it selfe are hurt in many respects: for since the plentie of Indian gold, all things are more deere and impaired. By this metall which passeth currently with the armes of Spaine, Inuention and Industrie are made dull and sleepe, and thereby Truth and Honesty are corrupted. By this Indian gold, the Kings of Spaine, who were wont to entertaine friendship with other Potentates their neighbours, are now growne full of contentions. They entertaine many souldiers, and make continuall leuies, being neuer without quarrells, so as they and their subiects are in continuall troubles; as it happens alwayes to those, who to assist others, loose their owne quiet and rest. By this gold the Kings of Spaine presumed to haue away made to a monarchie in Europe, and haue engaged themselves in vnecessary warres vpon diuers pretexts, which haue kept backe the Christians forces, whilst that the Turke got Hungarie, and made other lamentable breaches into Christendome; and by this holie or cursed gold, *Charles* the first Emperour or King of Spaine, made warre against the Germans, vnder colour of religion, though the true cause was to force them to suffer the Empire to be hereditarie in his house. Hee vanquished them, but not without the aide of other Germans, corrupted with his gold, hee triumphed ouer all the princes, estates, and towmes of the Empire, and thought hee had attained to the height of happinesse; but behold *Henrie* the second the French king, staies him sodaynly, with the valour of his Armes, accompanied with iustice, and maketh him desist; hearing that the French army approached neere unto the Rhine: the Germans received this good tyme at that time of the French their friends, neighbours, and brethren, to recouer their libertie and the dignitie of the Empire. A worthie and fresh example, to shew that Fraunce precedes Spaine in qualities which giue splendor and dignitie to Kings: that is, in valour accompanied with iustice, and in a charitable

Dissemin. titles  
by the discov-  
ery of the west  
Indies.

Germany freed  
by its friends  
the French.

A protectio of the oppressed: & that true riches consist in sufficiencie, which is alwayes found in France. But who could forbear to smile, to heare the scorching aire, & the drie & barren ground of Spaine preferred before the milde and temperate climate of Fraunce, whereas the Spaniards seek reliefe in all their necessities, as euery man knowes: what good comparison can be made of the men and fruits which Spaine produceth with them of France? whereas so many religious, active and ready wits are bred, such goodlie and nimble bodies, so courteous and pleasing in behavior, of such inuincible courages in all great and difficult enterprises? whereas so many great captaines were borne, who planted colonies throughout all the world: a nation which hath made the Turke to tremble, hearing only the name of Franc or French, which hath furnished so many Popes & soueraigne pastors to the Church, and so perfect, as the Spaniards cannot compare with them, be it in regard of their vertue or number: which hath produced so many great emperors, fathers of nations, & amplifiers of the Christian religion, sons to so many noble kings, & of so great antiquitie, as no others can attaine vnto it. Let the kings of Spaine glorie of the families of the *Balthers* and *Hamules* reigning among the Gothes, fatal nations, which haue brought nothing but miseries and ruines into Europe, where in the end they themselves haue bin ruined and extinct, but that the Spaniards would now make them liue againe amongst them: But that they are descended by issue male, fro the Merovingians or Carolingians as some of their feed chroniclers suggest, & they themselves vant, ther is not any but they that speak it, & their profes are very obscure & vain, and subiect to many inuented fables.

C The princes of the familie of Austria, from whence the kings of Spaine at this day are defended, are issued (as the French said) from the earles of Habsbourg, the which Earldome was a verie small thing in that part of Germany, which is now called Ergow, amongst the Suisses in the yeere 1272. This place of Habsbourg, whereof they intitled themselves earles, is now a ruinous castle, & hath often changed master. As some report, it was one *Rapst* or *Ratboth* which layd the first foundations, as also of the Abbey of Murre, where they find some charters, from the which they haue drawne their genealogie since this *Rapst* vnto *Raoul* or *Rodolphus* the first of that name amongst those Earles, who was chosen emperor of the Romans, at such time as there was a great schisme among the Germans; & they found that this house had bin first brought into credit by a bishop of Strausbourg, brother or neere kinsman to the said *Rapst*. They also shewed by the testimony of some writers, that this *Rodolphus* Earle of Habsbourg was so poore, as he was forced for a time to serue as steward to *Ottocaire* the titularie king of Bohemia, and that afterwards ayming at the commodities of the Church, he did insinuate himselfe into the fauor of an archbishop of Mentz, whom he did accompany in a voyage which he made to Rome, and was so gracious with him, as at their return, finding the princes of Germany strangely diuided into factions, for the imperiall dignitie which had bin void about 25 yeeres, this archbishop caused *Rodolphus* to be chosen K. of Romans; by his credit which was great, and by means of the princes contentions, who would not yield one vnto another, & by the same fauour he was easily confirmed by pope *Gregory* 10, who was then at Lion, at a generall Councell. *Rodolphus* hauing attained to this dignitie, employed himselfe happily to pacifie the quarrells of Germany: and as he was politike, he neglected no occasion to aduance his owne affaires, manning his good fortune in such sort, as he caused the duchies of Austria, Sueuia, Sciria, and Carinthia to fall into his house, with the realme of Bohemia for a season, and the Landgrauiat of Alsacia, with other lands and fees of the Empire, the which fell void during the said troubles, most of the which haue remained to his posteritie. So by these vnexpected euents, and contrary to all mens expectations this house of Habsbourg grew famous, as God doth sometimes raise the poore, and make of a Sheepeheard a King, when he please. There was some light (saied they) vnto that time of the house and familie of Austria, issued without contradiction from the estates of Habsbourg, but whereas Writers seeke to draw their auncetors from the Princes of Austracia, of the French race of *Merone*; It is a meer vanitie & rashnes for the, to wander through the desarts of these turbulent times, where there is no path, nor way to lead them to the knowledge of such auenturist beginnings. For the ground whereof, they suppose one *Stegbert*, (who it may be neuer was) fro whom they would draw the families of the Erles of Habsbourg,

Beginning of  
the Kings of  
Spaine issued  
from the house  
of Austria.



bourg and others: and they say that he was sonne to *Theodebert* king of Austrasia, he that was dispossest of his estate, and flaine at the instigation of *Queene Brunhild*, by *Theoderic* king of Burgondie, the being grandmother to these 2 princes. That *Theodebert* and all his sonnes being flaine, except *Sigebert*, who hauing escaped the massacre, was sent into high Burgondie, beyond Mount Iura, where he begat sonnes and daughters, and that his issue was dispersed into diuers families of Germanie: but the French maintained that this pretended *Sigebert* was fained and fabulous, as doth appeare by the best French writers, who say that *Brunhild* her selfe slue all the sonnes of *Theodebert*, casting her selfe a little one, being in his swathing cloths, against the stone, whose name was *Metrouce*, *Theoderic* hir other grandchild being also poisoned by her, & the punished by *Clotaire* king of France; hauing also rooted out the vnlawfull race of *Theoderic*, he vniited the realmes of Austrasia & Burgondie to his crowne: afterwards hee gaue Austrasia with the title of a realme to his son *Dagobert*, who coming to that of France, inuelted his sonne *Sigebert*, who dying king of Austrasia, left one onely sonne called *Dagobert* in the garde of *Grimoald* Maior of his palace, who sent his Pupil into Scotland, where hee caused him to bee made a monke, and soone after died, and then hee caused his owne sonne *Hildebert* to be crowned king. But the French to reuenge this disloyaltie, brought an armie against him, slew *Hildebert*, and carried the father to Paris, where hee died in prison. Since which Austrasia and Burgundy were gouerned by Maiors of the Palace or Viceroyes, vnto *Pepin*, who was crowned King of Fraunce, by reason of the idlenesse of *Childeric* the last king of the race of the Merouingians, not by fraud nor violent vsurpation, and much lesse through the fauour, approbation, or counsell of any Pope, as some say, but by the election & consent of the princes and estates of France, and therefore with a more iust title (if there be any comparison) than that by the which the kings of Spaine doe now hold the realme of Nauarre: for it is a fundamentall right which neuer dies among the French, to haue libertie to choose their kings (provided alwayes that they goe not out of the masculine line of the blood royall) in case of some great incapacie, or for some other important accident, which concerns the publique good, and preferuation of that crowne & state: which nation among other good humours cannot endure a strangers command, nor of their owne princes, when they seeke hatefull alliances elsewhere, and that contemning the honors and sweetnes of their owne country, they affect the manners and fashions of strangers: whereof *Charles* the first duke of Lorraine made trial after the decease of king *Lewis* the 5 his nephew, before whom *Hugh Capet* was preferred, being also a prince of the blood, but not so neere: whom the French reiected, for that he was wholie giuen to the fashions of the Germans, which are much more tollerable to the French than those of the Spaniards, who seek at this day to pretend a right vnder fained genealogies, to quarrell for the crowne of France, if opportunitie serue: whereupon they did conclude, that if their ancessors could not indure a prince of France Germanized, they should hardly euer accommodate themselves with princes of the German race, but Spaniolized, yea transformed into meere Spaniards, both by nature and education, if they should prouoe directly that the house of Austria come from the Earles of Habsbourg, were descended from the Merouingians; and that pretended *Sigebert*. They added moreover, that if the historians of the house of Austria could prouoe, that their fained *Sigebert* had beene in the world, and could trace out his posteritie directly to *Philip* King of Spaine now reigning, yet could they not make it appeare, that either he or *Theodebert* his father were capable of the crowne of France, by reason of the vncertainty of their blood, for that queen *Brunhild* reported that *Theodebert* was a supposed childe, and that hee was not brother to *Theoderic*, nor son to king *Childeric* of the blood of France. Moreover, they demanded of these curious searchers of the rights of the house of Austria, where these princes descending from the pretender *Sigebert* were hidden, whenas the scepter of the French was transferred into the familie of *Charles Martell* to *Pepin*, and then to *Hugh Capet*: why did they not shew themselves then, or at the least make some solemne protestation to preserue their pretensions & rights to the crown of France, if they thought they had any. For they might haue done it safely, especially since that they of Habsbourg came vnto the empire and were growne mighty: but it is strange that neuer any prince of that race opened his mouth,

A mouth, nor imploied any Chronicler to colour this imaginarie title, no not the emperor *Charles* 5, who wanted no ambition, seeking to lay hold of it by force only, and the right of conquest. *D. Philip* his son is the first of his family that talks of this antiq Merouingian nobilitie, & hath begun to cause instructions to be drawne to entertain his greedie desire to deuour France, employing also with the like designe the alliances made by them of his race with the blood of France, by mariages, thinking thereby to maintain in the house of Spain some hereditary pretensions to the realm of France, if he had no other support. The which in good termes of Law is called, to flaunder or to caull, which is when one contends for that which is notorious: for euery man knows that the realm of France is no inheritance, but a succession of the males, by reason of the blood, and that it respects not the women, being contrary to the inueterate custome of the French. Thus the French and their partisans restrained the Antiquity & the Nobilitie of the kings of Spaine, & brought them to the house of Habsbourg in Germanie, saying notwithstanding that they of Habsbourg and Austria haue great reason to commend the alliances contracted by mariages with the house of France: for if they haue drawne any lustre from the Germanie empire in *Reichshofen* the first, and other Emperours of their familie, they haue made it perfect by the mariages which some of them haue contracted with the Princesses of the blood of Fraunce: witnesseth the Emperour *Maximilian*, who hauing married the heire of Burgondie, had so great lands and possessions by her, besides the companie of a noble ladie, as he made a waite thereby for *Philip* his son, and his descendants to attaine vnto their greatnes.

C But committing now to the chiefe points, which should be decided in this question propounded in a generall Councell, which are, the pietie and religion of people & their princes; and their duties and merits to the church of God, and to his ministers. The Spaniards (said they of the French partie) tell wonders and miracles vpon the relation of their Writers, and their Spanish traditions: That if God hath giuen preeminence in these things to their nation, it ought to be allowed and confirmed among men, yea in ecclesiasticall assemblies. They bragge that they first saw and heard the chiefe Apostles in their country, and that they had beleueed the Gospel before all other Gentiles. Hereof they giue no better prooffe than the French might doe, if they should say that these great lights *S. James*, *S. Peter*, and *S. Paul* going into Spaine had passed through Gaule, going by land rather than by sea, desiring to profit more, as it is likely, according to their duties and commissions, and that in passing they had preached and made Churches. That by this probable reason the Gaules had beene instructed before the Spaniards, and had seene the Apostles first. As for the Apostles disciples, it is most certaine that Gaule did see the first, & the most renowned, according to good Authors, the which was *Crescentius* disciple to *S. Paul*: and if we shal beleue traditions, *Lazarus*, who was raised from death by our Sauour, came & preached at Marseille, *Nathaniel* in Berry, & *Denis Arcopagita* at Paris. There haue bin counells in Gaule since the time of pope *Victor*, about 180 yres after our sauior *I. Iesus Christ*, whereas that great doctor *Irenaeus*, gouernor then of the church of Lion, did preside. And there is an Epistle yet extant written before that time by the Martires of *Uellence* vpon Rhofne, & from the of Lion, to comfort them of Galacia & Phrigia in Asia, during the persecutions of the Emperour *Commodus*. As for the Councell *Elibertin* (that is *Eliberris*) that neither the time nor the place where it was held are not verie well quoted by them that haue written, and it is probable that it was not in Spaine, but rather at the foote of the Pyrenean mountaines, vpon the strait of Gaule, where there was also an other good towne of the same name, reduced to a village in the time of *Constantine* the Great: the which was called in regard of the portion which hee had giuen to *Constantine* his eldest sonne, in the which Gaule and Spaine was comprehended, to which two great prouinces this place confining was commodious: but admit (said they) it had bin held in Spaine, it would no more aduance the Spaniards cause, thā the counells of Arles that of the French, assembled in a manner at the same time, to compound the controuersies of the Bishops of Afixe, by the authority imperial of *Constantine* the great, in whose empire & long before, Gaule was full of goodly churches, at Arles, Vienna, Lion, Autun, Treues, Angers, Poitiers, in Berry, Auvergne & elsewhere, which were furnished with learned & catholike Pastors, famous by the writings of the learned that were neere that age, the which are come

counells in  
Gaule.

1563

Kings christned  
in France be-  
fore them in  
Spaine.

Heresies in  
Spaine.

Marriages pro-  
fane of the kings  
of Spaine.

Churches of  
Spaine gover-  
ned by French  
Prelates.

Riches of the  
clergie of Fraunce

vnto vs, and that Synodes were as frequent then and some ages after in Gaule, and more then in Spaine, but they were all nationall, or called vpon some priuate subiects, where if they beleue that the kings, Gothes, comming into Spaine did assist, we may beleue that the kings of France haue done the like in their country. But to maintaine as the Spaniards doe, that the kings of the Gothes raigning in Spaine, were Christians and Catholikes before them of France, there is no ground, vnlesse they will say, that the Arrians were Catholikes and Christians: with which vice all the Gothish kings in Spaine were infected vnto *Ricaredo*, who was conuerted by the catholike Doctours, among which was *Nigith* of Narbona, and hee abiured Arrian heresie, at the third Councell of Toledo in the yeere 589, a whole age after the conuersion of *Clouis* king of Fraunce to the true Christian faith; in the which the kings of France, and the French in general haue alwayes persisted, vnlesse they will impute to the whole nation the priuate blemishes of some, which will be found trifies in regard of those which haue bene raised in Spaine, for the which it hath bin often troubled, as by the heresie of *Basildes* & *Martiall* mentioned in *S. Cyprians* epistles, wherof the one was bishop of Legio Gemina, & the other of Emerita, & that of *Prisilian* a Spaniard, which was condemned at the councell of Burdeaux, and him selfe with other his confederats executed at Mentz: and in like manner by that of *Felix*: the which shewing that heresies haue been lesse countenanced in Gaule than in Spaine.

But leauing these old things, seeing that prioritie of time doth not carrie it, being said, That in the kingdome of heauen the first are many times found last; it is requisite to know, how both Spaine and France haue governed themselves for matter of beleefe and godlike works during these later raignes. It were not fitting for the French to contend of the holines of the kings of Spaine, who did first after the inuasion of the Moores; nor to dispute if their Armes came from heauen, whether *S. Iudas* standard be true or a fiction, nor in like manner the graces and gifts which they maintaine to haue been in some of their princes, to cure diseases, and to cast out diuelles. For by the same grounds they beleue that *Charlemaigne* & *Lewis* 9. kings of France, are Saints, and their feasts are celebrated by the Church, that the flowers de Luce of gold, with the holic oyle are gifts from heauen, and that it is most apparent the Kings of Fraunce cure the Kings Euill, which things the French would not haue any man call in question. Wherefore let them be allowed of eyther part without preiudice to their rank: but (said the French) the Spaniards should shew themselves hollow hearted, if they should deny that they had not been often retained in the true doctrine, and instructed in the exercises of Christian religion by the Prelats, and Doctours which Fraunce hath sent them from time to time, whilst that the nobilitie of Spaine, and their Kings also, defiled themselves with the too familiar conuersion of the Moores, when they were not in armes, alying themselves vnto them by marriages, as *D. Alphonso* 5 of Leon did, who without scruple gaue his sister *D. Theresa* in mariage to *Abdala* the Moore king of Toledo: and another *Alphonso* 6, of that name at Leon, and 3 of Castille married *Caida* a Moore. They will not make any doubt, that by the diligence of *D. Bernard* Archb. of Toledo a French man borne, and other clergy men of the famenation which did assist him, the exercises of the Romish seruices was brought into that Church, instead of the Musarabic, which they had vsed in Spaine vnto the yeare 1086. Wherefore the exercise was called Gallican. And they must confesse, that for want of worthy men to gouerne the churches of Spaine, the said *D. Bernard* was constrained to furnish his bishopricks of Braga, Ozmia, Siguenza, S. Iames, Segouia, Palenza, Valencia, Zamorra & others, with Prelats which he had brought from France, in his returne from Rome. And that another *Bernard* of Agen succeeded him in the archbishopricke of Toledo: all learned and holic pastors, and so reputed in their owne Annals.

The kings of Spaine haue built store of monasteries and churches, & do entertain many orders of religions, wherof the heads be in Spaine, & haue giuen the first fruits of their victories to popes as to Christs vicars. The French contradicted it not, seeing by the effect that the prelats & clergy men of Spain are very rich: but wil they say that they are poore that the prelats which he find by a true computation, that of twelue parts of the lands in Fraunce, whereas they finde by a true computation, that of twelue parts of the lands they hold seuen, and receiue the reuenues, besides the tithes, the deuotion of good men, and other casualties? And as for the heads of religious orders, it is well knowne that the

1564

A chiefe and most auncient are in Fraunce much honoured, and that the kings of Fraunce, and other princes of that nation, haue not onely giuen the first fruits of their victories to Popes, but they haue giuen them whole realmes.

Whereas the Spaniards brag that by the discouerie of the west Indies, they haue increased the number of Christians, and gotten a new world vnto the church: The French confesse, that doublelesse this desire in the beginning was royall, and that the respect wee owe vnto princes, and Christian charitie doth bind euery man to beleue, that such was the intention of the catholike kings *D. Ferdinand* and *D. Isabella*, wheras they first gaue meane to *Christopher Columbus* to vndertake this voyage: but they maintained that there were neuer Commissions worse executed, nor more naitiously diuerted than those by the Spaniards which haue bene sent since to the Indies, and that in all their gouernement there is not any shew of good zeale nor of true religion. If they will say, there are many religious men of all Orders, and especially Iesuists, well entertained, they replied, there were many reapers, seeking harvest to feed them, reaping where they had not sown: That so many religious men went not thither daily to instruct the Indians, but to gather the fat of the earth. That it was well knowne there were few naturall Indians left at the west Indies, and that the Spaniards, as well souldiers, as farmers, and officers of the mines, had slaine and murdered them by millions, and did seeke to root out the race of them, vsing them like brute beasts, and causing them to burst vnder the burthen of an insupportable labor, in searching into the bowells of the earth to find gold, & into the depths of the sea to draw forth pearles. It is not the way to increase the number of Christians, and to get a new world vnto the Church, to captiuate so many poore soules so tyrannously, and to take away their liues without reason, against all humanitie, by such cruell, vile and miserable seruices. That these things were not spoken at random, nor inuented; for the cruelties vsed vpon these poore Indians, had bene verified by good informations made by the commandement of the Emperor *Charles* the first, vpon the complaints which had bene made by certaine good religious men, who were eie witnesses of those infolencies, but yet there followed no great reformation: Finally, that great number which liue there in religious habits, vnder a colour of deuotion, be at lesse enough, hauing no cure of soules, wherewith Spaine and other countries of that iurisdiction on this side the seas, are overcharged, and cannot well entertaine them without the west Indies; and that is the chiefe mark of religion which they can shew in regard of those Indies. For it is neither pietie nor charitie which drawes them thither, it is couetousnesse and an insatiable greedines of gold, which entertaines this nauigation; and without doubt this traffike will cease, the memorie of those places, and the name of Iesus Christ will be forgotten, if others than the Spaniards do not raise it, as soone as their mines be dried vp, as they are in some places, and therefore abandoned.

As for the Inquisition which is an other great trophie of the Spaniards reputation with the Church and Christendome, for that (say they) it keeps both great and small in obedience: whereunto the French answered, that it is hateful to the best Catholikes, & to all men of honour in Spaine, by the report of those which haue frequented that country; for that it is iniurious vnto them, and by extreme rigour doth seme to note them with infamie, making the world beleue, that they are not Christians, but by a seruile constraint. Besides, the abuses which are daily committed, to fill the treasure, & to enrich the Inquisitors, and their ministers & spies, by fines and confiscations, procured vpon sained & supposed crimes, make it vnprofitable in it chiefe duty, which is to maintaine the puritie of doctrine, & holines of maners; and therefore this Inquisition practised after the manner of Spaine, is abominable to euery honest man. That many haue held this bridle necessary in former ages in Spaine, where there was a great medley of nations, & of diuers religions, which made many to beleue what they thought good of the diuinitie, yea vnto our fathers times: in the which (as it is related in the historie of the wars which were in Italie during the raigne of *D. Ferdinand* the first, and of the emperor *Charles* his graundchilde) many of the Spaniards which were slaine in any encounters or battelles, being stripped, were found circumcised: but it may bee the nation being now somewhat seled and resolu'd in the religion of Iesus Christ, it seemed high time to moderate this

sharpe

Excess of the  
Spaniards at  
the Indies.

Inquisition of  
Spaine inuention  
and abuse.

1563

sharpe rigour of the Inquisition of Spaine, and that it should be practised with more charity and modestie, if it had no other end, but the glorie of God, and the health of mens soules. That in France the vie is more free and sincere, to edifie mens soules, and not to ruine them, and that the French had no need of such spurres; for there was no nation that did more willingly obey the Sea of Rome. The kings of Fraunce haue always shewed themselves most deuout; they reuerence the Popes and their authoritie: the holie Decrees and Constitutions of lawfull Councils, are in great recommendation with them, reseruing the dignitie of their estate and crowne, which bindes them to be protectors of their clergie, & of the immunities & liberties of the French church. It is an article of their duty, office, & roial charge. These are old rights without dispute, wherat the sea of Rome was neuer offended, but when as it hath bin held by some, who forgetting all fatherly duty towards France, would adhere too much to the passions of their enemies: yet notwithstanding the kings of France haue bin alwayes ready defenders of the church of Rome, & benefactors and deliuerers of Popes, and their sole and safest refuge in all afflictions. And therefore they do rightly carry the surname of Most Christian, since the time of king *Charles*, yea of the eldest son of the catholike church, the which can not be disputed but by inconsiderate rashnes, nor suppress but by ignorance or malice. That the Spaniards did not defend his Holines predecessors from the insolencies of the six gouernors, lieutenants to the emperors of Constantinople in Italie: nor from the violences of the Kings of Lombardy. It is not by any benefit of the kings of Spaine, that they are lords of the citie of Rome, & that they enioy so great a country, and so many faire townes. That they are not the forces of Spaine which haue chased the Sarazins out of Sicile and Calabria. That the goodlie realms of Naples & Sicile are not come vnto the church by the bounty of the kings of Spaine: but the French made them these rich presents, and haue maintained the in it. That it was a princeesse of the blood of France, which gaue vnto the popes that which they hold in Prouence: That Spaniards hands are more accustomed to ransom Popes & cardinals, and to spoile, burne & destroy the patrimony of *S. Peter*. Finally, the church of Rome must acknowledge all her bountie vpon earth to come from the French nation, and from their kings, & ground vpon these new & vndoubted titles, the rights & possessions of other lands and seignories, & not colour them with a donation from *Constantine*, nor fro the fauour of such a mediator as *Osius* bishop of Cordoua might be, the which haue no ground but vpon Spanishe reports which are not autentike. By these benefits, by the continuall obedience, & by the ready succors so often tried, the dignity and preheminance of the crowne of France should be maintained at Rome, in the Council, & in all places, so much the more iustly & necessarily, for that by long acquaintance, it hath bin made as it were essentiall & substantiall with the Popes dignitie, so as for the support thereof, they haue no need but of the crown of France, to resist the attempts of her bad children, which are frequent & dangerous. Moreouer, if they should presume to put the kings of Fraunce from their ranke, it could not be done but very difficultly, & by a forgetfull & very hatefull ingratitude, which doth not befit the holie Sea, & could not in their opinions fall into the Popes thought, who did then preside. Concluding, that for the best and most wholesome expedient for Christendome, he should containe himselfe in his pastoral office, which is, iudgement of causes concerning the faith, religion & the discipline of the church, & to abstain (specially during the general assembly) to enter into knowledge of a controuersie, which is merely temporal, in the which soueraine princes do not willingly acknowledge any other Iudge but their owne swords, & so leauing euery one in his possession, to admonish the king of Spaine, to giue peace vnto the Church, and not to trouble the Council, nor the publike peace.

Office of Popes  
wherein it consists.

Question of precedence vn-  
sided at Rome.

Thus did the French maintaine the precedence of their king, with their naturall freedom and vehemence against the pretensions of the Spaniards & their partisans: but the Pope to whom this controuersie was sent, would not take vpon him to iudge it, but left it vndecided, as it is at this day, which made the impatient spirits of the Spaniards to pursue this question, & to maintaine their pretended rights of priority, by writing, wherof there are great volumes printed, with priuledge from their kings, which the French do not reouble themselves to answer.

The

A The year following 1564 the Acts of the Councill were confirmed by the Pope at Rome, in the open Consistorie of Cardinales; yet against the aduice of some fathers, who held this confirmation to be needlesse, and all Christian princes were commended to cause the Decrees thereof to be published and obserued. At these last Sessions of the Councill, *D. Claudio Ferdinand* of *Quignones* Earle of Luna, was embassador for the king of Spaine, to whom by reason of this difference there was a place appointed apart, out of ranke, by prouision and without preiudice.

This year *D. John de Benauides* marshall of Nauarre died, and at the same time there died also *D. Francis* of Nauarre, Bishop of Valentia, who was brother to *D. Pedro* of Nauarre, the last marshall of the bloud royall descended from *D. Ligonell*. The interest to this Realme remained in Queene *Joane* of Albrer, widow to *Anthony* of Bourbon, by whom she had two children, *Henry* and *Katherine*: In the meane time there were Viceroyes or Lieutenants for the King of Spaine to gouerne it, and about that time *D. Gabriell de la Cueva* left the gouernement of Nauarre, to the Licentiat *D. Michel Ruiz* of Otalora, Regent or President of the Iustice in that Countrey, and passed into Italy to gouerne the estate of Milan, but *D. Alphonso* of Cordoua and Velasco Earle of Alcaudete, who had bene gouernor of Oran, and had defended against the Turkes which held Alger and the Moores, was sent thither for viceroy, where at the end of 3 months he died, yet hee caused an assemblie of the estates to be held at Tudela, where it was concluded to make an Vniuersitie in that towne, that the Nauarrois might haue meanes to studie, and not goe out of the Country. After the Earles death *D. Ioseph* of Gueuara came to gouerne the Realme of Nauarre. And in the year 1565 *D. Lewis* last earle of Lerin of the house of Beaumont, and Constable of Nauarre died, leauing one onely daughter and heire called *D. Brianda de Beaumont*, who was married to *D. Diego de Toledo* sonne to *D. Ferdinand Aluarez de Toledo* duke of Alba; who in her right was Earle of Lerin, and Constable of Nauarre. *D. Ieronima* of Nauarre; widow to the marshall of Benauides, being married againe to *D. Martin* of Cordoua and Velasco, brother to the Earle of Alcaudete, she brought him the title of Marquess of Corres, and the estate of Marshall of Nauarre.

Nauarre;

Vniuersitie at  
Tudela in Na-  
uarre.

The Pope hauing delayed, during the Council, to satisfie the kings of Spaines demand, touching a subuention from his Clergie toward the maintenance of his war, the king sent *Lewis d. Auila* great Commander of Alcantara to Rome, to sollicite the dispatch of this supplie from the Clergie, towards his preparation, which was graunted to be 40 thousand ducats yearly for five yeares onely, giuing him hope, that if they might see any good effects, they would continue to assist him. And the king hearing in what estate they stood for matters of religion in Fraunce and Flanders, fearing some alteration also in the state of Milan, he caused this embassadour to demand leaue of his Holines, that he might with more seueritie restraine the curiosity of his subjects, & their liberty in matters of faith, the which he might do, bringing the Inquisition into those prouinces, according to the custome of Spaine. And for that he had seen what an alteration it had caused some yeeres before in the realme of Naples, and that being a remedy of great violence it could be easily applied, he sought to accept it first in the state of Milan, for that he doubted that as the Netherlands being so much altered, would make some great resistance, so in like he did hope, that when they should see it plac'd in the duchie with good effect, they would be moued by their example. The Pope not onely seemed difficult to yeelde vnto this demand, but the whole college of Cardinales protested that it was a verie dangerous thing, not onely for fear of some insurrection in the beginning, but also that in procelle of time the ministers of the office might conuert their extraordinary authoritie to their owne profit, so as not onely a bad conscience, but great wealth might bring anie man in danger both of life and honour. Notwithstanding at the kings great instance the Pope did gratifie his Maiestie, and presently the duke of Sesse gaue them of Milan to vnderstand how desirous the King and the Pope their countrymen were, to see that important busines of the faith firmly settled in that duchie. But the gouernor was not willingly heard by them, who seemed resolute not to subiect themselves to such a seruitude, saying that they would send embassadors both to the Pope & King, whereupon the duke of Sesse promised to write and dissuade his Maiestie, as he did.

Clergie of Spain  
help the King  
with money.

Inquisition of  
Spain attempted  
at Milan.

About

About the end of this yeare there came two sonnes of *Maximilian* King of Romans into Italie, *Rodolphus* and *Ernestus* being much desired by their vnckle in Spaine, that they might spend some yeares in that realme, and know the great men of his court, but about all to be bred vp with prince *Charles*, who did trouble his father, for that hauing much wit, hee could hardly be gouerned: some saying, that this froward disposition, grew by reason of the hurt hee had in his head. These two Princes being called by the Catholike King, and sent willingly by the father for diuers respects, arriued in Decenber (being accompanied by manie German Barons, and by the Cardinall of Augusta) in the state of Milan, being feasted in many places.

The King of Spaine hauing bene disquieted, for some alteration which had bene growing among the Moores, who since the taking of the realme of Granada, had liues dispersed in those countries, and were suspected to haue intelligence with the Moores of Afrike and with the Turkes, and that they practised some notable rebellion: wherefore it was thought fit to disarme them, and to forbid them to haue any, vpon grieuous penalties, yea they that were become Christians of that race, shewing themselves not to be found in the Faith, retaining much of their first breeding. About the same time news came vnto the King, that *Dragut* had bene seene at Sea with some thirtie gallies and galleots, in the which hee had many souldiers with twentie peeces of batterie, whilst on the other side the King of Alger went by land with tenne thousand foot Moores, and some Turkes, and Renegados to besiege Oran, the which they brought to extremitie for want of victuals, so as they could not haue held out many dayes when as the kings fleet arriued to succour them. The King hearing in what extremitie the besieged were, wrote first into Italie, and into all parts of his dominions, where there were any gallies, that being presently furnished with victuals, men, and munition, they should come to Barcelona, where he meant to make his fleet vnder the command of *John Andrew Doria*, and then send it to succour Oran. *Doria* and the kings other ministers went from place to place to gather them together, the viceroy of Naples sent 25 gallies to Barcelona, vnder the conduct of *Sancho de Leyna*: *Doria* staying somewhat long, the King feared hee could not come in time to succour the besieged, and therefore hee gaue the charge vnto *D. Francisco Inigo de Mendoza*, (others write that it was *D. John de Cordona*.) *Doria* arriuing, was much discontented, who hauing satisfied the King with good reasons, went as a priuate man in this action, giuing the command of his gallies to his brother *Paganio*. There met in the port of Barcelona 34 gallies, and some of Spaine, that were repaired since the last shipwracke, so as in all they were about 40 which bent their course towards Afrike, whereat the Turkes and Moores were so amazed, as they presently vpon sight of them, set saile, and the armie at land fled to their houses, abandoning their artillerie and baggage very basely, so as in an instant they were freed from that great danger. Some write, that before the army arriued, they fed only vpon horses and asses, so as they must either haue starued, or yeeld vp a very important place. The Admirall pursued them in their flight, and took 25 galleots and 3 great Morisco ships, forcing the rest to cast their ordnance ouer-board, that they might be the lighter to sie; yet they threatned to return the next yeare with forces from the great Turke.

The catholike King had made great preparation of shipping to defend the coasts of his owne kingdomes from the inuasions and spoiles of Pirates, who hauing a retreat at *Pregon de Velez*, might easily set vpon the shippes which passed from the strait of Gibraltar into diuers other parts. This rocke stands almost in the middelt of the gulph of *Velez de la Gomera*, which was sometimes called *Bedis* or *Bilis*. And for that in former times Spaine was much annoyed thereby, for that from this rocke which is very high, and diuided by a small distance from the land, they discovered the shippes a farre off at Sea, comming from Spaine, so as the Pirates, who had their galleots and frigots ready below, went forth with aduantage to meet them, sought with them, and spoiled them, King *Ferdinand* resolved to fortifie that place, to retraineth those theues which retired into the port of *Velez*, whither he sent an army, where they built two castles vpon that rocke, putting into them sufficient men and ordnance to gard them: The which the King of *Fez* seeking afterwards to recouer from the Spaniards, they were repulsd with great losse, and

Oran besieged  
and well defended.

Pregon de Velez  
now situated.

A and it was kept for the Spaniards, vntill that in the yeare one thousand five hundred and twentie, it was betrayed by a Spanish Souldier, who brought in the Moores to be reuenged of his Captaine that had taken away his wife.

King *Philip* to recouer this place, being verie prejudicall to their nauigation, caused a fleet to be made readie of about one hundred and 30 saile, among the which there were about forty ships of burthen, Galleots, and lesser vessels, with one great Galeon of Portugal: There were eightie and seuen gallies, that is, two and twenty of Spaine, eleven of Naples, ten of Sicilie, eight of Portugal, twelue of *Doria*, eight of *Florée*, three of *Sauoy*, sixe of *Malta*, and four of *Marco Centurioni*. There was in them about ten thousand Italians, Spaniards and Dutch, among the which were many Noblemen and Gentlemen voluntaries; the chiefe, besides the General *D. Garcia de Toledo*, were *Francisco Baredo*, who commanded the ships of Portugal, *Sancho de Leyna* those of Naples, the Lord of *Plombin* the duke of Florence galleys, *John Andrew Doria* his owne, *Mar Antonio Colonna*, *Chiappin Vitelli* commander of the foot of *Tuscaine*, *Hanibal Altemps* with his Germans, *Fernando de Sylua* and others.

They came not to the port of Malaga, which was appointed for the Rendez-vous, vntill the end of August, and then the army parted, meeting with the aides of Portugal: being all vnited together, they arriued neere vnto the port of *Velez*, where they had some trower to vnship their ordnance and men: for the rest they had no great difficultie, for the Moores and Turkes fainted, when as they saw the artillerie (planted in two batteries) began to annoy them, the which would soone haue ruined that fort being but small, & therefore they studied rather how to fly than to defend themselves. So, in the night the greatest part of them escaped in barks there remained about 25 who yeilded. The Moores came down in great troupes of Horse, and did skirmish with the Christians. The generall *Toledo* hauing taken this place, furnished it with all things necessarie, & left a garrison in of 800 Spaniards. After which they consulted if they should vndertake any thing else, this conquest seeming but smal in respect of the great charge; & they propounded that of *Bugia*, but considering that the season of the yere was far spent, being in the middelt of September, & that their men had endured much at sea, especially the galley-slaves of *Tuscaine*, being vnacquainted with those seas, & the Germans who were much wasted, so as they held it not fit to engage themselves in an action which would require time, whereupon they returned with their galleys to winter, and *D. Garcia de Toledo* went to be Viceroy of Sicilie.

King *Philip* remembering that the emperor *Charles* his father had sent *Ferdinand Magelanes* in the yere 1519, to discover the Moluques and other Ilands thereabouts, some of which were more plainly discovered in the yere 1542, he gaue order this yeare to *D. Lope de Velasco* viceroy of Mexico, to make ready a great fleet, with the which entering into the South sea, and sayling towards the west, he should discover those places better, whereof they had yet but a generall knowledge, which they held were inhabited by good sensible men. But for that the preparation was long, and the charge great, they parted not till towards Christmase. The fleet being commanded by *Velasco* sailed towards the Moluques, he had with him *Michel* of *Legaspo*, who by order from the king should be gouernour of the first place he should discover & hold worthe to leaue a garrison and to plant a Colony there. They therefore found out *Tendaia* or *Tendain*, *Punel*, *Bohol* and *Pauligen*, all which foure in honor of the king were called *Philippine*: they also set footing in the Iland of *Luzon*, which is bigger than all the rest, being more towards the North, where the city of *Maniglia* is built, by the which the whole Iland is also called. It was not difficult for the Spaniards to become master of those places, for that they of China hauing abandoned the gouernement which they had enioyed, there was not any Lord, but they that had most power, did tyrannize ouer the weaker. They found the Countie fertile, and abounding in many things necessarie for the vse of man; but it was a verie commodious dwelling for the great traffike of gold, silke, and other rich Merchandize, which they had with them of China, wherefore they planted diuers Colonies in a short space, finding the inhabitants inclined to ciuilitie, especially in the Iland of *Luzon*, and the citie of *Maniglia*, *Michel Lopes* of *Legaspo*, remained Gouernour of those places, where hee dyed twelue yeares after, with the title of *Adelantado*.

Armie sent against  
Pregon de Velez.

Ilands of Philip  
now discovered

Malta besieged by the Turks.

Description of Malta.

John de la Valette great master of Malta

Turks army at Malta.

## The generall Historie of Spaine.

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The king of Spain being aduertised of the great preparations the Turke made at Constantinople, to send a great fleet to Sea, gaue order for the fortifying of those places which were most in danger. But *Solyman* intent was to attempt Malta, & it did behoue king Philip to defend & preserve it, for the interest of his neer estates of Naples & Sicile, this land lying verie commodiously to annoy them, if the Turks should take it and keep it as he might easily do, by the care and diligence of the kings of Algier & of Tripoly, mightie Pirates, & his tributaries, who are alwaies in armes, & ready to furnish it vpon any sudden occasion; besides his own means which are great: whereof hee might make there a good staple, or store-houise for his warres against Europe.

The Iland of Malta is a great and spacious rock, about 60 miles in compass, lying betwixt Sicile & Africk, from the which it is about 50 leagues or 300 miles distant, & from Sicile 60 miles, or 15 leagues, accompting 4 miles for a good league: towards the North, it looks to Cap Passaro in Sicile, and on the South to the towne of Tripoly in Barbarie. This rock is couered some six foot thick with earth and no more: it doth yeild excellent fruits, feede some cattell, brings hony & cotton which is the inhabitants wealth; it hath many ports & landings, which are reasonably safe for their ordinary trade, but not to receiue any great fleets. The names of the chiefe are Marfamuffet, Marfa Scala, Marfa Sirocco, Cala S. George, & Cala of S. Paul: Marfa in the Moors tog signifies a port, Cala is a shore or strand. The citie is almost in the midst of the Iland, carrying the name thereof, being inhabited by them of the countrie, but the aboad of the knights who are Lords thereof, is about the port of Marcamuffet towards Sicile, whereas the sea makes many final gulphs leauing tongues of earth or rock betwixt both, where they are lodged and well fortified. Vpon one of these points which made a passage to one of the gulphes, was built a fort called S. Herme, which kept that entrie, & defended the Maltois galleies which lodge within the gulph: right against it on the other side towards Sicile is the castel S. Ange, the which was strong & wel furnished, commanding towards the Sea: vnder it was the Borough (where the knights were lodged, and there make their assemblies) wel walled and flanked, to the which is joyned an other Castell called S. Michael. *John de la Valette* was at that time great master of the order, French by nation, a man of great courage & wisdom, who being well aduertised of the furious tempest that threatned him, made all prouisions necessarie in such a danger: he sent for all the knights of his order to come to Malta, he had recourse to all Christian Princes for aid; he caused the Borough and other places of the Iland to be viewed and fortified; he bought armes, munition, victuals & al other things which hee held necessarie to defend a great seage. Wherein the Princes of Italy did assist him liberally, and the Viceroyes of Naples and Sicile, had commandement from the king of Spaine to aide him: especially *D. Garcia de Toledo* of Sicile had charge to keepe the galleies of Sicile and Naples in a readines, with whome should ioyne the galleies of Spaine, the Popes, the duke of Florences, those of Genoua, and the duke of Sauoy, and make a sufficient power to hinder that seage.

The reason which made the Turks to vnder take this enterprife with so great preparation, was a surprisfe attempted by the great Master of Malta vpon the town of Maloic in Morea, which the ancients called Epidaurum Limeria, but it succeeded not.

The 28 of May, in the yere 1565 this great armie of enemies came to the Iland of Malta, about the port of Marfa Sirocco, being in number 145 galleies, 8 Maones, which are vessels which do both saile and row, hauing 5 men to euerie oare, but they are not so big as the galleasses, many foists & galleots, with a number of ships and vessels to carrie artillerie, horses, victuals, powder & al prouision for war, with which *Draguts* forces should ioyne and the galleies of Algier, of *Vluccialy*, and of all the Pyrats in the Mediterranean sea, vpon the coasts of Africk, Asia, the Ilands of the Archipelagus, and other places; all which were sent for to come & serue there vnder the great Turks banner, vpon great penalties for the that should faile. *Piety* Bassa had the chief command at sea, it is he who chased the Christiāns from the Iland of Gerbe; and *Mustapha* Bassa was generall at land. At the arriual of this armie the great master had with him 500 knights of his order, men of resolution and experience, & 8000 soldiers, as wel of the Iland, as others leuiued in Italie, and some companies of Spaniards & French: whom he distributed into the citie, the castel of S. Ange, the forts

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A of S. Herme, & S. Michel, the Borough & other places. *D. Garcia* being doubtful whether the Turk would set vpon Goulette by Tunis, sent a supply of 700 old soldiers, Spaniards, thither, besides the ordinarie garrison that was entertained. At the Turks landing, which was somewhat difficult, for that the ports were final, & the banks of the Ilands steep, they were incourted by some knights & soldiers, who slue many, but they retired soon, for their number was but smal; hauing in this skirmish lost *Nicholas Delbene*, and two other valiant knights. But the Turks landed at this first time 30000 fighting men, some lanifaries, some Spachi, who serue comonly on horseback, but at that time they had bin imbarcked as footmen, hauing with the great store of ordnance for batterie, among which there were Basilisks, whose bullets weied about 120 pound. At their landing they disarmed al their galleies, except some 60 which they kept for their gards, and came & lodged before the fort of S. Herme, by the aduice of *Piety*, who desired to take the port of Marfamuffet, the which was covered with this fort, that he might lodge his galleies which lay disperfed in diuers parts of the Iland, for want of commodious ports, and therefore expofed to many dangers. The camp being lodged & fortified with a rampar, & a fort of earth which they suddenly cast vp, S. Herme and the other places were diligently viewed, the which cost many Turks and Christians their liues: In the end there was a batterie plated against S. Herme, the which pleased furiously, & was often changed & renewed and many assaults giuen & valiantly defended. The commander *Brouille* was within the place, but he was changed by reason of valage, & *Monferra* an Arragonois substituted in his place: *Brouille* had behaued himself valiantly, yet the Turks had won a Ruelin which was without the fort, where they fortified, & filling the ditch which was betwixt both, they gaue rash and desperat assaults, not making any spare of their men. They cast the yards of their galleies vpon the breaches to serue the Assaults for bridges, they had deuised to couer their shot when they went to an assault, and they planted many ladders, but all was in vain for a time, for the defendants overthrow or burnt their engines, & repulst them with great slaughter; so as seeing how difficult it was to take this fort, they were doubtfull whether they should leaue this place, and discharge their rage vpon the rest, into the which all the victuals, cattell and other commodities of the Iland were drawn, especially into the citie, which was not farre from the fort of S. Herme, where the inhabitants had fortified themselves with some troupes of horse & foot, which had bin giuen them for their gard, commanded by the knight *Mesquile* a Portugal, who made many sallies & attempts to diuert the Turks, who for their part repulst them roughly into their town: for there was not a hamlet nor house there abouts, where they had not planted a gard to stop their courses. Hauing spent many daies about the fort of S. Herme, *Dragut* arriues with a great troupe of Turks, in 12 galleies & 3 galleses, the which did much incourage the beseegers, for he was in great credit among them. He did not allow of their beginning to make war by the siege of this strong place, the conquest whereof would be long, & difficult, wishing they had first attempted the citie, where there was more hope & more spoile, but it was now too late said the Bassaes, wherefore the batterie against Saint Herme was renewed, & diuers new assaults giuen, the which were more obstinately obtained than before, with the losse of 4500 turks, & *Dragut* himself was mortally wounded in the head with a stone which was driuen by a great shot, whereof he died soon after; which made the Turks retire. There was also come vnto the camp *Aluc Ali*, whom we call *Vluccialy*, a negado of Calabria, who afterwards was made king of Tripoly in the place of *Dragut*, a great soldier. During these attempts in the Iland of Malta, the great master foreseeing that in time he might be vauquished by the Turks force, which increased daily by new supplies, & contrariwise their men decreased by their continuall assaults and skirmishes, so as in the end their number would grow verie smal, he sent often to Messina, where they made slow preparatiō to relieue the, to acquaint *D. Garcia* with their estate, & in what danger they were to lose S. Herme, & afterwards the whole Iland, beseeching him to make haste, but he neither answered his request, nor the necessity which prest the, for *D. Garcia* besides that he was tedious & graue after the manner of Spaine, he esteemed himself too weak to make any attempt that might auail the besieged, saying that he must gather forces together consisting of many peeces, according to the time & will of the that did contribute, the which was true, wherefore the Turk hath a great aduantage ouer vs, hauing

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Death of *Dragut*.

having alwaies a great number of vessels armed belonging to himself, having no need to beg or borrow them of any other, as we do, with great charge & losse of time, the which is verie prejudiciall in warre; whereas the Turke hath the assignations of his treasure certayne, which may not be diverted: and in this war of Malta, he had an extraordinarie advantage, *Rofa Sultana* his best beloved, being dead a little before, she had left a great masse of treasure to be especially imployed in war against the Christians, for to helpe her soule. *D. Garcia* besides his naturall slowness was grown into a conceit, that it was good to suffer the Turke to waste & consume themselves in the Island of Malta, about those places which he held to be strong and well furnished, and that hee should come time enough to assaile them, when they were weakened with hunger, which did already presse them, and with other discōmodities which follow long sieges. This was to make war by discōurse, but in the mean time he held his arms a crosse, which is against the rules. With much pressing & importunitie, he did hazard some gallies to put certain knights and souldiers, which came late, into the borogh of Malta, the which attempting often, some entred, and others were many times forced to return from whence they came. He also sent to sea to cut off the victuals that went to the Turks army. The two commanders were not very fery for *Draguts* death, whom they hated deadly: wherefore to have the honor to have taken the fort of *S. Hermie* without him, they doubled their battery with 32 Canons, with the which they so ruined the fort as the defendants lay open, & then presently they gaue a generall assault both by land and Sea, the which was so cruell and bloudie, as they were forced to yeeld. Thus the fort of *S. Hermie* was won by the Turkes, the which had cost the liues of 10000 of their men, & 20000 canon shot, in diuers batteries and assaults. All that were found lying in it, were put to the sword, & among others, 30 valiant knights, who had bin referred by the Janissaries to draw a ransom from them, but others coming in murdered them cruelly: they found 24 canons & culuerins within the place, with some remainder of munition, which they imployed against the other fort. This losse was greuous to the great Master, & to all those that were with him, their number being much decreased; for they had lost about 1500 of their best men, & among them many knights. Wherefore the rest being grown mercilesse, hearing what cruelties the Turkes had shewed to them of *S. Hermie*, they resolved not to take any more to mercy, & so it was ordained by the great master, who had resolved to dy with all his company; but to sel their liues dearly vnto the enemy, despairing in a manner of all succours from Italie. But these desperate men were somewhat reuiued by the vnexpected coming of *Hen. Parisot* the great masters nephew, who brought him about 500 good soldiers, with some knights; they had bin 14 daies at sea, before they could find an opportunity to recover the Island, the which they did in the end on the 29 of Iune, landing at a place called *Pietra Negra*, from whence they slipt without discouerie into the citie of Malta, and were from thence conducted with a conuoy to the Borrough, & receiued there with great contentment & ioy. Some of this new supply were put into *S. Michels* fort, which they thought would be presently attempted. The losse of *S. Hermie* being vnderstood in Sicilie, many made offer to *D. Garcia* to hazard themselves to lead succours to Malta, through the Turks guards, the which could hardly be effected by sea; for hauing taken *S. Hermie* they were masters of the entrie which went vnto the Bourg, vnder castel *S. Ange*. *John Andrew Doria* was confident, that with ten gallies he would land as many men as he could carry in some part of the Island, & lead them himselfe into the Bourg: which *D. Garcia* would not suffer, for that hauing not any newes of the gallies of Spaine, (which was his best excuse in his dilations) he would not hazard those he had, which were for the safetie of Sicilie, & the realm of Naples. The Turkes hauing clenfed the ruins of the fort which they had won, they lodged 300 Janissaries in it, & then they planted 60 canons in six feuerall batteries at la Grotte, Corazain, Mandraffe, at *Sancta Maria du Secours*, at *Sancta Marguerita*, & elsewhere, making so wonderful a thunder, as they were heard into Sicilie beyond Messina, assailing the Bourg, and fort of *S. Michael* both together, by sea and land, but it pleased God so to strengthen the beseegeed, as they had alwaies the better against the Turkes since the taking of *Saint Hermie*, who in the end did not fight but with an obstinate despair, battering the houses of the Bourg, more than to make a breach to enter: their powder began also to waste, for at their coming to this seege, they had lost a great

*S. Hermie taken by the Turkes.*

*Batteries made by the Turkes at Malta.*

A great ship at Sea, in the which were sixe thousand barrels of powder, with six hundred Janissaries, and they had sent into the Leuant to haue new, with other things which they wanted. In the meane time *Hassan* king of Alger, son to *Barberousse*, came vnto the sea with seuen great gallies, many foists and other vessels, carrying many Turkes and other good souldiers, for whose welcome *Mattia* seeking to doe some extraordinarie exploit against the fort of *Saint Michael* towards the sea, and against the Bourg by land, was repulsed, and lost about fide and twenty hundred Turkes; some were drowned with their barkes, and some were slaine with the canon and the sword: at which charge there dyed also about two hundred Christians, and many were hurt: yet the Turkes faired not for all this, but increased their batterie against the fort and Bourg, ruining the flanks & courtines, and leauing the beseegeed almost naked to the shot of the canon, from whence notwithstanding they could not take any thing, although they did assaile them fiercelly by all meanes and deuices, casting bridges made of their maine yards, ouer their ditchs, & vpon their ruines, as they had done at *Saint Hermie*, with many other inuentions, all which were ouerthrowen by the Christians, who couered themselves as well as they could, but they could not prevent the death of many of them: among others *Hermie de la Vallette Parisot*, the great masters nephew was slaine: but there happened an accident which did much fauour the beseegeed, the noise of the canon was so great, as they of the citie being some seuen miles off, heard it as easily as if it had bene neerer them, which made them resolute to sallie forth with all the men they had able to carrie armes, both horse and foot, and came and charged a garde of two thousand Turkes, which was set towards the Sea, the which cast forth so great a cry, as their companions which fought at the breaches being amazed, fearing that some great succours were arriued and came to compassse them in, retired in disorder, leauing about fifteen hundred of their men dead vpon the place, and they of the citie had meanes to retire themselves before they were discouered. In the end newes came of the so much desired and so long expected succours, for *D. Garcia* being aduertized that thirtie and seuen gallies were parted from Spaine, with souldiers, to come and ioine with him in Sicilie: hee resolved not to stay their coming, making his accompt that if they found him gone, they would stay in his place and assure Sicilie and Naples at all euents. Hee commaunded that all the Ships laden with souldiers which attended in diuers ports of Italie, should come to Messina, which was the Rendez-vous for the whole army, which being met, the question was how they should lead these succours, wherein there appered many difficulties to men that were not aduenturous like vnto *D. Garcia* and his Spanish Counsell. Hee had gathered together some twelue thousand good souldiers, and fifteene hundred voluntaries of the nobilitie of Italie, who were desirous to shew themselves and to winne honor, but they wanted gallie slaues and mariners for such a number of vessels, whereof the Turkes had double the number: so as there was no meanes to assaile the enemies fleet at sea; and to land men in any part of the Island, to make the bodie of an armie, and to giue battell vnto the Turkes, they feared also in this Councell to doe it vnseasonably, not knowing what forces the Bassaes had yet remaining, hauing vnderstood that, as well at their first landing, as afterwards by those that came from Barbarie, and the Pyrats which had ioined with them, they had had vnder their ensignes about fortie thousand men of *Mahumets* sect. They feared also they shold want victuals in a small, barren & ruinous Island, and to carrie with them, there was also danger how to conuey it safely: and they fell into the difficultie to be forced to fight, hauing a conuoy, with disadvantage, against a greater number of enemies.

Being in these dangerous speculations, in the necessities of warre, which require speed and hazard, there was a Spaniard called *Andrew Salazar* presented himselfe, hee was an old politike capitaine, and could speake the Turkish language, who offered to goe as a spie into the enemies Campe at Malta, and to bring them certaine newes. Whereupon hee was sent with two gallies of Malta, which were then at Messina, who landed him in so commodious a place, as hee got into the Citie without any encounter, where hauing remained some time, he went disguised into the Turkes campe, & there lived among them some daies where he discouered the estate & necessities thereof, & then returned.

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returned



returned in safetie to *D. Garcia*, to whome hee reported this: there was a great amazement among the Turkes by reason of those succours, that the Souldiers were tyred with those troublesome sieges, and that there were many sickemen; that their numbers were not so great but tenne thousand fresh men might winne an honourable victorie, and that they kept guard onely by night; for the Basses fearing these succours, they caused euerie night two great Squadrons of galleies to goe about the Island, the which going from the port of *Marcausset*, one on the right hand, & the other on the left, they met on the backside thereof towards the west, and passing on made the round and came to the same port, where they remained, all the day after and stirred not. Upon this report the fleet went forth, with an intent to land their men in the Island, and having recovered the citie, to march in battell against the Turkes. *John Andrew Dorias* was sent before to giue aduice vnto the great master, but having contrarie windes the fleet was forced to put to Sea, and was driven to the Island of *Fauignana*, about two hundred miles from Malta, and then it returned, toucht at Sicile, sailed towards Goze, and in the end came to the about mentioned place of *Pietra Negra*, whereas the men were landed, and in their landing they layed vpon euerie souldiers backe a bag of biscuit, weighing about fiftie or four pounds, besides their armes, with sufficient fire and powder, and so they marcht in three battalions, two of Spaniards vnder *D. Aluaro de Sandy*, and one of Italians, vnder *Chiappin Vitelli*, and all vnder the Marshall generall of the field, *Alsanio de la Corne*, towards the Citie of Malta, where after two refings, they arrived, the Maltois going forth to meet them with horses, and cattell to ease them of the burthens which they did beare.

Succours came  
to the Island of  
Malta.

This done, *D. Garcia* returned into Sicile, and passing in view of the enemye, hee caused euerie one of his galleies to discharge three peeces, to busie the Turkes, that they should not goe to encounter the succours, or to diuert them from giuing an assault to *Saint Michaels* fort, if they continued: wherein doubtlesse hee erred, for if he had gone away and not given them this aduertisement, they had not made any halt to imbarke, and had undoubtedly bene surprised, with great advantage to the Christians, and the gain of the artilerie and baggage, the which they shipt presently vpon the discharge of *D. Garcia* canon. They had a will to retire, but it should haue bene after a general assault, being resolved to giue it the same day they had this aduertisement, or the next. The Basses were in a maner resolved to fight with the succours, not thinking them to be so strong, but having sent fife hundred of their men forth to skirmish with them, they were almost all slaine, and the rest of the armie fled to their galleies which they had drawne out of *Marcausset*, and other places, and ioyned together towards *Cale of Saint Paule* with such disorder, as many were drowned being prest by the Christians.

They retired towards the Leuant: where some said, that *D. Garcia* lost a goodly opportunitie, for having furnished his Gallies with new Souldiers, & being come to *Siracusa*, he saw this Turkish armie retire close together, & neuer followed them. His excuse was that he had not souldiers enough to fight with them, and therefore hee returned to Malta for his Spaniards, where having manned fiftie of his best galleies, hee directed his course after the Turkes armie, hoping it would diuide it selfe, and that hee might get some bootie, but he returned empty handed to *Messina*; sending shipping to transport the Italians and the rest of the Spaniards, which he had left at Malta, into their Countries, but some of them were cast away in a tempest. Thus Malta was deliuered in time, for they that defended it were reduced to extremities by a great disorder which seemed to bee in the Councell of Spaine, so as the blame ought not to be attributed solely to *D. Garcia de Toledo*, if it had bin taken, for if he shewed himselfe slack, and of a small courage to succour the besieged, and if hee were not faithfull in the dispensation of the treasure, as some would accuse him, the irresolution of king *Philipp* Councell, and the malice and crosses of his enemies in Court, did bring Sicile, Naples, and all Italie in danger of ruine if the Turkes had deprived him of this assured rampar. But God fortified the great Master, his knights and souldiers, and all the people of the Island, arming them with patience, courage, and constancie, for by humane reason they had bin all lost. They that did adventure to come out of Sicile, & to enter into the Bourg, haue their share in the honor, neither are they that brought the succours to be excluded. The constancie of the great master, the resolution of *Parisot* his nephew, the

Retreat of the  
Turkes from  
Malta.

A the vndaunted courage of *Romegas*, the brauerie of *Barragan*, a Nauarrois, *Monferrat*, *Aliranda*, and others which defended the breaches, the willingness of *John Andrew Dorias* to succour them, if they would haue suffered him, the resolution and good conduct of *Alsanio de la Corne*, of *D. Aluaro de Sandy*, of *Chiappin Vitelli*, and other captaines of the succours, and their souldiers, are remarkable in this warre: the which continued foure monethes, from the middelt of May to the middelt of September, whereas three hundred and thirteene knights lost their liues honourably, 3600 souldiers, and about foure thousand canon shot, and lost at the least thirtie thousand men. The great Master after the retreat of the remainder of their armie, gaue God thanks for this deliuerie, and in like manner the Princes and Estates which had assisted him; but he was not without great apprehension of the returne of the Barbarians, fearing hee should not be able to resist them, by this former experience: so as it was often propounded to abandon the island, and not seeke obstinately to repaire and keepe those lamentable ruines: for except the castle of *Saint Ange*, and the old citie, all the rest was reduced to powder. But in these difficulties their generous resolutions were comforted, encouraged, and assisted, as well by the Pope, the duke of Florence, and other Princes and States of Italie, as by the king of Spaine, who among other provisions appointed three thousand Pioners, which hee caused to bee leuiued in Sicile and Naples, to repaire the ruined forres, and also to begin the new citie which was already projected, and had bene traced out vpon that peece of ground, at the point whereof had bene the fort of *Saint Herme*, and which diuides the port of *Marcausset* from that of the galleies of the religion. This new towne was called *Valette*, to be a memorie to posteritie of the vertue and valour of that great knight *John de la Valette*, who liued not long after his worthy exploits in the defence of this siege: to whom there succeeded *Peter de Monte*, who was Admirall of the Order, and had behaued himselfe valiantly.

The gouernours of Prouinces, with the Nobilitie of the Netherlands, subiects to the king of Spaine, seeing the generall discontent of all men, tending to a lamentable confusion, they besought the duchesse of Parma, their Gouvernesse, to prevent these inconveniences, which grew from the crueltie of the Edicts and rigorous persecutions, from the new bishopps, and feare of the Spanish Inquisition: Whereupon they resolved to send one into Spain, with ample instructions, to acquaint the king with all those inconveniences, and the apparent daunger. The earle of Egmont had that charge, hee went into Spaine, he told the king, That mildnesse was the best meanes to prevent this mischief, and was sent backe with hope and promises conformable to his returne, but the effect proved contrarie, and great content to the Netherlands at his returne, but the effect proved contrarie, and their hope was turned into despaire: For this year 1565, in December, the king signified his pleasure to the Gouvernesse, by his letters, what hee would haue obserued in the Low Countries, touching matters of religion. He commaunded, That all Edicts made by the Emperour his father, or himselfe, touching matters of religion, should bee duly executed: That the Inquisitors should be fauoured in their charges, for the good of religion; it being his pleasure that the Inquisition should be put in practise: And lastly, That he should assist the bishopps to haue the Councell of Trent settled: all which was contrarie to that which he had promised to the earle of Egmont, and to the expectation of the poore Netherlands. And for that the Inquisition was the cause of so great troubles, and the shedding of much innocent blood, I haue thought it fitting the subiect of our historie, to relate it somewhat particularly, as it is now practised in Spaine, and its beginning.

D. Ferdinand and D. Isabella, kings of Castille and Arragon, hauing wholly subdued the Moores and Sarafins of Spaine, and being assured of them, they suffered them to liue quietly vnder their obedience, paying a certaine tribute, liuing but a roying life for them that were of a free condition, but yet tollerable, seeing they were not questioned with for their religion. But as all things in this world are inconstant, and subiect to change, king Ferdinand was perswaded to chuse some men that might look into the superstitions and infidelities of these Moores, least in the end the Iewish and Mahometane religion

Valette a new  
towne built in  
the Island of  
Malta.

Earle of Egmont  
sent into  
Spaine.

Beginning and  
progress of the  
Inquisition.



ligion should suppress the Catholike: whereupon hee employed himselfe with great zeale to religion. Wherein he was so happie, as, in testimonie of his pietie, he was honoured by the Pope, as well for himselfe, as for his succellors, kings of Spaine, with the title of Catholike, which *Gregorie* the third had in the yeare 1230 giuen vnto *Alphonso* king of Castille. Whereupon many of the Moores, Saracins, Africaines, and Iewes, were either forced to confesse Christ, or to abandon the countrey: so as many thousands retired themselves into Africke, and other places. But they that desired rather to liue in Spaine with their wiues and children, did either willingly, or by constraint, quit their religion, and were baptised. But the Spaniards finding afterwards of what force the opinion of a diuinitie grauen in the hearts of men is, be it good or bad, true or false, and how hardly it is rooted out, they being bred vp in it from father to sonne, they did forbid the Iewes the exercise of their religion; and as they could not sincerely forget, nor leaue the said exercise, the Spaniard had recourse to persecutions (but with some forme of justice) to root them out: But king *Ferdinands* meaning was, to draw them to religion by instruction and doctrine, which should conuict them in their errors. And as the Order of Saint *Dominike* was then newly instituted, and they were called Iacobins, being then in credit for their pietie, sinceritie, learning, and zeale, before all other Monkes, Preachers, and Doctors, the charge of matters concerning conscience and religion, was committed to them. And although there were some forme of Inquisition before, yet was it confirmed by these Iacobins, who seeing that they could not conuert the Iewes neither by prayers, perswasions, nor preaching, they tooke the materiall sword in hand, to force them to the Christian religion; holding, That any thing which is practised (especially religion) although it be by force and constraint, turnes to a custome, which growing ancient by succession of time, is allowed by them that did not feele the first constraint and rigour. This sword which the Iacobins vsed then, and continues to this day in Spaine, was the cause that they said the Inquisition began in the time of *D. Ferdinand* king of Arragon, for that this manner of reclaiming them was more rigorous than the first, against the heretikes, whom they called Marans. Thus the Iacobins were the authors of the Inquisition, which the king allowed, and Pope *Sextus* confirmed. The king had reason to doe it, to root out the cursed doctrine of the Mahometans and Iewes, who committed great impieties in Spaine.

These Iacobins for the institution of the said Inquisition, were called defenders of the Christian religion. Their first Commissions extended but to Iewes and Mahometists, but since they extended their authoritie ouer all in generall, calling themselves Inquisitors of hereticks, to persecute all them that did not punctually obserue the orders of the Church of Rome. Whereby in the end they did purchase such hatred, as king *Ferdinand* was forced to set learned Clergie men in their places, who before had beene fauourers of this Inquisition. But least the Iacobins should take this deprivation ill, the king gaue them authoritie to be present at the deliberations and iudgements of the Inquisitors of the Faith: so as the examination of such as they call heretikes, is at this day taken by them. And although the said Inquisition were not so rigorously executed in those dayes, as it is now, yet in some parts of Spaine the Spaniards themselves would not receiue it, for the Estates of Arragon opposed themselves against it (yet reuerently) first by words and admonitions; but when he sought to force them, they fell to armes, and would by no means receiue it, the Estates considering that it would be prejudiciall to the liberties and priuiledges of the realme: so as they did not receiue it without great force and effusion of blood of either side, as appeared by the death of *M. Epile*, who being sent with commission from the king to settle it, was murdered in the Cathedrall church of Sarraçosse, the chiefe citie of the realme of Arragon.

Experience hath taught vs what men these Inquisitors bee, who by their wickednesse peruert all; against whom no lawes, priuiledges, statutes, nor customes of the countrey can preuaile; proceeding in all things against the accused according to their passions, be it right or wrong, by all cruell executions vnworthie of Christians, obseruing no ordinarie course of justice, but presuming to deale both with ciuile and criminall causes; citing sometimes before them men of grauitie and authoritie, noblemen and gentlemen, for trifles

A trifles enst for children. When any one is accused, they send a Sergeant (whom they call a Familiar) to cite him to appeare personally before the holy office of the Inquisition; whereunto he must of necessity obey. If he denies that wherewith he is charged, they suffer him to goe to his house, but one of their fliecs followes him, who obserues his countenance: if he finds by word or shew, that he hath any bad impressions, they declare it to the Inquisitors, who make a new Proces. When as the accused appearing at the day appointed confesseth freely, or by intricate examinations (to make him forget his first answers) they draw any thing from him, the accuser, or flie, is hidden behind the hangings, to heare if he confessed the truth. If he be a towne dweller, they send him home to his house, if he be a stranger, they send him to prison. Then they write vnto the curat or bishop of the diocesse where the accused is resident, to the end (say they) they should not rashly lay hands vpon the sheep of a strange pastor, sending him word, that they haue one of his flocke in their prisons.

He that hath a dwelling house in the towne, being sent for againe, and committed to prison, they demand of him the keyes of his coffers and closet, to deliuer them to a publicke Notarie, who must take an inuentarie of all his mouables, writings, jewels, or what else is in his house: which inuentarie is deliuered into the hands of some rich neighbour, who keepes it vntill the end of the Proces, all the said goods being forfeited to the king, if the accused be condemned: for their custome is (although the sentence be not capital) to make a prey of his goods, declaring the accused to bee vnworthie to enjoy any of them. The accused being once in prison, the keeper searcheth him if he haue no knife, papers, or any other thing, stripping him to his verie shirt. Eight daies after the Inquisitors will the Gaoler to aduise the prisoner to demand audience: whereupon the poore man intreats him to aske it for him, the which, after much pressing, he promisseth, and in the end, after some delays, doth it. Being come into the Auditorie, he intreats them to dispatch his Proces: then they admonish him to discharge his conscience, and to acknowledge his faults, promising him all sauaour and mercie, so as he will conuert. If hee confesseth, he is not freed therefore, and if he doth not confesse, they send him backe to prison, and tell him that they will dispatch his Proces. It is in vaine for him to demand audience againe, neither will they tell him whereof he is accused, but he must diuine it, seeking to conuict him by his owne confession. Then they bring him againe before the Inquisitors, who tell him sharply, That if you will not otherwise discharge your conscience, you shal be deliuered into the Attorneys generals hands, who will intreat you after another maner, by torture. But when the craftie admonitions of the Inquisitors cannot shake his constancie, then they haue recourse to another practise. They cause a crosse and a booke which they call the Messall, to be brought, whereon they will haue the accused to sweare: if he refuseth, he is conuicted, if he sweares, they inquire first of his countrey, kinsmen, profession, companions, and other such like things, from the which they draw great arguments: but they that are well aduised will answer nothing, if they haue not first seene the informations whereof they are accused. In the end they giue it him in writing, to defend himselfe by his Aduocate, who undertakes his cause, after that his Proces is in question, according to the custome (the which is only to get money from the poore prisoner) on the third day after the Inquisitors send for the prisoner with his Aduocate; then they commaund him to speake the truth, seeing in that Auditorie they require nothing else: If he doth not confesse, then they send him backe to prison. In the end they acquaint him with the depositions, but doe not name the witnesses. But if any man will charge him with any thing, the prisoner, if he be well aduised, will inquire of the qualitie of the person which hath beene heard against him: When as the prisoner can diuine of his accuser, and doth remember with whom he hath discoursed of religion, they grant a confrontation with him. They that are best aduised demand a copie of the conclusion, to make answer thereunto by writing: but if there be two witnesses, they iudge to death, or otherwise: one witness alone is sufficient to put him to the racke.

The kings Attourney is his aduerser partie, and the witnesses be his accusers. Two or three dayes after the prisoner hath beene called before the Iudges, his Aduocate comes and declares vnto him the chiefe points whereof he is accused, and doth propound vnto him the

Iacobins first  
Inquisitors.

Iacobins loose  
the stile of In-  
quisitors.

Inquisition re-  
sisted by the  
Arragons.

Inquisitors  
what they be.

Page 5  
Manner of the  
Inquisition pro-  
ceeding.



Saint Sebastian, la Renterie, Ocarfon, Yrum, and Vranfu, they came vnto the riuer which diuides France from Spaine, where there were boats prepared; into the which the queene mother came to receiue her, and led her vnto king Charles, who attended her on the other banke, at the end of the bridge. After their imbracings and complements, they went all towards Bayone, with a great traine of lords and ladies of both realmes. The queene mother and her three children marcht in one ranke, she holding the right hand, she queene of Spaine next her, the French king joyning to his sister, and the duke of Anjou on the left hand. She stayed at Bayone seuentene dayes, and at her returne the queene mother did accompanie her vnto the riuer, and the duke of Anjou vnto Segure. The cause of this enteruiew was knowne by many effects which followed: with whom the duke of Alba was H  
sent, with full authoritie from his master. This princeesse of France hath left vnto king Philip her husband two daughters, D. Isabella, and D. Catharina. The Spanish histories say, that she was brought in bed of her eldest daughter on the twelfth of August 1566, in the royall palace of Segouia, who was named D. Isabella Clara Eugenia; and was baptised by the bishop of Rossano, the Popes Nuntio, by reason of a contention growne betwixt the Archbishop of S. James, and the bishop of Segouia; the Archbishop saying, That hee ought to Christen the kings child, being chiefe chaplaine of the kings house, and that all that concerned the Spiritualltie in the kings palace, belonged to his charge, the bishop on the other side maintained, That this act belonged vnto him, for that it was done in his diocesse.

D. Garcia de Toledo in disgrace.

31 There were great complaints made in the Court of Castille, against D. Garcia de Toledo, Viceroy of Sicile, where he had many enemies which taxed him of arrogancie, malicious negligence, and neglect of all good occasions, yea he was accused to haue retained three hundred thousand crownes, which were sent him for the war of Malta, and the last prouision thereof, and that he had suffered the remainder of the Turkish armie to escape, who fled in disorder (said his ill willers) whom he might easily haue defeated. He sought to purge himselfe of these imputations by his friends, and sent Alphonso Ruiz, Secretarie of State for that realme, expressly out of Sicile; but his disgrace increasing, he was forced to come in person. He was there discharged by the king, and sent home to his house, being deprived of all his offices and estates. D. John de Austria was made Generall at sea, and the marquisse of Pescara Viceroy of Sicile. K

## THE

A

THE 29 BOOKE OF THE  
Historie of Spaine.

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Towards the end of the last yere Pope Pius the fourth died, in whose place was chosen Friar Michael Gilsleri, of the Order of S. Dominicke, cardinall Alexandrino, and he was called Pius the fifth. He had bene bred vp in diuers charges of the Inquisition, and therefore he sought to aduanceit being come to this dignitie. The people of Rome knowing him to be of a sowre and seuer disposition, were somewhat troubled at his election: which being reported vnto him, We hope in God, said he, so to behaue our selfe, as they will bee more grieved to heare of our death, than they are now at our creation. But the king of Spaine rejoyced much at this election, commending the authours thereof. He did obserue him with great reuerence, commanding all his ministers with whom the Pope was to treat, not to oppose themselves against his Holinesss just demands. And this yere Bartholmew Caranza, Archbishop of Toledo, being called in question by the Inquisition of Spaine, for misbelieve, requiring to be judged at Rome, as his Holinesss should determine, he being not well satisfied with his Spanish iudges, the king wold not refuse him to the lord of Camojano, who was sent vnto him to that end, notwithstanding that it was against the priuiledges of the Inquisition in that realme: wherein the cardinall Sanxisso being sent the yere before by the Pope, to judge the cause, could not preuaile, the Spaniards seeking to maintaine their iurisdiction, and to determine it absolutely. Norwithstanding the Archbishops person was granted to Camojano, who was caried prisoner to Rome, with his Proces which had bene begun there.

1566  
Election of  
Pope Pius 5.

Archbishop of  
Toledo demands  
in question by  
the Inquisition.

1566

*Caraffas pro-  
cess renewed.*

Pope *Pius* the fifth having beene made cardinall by *Paul* the fourth, a *Caraffe*, in requital of this favour, being advanced to the Papacie, he caused the proces of cardinall *Caraffa*, and others of that house, which had been executed by his predecessors commandement, to be renewed, restoring the familie of the *Caraffas* to their honor and fame.

The Pope persisting in his accustomed rigour against them that did seeme to decline from the obedience of the Church of Rome, did not faile, after his assumption, to admonish all Christian princes to observe the decrees of the Council of Trent, and did quicken the diligence of Inquisitors in all places: But he had no need to reiterate his commandements in that point in Spain, where they had for a long time vsed hard persecution against them whom they called Lutherans, whom king *Philip* was prest to root out in other places of his obedience, especially in the Low Countries, and to publish this Council, which was ended so fauourably for him, as it was rather called the king of Spaines Council than a generall.

*Causes of ha-  
tered by twixt  
the Spaniards  
and Flemings.*

*Troubles in the  
Low Countries.*

*Advice given by  
the Emperour  
Charles to his  
sonne.*

*Resolution in  
Spain touching  
the government  
of the Low  
Countries.*

*Charles prince  
of Spaine vni-  
pleasing to his  
father.*

Between the Spaniards and the nobilitie of the Netherlands, yea betwixt these nations there reigned an inueterat hatred, since the Infancie of *Charles* their king; which grew as well by the diuersitie of manners, as by occasions which sprang from charges in Court, being alwayes accompanied with enuie, and many times with attempts of courtiers one against another, abusing the fauour of their princes: For the Flemings had been in great credit with the Emperour, and had made their profit of the commodities of Spaine, yea against the lawes of the country, during his raigne: And at this time in the Court of king *Philip* his sonne, the Spaniards had the advantage, and were in most credit. From this spring grew the priuar dislikes betwixt the duke of Alba, and other noblemen of Spaine, and the earle of Egmont, prince of Orange, and other great men who had the chiefe governments and charges in those hereditarie countries of king *Philip*. Of whom they thought they might well be reuenged (as reuenge is sweet and pleasant to men of that sort) by reason of the publication of the Council of Trent, and the obseruation thereof, and of the Edicts which they called Placards, which the Emperour had made in regard of religion, containing many articles of extreame rigour, in imitation of the Inquisition of Spaine, whereof notwithstanding at the instance of the Estates of the Countrey, he did moderate much of the rigour, and, giuing ouer the government, he did admonish *D. Philip* his sonne, to intreat his subiects liuing vnder diuers climates, according to their naturall humors; letting him vnderstand, that it might be aueritic was necessarie for Spaniards, but that the Netherlands must be gouerned with a certaine familiaritie and mildnesse. Against this good and wholesome aduice king *Philip* had other counsell as soone as he came into Spaine, being animated as well by them of his Council that were about him, as by *Antonie Perrenot*, cardinall of Arras, who concurred with the king and them in that point, to settle a soueraigne absolute power ouer that nation, and to take their priuiledges from them: whereof they had made some trial by the creation of new bishops, without the consent of the Estates. Wherein he found great opposition, as we haue formerly shewed, and as you may read at large in the Netherland Historie, to the which this subiect doth more properly belong.

Most of the provinces of the Netherlands being in combustion, it was bruted, That the king of Spaine would goe in person thither, carrying peace and mildnesse with him: but the chiefe of them that fauoured religion, were soone aduertised of a contrarie resolution taken in the kings Council, which was, That the king would not come among them, but that the duke of Alba should be sent with a great armie, to enter the countrey in hostile manner, as you shall heare in the following yeare. King *Philip* was doubtfull indeed, whether he should goe in person into the Netherlands, but he knew not well to whom to leaue the gouernement of Spaine, in his absence, being due to *D. Charles* his sonne, whom he trusted not: for whether it were for want of vnderstanding, as the brute was, or that he had too much, as hee presumed, his father had conceived a bad opinion of him, which some of his Counsellours did feed, for that it seemed vnto them, that this young prince, both in his words and actions, did come them, or at the least did not esteeme them as they desired. About all, the Inquisitors were no friends vnto him, as you shall heare.

2 Whilest

1566

*Tumult made  
in Spaine by the  
Moors of Gra-  
nade.*

Whilest they consulted in the king of Spaines Council, how to punish the Netherlands, the Moores of Granado were called in question, being pursued by the Clergie, and accused of many crimes, especially of secrete impietie, as retaining in their hearts the precepts of the law of *Mahomet*, & hauing their exercises secretly in their houses, although that publicly they aduowed themselves to be Christians, went to Masse, and to other offices and ceremonies in the parishs where they dwelt. Their spleene was chiefly against the inhabitants of the Albaizin, which is a quarter within the citie of Granado, being then peopled with a great number of families of that nation, who were rich and well accommodated; being people which imploied their time in the trade of marchandise, in making of silkes, and in many gainfull trades: and among them there were some knights, professing nobilitie and armes. Moreover, in other towins, and in the countrey and mountaines of Granado, and thereabouts, there were about an hundred thousand families of Moores of diuers conditions, some rich, but most labourers and shepheards, liuing vnder the protection of lords which enjoyed the castles, fees, and feignories, to whom they paid rents & duties, as subiects, descending from them that remained in the countrey since the realme of Granado had beene conquered by the kings *D. Ferdinand* and *D. Isabella*, who had promised in capitulating with the last king of the Moores, That they and their successors might remaine there with all assurance and libertie, and not be forced in their religion, obseruing the lawes in generall, and paying the rights and tributes to the king, like to his other subiects, yet the same kings breaking their promise by the persiuation of some Prelats, they would force them to be baptised, and receive instruction in religion, by reason whereof they fell againe to warre against them that dwelt in Alpuzarra, a mountaine countrey, rough, and of hard access, joyning vnto the sea, the which after many hard encounters, with diuers euents on either side, was ended by another composition: by the which it was concluded, That they that would be Christians should remaine in the countrey, and the rest should passe into Barbarie, whom they should furnish with shipping for their passage. They that remained were called *Madejares*, and they that passed were tearmed Moores *Andaluzes*, by the inhabitants of the provinces depending vpon the realmes of Fez and Marroc, whither they retired themselves. Notwithstanding, howsoeuer the Moores which remained in Spaine behaued themselves, they were still regarded, and held to be vile and abiect persons by the Spaniards, who called them, in reuenge, New Christians, and in stead of making them receive the religion of Iesus Christ gently, they tormented them both in word and deed; which the magistrat could not remedie, or, it may be, would not: for the Clergie, who are exempt from answer before any ciuile magistrat, and haue their iustice apart, being wonderfully fauoured in Spaine, were they that committed the greatest insolencies against them: yea these poore wretches were continually troubled to giue an account vnto the Inquisitors of their actions, and to vse all meanes possible to obtaine some rest of them that were ordinarily in the countrey: But their superiours, and the Prelats which were of the Council at Court, gaue them no rest; so as since the time of *D. Ioune* the Emperours mother, queene proprietarie of Castille, Arragon, &c. and the Emperours raigne, there had many seuerer Edicts beene made against them, and strange restrains in their conuersations and manner of liuing, whereof notwithstanding they had suspended the execution, at their humble suit, and protestation of their innocencies, purging themselves reasonably well of all the imputations wherewith they were by them charged.

At this time in the kings Court and Council, all the old accusations against the Moores were reuiued, and to set an order to the content of the Inquisition, and the Prelats which were pursued there, had beene Commissioners deputed, which were *D. Diego d'Espinosa*, Commissioners of the Council, who was afterwards made a cardinall, *D. Fernando Aluarez* de Toledo, duke of Alba, *D. Antonie de Toledo*, Prior of the Order of *S. Iohn*, *D. Bernard Morer*, *Toledo*, duke of Alba, *D. Antonie de Toledo*, Prior of the Order of *S. Iohn*, *D. Pedro de Defa*, of the *Borea*, Vicechancellor of Arragon, the bishop of Origuella, *D. Pedro* of Defa, of the Council of the generall Inquisition, the Licenciat *Mechaca*, and Doctor *Pelafco*, Auditors, or Councillors. These hauing met, made an Edict containing many articles, wherof the chiefe were: That all Moores, new Christians, were commanded to leaue their

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Arabike or Moorish tongue, and to vse the Spanishe; and therefore they should send their children to schooles which should be erected for the vulgar Spanishe tongue, and to the masters which should be appointed to teach them. That they should keep no books written in the Arabike tongue in their houses. That they with their wives & children should be bound to assit at seruice in their parish churches, on Sundayes and other festiual dayes celebrated by the Church. That on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, they should keepe their doores open in the day time, and to a certaine houre of the night, and suffer them to enter to see what they did. That they should keepe no other armes but their swords, and if any were suffered through fauour to haue any, they should be markt by the gouernours. That all Moores, men and women, of what age and condition soeuer, should leaue their Moorish habits and attire, which they had been accustomed to vse, and attire themselves like other Spaniards. That they should leaue off the vse of bathes after their manner, and their Moorish daunces, which were vndeceit, lasciuious, and scandalous to Christians. That the Moores residing in the Albaizin should not flie into the villages and jurisdictions of other lords: for thereby the decrees of justice were made void. There were other articles contained in this Edict, confirming the former old ordinances made against them, or newly inuented, with rigorous penalties vpon euerie one. This Edict being signed by the king, and put into forme, D. Pedro de Deza was dispatcht to be President of the Chancellerie of Granado, being injoynd to cause it to be executed from point to point, according to the forme and tenor thereof, without delay or fauour, not respecting the admonitions of any whatsoeuer. All the Commissioners were of this opinion, except the duke of Alba, who aduised them to proceed in the execution thereof article after article, after some pause, and not all at one instant. And soone after the duke parted to goe into Flanders, to gouerne there according to the seuer and injurious instructions which he carried with him, and those which he procured to be sent vnto him.

Scio taken by  
the Turke.

3 During these troubles in the West, the great Turke Solymán seized vpon the island of Scio. The Bassa Mehemet, vpon a priuāt grudge hee had against the inhabitants of that island, thinking that by their helpe a slaue of his was fled, and had carried away a good summe of gold, hee perswaded Solymán to make it subiect, making his owne priuāt respect an apparent reason; saying, That many slaues fled daily away by their fauour and aid; and besides, they were spies to obserue what was done at the port, and in those seas, giuing aduice to Christian princes, and especially to the king of Spaine, the chiefe of that nation being Genouois, and confederats with the said king. Moreover, he pretended, That they ought two yeres tribute, of ten thousand ducats a yere, the which had happened by the fraud of their Agent, who kept in Constantinople. The Turke was not verie well provided that yere at sea, for his losse had bene verie great before Malta, whereas hee had not onely lost many men of commaund, and especially that famous pyrat Dragut, but also the best of his forces: And his gallies were so weakened, as he could hardly draw fourescore gallies with some galliots together: Yet for that hee would with the shew of a great fleet diuide his enemies forces, he yielded to Mehemet's persuasions, commaunding him to annoy the Christians where they might most conueniently, after the taking of Scio. This island lyes in the Archipelagus: it is almost an hundred miles in circuit: about two hundred yeares since it was taken by the Genouois, and giuen to the *Infinians* their citizens, for their charges, who afterwards had the inuestiture from the *Paleologus*, paying a certaine rent, which was increased to tenne thousand ducats, by *Mahomet* the second, king of the Turkes. Thus they had liued at libertie vnto this time, without any annoyance, being gouerned in forme of a commonweale, the gentlemen hauing the chiefe command. *Pisly*, who was Generall of the fleet, directed his course thither, where he arrived on Easter day in the morning, and landed vnder a shew of friendship. Then with a praeface he drew the gouernor of the towne aboard the Admirall, with 12 men which were euerie yere chosen to be moderators of publike businesse: These being slaid by him, the publike palace and the fort were presently seized on by the Turkes, who carried away all the chiefe men, and appointed another forme of gouernment for them that did remaine, depending vpon the Turkes Empire. *Pisly* leauing that island, sailed towards the Adriatike sea, which put the Venetians into a great jealousy.

King

A The king of Spaine vnderstanding that there was no feare of Malta for that yere, hauing a great fleet & an armie readie, commaunded they should attempt Alger. Wherefore they began to send certaine ships laden with fouldiers, artillerie, and munition, towards Malaga, whilest that *Garcia de Toledo* prepared the gallies, to passe with all their power. It happened notwithstanding, that those ships were taken by certaine galliots of Alger, which kept those seas. This losse was of such importance, as it disappointed the resolution for Alger.

4 It had bene resolved the yere before in the Councell of Spaine, that the duke of Alba should haue an armie into the Low Countries. This Spring he was dispatcht away with an ample cōmission, or rather with an vnlimited authoritie, the which was pleasing vnto him, for the hatred he bare vnto the Netherlanders. As for his armie, there was commaundement giuen to the dukes of Alcala and Terranova (the one being Viceroy of Naples, and the other of Sicile) to send into the duchie of Milan the old regiments of Spaniards which they had in those realmes, and in Sardinia: and commaundement was also giuen to *Gabriel de la Cuena*, duke of Albuquerque, gouernour of Milan, That hee should not onely haue the regiment of Lombardie in a readinesse, but also the light horsemen, increasing their companies from fiftie to an hundred; and that *Lopes Zapata*, and *Sancho d'Anila*, should raise two more, besides two of harquebusers on horsebacke, Spaniards, leuied by *Pedro Montagna*, and *Gonsaluo Montero*. The king had also giuen order in Germanie, that *Alberico*, earle of Lodron, should raise a regiment of 12 companies of foot, and 300 in euerie cōpanie, according to the custome of that nation, & in the county of Bourgondie there should be leuied 300 lances, and 100 harquebusers on horsebacke. *Francisco d'Ibarra* was victualer generall, and D. *Garcia de Toledo* had charge to transport in his gallies the said Spanishe footmen, vnto the ports of Genoua, that they might beradie in Lombardie at the duke of Albas arriuall. This order being taken in Spaine for the voyage of Flanders, and new fouldiers (whom they call *Befognes*) being sent into Sicile and Naples, to supplie their places that should goe in that action, in the beginning of May the duke of Alba embarked at Carthagena, in the gallies of *John Andrew Doris*, and of the duke of Florence: he carried with him seuenteen companies of Spanishe foot, and fill up the garrisons of Lombardie, from whence he drew the old fouldiers, making also choise of foure companies of these new fouldiers, to lead with him into the Low Countries. He arriued late at Genoua, hauing bene troubled with a feuer vpon the way. He mustered his army betwixt Alexandria and Asti, where he found 8800 Spanishe foot, and 1200 horse, Italians, Spaniards, and Albanefes: and the foot were thus diuided; of the regiment of Naples 2230 in 19 companies, vnder *Alphonso Vlosa* their colonell; in the regiment of Sardinia (in the which the foure companies of *Befognes* were put) were 1720 men in ten companies, commaunded by *Gonsaluo de Bracamont*: the regiment of Sicile was of 1620 fouldiers, in ten companies, vnder *Julian Romero*; and that of Lombardie, being but 1200 foot, in ten companies, was commanded by *Sancho de Londogno*. There were seuen companies of horse, Spaniards, wherof fife were lances, and two harquebusers, three of Italians, and two of Albanefes, all light horsemen. Besides these troupes, and their captaynes, he led with him many men of knowne valour, to imploy them in this seruice, and to aduance them to charges as they should fall: among which were his base sonne called also *Fernando Aluarez*, who was a knight of Saint *John*, and Prior of a rich commanderie, also *Fernando Aluarez*, who was a knight of Saint *John*, and Prior of a rich commanderie, also *Chiappin Vitelli*, marquisse of Cetona, *Gabriel Serbelloni*, a knight also of Saint *John*, *Sancho d'Anila*, *Girolamo de Salinas*, *John* of Epuccia, and *Andrew de Salezar*, one of which foure was Castellain of Pauia, the other of Portecole; the third of Piombino, and the last of Palermo. And besides these, hee led with him *Paciotto de Primbis*, an excellent Enginer; hauing gotten him from the duke of Sauoy, whom hee then serued. Hee made his sonne *Fernando* Generall of the horse, *Vitelli* was Marshall of the field, and *Serbelloni* (besides the charge of the Artillerie) was made Counsellour at Warre. How hee entred into the countrey, and what his proceedings were, that Historie how hee related at large. After which they hauing certaine informations sent them in to Spaine, from the duke of Alba, and the aduice of the holy Inquisition taken therein, all the lay people of the said countries, both noblemen, gentlemen, townes and

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com

Laſſe received  
by the priats of  
Alger.

Duke of Alba  
sent into Flan-  
ders.

Armie led by  
the duke of Al-  
ba into the  
Low countries.

1567

comminalties were by the kings sentence condemned as heretikes, or fauourers of heretikes, or in some other sort guiltie of high treason in the highest degree, without exception of estate, qualitie, condition, age, or sex; except some which were particularly named in the information, which made the inhabitants to flic into diuers other countries.

This yere, in May, there was great ioy and feasts in Spaine, and in all the kings dominions, for the birth of his second daughter, who was baptised, and called *Katherine*.

1568

But whilest the warre grew hot in the Low Countries, there happened a tragical accident in the royall house of Spaine. We haue before made mention how that *D. Charles* was in disgrace with the king his father: the cause (as the Spaniards say) was, for that he was viciously giuen, and that he spake ill of the present government: that he had a meaning to attempt against the kings person, and to raigne in his place, hating him, for that he had often reprehended him, and threatened him, for his disordered courtes: or, if that succeeded not, that he would flic away, and flic secretly, with some of his confederats, into Italie, or somewhere else, and trie, by confusion and tumult, to deprive the king of his Estates. That he carried himselfe arrogantly, and incompatible to them that had the chiefe offices in Court, and that he disdaind all those that were appointed to attend on him, yea hee would outrage and strike them. The Inquisitors expected no good from this prince, neither did the kings Councill, of the which those that were then most hated of him, were *D. Ruiz Gomes de Sylua*, a Portugal, the earle of Feria, and *D. Antonie de Toledo*. The king was aduertised by them of many particularities concerning the princes carriage, and entertained in dislike of him. By their counsell the king resolued to come from the Elcuriall to Madrid, where the prince was, and to surpris him in his chamber in the night, they attending on him, and to take him in his bed. They came, and found the chamber doore so well barred, as they were forced to breake it open. The prince hearing the noise, leapt out of his bed, and seeing the king his father, hee was much troubled, beginning to crie out, What is the reason that you will kill me? The king willed him that he would pacifie himselfe, and that he should goe againe to his bed, telling him, that what he did was for his good. They staid on his sword, and some say that hee had a pistoll charged and bent: He complained, that they meant to bind him, as if he had beene made. His chamber and clothes were searched, and they left no instrument of yron, wherewith he might hurt himselfe: all his papers and writings were carried away, among the which there were found many copies of letters written to some princes, full of complaints of hard vsage which hee receiued from the king, whom he accused of crueltye and bad gouernement in his affaires, and it seemed hee did inuite them to assist him, by compassion, making great promises vnto them. His whole designe was also discovered by certaine remembrances which were found, being resolued to escape away in the gallies, which should passe into Italie, whereby they might easily see whom he loued, and whom he hated in Court, whom he trusted, and whom he would imploy in his enterprises. Hee had beene seene some daies before, to discourse long and verie earnestly with *D. Iohn* of Austria, Generall at sea; and it was thought, that hauing acquainted him with his desires, hee reuealed them vnto the king, which made him resolue to put him in gard. The earle of Feria, and *D. Ruiz Gomes*, had that charge, who watcht him carefully in their turnes; and hee was serued by two gentlemen, who carried no armes, and vpon the passages to his chamber there were guards, who would not suffer any other to goe vnto him. This continued some dayes: but the king who obserued all that hee spake, caused him afterwards to be put into a strong tower, giuing the whole charge and care of him to *D. Ruiz Gomes*: it was the same prison whereras king *Francis* had beene kept. There hee attempted many times to kill himselfe, as they said, and being preuented, hee forbore to eat any thing eight dayes together. The king aduertised all the noblemen, townes, and comminalties of Spaine, of this imprisonment, that they should not take it ill, letting them vnderstand, that it was for the good and quiet of them all, forbidding them all exprefly, not to speake nor mediate for the prince. He imparted as much to the embassadours, and did write vnto their masters.

Obiectio against  
the prince of  
Spaine.

Enemies to the  
prince of Spaine

6  
Imprisonment  
of the prince of  
Spaine.

Designes of the  
prince discou-  
ered.

The emperour *Maximilian* being aduertised of this fact, imputed the cause to *D. Iohn*, and

A and was offended with him: for he meant to make the prince *D. Charles* his Son in law, & (if this accident had not happened) to haue consummated the marriage within few daies, as the fathers had concluded: & he was so much discontented, as hee would haue called home the Princes *Rodolphus* and earnest his Sonnes, who were bred up in the Court of Spaine, but the king *D. Philip* would not suffer them to depart, but fought to pacifie the Emperour with reasons, either true or probable. But in the end he perswaded him that the cause was most vrgent and iust to assure himselfe of his Sonnes person, whom hee should loue and spare if it might be, hauing at that time no more Sonnes. Whatsoeuer was the true cause of the Sonnes detention by the father, being not well manifested from Spaine, the prince *D. Charles* the presumptiue heire of so many realmes, dyed in Iulies, some say he was poisoned, other s write that he was strangled by foure slaues: He was buried in the Monasterie of *S. Dom inike*, the royall at Madrid, whereas the king *D. Pedro* the cruel had bene interred. *Peter Mathew* in his French Historie, writing of the life and death of king *Philip* the second, he sets downe a formall proceeding of the father against his Sonne in this action: the which for that this subiect is so rare and memorable, I haue thought good also to insert.

Death of the  
Prince of Spaine

Mathew upon  
the death of  
Prince Charles

After the Princes restraint, as wee haue said the king (saith hee) propounded to his Councel of conscience, what punishment a kings son deserued, that had made leagues against his estates, and conspired against his fathers life, and whether hee might be called in question? His Councell laied two remedies before him, both iust and possible, the one of grace, and the other of Iustice and punishment, shewing him the difference betwixt the mercie of a father, and the sinceritie of a king, saying, that if by his clemencie he did pardon them which loued him not, hee must of force pardon that creature which should be most deare vnto him. They desired him to imitate the emperour *Charlemaigne*, who imputed the first conspiracie of his Sonne *Pepin* against him, to the follies of youth, & for the second hee confined him into a Monasterie, protesting that he was a father not a king, nor a iudge against his Sonne. The king answered that by the law of nature hee loued his Son better than himselfe, but by the law of God the good and safetie of his subiects was to be preferred. Moreouer hee demanded, if knowing the miseries which the impunitie of his Sonnes offences would breed, whether hee might with a safe conscience pardon him, and not be guiltie of these miseries. Whereat his Diuines shrunke in their shoulders, and with teares in their eyes said, that the safetie and health of his subiects ought to be dearer vnto him than his sonnes, and that hee ought to pardon offences; but such crimes should bee supprest as abhominable monstres. Hereupon the king committed his Sonne to the censure of the Inquisitors, commending them not to respect his authoritie, no more than the meanest within his kingdome; and to regard the qualitie of his Sonne, as if he were borne a king, making no distinction thereof with the partie accused, vntill they found that the exccesse of his offence would no more admit of this consideration, remembering that they carried in their soules a liuelie image of the king, which had iudged Angels, and should without distinction iudge kings and the Sonnes of kings like vnto other men, referring al vnto their consciences, and discharging his owne.

The Inquisitors, for that he was charged to haue practised with *Castillon* Admirall of France, the prince of Orange, and other enemies of the Romish Religion, declared him an heretike, and for that hee had conspired against his fathers life, they condemned him to die. The king was his accuser, and the Inquisitors his iudges, but the sentence was signed by the king, which done, they presented many kinds of death in picture vnto the prince, to make choise of the easiest. In the end he demanded if there were no pitie in his father; to pardon him, no fauour in his Councell for a Prince of Spaine, nor any wisdom to excuse the follies of his youth: when as they told him that his death was determined & could not be reuoked, and that all the fauour was in the choise of the easiest death, hee said that they might put him to what death they pleased: that there was no choise of any death, seeing that they could not giue him that which *Cesar* held to be the best. These words deliuered with passion, were followed with a thousand imprecations against his fortune, against the inhumanity of his father, and the crueltye of the Inquisition; repeating these words often: *O miserable Sonne, of a more miserable father.*

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He had some daies given him to prepare himselfe for death. One morning foure slaves entred into his chamber, who awaking him, put him in mind of his last houre, and gaue him some time to prepare himselfe vnto God: He start vp suddenly and fled to the bed post; but two of them held his armes, and the third his feet, and the fourth strangled him with a cord of silk. Many hold that he died of letting blod, his feet being put in warm water. But *Campana* in the life of *Philip 2* writes, that being in prison he fel verie sick, by reason of his disordred diet, and drinking too much cold water, wherewith his stomack grew so weake as he could not digest any meat, which the Physicians could not helpe: so as hee died (as he affirms) of this sickness, verie religiously and penitently to the great griefe of the king & the whol state: & moreover he writes, that the king being much perplexed for this great losse, retired himself into his chamber with two seruants, & wold not giue any audience, & then for many daies into the monasterie of *S. Jerome*, a mile without the town, sequestering himself of al affairs, writing only to princes & potentates, & causing his secretaries to write vnto all his realms & Rates of the death of his deare & only son. Thus writers discoures diuersly of the death of this Prince: the which I leaue to the iudicious Reader to beleue what he shall thinke most probable.

Death of the  
queen of Spain.

Within foure months after the death of the Prince *D. Carlo*, the Queene *D. Isabella* his mother in law died also, being brought in bed of her third child before her time, the Physicians hauing ignorantly caused her to take too much Phisick, sening some other infirmities: this was the brute of the court of Spain. But in France they had reason to think that the life of this princefse was shortened like vnto that of *D. Charles*, by some notable malice, & by the same instruments. For they to whom *D. Isabella* did belong in blood, had been verie careful to auer the causes & manner of her death, but not so resolute to call it in question, as *Cloutier* sons were to reuenge the iniurie done vnto their Sister in Spaine, where she also had bene married.

Turkett.

As for the Prince, it was verie comon in Spain, that the great hatred the king bare him, grew rather from the suggestions and reports of others, than from his own misdeeds, for by nature he was neither given to any odious vices, neither was he off to harsh and sower a disposition as commonly great men of that countrey be. It is true, that *D. Charles* kept his grauitie to courtiers, that he shewed himself verie ambitious, & too desirous to manage affaires, and to be imploied; and was giuen to some kindes of pleasures. Such as would excuse him, said, that it was seemly and besitting his ranke to be graue, being the son of a great king, sworn prince and acknowledged for succesor to such rich and great estates, and also that it is the first lesson & most recommended instruction of fathers in Spaine, to their children, to shew themselves graue in their words & actions, & that it was a comendable thing especially in the that were of great houses. If he were ambitious & desirous of honor, they were affections incident to princes, & were so necessarie in them that were to gouerne people, as if any had not these motions in them, they were the lesse esteemed, both in Spain and elsewhere. If he desired to know & learne by practise how estates should be gouerned, and justice duly administered, that it is a thing wherein kings children should be bred from their youth, & practised therein all their liues, and that it is the nature of all men well bred, feeling the seeds of vertue in their minds, to aduance it by their actions; wherein all men know that vertue doth consist. And yet all these things commendable in other men, were blamed in Prince *Charles*, by them who (it may be) would not haue their misdeemors discovered by the Infant of the house. As for worldlie pleasures, they be, said they, appetites which doe commonly accompany yong noble men, especially being bred vp in the idleness of court; vices which are tollerable in many of mean condition, & therefore were lesse strange in great men: but, said they, there was no better means to diuert this prince from delights which are superfluous and hurtfull, than to imploy him betimes in the government affaires; what greater bond, said they, had the king his father to his subiects, than to fashion his onely Sonne, (hee that should raigaine after) to command wel, & to make him knowe both by reason and experience what the duetie of a king is; both to God and men, that they be not as dum Idols among their Councillers, hauing not iudgement to discern the good from the bad. The thing wherein the Prince was most to be blamed, was an inconsiderate rashnesse to attaine vnto his intentions, and

Disposition of  
the prince D.  
Charles.

Ambition a  
vice of great  
men.

Vices common  
to yong Noble-  
men.

A could not obserue time, nor fit occasions to make his pursuit. The which they thought proceeded onely from the heat of youth, which might easily haue been corrected by conuersing with men of state, if hee had bene accompanied by some men of tried wife, and willing to moderate these fumes which did rise through the heat of youth. And they complained that the meanes that might haue made *D. Charles* a vertuous Prince, were hindered by the practises of the kings bad Councillers; who also for his part had shewed himselfe too credulous, & in the end blind in that action, by some secret iudgement of God. These were the ordinarie reasons of temperate spirits, who thought affaires of state might well be managed, and not stray from pietie nor humanity. Adding, that admit the Prince *D. Charles* had bin found inflexible to all proofes of reason, so as hee had been held incapable to raigine, yet should they not haue taken away his life. That there were Monasteries in Spaine, whether they might haue sequestred him, and sought by the conuersation of some good religious men, to draw him to a contempt of worldlie greatnesse which periseth, and to the contemplation of heavenly things, and the life to come: whereof both Spaine, and other Countries could furnish the like examples.

But the Councell of Spaine consisting of Clergie men and secular, did not like of these old maxims in matters of consequence, and especially they that had more particular knowledge of that which past in the kings house, did greatly apprehend what this triumphant crowne would come vnto, if king *Philip* dying, it should fall into the hands of such a man as *D. Charles* his Sonne was, whom they held to bee vnable to vndergoe so great a burthen; and there was great probability that this prince had both his bodie & his spirits, weakened since his fall at *Alcala* of *Hcnares*, whether hee was gone to pay a vow after a long quarren ague, by which fall his braine was somewhat crazed, so as his iudgement did sometimes faile him, nor being able to containe himself with the respect which he ought vnto the king, and to them that had the honour to be of his Councell.

Moreover, whether it were by accident, or by some defect of nature, the facultie of generation was in a manys quencht in him, so as he was held vnable for women: the which did also import the state. All these things gaue a great apprehension to the chiefe of the kings Councell, being guided by worldlie wisdom, the which could not suggest a better expedient than to be rid of him, and to find out some fit meanes to effect it. It is certaine that the beginning of the kings hatred to his sonne, was throgh jealousy of State, taking an occasion for that the Prince seemed verie desirous to goe from Court, and to bee imploied in forein expeditions, at the least to accompany them that were sent with charges, to the end, said he, that hee might learne. Whereupon they presently made *D. Charles* a monster of ambition, who would presently seaze vpon the Prouinces, and take away the kings crown & life to raigine: & yet on the other side they taxed him that he was dull and wanted iudgement, contradicting themselves, for such actions are not attempted by fooles and madmen: the which the king should haue duely considered; but not doing it, he did blemish his house with the most fatal misfortune that could happen vnto it, for he did so readily receiue these suspitions, and did so graue them in his heart, as he detested his Son, & he neuer saw him, but he sent him away with sower visage and threats: and that which did most trouble the Prince, some of the Councillors and misgops of court, presumed (in imitation of the father) to contemne him. He gaue them a great aduantage ouer him, for that when as the Marques of Berghen & the Lord of Montigny came to court, being sent fro the estates of the Low-countries, to present their petition vnto the king touching the breach of their priuiledges by the Cardinall of Granuelle, hee became a solicitor for the, being moued as he said with the zeale of iustice, and hatred of ciuill wars, which hee foresaw and detested, blaming them openly which perswaded the king and his Councell thereunto, saying that they were practises of insatiable and cruel yalures, who would gorge themselves with the losse of the kings subiects.

F By these free speeches vsed often when as they treated of the warre of Flanders, and against the Moores of Granado, whereas religion was made the pretext, at the pursuit & by authority of the Inquisition, *D. Charles* made himselfe odious to them that were the moouers, giuing them great meanes to confirme the king in the opinion wherewith they had sinned him, that he sought all meanes to trouble the state, & to make himselfe pleasing

Considerations  
of the Councell  
of Spaine.

*D. Charles*  
Prince of Spaine  
unable for women.

Zeale inconsiderate  
of the prince  
*D. Charles*.



*Inquisitors  
sharp persecu-  
tors of Prince  
Charles.*

ing vnto the Nederlanders, that he might haue a refuge there, and by that means begin to make a breach in the Crowne of Spain; adding with all to season their imputations, that he was a fauourer of Heretikes, so as hee was sharply and disdainfully reprehended, and namely by the Inquisitors, the which did wonderfully incense him: so as beeing vanquished with impatience, and griefe, he presumed one day to enter boldly into the priuy Councell chamber, with admiration of all them that were there, but especially of the king, who did preside, for he feared to see or heare some impertinencie from his Sonne in that place where he neuer had access, nor was not then called. Hee demanded of him with a seuerer countenance, what hee had to say, and what had moued him to come thither. It is said he, my Lord, to beseech you to giue me leaue to aske you one thing, and that it will please you to satisfie me before the lords that are here present.

*Virtuous  
admiration  
of a Son in  
a father.*

The king who feared to heare some importune curiositie, sought to dismiss him instantly, telling him that hee had other places to heare him, and that hee should retire for that time. But the prince insisted, saying that it was onely to know if he tooke him for his Sonne, and lawfull successeur: what demands of a Sonne are yours; said the king; yea you are my sonne, and depart in the name of God. Seeing then, replied the Prince, that I am your sonne, and that by nature I shall one day succeed you in the government of your realmes, I beseech you take it not in ill part, if in this honourable assemblie, I let you vnderstand that I haue not yet found that you haue thought of my future condition: for you bred me vp as a stranger, giuing me neither cause nor means to be instructed in matters of gouernment, or iustice, importing the good of your subjects, hauing not yet libertie, being of this age, to come where it is treated, nor to conuerse with such men as you employ, who rather seeke to estrange me; which giues me iust cause to complaine vnto you, and to beseech you my Lord to consider thereon, and to excuse mee: and then hee departed. Hee was then full two and twentie yeares old.

This action ministred matter of discourse to them of the Councell, whereas there was no good concluded for Prince Charles, for that the opinions of his enemies, which were the greatest number, swaied it, and the king continued in his conceit that his Sonne was a frantick young man, without iudgement, and that hee had an intent to invade some Countrey, to put all into Combustion, for which cause hee defined to be employed.

*Speech of the  
Prince to the  
Duke of Alba.*

The Prince not content to haue made this bad triall of his fathers inclination towards him, hee continued his course, hearing that the duke of Alba had bene appointed to goe to bee gouernour of the Low-Countries: for hauing sent for him, hee told him that hee desired nothing more than to goe from Court, intreating him instantly to assist him in so honourable and reasonable a desire, and to get leaue from the king that hee might goe with him, whome hee did reuerence as a great Commander in the warre, and one of the greatest statemen in the world, in whose Schole he should thinke himselfe happy to take instruction.

The Duke vsing many complements, seemed also to desire it, saying that he could not receiue a greater honour than to commaund vnder him in that troublesome charge, where hee might assure himselfe of his humble seruice and assistance, yet hee gaue him some admonitions, knowing well how the king stood affected towards him: wherewith hee was discontented. This being auoided (for the Duke of Alba, what shew sooner hee made, had no will to be troubled with such a Scholer) hee adrest himselfe a while after, to increase his miseries, to D. John of Austria his vnckle, who it may bee had more ambition in his head than he, to whose designs which were great, those of the Prince D. Charles must needs bee preiudiciall, yet hee discouered himselfe freely vnto him, being General at Sea, saying, that hee would steale away, and passe with the Gallies into Italie, perswading D. John to assist him, but hee decieued him; for hee presently aduertised the king, which made him to cause him to bee watcht, and his actions to bee obserued.

*D. John de Austria  
contrarie  
to Prince  
Charles.*

But behold, the Queene was engaged in these miseries: The prince in all his afflictions had often recourse vnto his mother in law, who being mild and courteous, did willingly

A lingly heare his complaints, did pittie him, comfort him, and sought by all meanes to reuue his hopes, perswading him to vanquish his passions, and to yeeld vnto the rigour and choler of the king his father, and to let time moderate them with patience, the which past not from the Queene without some free inuectiues, after the French manner, against them that were enemies to her and to the Prince, threatening one day to be reuenged on them that were authors of her crosses, and namely against D. Ray Gomes, and a Confessor of the kings, who posselt him about all others, and were the chiefe practisers of these Tragedies. The which was reported vnto them, for they had spies euen in the Queenes Cabinet, by whom they were aduertised, and the king by them, of all the speeches which past betwixt the prince and her. They fearing that by the force of coningall loue, shee should put some consideration into the kings heart, by the which hee might bee moued to examine this businesse with iudgement, and that discouering their bad offices, hee should take reuenge, they resolu'd to presse the princes ruine, and to draw the Queene into the same hatred, that the king had conceiued against the prince his Sonne.

*Practises of the  
court of Spaine.*

These men wrought so by their practised and coloured reports as they drew that heart alreadie vlcered into a deadlie calouse of his wife, slandering her with loosefinesse, adding that crime to the impression which they had giuen him, that the fauoured the princes designs, tending to open rebellion against God & the king. Moreover to omit no imposture which might serue to transport this king beyond the bounds of humanitie and reason, they let him vnderstand, that by the reports of Phisitions and women attendants, vnto his Confessor, who made relation, and to whose words he gaue great credit, there appeared on the bodie of this Princesse certaine markes and spots, which shewed an impuritie and corruption of the blood, which might infect the kings person, if hee did accompany with her, and so disperse it selfe into all the royall familie, which was to be auoided.

*Inquisitors  
chiefe of the  
council of  
Spaine.*

All which passions together, were of such force with the king, as he beleued the Inquisitors (without whose aduice there is nothing of importance done in Spaine) and others which were of that Councell, perswading him that it was lawfull & expedient to make away the prince his son, and the Queene his wife, and the child shee went with, which they held to be a son, but it proved a daughter, whereof they caused her to be deliuered with drinke. This Historie was thus reported to queene Catherine, dowager of France, mother to D. Isabella, by such as she had imploied to vnderstand the truth thereof, & by some which had serued the prince D. Charles when he was committed to prison, who retrying themselves into France, she would heare.

The suspition the king had of the loyaltie of queene Isabell his wife, was not for the prince his Son, as many haue beleued: for he was (as wee haue said) insufficient for women. And although he would be idle in speech, and that there were found among his papers some notes of his owne hand touching that subiect, yet small pleasures were the least of his desires, and as for the Queene there was nothing more modest in Spain, by the report of Spaniards themselves, who haue written bookes. But it hath bene verified by credible informations, that her ill-willers which sought her ruin, made vse of the notable malice of a French gentlewoman, one of those which was suffered to stay with her, when as soone after her coming into the countrey, they did order her household, and limit her traine. They say that this vnworthie woman (for that the Queene had giuen away a place which was void to one of her companions, hauing promised it vnto her) to be reuenged of her Mistres, had giuen it out, that she had been indiscreetly and scandalously familiar with the Marquesse of Poza, who according to the custome of Spaine, termed himselfe seruant in shew to her that had bene preferred before her.

*Treacherie, a  
diuelli caloung*

This coming to the kings eares, was easily beleued, for hee was alreadie in some doubt, hee beeing informed by some wayward spirits, that this Marquesse who was of the house of Rojas, being a gallant knight, did talke more familiarly vnto the queen than any other, & entertained her with pleasant discourses, whereat shee did laugh after the manner of France, more freely than it seemed fit for their Spanish grauitie: This wound being now again toucht, the king sought an occasion to haue this Marquesse apprehended, commanding him to keepe his house being in Madrid, where going one night

Death of the  
Marquesse of  
Poza.

night forth to visit his mother, and an vnkle of his that was a bishop, retyring verielate home in a night-gowne and slippers, being accompanied by two pages which carried torches before him, he was set vpon by men vnknown, and slaine vpon the place. There were diuers opinions concerning this murder, but most thought it was done by the kings secret commaundement, although hee seemed to bee much offended: For there being a great sum of money promised by proclamation to them that should discover the authours and doers of this murder, there were many biset vp in the Portugall tongue, declaring that it was the king himself which had caused the Marquesse of Poza to be slaine: challenging him, by way of mockerie, to pay the money which hee had promised, but they had not rest to their names.

Hereupon there was great search made, and some Innocents taken, and so cruelly tortured as they died: being onely suspected for that they were Portugals. The Queene soone after the death of the Prince D. Charles, began to find herselfe ill, with accidents and apparent signes of poison, whereof notwithstanding shee did in no sort doubt, but tooke light remedies, as one that was with child, by the order of such as had bin accustomed to giue her phisicke. The businesse proceeding slowly contrarie to that which they expected, the king hauing one night discoursed long with her touching her infirmities, hee told her plainly that she must take some strong purgation, and that his Physicians (who by his commaundement did looke vnto her) had told him that they despaired of her life, if she tooke no other phisicke than that she vsed. But as she tooke no delight to change her vsuall maner, nor to be phisicked by any other than her owne, trusting aboute all others in an Apothecarie of hers borne at Blois, she excused her selfe vpon her being with childe, saying that shee thought it was a Sonne, for that shee found herselfe otherwise disposed then she had beene, and that they must consider well thereon. But being much pressed by the king, shee said vnto him that shee would doe what hee pleased, not thinking that what they intended was so readie.

But earely the next day in the morning they brought her a drinke, a bole and tablets, all of one composition as they said, but so varied in form, so the end she might take that which was least distastfull vnto her. Shee tooke the poison, not distrusting any thing vntill she felt her selfe oppressed with great pangs, which made her be deliuered of a daughter, that was some five moneths olde, after which shee had vomitings and strange voidings which quencht all the force and vigour that remained in her. Being neere her end, the king came to visit her in a mourning weed, seeming to be much afflicted; whome she comforted, and among other words, shee said vnto him, That shee reioyced that she was going to a quiet kingdome, not subiect to alteration, as worldlie states be, that shee did not craue pardon of him, knowing in her conscience that shee had neuer willingly offended him. She recommended her wiating women and some French officers, whome shee had not meanes to recompence for the seruices they had done her, and in the end of October, on Saint Francis eue the dyed, Christian like, She was lamented of all Spaine, where they did beleuee that this Princesse was a Saint, she was assisted in her sicknesse for matters of conscience by the Cardinall of Espinosa, Inquisitor generall, D. Bernard of Frefueda bishop of Cuenca, the kings Confessor, Frier Dominicke de Chaus, another of the kings Confessors, who had also bene to the prince D. Charles, and others: She was interred in the Monasterie of las Descalzas built at Madrid by the Infanta D. Joane, Mother to D. Sebastian king of Portugall. The Gentlewoman which had slaudered her, and was the cause of her misfortune, was married in the Countrie, and died there: the lady of honour serued her daughter D. Isabella Clara Eugenia: the rest were sent backe into France, from whome they vnderstood these particularities.

A notable example of the practises of Princes Courts, of the vanitie and instabilitie of worldlie greatnesse, and of the miseries wherein kings plunge themselves by suspitions and bad impressions lightly received, and especially how they stray dangerously from the dutie which they owe to God and nature, when they enterlace religion with their human policies to countenance their actions. Whilst the duke of Alua seeks to afflict the towns of the low countries by strange & intollerable impositions, exacting the tenth penny

Speech of the  
Queen D. Isabella  
bellying to the  
king.

Quarrell be-  
twixt the duke  
of Alba and  
the English.

Englishmen and  
their goods ar-  
rested in the  
Lowe Countries  
and Spaine.

Queen of Eng-  
land requesteth  
to heare the  
duke of Albas  
Embassadors.

Charles Arch-  
duke of Austria  
sent into Spaine

Treatise of  
marriage.

A penie of all marchandise that was sold, and the twentieth penie of euery mans estate. He began to quarrell with the Queene of England, pretending that shee had staied a great summe of money, which was sent by sea out of Spaine into the Lowe Countries, the which (said the Duke) did belong vnto the King of Spaine his master, whom she should intreat with all brotherly loue. Whereunto the Queene answered, that shee was duely informed, the said money did belong to certaine Merchants of Genoua, and hauing then occasion to vse it, shee would staie it for a time, and pay them reasonable interest. Despes Embassadour in England for the Catholike King, made great instance for this money, but he could get no other answer. Whereupon the Duke of Alba did presently arrest all the English merchants, with their shippes and goods that were at Antwerp, or within his gouernment. Whereupon all commerce was broken betwixt the king of Spaines subiects, and the English, who left the trade to Antwerp, and carried their goods to Hamborough. The Queene of England published a declaration of her proceeding in this businesse, complaining that the Duke of Alba had dealt vnjustly with her and her subiects; but all this could not procure any restitution for the English Merchants, who had letters of reprisall granted them against king Philips subiects, to recouer the losses which they had sustained by these arrests, both in Spaine and the Lowe Countries. The English Merchants became men of warre, and so many went to sea, some with a desire of gaine, and others with hope to recouer what they had lost, as not a shippe could passe betwixt Spaine and the Lowe Countries, to the ruine of many poore men: whereof great complaints came to the Court of Spaine. The Duke of Alba seeing what a breach he had made betwixt those two States, to the preiudice of his masters subiects, seeking to repaire the error which he had committed, he sent Christopher d'Assonville, a Counsellor of Estate, to the Queene of England to reconcile this quarrell, but shee refused to heare him, vnlesse he came from the king his master, and had letters of credit, signed with his owne hand: but coming from the Duke of Alba, her Maiestie sent him to treat with her Councill; which hee hauing no warrant to doe, returned without audience. Yet shee let him vnderstand, that although shee found her selfe much wronged, shee would not take Armes vnlesse the Duke of Alba began. The like shee wrote to the king of Spaine, complaining of the Duke of Albas presumption. Soone after, the Duke sent Chiapin Fiesli Marquis of Cetone, with some others, to demand the money, and to free all arrests of either side, but they effected not any thing: whereupon the Duke sold all the English mens goods that were vnder arrest. These were the seeds of warre betwixt the two Princes, which continued vnto their deaths, to the ruine of many of their subiects, especially Spaniards and Portugals.

The Princes of Germanie hearing what cruelties and spoiles the duke of Alba and his Spaniards committed in the Lowe Countries, they prest the Emperour Maximilian to deale in those matters, betwixt the king and his subiects there; yea to take knowledge thereof as Emperour: saying, that without doubt the Prouinces which are beyond the riuier of Elcaut, towards the East, were of the Imperiall Iurisdiction; as those that are on this side were of the soueraigntie of France. But the Emperour did not thinke it fit to vse his Imperiall authority, but prayers and intercessions. Whereupon he sent the Archduke Charles his brother into Spaine, vpon colour to aske the king of Spaines aduice for the marriage of his two daughters: and withall hee had giuen him ample instructions to treat with him touching the affaires of his Netherlands, and to intreat him by all faire meanes, to grant a generall pardon to his people there, and to call home the duke of Alba and his Spaniards, assuring him that in so doing, he should be obeyed: but if he did persist in that cruell persecution, they would be releued both with men and money from Germanie, the which he could not prevent.

The Archduke came to Genoua, where he imbarke in the duke of Sauoys gallies, and was receiued by the king of Spaine with great honour: his embassage was very pleasing touching that which concerned the mariages of his two neeces, for he found the king disposed to marrie the elder, the which had bin appointed for the vnfortunate Prince D. Charles his sonne. And as for the second, which the Emperour desired to match with the king of Portugall, who was yet very yong, hee had a promise from king Philip to imploy himselfe

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himselfe to haue the French king marrie her, although he had already demanded the other; and they were entered into treatie, by the means of the Cardinales of Guise and Espinosa. But as for the affaires of the Netherlands, the Archduke could not obtaine any thing in fauor of them that were banished, nor of the poore provinces afflicted. For making relation vnto him of the speeches held by the Princes Electors to the Emperour, and that they pretended he had a right of protection ouer those people, and that hee should make himselfe iudge of their quarrels, as depending of the Empire, it did much incense the king, who answered, that the Germanes were much deceived in their conceptions in that regard, and that he had sufficient right and power to shew that he was a soveraign Prince, and did not acknowledge any other superior on earth. He knew well that the duke of Alba had vsed some excessse, but he was wont to say, that he had rather loose all those Provinces, with others, than to haue rebellious subiects, especially in matters which concerned religion.

Thus the Archduke was dissuaded, having received a present of 100000 crownes, to helpe him to furnish his frontier places against the Turke, with many Jewels of price. And he had commission when hee came into Germanie, to doe the ceremonies of their contracting, in his name, with his future Spouse. Returning by Italie he did visit his sisters and neeces, the duchesses of Ferrara, Florence, and Mantoua, and then he came vnto the Emperour, to giue him an account of his negotiation with king Philip, whom hee had left engaged in a warre against the Moores of Granado, almost as difficult as that of the Netherlands.

We haue formerly made mention of the discontentes of the Moorish nation, dwelling in the mountaines, plaines, and valleys, and in some of the good townes in the countries of Granado and Murcia; which was by reason of the contempt they were in with the natural Spaniards, whom they call old Christians: among whom they liued in continual vexation, especially by the Clergie, and officers of the Inquisition, and also by them of the Iustice, which was not equally distributed vnto them. But that whereof they most complained, was the kings Edict, whereof we haue made mention, tending to alter their manners, their apprell, and their language: whereof the President *D. Pedro de Defa* was appointed to see the execution, with the assistance of the Gouernour *Domingo Lope de Mendoza* marquisse of Mondejar, and the aduice of the Auditors & Counsellors of the Chancery in the Parliament of Granado, and of the Archbishop if need were, wherein they found no small difficultie.

To begin therefore by gentleness, the President gaue charge to *Alphonso de Horosco*, Chanon of S. Sauior, which is a Collegiall Church in the quarter of Albayzin of the citie of Granado, being in a manner wholly inhabited by Moores, to persuaide them to receiue the Edict, yea to demand it themselves: but hauing imparted some copies vnto them, they rejected it, sending vnto the President and Gouernour, *George de Basca* Proctor general of that nation, and *Francis Nagues Aluley* a knight, one of the most ancient among them, to intreat them to deferre the publication of the Edict, vntill they had acquainted the king with their reasons, and the inconueniences that might growe by the execution thereof. But notwithstanding all their sayings and allegations, the Edict was proclaimed the first of Ianuarie, 1567; and to shew the diligence of officers, all the baths and hot-houses of the citie were instantly forbidden, and most of them beaten downe: yet they vsed some moderation, for that during the yeare 1567 there were not any penalties leuied of them that did infringe it. In the meane time they sent their deputies to Court, where by the means of some noble men, they procured audience of the Council, and there were some of opinion, that if they would haue the Edict stand in force, the execution should be suspended, as it became in the time of the Emperour *Charles*, and of his mother. The Cardinall of Espinosa was of another opinion, and brought all the rest to concurre with him; which was, that the Edict should bee speedily executed in all points, and the penalties exacted vpon them that should not obey. There was among the new Christians, some that were delcended of the blood of the ancient kings of the Moores, the which were honoured in Spaine, & well respected in Court; among which, *D. Alphonso* of Granado *Venegas* laboured by good perswasions to hinder this rash execution,

Moore.  
Causes of the  
rebellion of the  
Moors of Gra-  
nado.

Causes of the  
rebellion of the  
Cardinall of  
Espinosa.

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A caution, but he was willed to desist, for such was the kings pleasure. So as all the Moores of the citie, townes and mountaines of Alpujarra, of the boroughs and villages towards the Sea, were brought to despair, apprehending this strange alteration, euen in their language & habites, which persuaied them that they were thereby reduced into seruitude, and confusion of their houses and families: for this nation is verie curious to keep remembrances and registers of their families as by a tradition of their ancestors, after the manner of the Arabians and Iewes. And then beganne to appeare the distrust they had of them, all the Moores hauing bene commanded by proclamation to keepe themselves within their dwellings and parishes, and for all them that were come out of the villages into the Albayzin to depart: the which was grievous vnto them, for that the inhabitants of that place being most Marchants and Artisans, they had need of many labourers and workemen for their ordinarie works, which they did vsually draw out of the Countrey, and of their owne nation. They saw that the marquisse of Mondejar had leuied 300 souldiers for the safetie (said he) of the towne, and to haue better assurance of the Moores residing there; if any one of them did owe any thing, he was presently subiect to arrest, and in like manner they that were cautions for any other, and by this means the prisons were full: The officers of iustice vnder colour of seeking for such as hauing no means to pay, were retired into the villages and mountains, they entered into the houses where they said they were hidden, & committed many insolencies, yea they fought out old aduersities, for the which the Moores had compounded with their parties, and drew them into new suites. Finally, as soone as they heard that this Edict was resolu'd in court, this nation was so basely respected by all the old Christians, both clergie and others, as euery man presumed to vex & oppress them, esteeming them no better than brut beasts; wherefore seeing themselves reduced to that miserable estate worse than if they had bin common slaues, & yet fearing worse, they concurred all in one mind to revolt. Those of the Albayzin who had more to loose, incited the rest to begin, & they expected means from them of the Albayzin, and counsel how they should behaue themselves, for they were men of vnderstanding, ciuill, and better experienced in the world, than the inhabitants of the mountaines, whereas the force lay, but they needed counsel: yea there did ordinarily couerle among them thieues, banished men, and such as were condemned by iustice, who desired nothing more than to see some disorderd sedition. There was a bold audacious Moore dwelling in the Albayzin, his name was *Farrax Aben Farrax*, a dier by his trade, yet he said he was descended from the *Abenxaraces* sometimes famous knights among the Granadians. This man was as a trumpet to stirre vp the rest, he went & came to the mountaines, townes & villages where the Moores dwelt, & carried them aduice and aduertisements, how they should gouerne themselves in a generall reuolt, which was intended the 1. of Ianuarie 1568, the same day that the citie of Granado had bin yeelded vp to the kings *D. Ferdinand* and *D. Isabella*, but being impatient to attend, he called before the time a troupe of souldiers disguised after the Turkish manner, & made them to enter into the Albayzin by certain places where the walls were low & full of holes, on Christmas eue at night, when making a great noise, he awaked them, shewing an ensigne displayed, intreating them to come with their armes into the street, for the time (said he) is come that we must shew our selues men of courage, for that there were a good number of Turks arrived in Alpujarra, which were come to liue with them out of Barbarie. This alarme did trouble all the other quarters of the town, for that they were in ieaalousie touching the execution of the Edict: for otherwise they had not bin moued, being no strange thing to heare a noise in the Albayzin, the Moores being accustomed to make all their sports with tumults. Notwithstanding all this, *Farrax* could not draw any one out of his house, they thinking he had beene drunke, but they cried to him out of their windows, that he should go sleep, and that they had nothing to do with his follies. This troupe of thieues had walked vp and downe all the night, and no man durst goe & view them. In the end *Farrax* led them to the place from whence they came, and they were not followed: the next day it was said they were thieues that were come to spoile. There were some informations taken, and there was an order made that there should be gardes throughout the citie, whereunto the Moores should contribute. The suspicion increasing, and some insolencies being done to them of this nation, they came vnto the Presi-

*Farrax Aben  
Farrax first mo-  
tine of sedition.*

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dent, beseeching him not to suffer them to be outraged, protesting that they neuer had will nor thought to rebell, that there was no reason to intangle them with other mens crimes, with whom they had no intelligence, and for caution of the innocencie of the Inhabitants of the Albayzin they offered, if it pleased him, that 200 of the chiefe amongst them would yeeld themselves prisoners: the which being at the first refused, was afterwards accepted, when they had somewhat discouered that they were all conspired together, and that they had intelligence with the Turkes of Alger, by a packet which was surprised: where there was found a book and letters which discouered much of their practices.

Superstitious among the Moors.

Among these people there were certaine fantastike and frantike spirites, which perfected certain prophecies among the people, which they said were old, by the which they had a deliuerer promised them, who should deliuer them from the oppressions of the Christians, the which indeed were great and intollerable, to men whom they made belleeue were free, and that they enioyed the Lawes equally with others. This nation thus tired, superstitious by nature, and nothing instructed in the Christian religion, had a suddaine desire in this persecution to call backe *Mahomet*, and to abhorre the name of *Iesu Christ*, wherupon they fell into open rebellion against the King and his magistrates, and the first murders which they committed vpon the Christians, were certaine Clerks yong preachers, which came from *Vlcir* in the *Alpuxarra*, to *Granado*, to passe the holidays there, as they had vsually done euerie yeere, and passing by the villages, they made good cheere, vnder colour that they did belong to the Iustice. Of the which they dispatched some, and then they did set vpon a troupe of 50 souldiers of the garrison of *Adra*, who went also to *Granado* with the like insolenencies, whom they slue in a manner all. The Marquesse of *Mondejar*, who was gone to Court to aduertise the King of the estate of the affaires, returned with commaundment to suppress the rebellion by armes, and the goeternours, lords, knights, townes and comminalties thereabouts had charge to assid him. Wherefore hauing taken aduice of the magistrates of the royall Audience and others of the citie, and especially of the archbishop, hee prepared himselfe to set vpon them that were alreadie risen in confusion, and without order; but there being among them the abouenamed *Farrax*, one *Dant*, and *Ferdinand of Cordoue*, and *De Valor*, a knight of the Moores, who said that hee was of the royall race of *Aben Humeia*, descending from the prophet *Mahomet*, they assembled at *Brenar* in the *Alpuxarra*, to make election of a head, where after much contention, they did choose this *Ferdinand*, to whom hauing giuen the title of a King, he called himselfe *Mulky Mahomet Aben Humeia*. *Farrax*, who would gladly haue bene, and had in a manner promised it himselfe, could not attaine vnto it, but was content to be *Alguazil maior*, which is the second dignitie, like to that of Constable. This *Aben Humeia* was verie wel known in the city of *Granado* for his vanitie and other vices, which decreased not in this great aduancement. If we consider wel (by the report of such as had seene this war) the number of them that had rebelled, the expectation that infinite others would rebell, being of the same mind, if they had well managed the meanes which they had gathered together, as of Churches and Christians houses which they spoiled, the neerenesse of the kings of *Fez* and *Marroc*, and of the Turkes of *Alger*, together with the bad agreement which was betwixt the gouernours and the royall Iustice of *Granado*, and the neighbour prouinces, who contended without all reason, touching their manner of proceeding against these mutines, euerie one seeking to make vse of his office, and to fil his purse with so many goodly confiscations, & rich prizes which fell daily. Without doubt there was matters in this warre sufficient to haue ouerthrowne the Crowne of Spaine, if it had bene managed by men of more discretion and iudgement than *Aben Humeia*, and *Farrax Aben Farrax*.

Murders done by the Moors.

Aben Humeia made king of the Moors rebels.

It is not to be imagined what insolenencies they committed in the first furie of their raigne. They slew all Christians males aboue ten yerres old that they could get, especially clergie me, with all Iudges & officers of iustice, the womē & children they made slaues, they spoiled churches & fired them with most of the houses, yea their own: so as they made the boroughs & good villages inhabitable, & in a short time grew sauage, liuing among woods and rocks, where they made their retreat, being almost inaccessible, drawing their wiues and

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A and children after them, and abandoning them vpon any difficultie or let, without any feeling of loue or charitie. He might tearme himselfe happie among the Spaniards, who beeing surprized in his house by *Aben Humeias* men, did meet with some Moore of his acquaintance: and truly there were some, though very few, who moued with compassion, did hazard their lues to saue Christians, from whom they had receiued some pleasure, the which is not strange among reasonable creatures, seeing it is often seene among brut beasts. *Farrax Aben Farrax* hauing had charge to gather together the gold, silver, and mooueable goods which had bene abandoned to the spoyle, to make a stocke for the warre, and to buie armes in *Barbarie* (whereof they had great want) he committed for many insolenencies and thefts, as afterwards he was not employed in any businesse, neither durst he shew himselfe before king *Aben Humeia*, who hauing past like a violent stream, or rather a lightning by *Locrin*, *Lanjaron*, *Orgiba*, *Pugneyra*, *Ferreya*, *Iubiles*, *Vxicar*, and other places of the valley of *Sierra Neuada*, hee was confirmed king at *Andarax*, whereas he made *Aben Zigu* Alcaide or Captaine, and *Michel de Roxas* his father in law his Treasurer generall, and *Hernando Caguer* one of his Lieutenants or Marshals: it is hee who saued most of the Christians from laughter, and spared their goods in this warre. This tumultuarie king seeing himselfe followed, hee threatened the citie of *Almerie*, hee made *Salobregna* to wauer, with other maritime places, whither the mountaines and the valleys stretch, and in like manner all that coast which is vpon the declining of *Sierra Vermeja*, vnto *Gibraltar* and *Maruela*, so as in lesse than fiftene daies this mischeiferan C about fixtie leagues, and the law of *Mahomet* was openly profest among them. Then the Moors dwelling in the *Albayzin* at *Granado* were in extreme danger, there beeing a great garrison, and souldiers comming thither daily from all parts: and (that which moued the *Granadins* to choler and compassion) many men and women came naked thither, hauing escaped the cruell hands of the Moors, for in all places both champaigne and mountaines, the old and new Christians had their dwellings mingled, but the Moors were more in number, and stronger. The Moors about *Salobregna* contained themselves long, for that their feat was not strong, as within the mountaines, neither did they reuolt, but through the violence that was done them by the kings souldiers, and by his Lieutenants, who were most insolent and disobedient to their Commanders in all this D warre.

*Salobregna* and *Motril* are vpon the sea, where there growes much good wine, the riches of the inhabitants. In the citie of *Almerie* neere vnto them were aboue fixe hundred families of the Moors, who did not stirre, and were presented by the Gouernour: notwithstanding that, one *Marc Ramir* a Moore, with some other indiscreet men thereabouts sought to murder him. The Lords of villages, who had no houses of strength, did wisely to retire themselves, for wherfoeuer they were the weaker, they were set vpon and slaine: as it happened to *D. John Zapate*, who sought to make it good in the Church of *Guejares* de *Fondon*, where he was forced and burnt with 150. men.

The Marquesse of *Mondejar*, and he of *Velez*, raised either of them an armie, by order E from the Councell, and invaded the Moors, one by *Granado*, and the other by *Basa*, the Marquesse of *Zenete* bending towards the sea to *Almerie*. These two Commanders neuer ioyned during all this warre, although they came neere together vpon the declining of the mountaines that were betwixt them, which were in a manner plaine towards the West, for they were of very different humors; *D. Lewis Fajardo* marquesse of *Velez* was proud, ambitious, impatient of all superiouritie, and bloodie: and hee of *Mondejar* was milde and courteous, seeking rather to persuaide, than to force the rebels: the marquesse of *Velez* was suddaine in his exploits, he of *Mondejar* was staied, and did not aduance without great deliberation, and therefore he was taxed to be slowe, and to regard his owne priuate interest, for that he was Lord of many places in those mountaines, and other parts of the countrie, which were vnpopled by this warre, to the preiudice of his rights and reuenues. The first lodging his campe made beeing gone to field, was at *Alendin*, and from thence to *Padul*, which is the first borough of the valley of *Locrin*, hauing with him the nobility and the troupes of *Granado* and *Andalusia*: he of *Velez*, that of *Murcia*, *Basa*, and the neighbour places. In the absence of the marquesse of *Mondejar*

Dispositions of the marquesse of Mondejar, he of Velez, Generall against the Moors.

the Earle of Teudilla his sonne commaunded in Granado for martiall matters, being lodged in the Alhambra, the Castle and royall Palace there. At Dureal a league from Padul *Laurence d'Anila* was lodged with the bands of seuen. Townes of the iurisdiction of Granado, and *Gonsal d'Alcantara* with a company of horse, making as it were the forward. They were charged in the night by a multitude of Moores, whereof *Michel de Granado de Xaba* was the chief, thinking to disorder them, but the souldiers made it good, and repulsed their enemies, of whom there were two hundred slaine, whereat *Aben Humeia* was in such a rage for this bad successe, as hee had a desire to cut off *Xabas* head. These two marquestes were not sole Commanders of the warre in that Countrey, for euerie Gouvernour or Capitaine of a place would make enterprises of his owne head, imparting nothing vnto them, nor attending their commaundements, for euerie man aimed at spoile. *D. Garcia de Villaroel* gouernour of Almerie went to field to surprize a troupe of Moores, which were assembled at Benahaduz, and threatned to besiege Almerie, whom he dispersed, and slue many of them, among other *Braben Casis* their capitaine. Therewas with *D. Garcia*, *D. Alphonso Habis de Vanequa* a Moore, of the bloud of the auncient kings of Granado, who had bene solicited by the rebells to be their King, the which hee refused, and persisted faithfully in the seruice of King *Philip*.

The marqueste of Mondejar passing on into Alpuxarra, tooke the pace of Tablado by force, a place of importance for the passage, being betwixt two mountaines, where hee built a bridge ouer a very deepe valley, the which being broken, or kept, they cannot go from the one to the other, but must fetch a compasse of foure great leagues. The gard of this bridge was committed to *Pedro d'Arroio* with certaine companies, and then the armie marched towards Orgiba, the which was abandoned by the Moores being amazed. Many women and children were freed, and they that had defended the Tower of that place seuentene dayes, where the Moores had giuen diuerse assaults, and reduced them to great want of victuals. There was the like deliuey of prisoners with the gaine of some booty made at Poqueira, where *Aben Humeia* had lodged with a great number of Moores, but they durst not stay. There they had newes that the garrison which they had left at Tablado had bene surprised and cut in peeces with their Capitaine, who was found yet panting amongst the dead, two daies after, whenas the marqueste recovered this passage againe, without the which they cannot come nor goe from the campe to Granado. *D. Alphonso de Reynoso* was left there to keepe a more carefull gard, and had expresse commandement to staie the souldiers which retired with their bootie without leaue: The greatest disorder which hindered this warre, was the disobedience of the new leuied souldiers to their Commanders, who longed still to be at home when they had gotten any spoile: and it was a hard matter to stay them, for they had no pay. The Moores in like manner were without discipline, being ignorant of warre, and nothing apt to armes, yea most of them were vnarmed, labourers, shepheards, and Artisans, who could cast stones, and handle slings well; their captaines were not much more skilfull in their charges and duties, but being once acquainted with the Turkes they recovered Crossbowes, and harquebuses, and did learne to vse them. Their greatest feare in Spaine was, that they should haue intelligence, with the Turkes of Alger, and the Moores of Barbarie their neighbours, the which they could not prevent. The marqueste of Mondejar pursuing *Aben Humeia*, hee brought his armie to Pitres de Ferreira, whereas *Ferdinand Caguer* made offer of an accord, and continued it vpon all occasions; for hee was the least desperate among all the Capraines of the Moores. At this place of Pitres, the Moores fought and slew many of the marquestes men, but they presently left the place, and retired to lubiles, whereas *Aben Humeia* committed great cruelties, euen vpon the Moores of that place, who did not sodainly satisfie his desire. There was an old castle which they had rampired, with an intent to make it a fort, and their store-houise for the warre, and had carried most of their spoiles thither, the which notwithstanding they could not defend: for although the greatest part of their forces were there, yet they had not the hearts to fight, and being to dislodge, they were readie, being pursued, to kill a great number of Christians, prisoners, of all ages, women and children, whose husbands and fathers they had slaine before, but some that had more humanitie hindred it, their retreat was to Vercheul.

*Alphonso Habis de Vanequa a faithful Moore*

*Defeat and death of Pedro d'Arroio of the Moores.*

A cheul. This miserable troupe of women and children came and presented themselves before the Marqueste, hideous, leane, bare, and halfe naked, praising God with teares for his comming and their deliuerance. The Moores which kept the castle fledde also; where they found three hundred men, and a thousand and fise hundred women, who were in like manner set at libertie: but it was vnhappy for many, yea for most of those poore women; for the campe being lodged; hauing placed most of those women in a Church, and such as could not enter being laid before it for that night, it happened that a disordered souldier comming about midnight among them, sought to take away a maiden to abuse her, who being staied and de'ended by the other women, one of them drew the souldiers sword and hurt him: this villaine leauing his hold, began to crie out to ames, saying, that there were Moores disguised and armed among those women which had hurt him in that manner, whereupon they came running in disorder, and without any further inquirie, discharged their peeces vpon these poore creatures, so as in a manner all they that were before the Church, were either slaine or sore hurt, those within it were preferred by the shutting of the doores: in the meane time the captaines came, and caused the massacre to cease. The truth of this fact being knowne, the marqueste was very much grieved, and caused many of these murdering souldiers to bee hanged; and then he sent the rest of the women and children with a conuoy to Granado, where they received them, and gaue them great almes. This pittifull spectacle increased their hatred against the Moores dwelling in the Albayzin, whom they distrusted much, for they were held to be ten thousand men able to beare armes; and therefore the Earle of Teudilla, to be better assured, lodged souldiers in their houses: whereof thinking to complain, they were sharply reprehended; so as they repented that they had not reuolted when as *Farrax* did sollicite them.

Whilest that the Marqueste of Mondejar employed himselfe vertuously, to chase the Moores and their king, who were in the mountaines and strong places of Alpuxarra, hee of Velez with such men as he had, gathered together in the territories of Valencia, Murcia, Baza, Lorca, and other neere places, entred into the realme of Granado, by Tauneras, hauing fise thousand foot and three hundred good horse, and came and charged a troupe of Moores, who had fortified themselves at Guecija, vnder a diuellish capitaine called *Gorri*: who, in viewe of the marqueste campe, caused many Christian men to be beheaded, whom he had kept prisoners, to expose them as a spectacle to them that should come first to assaile him, and then he disloded without fighting.

The Christian armie marching towards Filix to besiege it, they were preuented by *D. Garcia de Villaroel* gouernour of Almerie, who would haue the honour to free this place, presuming that the Moores which held it, would abandon it as soone as they should see him approach, thinking it to be the marqueste his foreward: but he was deceived, for hee found them ready to make head against him, being many; wherefore he retired with all speed to the marqueste his campe, to whom hee made his excuse, and gaue him to vnderstand, that among these Moores, there were Turkes come out of Barbarie to succour them: and then he gaue him a conuoy to returne vnto Almerie, from whence he might not long bee absent. The marqueste passing on, found the Moores which were come forth in battell, to encounter them which came to discouer them, and being come to fight, they found they were not those whom they fought, and knowing that it was the marqueste of Velez, who was a resolute man, and was called among them, *Tiblis Arrazel Hadit*, that is to say, a deuill with an iron head, their courage was somewhat quailed, yet they did fight, and did rallie themselves thrice together, but in the end they were forced to quit the place, and retire to the mountaines, hauing lost about seauen hundred men, and among them some women, which had fought desperately, three captaines, *Fulcy*, *Tezi*, and the sonne of *Porto Carrero de Xergal*, where two of his sisters, maidens, died also. On the marqueste de Velez side, there were both slaine and hurt, but they did not publish the number.

The sort of Filix by this retreat was wonne, where they found much good stuffe, gold, siluer, silkes, pearle, victualles, and a great number of women and children Moores;

*Excess of a disordered souldier.*

*Moores of the Albayzin in great numbers.*

*Exploits of the Marqueste of Velez.*

*Intemity at Filix.*

Moore, whom they had abandoned, wherewith the souldiers being enrich, they disbanded by troups to carrie their booties to their houses; wherefore the Marquesse was forced to retire to fortifie his armie. They of Guadix defeated a troupe of Moores at the same time at Deyre, most of which had come out of the Marquise of Zenete: they flue 400 men, and tooke about 1000 women & children, with great spoiles. The chief of this enterprise was *Pedro Arias d'Avila*, and they said it was one of the best exploits of all this warre.

King *Aben Humeya* being pursued by the marquesse of Mondejar, and was then at *Vixar*, a place situated in the middelt of *Alpuxarra*, the which he had fortified as an assured retreat, and had about him 6000 men; yet at the approach of the marquesse, this man who was neither valiant nor of any commaund, retired with his troups to *Palerno*. *Fernand el Casquer* continued still his practise of peace, so as he had conference with *Jerome d'Apont* and *John Sanchez*: And *D. Alphonso de Granado Fenega*, wrought so vpon the marquesse word and promise, as he drew *Aben Humeya* to a parle with him, but at the noise of some shot inconsiderately discharged, hee was so am'zed, and fell into such distrust, as he fled away, neither was it possible to bring him backe againe; and in this perturbation he slew his father in law *Muibel de Roxas*, and caused some other chiefe Moores to be slaine, saying that they would haue betrayed him: he put away his wife, and sware that he would not leaue one of the familie of *Roxas* aliue, the which did purchase him many enemies, and he blemished his reputation more, when he abandoned the fort of *Palerno*, and all that hee had, retiring into the most desert places of the mountaines. The marquesse being come to *Palerno*, he took the mother and sisters of the base king, with many other women of qualitie Moores, and set free a great number of Christians that were captiues, & from thence hee led his armie towards *Andarax*. That of the marquesse of *Velez* being somewhat repaired, was then at *Olhane*, nere vnto the other, where there were many Moores gathered together, whom hee did fight withall, and disperst: and it was thought that the two armies should haue ioyned, and that the marquesse of *Velez* should haue bene sole commaunder, whereunto hee did aspire, and the souldiers desired it, but either of them went his course. The marquesse of *Mondejar* returned to *Vixar*. One of the goodliest booties of this warre, fell into the hands of *D. Garcia de Villaroel*, and of *D. Francisco de Cordoba*, being ioyned with the forces of *Almerie*, and others whom they led against the Moores, who had fortified at *Inox*, in rocks that were almost inaccessible: for hauing dislodged them they found to the value of about 500000 crownes: but the diuision of this prey bred great dissention among them.

Profit was the matter they chiefly aynted at that went to this warre, except the Marquesse of *Mondejar*, who tended to peace, and to saue the Moores that were reuolted, soliciting them rather to acknowledge their faults, and to shew themselves wortheie of pardon, than to ruine them by armes, and therefore hee was not pleasing to the souldiers. Hauing led his armie to *Guajares* of the iurisdiction of *Salobregna*, whither many Moores had retired themselves, and fortified among the rocks and precipices (which were they that first receiued the *Turks* and Moores that came to succour them out of *Barbary*) hee sent to discouer them, but to their losse that went, being in a manner all slaine; those of *Almerie* and qualitie were *Lewis Ponce de Leon*, *Augustin Fenegas*, *Gonsaluo de Ornunga*, the visitor *Ronquillo* and *John de Villaroel*: being charged, the next day they made great resistance, but at night they retired, leaving their old men in that lodging, with many women and children, whom the marquesse (being incensed with the losse he had the day before) caused to be slaine in his presence, contrary to his manner. The rocks, woods, & caues (being vnfurnished of all prouision for victualles) were no fit places to entertaine great numbers of Moores, who had such great troups of women, children & slaues with them, as if they had bin prest by arms, hunger & cold, with other necessities, would haue forced them often to haue changed their lodgings; & they that came out of *Barbary* might easily foresee, that the end of their reuolt must needs be death or captiuitie: seeing they had no means to prouide better retreats to keepe their goods, wiues, & children, nor any good fort nere vnto the sea, with victuals and artillery to maintaine a siege at all euents, and in the meane time to refresh themselves there, & to retire such as were wounded, & to repaire themselves

Aben Humeya  
kills his father  
in law and o-  
ther Moores.

bootie taken  
from the Moores

Defeat of  
Christians.

Cruelty of the  
marquesse of  
Mondejar.

A thesclues after any losse: war is maintained by this means, & when there is question of any accord, it is concluded with better condicions. These defects being knowne, was the cause that the succours which they had fro *Africk*, being al volitaries, were weak & came slowly: & they that came once to see it, were soon distastd, & being once returned came no more, & dissuaded others. Finally, there appeared no other end in this nation, of their reuolt, but to powre forth their malice in reuenging themselves most cruelly vpon the Christians which they met, for the wrongs and injuries which they had receiued, killing, burning, and murthering without iudgement or foresight of that which might happen, and then they died content, without either loue, or natural affection to their wiues and small children, whom they made to trot after them like beasts, and vpon the least crosse they did abandon them without griefe. This warre had continued three moneths, when as king *Philip* by some good inspiration considering the desolation of the countrie, and the innocencie of many small infants which could not distinguish the right hand from the left, he made a declaration, that his meaning was not that men children vnder tenne yeares old, and women vnder eleuen should be reputed slaues, commanding them to receiue all Moores that would submit themselves to his mercie, and forbidding them to offer any violence to those that had contained themselves in peace. By these means many being forced by hunger and other discommodities, submitted themselves; who being inioyned to deliuer vp their armes, they brought old crosse-bowes, halpe pikes, and such like weapons, broken, and of no vse: and when they demanded where there other armes were, which they vsed in encounters, they said that the strangers, and such as would not submit themselves had taken them away. Notwithstanding these good orders set downe by the king, the souldiers being insolent and couctous, did them infinit mischeifs, carrying many away, especially women: not onely out of villages, but of those which they found in the citie, euen in view of the magistrates, the which all men of honour blamed and detested, yea many strangers which frequented in the citie of *Granado*, for the commerce, said, that it would be a hard matter for Spaniards to make the Moores good Christians, seeing they shewed in their adions, that they were not to themselves, and that there was more inhumanitie in their behauiours, than in the most barbarous *Pirats* of *Africke*.

D *Aben Humeya* hauing taken some breath, resolved to continue the warre, sending to intreat *Pluceryaly* to giue him some succours. In the meane time, hee and *Fernand Casquer* came sometimes in the night to solace themselves with them that were reduced, and who had safegards to remaine in their houses; whereof the marquesse being aduertised, he meant to haue them watch and taken: but they had some notice thereof, and stood vpon their guards. They did foresee that the Spring being come, the warre would bee more difficult, both for that the Moore should find themselves lesse incommodated in their holes and savage retreats, as also for that the sea would be more nautigable, and easie to passe the Moores and *Turkes* out of *Barbarie*, which prepared to come to their succours; wherefore the marquesse of *Mondejar* sent *D. Alphonso de Granado Fenegas* to Court, to acquaint the king with the estate of those affaires, and to tell him what prouisions he thought necessarie to end those warres; and that if it pleased his Maiestie to come vnto *Granado*; it may be it would be of more force than any other thing, and that howsoeuer, hee must cause the sea to be kept, and the passage to bee stoppt. The king thinking that his presence was not so necessarie, was counselled to send *D. John* of *Austria* his brother thither, the respect of whom would make the Commanders agree better. The which being concluded, commaundement was given to *D. Lewis de Requesens* great Commaunder of *Castille*, who was then Embassador at *Rome* for king *Philip*, being also Lieutenant at sea vnder *D. John*, that hee should come with the galleys into *Spaine*, and bring with him the regiment of old souldiers which were at *Naples*; that being ioyned with *D. Sancho de Luna*, hee might stoppe the passage of the *Turkes* and Moores which came out of *Barbarie*.

As soone as it was knowne at *Granado*, and in the countrie where the warre was, that *D. John* of *Austria* was appointed lieutenant for the king there, all the captains of towns & castles, & those that were in the armies, with their souldiers, fought to make worke for *D.*

Moore's vna-  
surall.

Pardon for the  
Moores' proclai-  
med.

Insolence of  
the king's souldiers.

John



1568

Disobedience  
and insurrections  
of Christian  
souldiers.Defeat of  
Christians.

*John*, committing all excess, by spoiling, ransacking, and murdering: for they thought that *D. John* would have better discipline observed in the armies. *D. Aluar Flores*, and *Antonie d. Aila* of Madrid, vnder colour of going to surpris *Aben Humeya* at Valor, whither they said he should come in the night to a certaine marriage, they spoiled all the places where they pass, notwithstanding that the Moores which inhabited them had safeguards, and made them the best chere they could. Being come to Valor, they found not *Aben Humeya*, but they did ransome all the Moores of that place, notwithstanding that they had submitted themselves to the kings obedience, carrying away their wives and children as slaves, in contempt of the Kings Proclamation. In their returne they were charged and defeated, and the prisoners rescued. There were lost about a thousand souldiers with their captaines, whereof the Moores sent to make great excuses to the marquisse of Mondejar, offering to yeeld vp the armes which they had taken: the marquisse answered them, that they had done well, and that they should doe so to all them that should offer them violence, against his Maiesties protection and safeguard. *Diego Casca* a choericke captaine, being incited that they of Turon had slaine eleven of his souldiers which had gone forth to steale, led his companie thither to disarme them, and to be revenged: searching in a dake caue of a house, where there were certaine Moores hidden, he was slaine; whereupon his souldiers spoiled and set fire of the borough, slue a hundred and twentie Moores, and carried away the women. A Curat of Tortijos being grieued to see the Moores of the mountaine of Filabres live in peace, for they had not requited, helde certaine leud persons with him, who surprizing them on a suddaine, spoiled them: others did the like at Bayarca, and at Picna, whereas they slue three of the marqueses guards, being sent thither to prelerue them: but as they retired, carrying away many women and children, and much cattell, the Moores which had elcaped, and had giuen the alarme to their neighbours, cross them in their waies and slue them all.

At Granado harred did to transport some of the Iustice, as they suffered the prisoners in the gaole to be armed, to kill the Moores of the Albayzin, who had put themselves into prison, as hostages in the beginning of the troubles, as wee haue said, to whom they carried swords and other weapons secretly in the night, and bruted it abroad that *Aben Humeya* had intelligence, with the Moores of the Albayzin, to surpris the citie: and afterwards in the night they cried to armes, for that towards Sierra Neuada, they had seen a fire, to answer a signe which had bene giuen out of some house of the Albayzin: whether it were true or not, the people ranne to the prisons, where finding the Christian prisoners armed, and in fight with the Moores, who had no armes, ioyning with them they slue a hundred and tenne, which were of the chiefe and richest Moores of the citie: yet they durst not set vpon the Albayzin, for that in euery house there were souldiers lodged, which were not of that partie. It was said, that some of them that were murdered, were found circumeiled, which made the Atturney generall demand confiscation of their goods, whereby their wives and children were deprived. It was thought for certaine that this excess had bene committed by the instigation of the superiours. A good part of the Alpuxarres was in a manner pacified, but the captaines of the garisons which were there, and in other neighbour places, as at Almerie, Salobregna, and such like forts, governing themselves, as hath bene said, committed such cruelties and thefts indifferently vpon the one and the other, attending the coming of *D. John* of Austria, as they that had laid aside armes, and submitted themselves, revolted againe, and ioyned with *Aben Humeya*, who became so strong and glorious, as hee bragd that he would not onely defend the mountaines, but also besiege the citie of Granado.

*D. John d. Austria* made his entrie the sixt of April, 1569, being accompanied by the marquisse of Mondejar, by *D. John de Carmaial*, *D. Tello Gonsal d. Aguilar*, *Gonsalo Chacon*, the Earle of Miranda, with many other noble men and knights: the marquisse of Velez would not bee there. Before his lodging there presented themselves about foure hundred women, widows, and many poore orphans, Christians, which had bene in the Moores hands, crying and lamenting in most miserable manner, and demanding iustice and reuenge for their fathers and husbands which had bene murdered, so as they could hardly make them retire; but it was done of purpose. The Moores dwelling in the

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D. John de Austria comes to Granada.

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Counsellors about D. John of Austria.

Advice of the Marquisse of Mondejar.

Advice of the President Desja.

Defeat of Christians.

Captaines and Counsellors to the Moorish king.

A in the Albayzin deputed some vnto him, to make their innocency knowne, and yet they were ill intreated; but especially, they made great complaint of the massacre committed of their kinsmen in the prisons, as it were in the kings bosome, into the which they had willingly put themselves. *D. John* heard them, and made shew that this act displeased him, comforting and assuring them. He had a Councell appointed him, whereof were the Duke of Sessa, the marquisse of Mondejar, *D. Lewis de Quijada* President of the Councell of the Indies, *D. Pedro de Desja* President of the royall Audiencie of Granado, and the Archbishop of Granado, in cases of conscience: all these resolved how they should proceed in this warre. The marquisse of Mondejar persisting in his opinion, said, that they must drawe the Moores to the Christian religion by instruction and good examples, and to the Kings obedience in doing them iustice, and that they should end the warre by some good accord: hee held it fit they should drawe them out of the mountaines, and places of strength, and giue them dwellings in the champane countrie; or if they left them in their ancient habitations, they should place good garisons there at their charge. The President *Desja* said, that first of all they should cleanse the citie of Granado of the Moorish nation, and to lend them with their families to dwell farther off; to the end they should not aide the rebels, as they had done secretly, with armes, counsell, and other things, and that they should take exemplarie punishment of some that had slaine Christians, and spoiled Churches, and begin first with the inhabitants of Albu-nuela, a place from whence the Moores were releued, with victuals and other commodities. Most were of opinion, that they should continue the warres, and that occasions would giue them necessaerie and fit aduice. There were three regiments leuied vnder *Antonio Moreno*, *Hernand de Oranna*, and *Francis de Mendoza* of Alcalá de Henares. There was order taken also for the government of the townes and forts, by new Election, or confirmation of those that were in charge, all being commanded to containe their souldiers, and to obey the ordinances vpon great paines. The marquisse of Velez, who was not come to *D. John*, sent him a note what he had done in his diuision, and what hee thought remained to be done: hee had staied with his armie at Terques, and had a designe to march toward Andarax, but *D. John* sent a Post to stay him. He had begunne a fort at Rauaha, the which was ouerthrowne by the Moores, who slue

D. him, a hundred and threescore souldiers, and tooke an Ensigne, whereas *D. John* was very much discontented. *Aben Humeya* was aduertised of all the consultations and resolutions which were taken at Granado, by them of the Albayzin, and accordingly made provision for the warre, and for those places which hee had an intent to defend. Hee also made three regiments vnder *Hanon de Cucujar*, *Fuete de Lantera*, and *Zerza de Cular*, Captaines Moores. Hee made his store-house for the warre at Origiba, hee appointed a market at Vixar of Albereta, whither they did bring victuals and marchandise, and marchants came from Tetuan in the realme of Fez, to sell armes and other commodities. He made *Rio d. Almanfora* Gouvernour of that Quarter which ioyned vpon the Marquisate of Zenete, and *Ierome Malech* of the frontier of Quadix and Bafa. At Poqueira and Ferreira *Diego Lopes Aben Aboq*, vpon the frontier of Origiba *Michel de Oranado Xaba*, on the iurisdiction of Luxar and Marchena *Sierra de Filabres Gidoi*, and of the frontier of Almerie *Aben Mcguennui* was gouernour, in the valley of Locrin, and the frontier of Almunexar, Salobregna and Motril, he placed *Gironcillo* and *Rendal* for gouernours: to all which hee gaue Letters Patents signed by himselfe, and with a royall seale. There were of his priuie Councell, *Don Ferdinand el Caguer*, *Dalay Moxarras*, *Calderon* of Vixar, and *Hernand Habagui*: *Farrax Aben Farrax* was in disgrace, and came no more in the Kings Presence, who had threatned to haue him hanged as a theife.

F Besides these provisions, *Aben Humeya* did hope to bee fortified by the Xeriffe *Abdalla* king of Maroc and Fez, and by *Fluchaly* gouernour of Algier, whom he did sollicite and intreat, making them great promises, and assuring him that hee should bee succoured by the great Turkes armie, which charge *Fluchaly* had taken vpon him. Hee beganne the warre against *Don John* by the taking of Peca, whither hee ledde siue thousand men, but hee could not take the Castle: and there were



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Shipwracke of  
the great Com-  
manders fleet.Defeat of  
Moors.Armie of *Aben*  
*Humeia* de-  
feated.Pegnon of *Fregi-*  
*liana* taken  
by the great  
commander.

were many light skirmishes made on either side. The great Commander who had charged to bring the galleies, and the regiment of Naples into Spaine, had drawne together 24 galleies, in the port of Genoua, with some other vessels, & went to sea in a doubtful time, contrary to the aduice of the Mariners; for that (said he) they had need of him in Spaine: but he was no sooner at sea, but hee was ouertaken with so furious a tempest, as some of his vessels perished with their burdens, and the rest were so dispersed, some into Sardyria, some into Sicilie, and some else-where, as all that preparation prooued vnprofitable. The great Commander was by chance cast vpon the Island of Maiorca, and so he past from Palamos into Cattelogne, so as the passage was open for some daies out of Barbarie into Spaine.

The mountaine of Bentonis is in the countrie of Veles Malaga, vpon the sea towards the South, a countrie fertill in wines, which they transport into England, and Flanders, by which traffike the inhabitants were rich: most of which had their beginning from Moores, and they did reckon 22. Burroughs well peopled and inhabited: the which had no tribute, vnill that vpon certaine reports the officers of Iustice began to vex them, saying, that they were aduertised they had commerce and intelligence with *Aben Humeia*: Canilles of Azeztunis is in this countrie, a strong place and of importance, belonging vnto the Marquesse of Comare, and there is a certaine Rocke, called *Fregiliana* the old, whither a good number of Moores were retired, and had there fortified themselves: whom *Aurelio de Caxo de Veles* would go and assaile, but he was repulst with the losse of most of his men.

The Marquesse of Velez beeing at Verja in the country of Almerie with a good strong armie, *Aben Humeia* who had ten thousand men, and among them some Turkes, came and charged him couragiously, and forced the first gards and lodging of his campe, putting all into disorder: the which was repaired by the diligence of souldiers well disciplined, who recovered their places of armes, and repulst this violence of the Moores valiantly, killing about a thousand and five hundred as they retired in disorder. There were among the Turkes of *Aben Humeia* armie, many which carried garlands of flowers vpon their heads, saying, that they were sent thither to reuenge *Mahomets* Martyrs.

The Marquesse had about twelve thousand fighting men, and being lodged at Adra, he had commandement to enter into Alpujarra, where hee came to fight with the Moores at Vxicar, and then he charged *Aben Humeia* at Valot, who was not much weaker in number then he, yet he was put to rout; but the Marquesse was presently forced to retire: for the mischiefe was, that as loone as the souldiers had taken any spoyle, they stole away to carrie it to their houses. Through this disorder there remained not three thousand men in his campe. *D. Antonie de Luna* sackt Albuuella, according to the aduice of the President *D. Pedro de Deza*, where he made a great spoyle of goods, and tooke about a thousand and five hundred prisoners. According to the auncient custome, the kings of Spaine should haue the fift of all the spoyles, but they made him bad reckonings. The commander of Castille came in the end to the road of Velez Malaga, with such Spanish foot as he could bring out of Italie, and did presently inuest Pegnon de Fregiliana: there were some good Captaines with him, *D. Pedro* and *D. Martin de Padilla*, *D. John de Cardenas* brother to the Earle of Miranda, *D. Pedro de Zuniga*, with others. The Moores which were lodged there, in a manner without armes, defended themselves notwithstanding couragiously, and at the first assault slue *Pedro de Sandoval*, and foure hundred souldiers, and wounded double the number: but the Spaniards continuing their assaults with great obstinacie, in the end they forced it, and of foure thousand Moores that were within the place, there were neere two thousand slaine, the rest escaped, casting themselves desperately downe the rockes, and many women with them, leaping downe the precipices like goates, hauing their infants tied at their backs. There were women slaine in these combats which made head against the assaillants as couragiously as if they had bene old souldiers. There was also found within the fort three thousand foules, old men, women, and children, with much cattel, and great store of bootie.

The riuer of Almanfora is also a good and fertill countrie, but the Moores which dwelt there had not rebelled, vnill that they were forced by the insolvency of the souldiers,

who

with sought nothing else but to make them disobedient, by some opposition of defence, against their insolencies and villaines.

This riuer takes its beginning from a fountain called *Fuen Caliente*; and falls into the Sea a league from Vera: Veles Rubio and Veles Blanco are in this Countrie, which is great, and hath many habitations bordering vpon Baza, on the North side, it hath the Sea vpon the South, full of old Castles and strong by situation. There entered into this Countrie in Iune foure thousand Moores, of the rebels, to counteruance them that would reuolt, and to root out the rest. First they came to Porcenia, where they found not any Christians of the inhabitants, for being aduertised by a certaine Priest, they were fled away.

*Jerome Malache* and *Hipin* of Gucliar assailed the Castle of Seron, which did belong to the Marquesse of Villena; this place, that of Oria, and las Cuevas had held good, all the rest being reuolted. Seron being beseged, *D. Antonie Henriquez*, brother to the Lord of that place, attempted to relieve it with five hundred foot, and sixtie horse, but hee was chased away, lost two hundred men vpon the place, and layed in rout. In this charge the Moores got great store of armes, whereof they had good need. *Diego de Aluarez*, who was Captaine of the place went forth to seeke succours, but he was taken, the which being knowne to the beseged, they yielded to the Moores, who slue one hundred and sixtie men that were within it, and made eightie women slaves. *D. John de Austria* furnished Velez and Oria, and gaue the charge to *D. John de Hita*. And for that they were out of doubt, that the Moores which inhabited in the Albayzin, and other parts of the cite, gaue intelligence to them that made warre in the Alpujarres and other places, they put them out of the Towne the three and twentieth of Iune. All were gathered together in the royall Hospitall, which is a great building, made by *Querio Huellos* of Castille without the cite, and there a Register was taken of their houses & goods, which they left to their great grief, for they were very well lodged, being men of means; and they were dispersed into Andalusia: the which bred a great confusion in their affaires. *Aben Humeia* came neere vnto Almerie threatening to bessege it, he made many skirmishes about it, & towards Sabobregna; but he had not one peece of Ordnance. Hee wrote vnto *D. John de Austria*, intreating him to send him his father & his brother who were prisoners in Granada, and in a manner threatening him, but he did not much regard it.

To hasten the Turkes succours, without the which no enterprise could succeed well; hee sent *Ferdinand Habaqui* to Alger, whereas *Vincially* made a proclamation, that all men that would might goe freely to this warre, and many presenting themselves, hee staied them to carrie them to Tunis. Yet hee pardoned all malefactors and banished men: and of this sort of people *Habaqui* ledde foure hundred *Marquezuers* with him, vnder the command of a Turke called *Hossein*; and of a brother of his, who imbarked in eight foists laden with munition and armes. *Hossein* who was an aduancing souldier, cunning, and politike, visited the riuers of Almanfora, and of *Almodar*, Sierra Filabres, and all the Alpujarres; hee found meanes also to enter into the Cite of Granada, hee was at Guadix and at Baza without discourie, and then returned into Barbarie, laden with presents: for hee promised to goe to Constantinople, to make report vnto his Lord what hee had seene of the oppressions and miseries of the Moores in Spaine. *Aben Humeia* had a designe vpon the towne of Vera; being commodious for the Turkes descent, but it was releued by them of Baza; He ouerranne the Countrie, burnt Cuevas, and spoiled the gardens of the Marquesse of Velez Lord of that place, hauing about ten thousand men in his traine. But while the doth these exploits with more presumption and vanitie to his own then hurt to the enemy, seeking his pleasures without respect of person, letting them know that his will was a Lawe, certaine Captaines were offended therewith, whereof hee that was most incensed was *Diego Aluarez*, whose cousin *Aben Humeia* held by force for his Concubine, both hee and the rest calling to minde the manie cruelties which hee had committed, namely the murder of *Michel Bazar*, his father in law, of *Raphae Ardos*, and other Moores of name: whereupon they conspired to kill him

O o o o o

and

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Insolency of the  
Spaniards  
makes the  
Moors reuolt.Saw taken by  
the Moores.Moors put out  
of Granada.Turkes comes  
to succour the  
Moors in  
Spaine.

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and to doe it with more colour; they published certain letters which hee had written to *D. Alfonso de Granada*, and other negotiators of a peace, the which they had kept and opened, accusing him that hee would abandon the Moores, and betray them. They did also counterfeit a letter in his name, directed to *Aben Aboo*, commanding him to kill the Captaine of the Turkes, that were come out of Barbarie to his succours. Upon certaine counteifair reasons they shewed this letter unto the Turkes, whereat *Aben Aboo* was amazed, who thought verily that hee had written them, whereat the whole company being incensed, they went to *Andarax* (where hee was with his Cohobine, who was acquainted with this plot :) there they tooke him, and strangled him, publishing it in an assemblée of the Captaines: the causes of this execution, the which they disguised in such sort, as it was allowed by them, choosin in his place *Diego Lopez Aben Aboo*: to raigne over them, a truell man, but hee had more iudgement and gouernment than the other, so as *D. John de Austria* had more cause to thinke seriously of the affaires of the war.

Death of King  
Aben Humais.Aben Aboo chosen  
king of the  
Moorish.

Hee gaue the charge of the Riuer of *Almerie*, *Bolodui*, *Almanfora*, *Sierra de Bafa*, and *Filabres*, and of the Marquisate of *Zenete* to *Almeide* and to *Xoabi*; and *Sierra Neuada*, the land of *Velez*, the *Alpuxarres*; and the Valley of *Montejo* of *Granado*, to *Haciend de Guejar*. Hee sent presents to *Vincialy*, and to the Mosti of *Constantinople*, to keepe him in grace with the great Turke, and to bee a meanes for some succours: he made a regiment of foure thousand men for his gard, whereof a thousand should be alwaies in gard. At his election hee found tenne thousand men in the armie, and among them six hundred Turkes.

The Marquesse of *Mondejar* at that time left the affaires of *Granado*, & went to *Valencia*, where he was appointed viceroy, in which charge he continued not long, but past to *Naples* to gouern there with like dignitie. The duke of *Seffe* was chief of the army which the marquesse was wont to lead, who releued the Garrison of *Origba*, which *Aben Aboo* the new king besieged; and kept the pace of *Lanzaron*, where there was a great skirmish, the which continued long, through the Turkes valour, in the which there were many slaine of either part. *Origba* was abandoned by the commandement of *D. John*, who sent the Captaine of that place with his men to *Morrill*.

In the Dukes armie, there were many Noble men of name, as *Pagan Doris*, brother to *John Andrew*, *D. Gabriel*, and *Lewis de Cordona*, *D. Lewis de Cardone*, and others, which armie was appointed to clesse the *Alpuxarra*. In the other part whereas the marquesse of *Velez* made warre, *D. John* would command in person, hauing *Malch* and *Xoabi* to make head against him. In these Christian armie there were certaine courageous Monkes marching in the head of the troupes, who held a Crucifex in one hand and a naked sword in the other.

Galere taken  
by the Moors.

Moors defeated.

The Moores attempted *Galere*, a strong place of situation, belonging to *Enrique*, a league from *Guejar*, and tooke it. They went to besiege *Oria*, but they of *Locca* their neighbours (who were alwaies good souldiers) came thither, three foure hundred Moores, raised the sege, and carried away five Ensignes. *Malch* march with the bodie of his armie by the riuer of *Almanfora*, *D. John* led his by that of *Xenit*: this Riuer runnes by *Puillor*, and enters into an other called *Aguasblancas*, which together passing by the village of *Cene*, runne towards *Granado*; and betwixt these two riuers is the Mountaine of *Guejar*, one of the descents of *Sierra Neuada*, in the which there kept about foure thousand Moores vnder the Captaines *Xoabi*, *Chocancillo*, *Macoxi*, and *Maxinar*, who ranne euen to the gates of *Granado*: *D. John* made them dislodge and retire farther into the mountaines of *Sierra Neuada*.

Farrax Aben  
Farrax, his mi-  
serable estate.

*Farrax Aben Farrax* was among the Moores that were at *Guejar*, in poore and miserable estate, of whose aduentures it is fit to make some little mention. Being in disgrace with king *Aben Humais*, and put from all affaires, his miserie had brought him to that despair, as hee was ready to yeeld himselfe to the Marquesse of *Mondejar*, who without doubt had put him to an exemplarie death: being in suspence, and hauing changed his minde, hee thoughte it better to yeeld himselfe vnto the Inquisition, thinking that making his accustomed submissions, he should haue his life saved at the least. There was a Moore

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*Moore* with him which had bene his companion in the art of dying; to whom hauing imparted this his designe, exhorting him to doe the like (for hee was no lesse culpable than he) he liked well of it, and was content to go before to treat with them of the Inquisition for them both. *Farrax* hauing instructed him, being to depart that night, and therefore they were retired into a valley couered with wood to keepe their businesse more secret, after that he had discoursed long, & reiterated his instructions to this Moor, he fel a sleep in the wood, the other seeing him fast, thought that he should make his peace better if hee slue him, and being resolu'd, hee tooke a great stone wherewith he gaue him so many blowes vpon the head, face, and bodie, as hee left him for dead, and then he went as it is to bee coniectured to *Granado*.

*Farrax* being thus pittifully handled, remained two daies neither dead nor aliue in that Vallie, whereas two Moores passing by, found him, whilest hee yet breathed, and not knowing what hee was, but onely finding that hee was a Moore, they laied him for pittie sake vpon one of their horses, and carried him to *Guejar*, where hee was lookt vnto and cured; but hee remained so disfigured as his visage had force any shape of a mans, and in this estate hee followed the troupes, liuing of almes, being known of few men. This was the reward of the chiefe authour of the Moores rebellion.

Returning to *Aben Aboo*: he had a intent to gather the Oliues vpon the riuer of *Boldui*, hauing sent a number of Moorish women thither, with a gard of eight hundred fouldiers; but they were no good gardians, for being charged by the Marquesse of *Velez*, they fled with the losse of two hundred of their men, slain vpon the place, and all their women were taken. *Guejar* was also relieued by the Marquesse, who slue about fiftie hundred of the Moors. Winter brought many difcommodities both to the one and the other, yet the Marquesse of *Velez* held *Galeres* alwaies inuested; but seeing in the Spring that *D. John* would come and besiege it himselfe, he retired: for he was so ambitious as he would haue the honor of euerie thing that was done where he was. The body of *D. Johns* armie which was intred against the fort of *Galere*, was made at *Guejar*, *D. John* being at *Bafa*, which is 7 leagues off, where he prouided for all things necessarie. *Galere* was but a borough without any wall, but seated among rocks which couered it, being enuioured with

Defeat of  
Moors.

deep precipices, the which the Moors by traucerses and barracades had made in a maner impenetrable, and in these deep bottomes the riuer ran, whereas they of the Borough were forced to fetch their water; and to the end they might goe thither without danger, the Moores had made a way like a wall, and by this meanes they did water safely. There were three thousand Moores and Turkes to defend this fort. The church without the borough had a high Tower, which serued them both for a watch and a Citadell. *D. John* brought his armie thither, and hauing made there batteries, he presently took this church by one of them. But when he came to the Borough, there was great difficultie to batter it, by reason of the rocks which did couer it. It was so well defended, as the Spaniards were many times out of hope to take it: but obstinacy staid them, and made them to continue their

Galere besieged and taken.

assaults furiously, so as in the end they took it by force, being fauoured by three mines, which plaid happily to the great losse of the besieged, who abandoned the place, & sought to escape by the rocks and precipices; there were 2400 Moores and Turkes slaine, and a great booty taken of gold, siluer, and other mouables, with great store of come. There were many women Moores found there, but for that the Souldiers lingered after them, *D. John* caused them all to be slaine in his presence. There were 4500 Christian women and Children set at libertie, as well those of the Borough, as others which they had brought from *Oria*, *Castileije* & other places thereabouts: This victorie was dearly bought, for *D. John* of Austria lost many men, but the number is not specified; but of captaines and men of mark, there were slaine at sundry assaults, *Martin de Lorite*, *John de Magueda*, *Baltazar de Aranda*, *Alfonso Beltran*; *Charles* and *Frederike* of *Antillon*, *D. John d' Castillo*, *D. Anthony d' Gouzman*, *Abarca* and others. Of wounded were *Pedro d' Padilla*, *Pagan Doris*, the Marquesse of *Fauara*, *D. Lewis Henriquez*, *D. Lewis d' Auila*, *D. Pedro de Sotomator*, *D. Diego Vazquez de Atugna*, *Bernardin* of *Quixada*, with many Lieutenants and Ensignes. This place being wonne, *D. John* sent to view *Seron*, but hee lost about five hundred men. *D. Lope de Figueroa* master of the Campe, was charged in another

Women Moors  
massacred.Spaniards of  
accomplishing  
at Galere by  
the Moors.

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place by fixe thousand Moores, led by *Habaqui* and *Malech*, who got armes to arme aboute G a thousand men. *Lewis de Quixada* was wounded there, whereof hee dyed soone after: *D. John* had a shot on his Caske: but it was of good prooffe.

1570

The duke of Sesse's armie entered the Alpuxarres, in March one thousand five hundred and seuentie, by *Padal*, to goe vnto Orgiba. The Moores chiefe strength was at Andarax with their king *Aben Aboo*, who had set good gards at Lanjaron, and in the West quarter were *Rendal* and *Macox*, two Captaines, with foure thousand Moors. The duke had diuers skirmishes about Lanjaron, which the Moores held, but in the end they abandoned it. After which hee led his army to Albacete of Orgiba. In these encounters there was a Turkish Harquebuse taken, the Canon whereof was ten spannes long, carrying a bullet which H weighed an ounce and an halfe.

The Moores which were in the Castle of Velez of Benandalla seeing themselves inuested by the Dukes armie, they corrupted some Souldiers of his campe, who suffered them to escape with their women and what else they could carrie away. But being in a place of safetie, they returned vnto the passages betwixt Velez and the campe, where they spoiled and slue many passengers, and so recompensed themselves largely of their losses. The fort of Lontegi was also taken from them, but some troups going from *Aben Aboos* campe, charged a conuoy which came to the dukes campe, and carried away many beasts with their burthens, and had made spoile of all, if they had not been relieved in time.

Conuoy defeated by the Moores.

The two armies coasted one another for a time amidst these mountaines, skirmishing vnto Campuxan, the Moores bending towards *Sabiles*, and the duke to Portillo and *Vixiar*. The duke had in his Campe about eight thousand men, *Aben Aboo* had twelue thousand. The duke to discharge his armie of many vnprofitable mouths, as souldiers that were hurt, whome hee sent to Guadix to be cured, with some women and children, whome hee had rescued from the Moores, and a good number of Moores prisoners, sent away the Marquesse of Faura, with a thousand foot, and one hundred horse to gard them, and to bring backe certaine horses, and mules laden with victuals to the campe: but the Marquesse fell into an ambush which K *Pisani* and *Martel de Zenete* Captaines among the Moores had laied for him, where hee lost all his baggage, and eight hundred of his souldiers, the which fell out vnappily, for the dukes armie was in some extremitie for want of victuals, and therefore sought to passe to Adra, being alwaies coasted by the Moores, who began to growe souldiers vnder this new king. *D. John* of Austria had better successe: for he fought with *Habaqui*, who was come with seuen thousand Moores to raise him from Seron, and defeated him. At that time *Ierome Malech* one of their best captaines died of sickness. Throgh the fauor of this victorie *D. John* took Seron and Tyole; he chased the Moores from Porchena, and then marcht towards Andarax, to seeke out the Moors king with their armie: beuixt these two armies there were many skirmishes with diuers euent.

Christians defeated by the Moores.

Moores defeated by D. John.

In the meane time king *Philip* came vnto Cordoua, being very desirous to haue this warre ended in one sort or other: for hee was aduertised that the Turke had great designs vpon Italie, and for this cause had broken the peace with the Venetians, the king being solicited by them and other Potentates in Italie, and by continuall letters from the Pope to ioyne in league with them. Wherefore being forced to send his gallies, hee must of necessity send his Brother *D. John*, whome hee was desirous to advance. The Moores who were also aduertised of these things, and therefore out of hope to be relieved by the Turke, who had other enterprises in his braine, desired, no lesse than the king, to enter into some treatie of peace. The Gallies and Foistes of Barbarie came no more to succour them: three galeots which had discharged, come armes, & Arabian books, Alcarons and other, in the road of Dalias, had bin discovered and taken by the inhabitants of the countrie: seuen other galeots or foists being come to the same coast with souldiers, which *Hafsa* a Turke brought out of Barbarie, they returned vpon a false brute of peace, which had bene spread abroad, both the Moores and the Christians being desirous of rest. Besides, enuy, disloyalty, and other vices reigning among the Moors caused a diuision among the some of the captains hauing bin sent into Afrike,

A Afrike, said there, and would no more returne; many of the common people did the like king *Aben Aboo*, and others which held good, were solicited and tempted by promises, that they should receiue all: fauour and good vltage from King *Philip*, and they were well pleased also to keepe their pillage, so as they yielded to enter into treatie, but there was no cessation of armes. *Habaqui* and some other knights of the Moores were at Fond of Andarax, where hauing conferred with king *Philip's* deputies they made an accord vpon these articles.

That *Habaqui* in the name of *Diego Lopez Aben Aboo*, and others of whome hee had power, should kneele to *D. John's* feet, and demand pardon of king *Philip*. That they should yeeld vp their armes and Engines. That they should be receiued into grace, and all that was past forgotten. That they should not be wronged by word nor deede, nor molested by the Institution: That they that were reduced should bee sent withall securitie, with their goods, wives and children, to such places as should be assigned them to lue in, for they must leaue the Alpuxarres. According vnto this accord a submission was made by *Habaqui* to *D. John* at *Padules*, and the Ensignes being deliuered *D. Alfonso de Obando Princes* went to *Aben Aboo*, to giue him better assurance, passing by *Alcolea* where hee found *Xabibi*: they went together to *Cadiaz*, where hee was well entertained by *Aben Aboo* and *Habaqui*, and hauing had much conference vpon the assistance which *D. Alfonso* had charge to promise them, such as they C should demand, they proceeded so farre in their accord, as most of the Turkes that were in the army were dismist, and sent home well satisfied.

Treaty of peace with the Moores.

But after *D. Alfonso's* departure, many of these Moores considering better of the importance of this reduction, began to distrust, passing into Barbarie and returned not, and for that they had left *Aben Aboos* in mind to retract, they did sollicite the Turkes and Moores of Afrike, nor to forbear to succour them of Spaine, whereunto they found many Lords among the Moores very willing, So as in a short time there came many vessels to that Coast, bringing souldiers, armes and munition from Barbarie. The which confirmed *Aben Aboos*, and others in the resolution they had neuer to put themselves into the hands of the king of Spaine, nor of his Lieutenants, D beginning to hate and enue the Turke that had dealt in this treatie, and especially *Hernand Habaqui*.

Moores after the second revolt.

This confusion among the heads did so amaze the common people of the Moores, as they came in great troups to yeeld themselves to the kings mercie, and to his Gouernours and Captaines, who had commandement to receiue them, and not to suffer any outrage to bee done vnto them. Others that could escape did more willingly passe the Sea, for they did not submit themselves but through hunger, and by an opinion they had conceived that they could not prosper vnder their heads, nor bee freed from their miseries by them, seeing they were continually in discord. The armies were still on foot during these Ambiguities, yet somewhat neglected and weak, for they still expected when they should bee dismist.

The Duke of Sesse brought his armie before the Castle of Fer, which was a store-house of Turkes to succour them, and took it: *D. Sancho de Leua* did also take certaine foists. The Captaines of places ranne wheresoeuer they heard there were any Moores in armes, which made many to hasten their reduction. Many souldiers being disbanded did not forbear the Moores that had submitted, but did spoile them and make their wives and children captiues, to keepe them, or sell them, for slaves; to prevent the which, they used all diligence to draw them from their ancient habitations to lue farther off in places assigned them according to the accord; and certaine diuisions which had bene made. The more to incite the Moores to submit themselves, the President *D. Pedro de Deza* wrote a letter of exhortation to the nation of the Moores, in the Arabian tongue, as if it had bene some Morabite or Hermite of the law of *Mahomet*, who perswaded them toarken to a peace, and to free themselves of so many miseries, causing many copies thereof to be made; the which being disperfed among that nation, did hasten the reduction of many. *Habaqui* seeing that *Aben Aboo* wet back, & that the party was much diminished, being diuided among themselves, went to *D. John*, & told him with great assurance that if he would giue him

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## The generall Historie of Spaine.

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five hundred shot, hee would bring *Aben Aboo* bound vnto him: *D. John* would not *G* give him any men, but hee caried eight hundred Crowmes to bee deliuered him, to leaue them where hee should thinke good, and to performe what hee had promised.

*Habagui* being resolute to imploy himselfe for the performance of the accord, came to Vercheul where his wife and children were, to haue them prepare themselves, for hee meant to take them from thence, and to carrie them to Guadix: passing by lessen, hee saw certaine Moores walking idly vpon the place, of whome hee demanded proudly why they staid to goe vnto those places which were assigned them, by the treatie of peace. To whome they answered, that they attended the commandement of *Aben Aboo*. And I tell you (replied hee) that if *Aben Aboo* be so tedious and vnwilling, I will lead him to *D. John* of Austria bound at my horse taile. These words were told to *Aben Aboo*, by some one of these Moores, whereat being much incensed, hee sent one hundred and fiftie Turkes, which hee had referred for his gard, and two companies of Moores, in whome hee trusted, to goe and take him at Vercheul. *Habagui* hearing a noyse in the night, got out of his lodging, and beganne to flee away, who without doubt had escaped, had not his white Turban discouered him a farr off, which was the cause that they pursued and rooke him.

Being brought before *Aben Aboo*, hee reproacht him with his presumption and proud threats against him that was his king, telling him that hee knew well hee was a Traitor, and that hee fought to make his peace apart with the Christians and bring all the rest of Moores to the slaughter, or slaue: whereupon hee caused him to bee presently led into a secret place, and there to bee strangled by his household Seruants, and then hee caused his bodie to bee bound vp in a fagot of reedes and to bee cast into a precipice, where it remained many daies, and no man knew what became of him.

Being rid of this man, hee sent into all places where the Moores were not reduced, to aduertise them that they should not submit, putting them in hope by counterfeited newes of succours by the Turkish armie, and other such meanes, yet hee did not leaue to write to *D. Alonso* of Granado, and to *D. Fernand* of Barrades, the Mediators, that hee continued still in the same minde; but the effects shewed the contrarie, for a brother of his called *Galipe* hauing bene defeated, as hee went towards Ronde and Bentomis with two hundred Souldiers to maintaine the Moores of that quarter in rebellion, they vnderstood all his practises, how hee did sollicite the Turkes and Moores of Affrike: That hee made an accompt to haue twelue thousand men; that hee made prouision of come; that hee had put eight hundred men into Pîtres, and that hee fortified himselfe and prepared for warre. Finally to see them from all doubt, being prest by letters from *Hernand de Berredes*, and by mouth by *Hernand Valles de Palacios*, who was sent expressly vnto him, to make declaration if hee would ratifie the Capitulations; hee answered plainly, and after a proud and disdainfull manner, that they were deceived who thought hee would put himselfe into the power of king *Philip*, or trust to his promises: for the Moores of those times had sufficient proofes, besides those which their predecessours had left, in what manner the kings of Castille were accustomed to keepe their faith. This being reported, the king commanded they should continue the warre with all violence, and not pardon any Moore that was armed, but persueue them that were quiet. The duke of Arcos had the charge to presse them of Ronde and of Sierra Vermeille. The great Commander was to enter againe into the Alpuxarres, whereas many defended themselves. But in the end the Moores finding that their head was destitute of means and Counsell, most of them submitted themselves, and *Aben Aboo* found himselfe so abandoned, as he had no care but how to saue himselfe in Barbary being resolute neuer to trieking *Philips* clemency, flying from caue to caue, & from rock to rock betwix Vercheul & Treuelles, which are the roughest parts of those mountaines, hauing scarce 400 men which followed him: being notwithstanding like a troublesome thorn, whereof the king desired much to be free. Where as it pleaseth god to take away all difficulties, wherewith men are troubled

Soldiers of a Moore.

Habagui strangled.

Warre vnto the Moores.

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## The generall Historie of Spaine.

A troubled, he suddenly raiseth occasions, and can giue vnexpected ends to great affaires, many times by meane instruments. There was a Goldsmith at Granado, called *Barrero*, a pleasant man, and well knowne to the Moores and Christians dwelling in the Alpuxarres, where, before the warre, hee was wont to goe and sell rings of gold and silver, and other toys of his trade, and tooke in exchange from them silke, pearles, and other things. *Barrero* returning to his wonted traffique, vpon the reduction of some burroughes in those mountaines, hee came to Cadiaz and to Vercheul, at such time as the capitaine of the garison, called *Galas Rotulo de Villa-Real*, hauing taken certaine Moores, theues of *Aben Aboo*'s traine, was readie to haue them shot: One of them knowing *Barrero*, came and saluted him, and reported his misfortune vnto him, intreating him to bee a meane for his deliuerie. The Goldsmith knew this Moore, and demanded newes of *Aben Aboo*, who were about him, and his chiefe counsellors: The prisoner told him what he knew, and that his most familiar friends were a Secretarie of his, called *Bernardin Aben Amer*, and a capitaine whom they called *Seniz* of Vercheul, but he gaue most credit to *Aben Amer*. *Barrero*, who in former time had bene verie familiar with *Aben Amer*, thought it fit to write vnto him touching the reduction of his master, asking the Moore if hee could find meane to carrie a letter and not be discovered, and hee would cause him to bee set at libertie. The Moore did promise and sweare it: Wherefore *Barrero* hauing acquainted capitaine *Rotulo* with his enterprize, hee intreated him to keepe this prisoner vntill his returne from Granado, whither hee would goe and aske leaue to confesse with the Secretarie of *Aben Aboo*, whom hee had knowne long, hoping to draw him to persuaade his master to yeeld. The great Commander gaue him leaue to write and confesse, and being returned to Vercheul, hee dispatcht this Moore with a persuauiue letter to *Aben Amer*. This messenger could not so passe the rockes and caues of Vercheul, but hee fell into the hands of *Seniz* men, who led him to their master. Being examined whence he came, and whither he went, hee answered, That he had escaped the hands of the capitaine of the garison of Vercheul and Cadiaz, who held him prisoner. *Seniz* not beleueing him, threatened to racke him: wherewith being terrified, hee sayd, That in truth hee was a prisoner, and that D to saue his life hee had taken vpon him to carrie a letter to *Bernardin Aben Amer*, but hee knew not what it contained, and so hee gaue it him. *Seniz* hauing read it, was verie well pleased, saying vnto the Moore, That it was happie for him hee had fallen into his hands; for if hee had gone to *Aben Amer*, hee would haue hanged him as soone as he had giuen him this letter: That hee meant to send him backe to him that had written it, willing him to bee faithfull, for hee should bee well rewarded. This poore Moore being glad, promised to doe any thing that hee should command him.

*Seniz* and *Francis Barrero* met at a certaine place appointed, and concluded betwixt them, That *Barrero* should returne to Granado, and bring a generall pardon in good forme, to all those that had bene in armes since the treatie made with *Habagui*, in the which *Aben Aboo* should bee expressly named. These letters were dispatcht with all fauour, wherein nothing was omitted. *Barrero* hauing brought them, and deliuered them to *Seniz*, it happened that *Aben Aboo* was aduertised of this conference, where-with hee was much discontented, and came in the night with a small traine to the caue where *Seniz* retired himselfe, leauing his people a little way off, in a passage vnder the rocke, keeping two Moores onely with him, whom hee made to stay at the entrie of that naturall caue, which was in the top of the mountaine of Huzun, a boue Vercheul and Mecine of Bombaron. Hee demanded verie disdainfully of *Seniz*, Who had giuen him leaue to treat with the enemy? You, answered *Seniz*, and it is in consequence of former conferences, the which, I tell you, wee must continue and end; and therefore let vs not loose the opportunitie to recouer king *Philips* fauour, and let vs not through bad counsell seeke our owne ruines: putting instantly into his hand these letters of pardon, the which *Aben Aboo* reiected, crying out, That it was nothing but villanie and treason, offering to goe forth to call his men. One of them which hee had left at the entrie of the caue would haue come in, but he was put

Travellers of a Goldsmith in and the warre with the Moore.

1570

Aben Aboo  
king of the  
Moors slain.

put backe; and throwne downe a Precipice, the other fled; and hee himselfe was stayed to reason with him; but he was in such a rage, as hee would not heare any thing: so as *Senie*, seeing his obstinacie, refused to kill him; and lifting up a long harquebuse which hee had in his hand, hee gaue him such a blow on the head, as he overthrew him, and then he and his men flabd him with their daggers. They which attended him, being aduertised by the Moore which had fled, That they had slaine his companion; and that he thought they had done as much vnto the king, retired. This done, *Senie* sent to aduertise *Francis Barrero* thereof, and that hee should send a moyle to carrie the kings bodie to *Vercheul*; the which was done, and *Senie* invited to come with all affurance to the garrison, where hee was entertained; and much made of by *Leonard Rosala*, brother to capitaine *Galas*, then absent; and then he and *Barrero* went vnto the citie, whither they caused the bodie to be carried, where they had a joyfull entrie made them.

Troubles of the  
Moors specified.

The head of *Aben Aboo* was put in a cage of yron, and set ouer the citie gate which lookes towards the *Alpuxarres*: The bodie being quartered, was hung vpon the high wayes. After which there was not any Moore found to make head; all layed aside armes, and submitted themselues to the kings mercie, according to the generall pardon which was granted to *Francis Barrero*. But they were all drawne out of the mountains, and the townes of *Granado*, and thereabout, and sent into plaine countries, and more accessible, to inhabit; as the Emperour *Trism* did with the auncient Spaniards, who were accustomed to rebell often; vpon the assurance of their townes and castles buile vpon the edge of the mountains, the which he caused to be rased, and commanded by an Edict, that they should not build any more but in the plaines.

Thus ended the warre of the Moores of *Granado*, in November 1570; hauing continued neere two yeares, verie dangerous and difficult; being rashly caused by the ill vñage of them that they call old Christians in Spaine, by the importune pursuits of the Clergie and Inquisition, and by the bad administration of iustice; and infolencie of the ministers there of; and no lesse inconsiderately entertained by the impietie of the Moores, and augmented by their obstinacie and ignorance, which suggested wicked and monstrous conceptions. The charge and losse was great, for there was about five millions of crownes of the kings treasure spent in this warre. The interest of priuate men, and the spoyle and vñpeopling of the countrie, was inestimable, in the which about thirtie thousand Christians lost their liues. As for the Moores that were slaine of all ages and sexes, the number cannot be said; for a great realme might haue bene peopled therewith. If they had bene intreated with more mildnesse and humanitie, without doubt they might easily haue kept them in obedience, and by little and little might haue made them leaue that which was vnpleasing or scandalous in their manner of liuing; and as for religion, they should bee instructed with more care and charitie, causing that injurious conceipt which is ordinarie in Spaine and other places, of them that are newly come to the knowledge of Iesus Christ, to cease, being vnpleasing vnto God.

9  
Marriage of king  
Philip with his  
niece.

King *Philip* being somewhat freed from cares by the end of this warre with the Moores of *Granado*, hee would haue his marriage consummated with *Anne* of Austria, his neece, daughter to his sister and to the Emperour *Maximilian*, for the which he obtained a dispensation from the Pope, according to the vñe of that holy Church. She past through the Low Countries, and was received by the duke of *Alba* at *Nymegen* with great honour, who conducted her to *Brussels*, and so to *Flessingue*, where she embarked in October, and within eight dayes arrived happily in *Biscaye*, being accompanied by the Archdukes *Albert* and *Wenceslaw*, her brethren, being verie young. Shee was receiued there by the cardinal of *Seuille*, whom the king had sent thither to doe that office. The king entertained her at *Segouia*, with that state that was befitting the greatnesse; then passing on to *Madrid*, whereas the widow Queene of *Portugall* met them, they were married with great solemnitie.

The king of Spaine (as wee haue said) was solicited to enter into league with the Pope

1570

Lib. 29.

A Pope, and the Venetians, against whom *Selym* the great Turke, picking a quarrell, had declared warre. And for that the danger of this warre required aid, the Pope sent a Nuntio into Spaine, which was *Lewis Torres*, clerke of the chamber, with speciall order from him to draw the king into this league, but about all, to craue the assistance of his gallies for that present yeare, that being ioyned with them of Venice, they might goe and make head against that mightie fleet which the Turke had sent to sea. The king knowing how much it did import himselfe and the whole state of Christendome, being moued with many speciall considerations, hee graunted his gallies, which were then readie in *Italie*. Wherefore he sent a speciall commission to *John Andrew Doria*, That according to the Popes pleasure he should go, as head of those gallies, to *Messina*; but he gaue him no direction, that hee should goe from thence to *Corfu*, to ioine with the Venetian armie, and with the Popes gallies, which were commaunded by *Mars Anthony Colonna*, and that hee should leaue the commaund of all vnto *Colonna*, being lent by the king vnto his Holinesse: the which being not well specified, was a great prejudice to the armie that yeare. But the businesse of the league being treated of in the Kings Councell, with great deliberation, was not so easily concluded, notwithstanding that *Torres*, and *Leonardo Donata*, a Senator of great worth, sent from the State of Venice into Spaine, did sollicite it verie earnestly; but the importance of the businesse, the ordinarie disagreement which is found in all Councils consisting of men of diuers complexions, and the naturall slownesse of that nation, made those embassadours to spend many monethes in vaine, and did somewhat coole the ardent desire the king had to satisfie the Pope and that Commonweale, as hee did afterwards shew by the effects.

But to come to the cause of this warre. The Turke had sent a Chaus to the Venetians, that they should, without delay, deliuer vnto him the island of Cyprus, which did belong vnto him, as hauing succeeded to the rights of the Emperours of Constantinople, the kings of Ierusalem, and of the auncient kings of Syria and Egypt, the which (said hee) they had gotten away. The which hauing refused, hee denounced war against them, wherein they had great difficulties, being surprised, for that it was before the succours came which they had begged from the king of Spaine, the Pope, and other princes, who performed not their promises but verie late, after the losse of *Nicosia*, and all they had in that island; euerie one selling the succours which hee had promised in balancing the interest they had to oppose against the Turke, and seeking to contribute with some aduantage for his owne particular. But the next yeare there was a league made, as you shall heare, by the which *D. John* of Austria, the kings brother, was chosen to be Generall of the confederate armie against the Turke.

The enterprife which the Turke made vpon Cyprus, and the battell at sea, which happened vpon this occasion, is memorable, and merits a particular relation in this historie of Spaine, for that the power and meanes of king *Philip* did much auaile, and *D. John* of Austria, his brother, had the honour to be Generall of the armie at sea, and won a famous victorie.

The island of Cyprus was in truth a remainder of the Empire of Constantinople, and of the realme of Ierusalem, erected by the French in their holy warres, and came by the gift of *Richard* king of England, who had conquered it from the Emperours of Constantinople, or rather by purchase or exchange, to the famous house of *Lusignan* in France, who enioyed it some generations. Among the kings of this familie, there was one *Peter* the first of that name, who was valiant, and went into diuers parts of the world; but for some tyrannies, and by the conspiracie of his vnchast wife, who was of the house of Aragon, he was slaine by his subiects: to whom *Peter* the second succeeded; in whose time there grew great contention, with notable murders, betwixt the Consuls of the Venetian and Genouois, nations trafficking in Cyprus; and the Consul of the Genouois was by his commandement cast out of the windowes of his palace, in fauour of the Venetian: wherefore the Genouois being then strong at sea, sent a great armie to Cyprus, sackt the island, and seised vpon *Famagosta*: falling to an accord, the Genouois carried *James* the kings vnkle with his wife, away in hostage. *Peter* being dead, *James* was deliuered, and raigned in Cyprus, and vpon some rights, caused himselfe to be crowned, and called

King of Sicilie  
sends his  
to assist the  
Venetians.Warre denou-  
ced by the Tur-  
against the Ven-  
etians.Cyprus an island  
and a realme.





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of the victorie gotten at Nicols, and the honour of the great Turke with his new victorie at sea; but they were soone after aduertised by two freygates, that the Christian armie being come to Castellazo, and hearing of the successe of Nicols, were returned to Candie. Whereupon their fleet also returned, to give better order for their affaires, both for the wintering of their men at land; and for the security of the fleet in Constantinople, *Prady* blessing to enter triumphantly into that cite with their styles gotten in Cyprus, where he arrived the sixteenth day of December.

King of Tunis expelled by the Moors.

In this time, the king of Alger had fallen into warre with the king of Tunis, who (as we have said) was feudatary to the king of Spaine; and being come to fight, *Prady* was victor, and the other dying away, with great difficultie, recovered Goulette, with his wife and sonnes; and the enemies being favoured by this occasion, and by the asconstancie of the Moors, made himselfe lord, without any toyle, of the cite of Tunis, and of Bizcaia, the which did afterwards draw the king of Spaine into a new warre, to restore him to his realme, flying to his Maistie for aid, as his father had done to the *Royperour Charles* the first.

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League concluded between the Pope, the king of Spaine, and the Venetians.

The king of Spaine desired to satisfy the Popes desire, and to avoyd tediousnesse in the conclusion of the league, had referred the treatie thereof to Rome, giving the charge in his name to *Antonie Perrenot*, cardinall *Granvelle*; and to *Francis* of Toledo, cardinall *Pacheco*, joyning with them *Johnde Zamiga* his embassadour at Rome. In the end, after many difficulties, the league was concluded the twentieth day of May, in these articles: That the king of Spaine should furnish an hundred galleies, the Venetians should arme as many, and the Pope (under whom marche the other princes and potentates of Italie) should enter for their part. That they should entertaine fiftie thousand foot, and foure thousand and five hundred horse; and with this power they should goe and assaile the Turke in his owne country, but especially in the island of Cyprus. That towards the charge of this armie and the equipage, the king of Spaine should contribute a moitie, the Venetians a third part, and the Pope a first; and if the Pope should not be able to furnish it, whatsoever should be wanting the king should beare three fift parts, and the commonweale of Venice two: and that *D. Iohn d'Autria* should be General of the whole armie.

Cardinall Alexander sent Legat into Spaine.

After the conclusion hereof the Pope sent cardinall *Alexandrino* his Legat, into Spaine, to treat with the king as well touching the execution of the league, and some other private businesse, as to goe into Portugal, to procure aid from that king. The king of Spaine received him with great honour, and treated with him touching the execution of the league, seeming to be resolved to bend all his forces against the Turke: and therefore he commaunded *D. Iohn* to stay in Italie, after that yeares auagation, to be more readie with the armie in the Spring, and that his ministers at Rome should resolve in every occasion concerning the league, as they should thinke best, without expecting any new order from Spaine. From thence he past into Portugal, to treat in like manner with the king *D. Sebastian* concerning the league. This young prince was bred up in generous thoughts to purchase much glorie by making warre against infidels, and therein to exceed his predecessors, having in himselfe a naturall disposition to warre, an able bodie, and practised in those painfull exercises which belong unto warre, having bene alwaies laid before him, by the Iesuites which instructed him, That all his enterprises should be for the sole benefit of Christendome, they had made his mind as religious as his owne nature, and the exhortations of his noblemen had made him warlike; so as hee did not thinke or reason of any thing but of warre. And for that the example of his predecessors did represent unto him in his deepe the honourable victories and glorious conquests they had made in Africke and the East Indies, herein like manner directed all his thoughts to that end.

Disposition of Sebastian king of Portugal.

The Legat *Alexandrino* finding him in this disposition, did easily draw him to enter into this league against the Turke: who not onely promised to send his galleies well appointed, to the Christians armie, but he would also annoy *Salem* with another great naue at Suez, and other places held by the Turkes in the red sea; and in the gulph of Persia: and more.

Moreover, the Pope desiring to breake the marriage betwixt *Marguerite* of Valois, and the king of Nauarre, he gave commission unto the Cardinall to moue this marriage vnto the king of Portugal, the which would haue bene somewhat difficult, if the king had not bene much deuoted to the Pope, who at his intreacie layed aside a strange resolution; which was, that he would not heare speake of a wife, because he would not be held effeminate, to the great griefe of his grandmother, his vncke, and the wife of his Nobilitie, who desired to see some issue of him, and the succession of the realme assured. In the end he was content to take this French ladie, neither desired he any other dowrie, but a generous resolution in king *Charles* to enter in the league. Matters beeing thus settled in Spaine, the Cardinall, according to his commission, past thorough France, for the league and marriage, but he found no meanes to effect either: whereupon he returned into Italy.

King of Portugal content to take Marguerite of Valois to wife.

Don *Iohn* of Austria being much pleased with this honorable charge, came from Spaine to Genoua, where he stayed not long, but arrived on the ninth of August at Naples, bringing with him from the Court, the great Commander of Castile, with the title of his Lieutenant, and chiefe Counsellor, *Fernando Cariglia*, Earle of Pliego, his chiefe Steward, *D. Francisco d'Ibarra*, *D. Pedro Velasco*, *D. Michell Moncada*, *Gil d'Andrada*, *Carlo Spinelli*, who had followed him as an adventurer against the Moors, with many others. With these there ioyned the Dukes of Parma and Vrbino, Don *Antonio Carrafa*, duke of Mondragon, the Marquis of Carrara, *D. Pompee* of Lanoy, *Vincenzio Carrafa*, Prior of Hongary, the Earle of Sarno, the Marquis of Auila, *Paul Iourdain Vrsin*, the Earle of S. Fleur, *Afciano de la Corne*, and *Paul Sforza*, Beeing in Naples, Cardinall *Grannell*, the Viceroy, who in that action had the authoritie of Legat, deliuered vnto *D. Iohn* the Standard, as General of the Church, the which the Pope had blest, who solicited his departure towards Messina by many embassages, where the whole fleet should ioyne, and whether *Marc Antonio Colonna* was gone long before with twelue galleies, of Florence, armed by the Pope, and three of the Order of S. *Iohn*.

Noblemen with Don Iohn in the army.

But to returne to the siege of Famagosta, *Mustapha* sought by all meanes possible to get the counterscarpe, the which was valiantly defended by *Marc Antonio Bragadino*, and *Alfonso Baglioni*, the one having charge of the gouernement, the other of the garrison, but in the end the Turkes wonne it. About the midst of May, they planted five batteries, and had made ten forts. They had in the beginning aduertised the Seigneurie of Venice in what state they stood, who sent them a supply of seauenteene hundred men, with victuals and munition by *Marc Antonio Quirini*, who past valiantly through the Turkes gards, and returned: these succors were commanded by *Lewis Martinengo*. The Turkes continued their batteries with great obstinacie, and had giuen foure assaults, where the besegged repulst them valiantly, but with great losse of either side: the besegged having held out till the 20 of Iuly, beeing now prest with great hunger and want, the number of their souldiers beeing diminished to eight hundred, and those much tyred; most of the Grecians beeing dead, either with fighting, or with the continuall toyle. Beeing terrified with so great miseries, and out of hope of any more succors, some of the chiefe of the citie besought *Bragadino*, that he would incline to some accord, seeing he had made so good proofe of their faith and constancie in that seeger: No man would euer hold them unworthie of commendation, if (after they had endured so many assaults, and suffered so much penurie, with want of munition, after the losse of so many souldiers and citizens, and finally, beeing without all hope of succors, they had provided at the least, for the liues of their children which remayned, and for the honour of poore miserable women: that he would not in recompence of their deuotion, which they had alwaies shewed to the common-weale of Venice, be the cause of the totall ruine of their citie, and suffer their wifes and children, who had spent so much blood, and offered their bodies to death for their seruice, to become a shamefull prey to their Turkish lust, there remaining no hope of health, but by the meanes of some accord: That it was a thing wortheie of a wife Nobleman (as he was) to chooe the least of evils: And last of all to remember, that it was held a brutish crueltie, and no valour, to runne headlong to a certaine death, where there is no hope of life.

Speech to Bragadino at Famagosta.

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Famagosta yel-  
ded to the  
Turks.

*Brigadino* knew that their request was just, and that their extremities were great: yet forcing his owne nature, and desiring to preserve the realme, which depended wholly vpon the losse of that place, he did not thinke it possible that the Senat would neglect so weightie a businesse, and not send the succours which had bene promised. Wherefore hee would not yeeld to their demand, but fed them with good words, putting them in hope of present succours, dispatching a fregat presently into Candie, to aduertise the Seigniorie of their extremities.

In the end of Iulie the Turks gaue an assault which continued five houres: but the besieged seeing there was no meanes to endure another, hauing but seuen barrels of powder left, they began to treat of an accord, and hauing made a truce the first of August, the next day they gaue hostages of either side. The conditions were:

That the citie should be yeilded to the Turks, the persons, armes, and goods of souldiers and citizens being safe, who might remaine there, and liue in the laws of Christi, and not be wronged in their honours nor substance.

That such as would depart might haue free passage into Candie, and three yeares respite, and that the souldiers should be garded by the Turkish gallies, that no outrage should be done them, and that they might carrie with them five peeces of ordnance, and three of their best horses.

That they should not make any Mosques of their churches, nor charge the citizens with any carriages or tenthes.

*Muslafa* signed these conditions, and the souldiers began to imbarke in the gallies and other vessels which the Turks had sent into the port, and on the fifth day at night *Brigadino* hauing sent the keys to *Muslafa* by cont *Neslor Martinengo*, he went himselfe in person with *Astor Baglioni*, *Iohn Antonio Quirini*, *Andrew Brigadino*, cont *Lewis Martinengo*, with other Commandours of great worth. *Muslafa* receiued them, in shew, with great honour, and causing them to sit downe, hee discoursed with them of diuers things, at last he said, That the Christians which had imbarked to goe from Famagosta, the night before they meant to passe into Candie, and to other places belonging to the Venetians, had cruelly and treacherously slaine all the Turkish slaues which they had, and that three had escaped with great difficultie out of the citie, to aduertise the Bassa thereof: And therefore he had given order, that the Turks should not goe out of the haue with their vessels, before they had good caution for their securitie, that they should not be slaine, or made slaues in Candie, or any other place. Whereunto *Brigadino* answered, That it was not in the accord to giue any hostages, and therefore he meant not to doe it, denying absolutely that there were any Turkes slaine, as he had said. *Muslafa* was much altered with this answer, and made a signe with his hand, that he should come neere him; then he caused his interpreter to speake certaine words vnto him in his eare, which were not heard, nor yet *Brigadino* answer: but he seemed more furious than a Tigre, and striking *Marc Antonio* vpon the head, he and all the rest were presently taken, being all vnarmed: for it is a custome among the Turkes, that no stranger comes vnto them with his armes. Then causing them to be led out of the tent, he caused *Astor Baglioni*, *Andrew Brigadino*, *Iohn Antonio Quirini*, *Lewis Martinengo*, and the knight *del Haste*, to be cut in peeces in his presence, one after another, *Marc Antonio* being reserved for a more horrible death. Cont *Hercoles Martinengo* being there in hostage, was sau'd by one of the Bassaes Eunuches, who tooke him for his slaue. The souldiers which were in the campe, to the number of three hundred, were all slaine, and those that were imbarked were made slaues.

Men of worth  
treacherously  
put to death by  
Muslafa.Death of Marc  
Antonio Bragadino.

Two dayes after *Muslafa* entred into Famagosta, and hauing caused *Brigadino* eares to be cut off, when hee was taken prisoner, hee made him to bee set vpon the maine yard of the Admirals gallie of Rhodes, to bee a spectacle to the Christians that were there in captiuitie. In the end hee caused him to bee set vpon the pillorie in the market place, and there to bee slayed aliue by a lew; this lord shewing still a noble resolution, and full of Christian pietie, neither did hee, during all his torments and disgraces which they did vnto him, shew any signe of feare or basenesse, still reproaching that traitor with the breach of his faith euen vnto his

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A his death. Then hee caused him to be quartered, and one of them to bee set vpon either batterie: his skinn was stuf with straw, and hung at the yard of one of his gallies, being first a miserable spectacle to all the coast of Soria, and then to *Selim* in Constantinople. Thus after threecore and fiftene dayes batterie, and many assaults, the Turkes hauing spent an hundred and fiftie thousand shot of great ordnance; Famagosta was taken.

D. *Iohn* of Austria came the foure and twentieth of August to Messina, being receiued by the two other Generals, *Colonna* and *Veniero*, with great honour; where, all the forces of the league not being yet arriued, he called the two Generals, with some others of greatest iudgement in martiall affaires, to counsell, to resolve what they had to doe: but for that their opinions were diuers, it was ordered, that they should set them downe in writing, with their reasons; but the resolution was deferred vntill the arriual of the rest of the gallies. On the first of September *Iohn Andrew Doria* arriued with twelue gallies, hauing imbarke Germanes and Lombards at Spetie, after whom came the marquisse of S. Crux with thirtie gallies from Naples, and the next day *Quirini* and *Candile* with threecore from Candie: soone after there came some ships from Naples laden with men and munition, and some gallies from Palermo, conducted by *Cardona*; but some other vessels could not come so soone, being left to imbarke three thousand Italian foot, and 2000 Spaniards that were at Orranto. There were at Messina the eight of September twelue gallies of the Popes, 81 of the king of Spaines, with twentie ships of burthen (some say twentie five) one hundred and eight gallies of the Seigniorie of Venice, six galleses, and two ships; three gallies of Malta, and three of the Order of S. Lazaro: so as there were in the whole fleet two hundred and seuen gallies, six gallnasses, and two and twentie ships, besides foists and other smaller vessels, and in them at the least twentie thousand fighting men, with victuals and munition sufficient. Those that had chiefe charge in this armie, besides the Generals, were these, *Ascanio de la Corna* was Campe-master general for the king of Spaine, the earle of S. Fiora was General of the Italians, the Colonels were cont *Paulo Sforza*, the earle of Samo, and *Gasper Toraldi*; the Colonels of the Dutch were the earle of Lodron, and *Vinciguerra* of Arco: And of the fleet, D. *Iohn Andrew Doria* was General of his owne gallies, which the king paid, D. *Aluaro de Bassan*, marquisse of S. Crux, gouerned them of Naples with the like title, D. *Iohn* of Cardona them of Sicile, and D. *Cesare d'Awalo* the ships: *Gabrio Serbelloni* was General of the ordnance. The names of the rest of the Commandours I omit to auoid tediousnesse.

D. Iohn d'Au-  
stria comes to  
Messina.Number of  
Christians fleet  
at Messina.

The Pope sent *Iohn Paulo Odescaleo* to Messina, to hasten their departure, and to enrich them with many indulgences, being to fight against the enemies of the holy Church. Then after a solemne procession they went againe to counsell. There were many things propounded, whercon they discoursed long with great iudgement; but in the end the exhortations of *Colonna*, and of the Venetian commanders, made D. *Iohn* resolve, who had a desire to do something worthe of himselfe, and the expectation which was of that great fleet, to goe and fight with the enimie. Wherefore they parted from Messina the 16 of September: at night they came to S. *Iohns* ditch, where he gaue order how they should saile, staying there the next day for certaine vessels which had staied behind for some necessities, & also for D. *Giles d'Andrada*, whom D. *Iohn* had sent some daies before to learne some newes of the enimie; by whom he vnderstood, that they were gone towards Volona: but to be duely informed of his course, the same knight was presently sent backe againe. The Venetians were verie desirous to aduance, fearing that the dangerous time for sailing drawing neere, there would some storme arise, and make all their attempts fruitlesse for that yeare. After some foule weather and contrarie winds, they came to Cape S. Maria, hauing first met with a fregat, who brought them newes of the great need they of Famagosta had of present succours, and withall he did certifie them of the state of Candie, and that the Turks armie was gone towards the gulph of Lepanto. Being come to Corfu on the 25 of the moneth, they were troubled to see many of their gallies behind, besides those that the marquisse of S. Crux had caried to Orranto for 3000 Italian foot, & the regiment of Spaniards in Naples. They wanted also their ships, who were sent before with

Resolution of the  
Christians armie

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foul.

souldiers, and other necessaries, parting from Messina a day before the rest of the armie, G but beeing hindered by foule weather, they could not come in time to the battell: within two dayes the galleasses and some galleys arrived, the which had bene separated from the armie by storme, or by some other accident. And for that some were not of opinion to fight with the enemy, *Veniero* feared some accident, which might disturbe all, and make *Don John* to alter his resolution, and therefore pressing their departure, he had caused great store of come to be put into the galleasses, to be sent to the succour of *Famagosta*, having not heard any thing of the losse thereof. It was bruted, that *Caracossa* was gone with 18 galleies to Valona, to fetch *Biscuit*: whereupon *Colonna* and *Veniero* persuaded *Don John*, not to lose so goodly an opportunitee, for going to encounter his enemies diuided, wherefoer he hapned, he should obtaine a certaine victorie. *Don John* was not auerfe to that resolution, but he desired to be better certified than with rumors, and vncertaine reports; and therefore it was resolved, that *Canale* should go before with two good galleies, to learne some certaintie of the enemies Fleet. But he was stayed vpon the arrivall of foure galleies, which by contrarie winds had bene separated from there, they assured the Generalls, that there was not any vessell of the Turkes at Valona: for that having past thereby, they had not seene any. Whereupon some thought, it was but an artificiall invention of such, as desired they should fight with the enemy. *D. John* beeing at *Gomenizze*, a great port of *Epirus*, they were advertised by *Giles d'Andrada*, that he had heard for certaine at *Zante*, that the Turkish Fleet was entred into the gulph of *Le-panto*, as a place of safetie, that they might supply their wants, and to resolute what they had to do, sending their sicke and vnprofitable people to *Corone*, for that *Caracossa* hearing of the coming of the Christians into those seas, was gone to advertise the General *Ally*. There *Doria* having commandement from the Confederates, tooke muster of all the vessells, observing every thing carefully, for that their opinions were diuers touching their fighting with the enemy.

Commander of  
Castile dis-  
suades them  
from fighting  
with the Turke

The great Commander of Castile, who was of great authoritie with the General, gaue aduise, that they should not hazard a battell without some great advantage, where- of the hazard and danger was very great, not onely for the losse of so great an armie, but K for the great ruines which would ensue: for that *Sicile*, the coasts of *Calabria* and *Apu- lia*, yea of all *Italy* and *Spaine*, would, in this case, be made destitute of all gard and de- fence: so as they did not see what assured hope of gaine might ballance the reasonable feare of so great a losse; protesting, that what he sayd, was no more for the priuat interest of his King, than of the other Confederates, and especially of the Venetians, who as nea- rest to the enemy, might thinke to tast the first fruites of this dangerous counsell. It is sometimes to be held a great victorie, to hinder a mightie enemy, from doing any thing of importance, as they should do, in curbing the pride, that yea of the Turkish armie, growne bold by so many victories, having many galleies, and so well furnished, as it was to be presumed, both of souldiers and slaues, being in its owne country, where they had great Garrisons continually in pay, and had of late reduced so many Christians into ser- L uitude in the Venetians countries.

He added, that by the example of all famous Captaines, both ancient and mo- deme, from whom they are accustomed to draw secure instructions in militarie actions, there was no course held wiser for them, that had the weaker power, and are in danger of the greater losse, than in delaying an enemy, to attend some advantage to op- presse him, and trying him, to make his attempts vaine.

The condition of things were not equall, neither should they hazard so much vpon a most doubtfull fortune, onely with a designe to fight with the Turkes forces at sea, seeing the gaine would be small which they could promise themselves, by that hoped-for victorie; beeing as easie for the enemy to returne the next Spring very strong to sea, although he were vanquished, as it would be hard for the Confederates to repayre so great losses, if God, for the sins of Christendome, should suffer them to be overcome. Wherefore, I beseech you, my most noble Lord, set before your eyes the inestimable losse which may happen to Christendome, by the ruine of this ar- mie, if in nothing else, but of so many noble Captaines, and valiant souldiers, which

A which we may boldly say without blushing, is the flower of all the martiall men of Chri- stendome, of whose counsell and valour, I may truly say, depends the health of the best part of Europe; and so by consequence by the losse of them, the means to resist the Turkes power now would faile vs, and all hope to vanquish him hereafter. I will not forget to of- fer to your consideration, how dangerous it is for the winds and sea, the time of the yea- being so far spent, and that to go and spend any time in seeking of the enemy in this dan- gerous season of Autumne, were to tempt fortune doubly. There may be infinit exam- ples produced, but the remembrance of the last yea is so fresh, as wee need not to seeke farther: and you must vnderstand, that he which in time recouers a safe port with his ship- ping, makes it knowne what counsell is most profitable, if an vnfortunat chance happen. B But who can judge, if going so farre into the enemies countrey, to fight with him, being much weakened either by our losses in fighting, or by foule weather, whether we can with safetie recouer our owne ports: without doubt, in this case few would be faued, being knowne by experience (a dangerous doctrine of rash men) what bad counsell it is, to fol- low a mightie enemy, and to fight with him in the midst of his owne strength.

Both the Venetian Generalls opposed themselves against the opinion of the great Commander, so did *Afcanio della Cornia*, *S. Fiora*, and *Serbelloni*, but especially the General *Colonna*, who sought to insinuate with apparent reasons, and with the Popes authoritie, whose expresse commandement was, to find out the Turkes armie, and to fight with it. He C said, That he could in no sort yeeld to the opinion of *Requesens*, being a new proposition, and contrarie to the articles of the league, where it was chiefly propounded to make an offensive warre, and he taught them how they should still stand vpon their defence; which was nothing else, but to confirme the enemy in the opinion which he had conceiued of the small valour of the Christians, whereby he was growne more insolent. The confederat princes, said he, haue had a speciall care in their conuentions, to doe any thing that might daunt the pride of this enemy of Christendome, and that he should sensibly feele the va- lour of Christians. He will neuer feare any such power, if we, measuring all forces by the compasse of humane discourses, dare not promise vnto our selues any thing from the help of heauen: and yet let vs remember that we are the souldiers of Christ, that we fight for D Christ, and that being vnited vnder his banner, we need not feare that he will euer aban- don vs, if we shew not our selues distrustfull. But I will not lay the foundation of all our hopes vpon the miraculous helps of heauen, whereby I should seeme to confesse, that hu- mane force were not able to encounter, yea to vanquish this enemy. I should seeme to want judgement, to counsell a battell without constraint, and with apparent disadvan- tage, and to tempt the pleasure of God with the dangerous euent of a battell. Our armie then, in my opinion, is not so weake, nor the enemy so vigorous, that matters should be brought to that despaire, seeing that we haue here about 200 good galleies, better ap- pointed (according to the opinion of men of judgement) than the Turkes, the which would equall their advantage of number, if the same be true, that the Turkes haue three E hundred vessells. For gathering these vessells from diuers parts, they haue, to make an im- ber, assembled euerie small barke of pyrats, fitter to steale, & run away, than to fight. Wee must thinke that our souldiers do exceed the Turks in valour, who often with many thou- sands could not resist hundreds of our, and now, it may be, are not inferiour vnto them in number; if we shall wel examine the qualitie of their vessells and ours: and therein also we will vse your authority, who maintain, that we haue the flower of all the souldiers of Chri- stendome. And to what end then serues this multitude of galleies, these numbers of no- blemen and souldiers, and so much treasure wasted, onely to goe neere the enemy? nay, not to approach neere him, but to terrifie him with the fame of our forces, and seeing that he doth not flee, we to retire our selues into safetie. But if that be not to be thought on, yet F to keep him from proceeding any farther in Cyprus, nor to annoy any more those misera- ble coasts, those vnfortunat illands which be subject to the fire & sword of their barbarous cruelty. But we are to attempt more, to reuenge so many injuries received from them, so as the religious arms of Christians being as it were awaked from a long sleep, may be im- ploied in those actions which shalbe held worthe of their ancient glorie. And contrari- wise, what greater imputation can there bee vnto the name of Christians, than after two

1171 " such preparations within few monethes, not to dare to looke the enemy in the face? C  
 " What hope will there then remaine to deliuer the realme of Cypres? What will the  
 " world say of vs? Oh let there neuer any thought of such feare come into our hearts:  
 " let vs not shew our selues so weake: let vs not so little esteeme the forts which are held  
 " by the Catholike king, and the Commonweale of Venice: that in case any vnfor-  
 " tune successe should befall our fleet, they should be a prey vnto the enemy. Princes  
 " were wont to repose all their safetie in armies by land, or in fleets by sea; but since that  
 " they haue found meanes to secure their countries with ports and frontire places well for-  
 " tified, they haue not much esteemed the losse of a battell at land or at sea, touching the  
 " conquest of anothers dominions, for that the defence within walls is so long, as that H  
 " prince which was a looser may repaire his forces, and come againe to fight with his ad-  
 " uersaries. We haue now in hand the example of the realme of Cypres, the which al-  
 " though it be farre from their lords forces, yet two forts, and those not very well furnished,  
 " haue made resistance aboue a yere, and there is yet hope to preferre it, sending some final  
 " succours. And shall we feare, that so many strong places vpon this gulph, and vpon the  
 " coast of Naples and Sicilie, shall be in an instant deuoured by the Turkish armie, if any  
 " sinister fortune should befall our fleet, which God forbid. But if we (my Lord Com-  
 " maunder) shall runne into such apparent daunger, being at sea in these tempestuous  
 " times of August, why will wee secure our enemies from the like daunger, when as they  
 " after that imagined victorie, will saile ouer (being farre from their ports) the Mediterra- I  
 " nean and Tirrene seas, in that dangerous season? And if you shall say vnto me, That  
 " in the Spring they will attempt some conquest of importance, I will answer, That our  
 " forts, and the countrey which lyes most subiect to daunger, shall be the better fortified.  
 " And for prooffe hereof, this mightie Turkish fleet, although it hath not bene a  
 " ny way hindered this yere by our galleys, they haue receiued great losses, comming neere vnto  
 " yea in Candie, and in these seas, they haue receiued great losses, comming neere vnto  
 " fortified places. But let it suffice to haue hitherto discoursed, to shew that the daunger  
 " is not so great, nor so apparent, in case we should loose a battell. Let vs now come to  
 " the consideration of the importance, and necessitie we haue to giue battell, and then of K  
 " the certaine hope of the conquest, if we be victors. It is impossible to bridle and tame  
 " the insolencie of the Turke whilst that hee is lord at sea, the which hee will alwayes  
 " hold himselfe to bee, when as our nauie shall not dare to affront him with sufficient  
 " forces, and that it is all one to flie the enemies sight, and to feare to receiue some harme:  
 " but that feare doth not onely leaue him the possession of the sea free, and doth increase  
 " his boldnesse with his force, but doth quite discourage the subiects, and giues them occa-  
 " sion to attempt things verie prejudiciall to the commonweale. Let vs then goe and seeke  
 " this armie, to daunt the pride of the Turks, and to giue courage to the Christians: hauing  
 " found it, let vs fight with it, hauing a firme confidence both in the helpe of heauen, and in  
 " our owne forces, that we shall vanquish them. Let vs perswade our selues, that the repa- L  
 " ration of the Christian name, and the honour of our princes, cannot be otherwise maintai-  
 " ned; for that being knowne that they haue two yeres together prepared for great a fleet,  
 " with their incredible charge, and giuen it out, That they would fight with the Turkes, if  
 " we should retire with such apparent signes of feare, I doe not see how we can auoid a ge-  
 " nerall imputation, either of want of government, or of extraordinarie cowardise. It is re-  
 " quisite then by all the reasons of warre, that for the importance of this action, and to auoyd  
 " shame and dishonour, we should trie a battell, for that the losse thereof cannot be so prei-  
 " udiciall as the Commaunders faith, and by a victorie we are to expect a great conquest, if  
 " we will presently embrace the occasion, & reape the honorable fruits of so great an aduen-  
 " ture. For it is apparent, that all the Turkes dominion is gouerned by most cruell tyrannie, M  
 " & that his subiects (whether you will make an attempt vpon Albania, Morea, or Soria, yea  
 " and in Thrace it selfe) as soone as they shal heare that his forces (who oppresseth them vn-  
 " der the heauie yoke of barbarous seruitude) are ouerthrowne at sea, will attempt some inno-  
 " uation, if they shal but see the Christians ensignes: so as the Turks seeing the enemy not  
 " only round about them, but euen in their houses, they will find themselves in a verie hard  
 " condition, & what remedy shal they find to escape, but they must endure themselves to be  
 " trium-

A triumphed ouer by many Noble victories? It is not any vaine hope grounded vpon  
 " desire, that makes mee to speake thus, seeing it is certaine that the Christians  
 " in those Countries which I haue mentioned are more in number than the Turkes,  
 " and although they bee vnarmed, yet are they not without courage, so as being armed by  
 " vs, they will doe great seruice in any thing that shall bee attempted.  
 " Besides, those coasts hauing not of many yeres seene a Christian Nauie, and not suf-  
 " ficiently fortified for such dangers, what resistance can they make against our victo-  
 " rious armie? If these great hopes should make vs resolute otherwise than the Commaun-  
 " der hath propounded, should we not doe it the rather, for that it is the chiefe intent of  
 " your king and my Lord to free Christendome from the oppression of the Barbarians, &  
 " then to assure the Spanish Seas from the continuall spoiles, of Pyrats, Turkes, and Af-  
 " ricans? But his Maiestie shall neuer attaine to either of them, if their forces at Sea  
 " be not first subdued: neither can they bee subdued, if wee doe not hazard a battell:  
 " wee haue no hope to bee stronger at Sea the next yere than this, but rather to  
 " decrease both in number and courage, hauing wisely performed so little, if wee shall  
 " resolute as you aduise vs: what then remains to bee done, but that being forced wee  
 " proceed with an assured hope, not of one, but of many worthy victories, and finding  
 " out the enemy, fight with him, like the souldiers of Christ? So may it please his diuine  
 " bountie, to abate their arrogancie, and to confound this their mightie fleet, the which I  
 " assure my selfe cannot bee soone repaired, if there bee the flower of the Turkes  
 " forces, as well of Captaines, as of priuate men, as wee suppose. But if our Prin-  
 " ces, as hee pretends, loosing the battell, should with all losse the best of their for-  
 " ces: why shall not wee with the same argument augment our hopes, our en-  
 " mies being so much afflicted, for that our Princes exceed them much in men of  
 " command; and for Sea-causes, I dare affirme that the State of Venice hath more valiant  
 " Captaines than the Turke. Let vs not for Gods sake so much distrust our owne forces,  
 " as our hearts should bee surprisid with amazement, and that deprivd of all genero-  
 " sitie, yea, of pietie and Religion, wee should hold the enemy in that degree, and so  
 " basely esteeme of our selues, and of the dignitie of the confederate princes, hauing in  
 " D manner no faith, that the supreme power which hath giuen them these forces, will also  
 " preferue and increase them; with their ruine that are his cruell enemies, for the pro-  
 " pagation of which faith we haue put on these armes, the which being guided by his  
 " victorious hand, must needs yeeld glorious trophies, both in life and death, if wee will  
 " not defraud our selues of this certaine hope.

D. John was in the flower of his age, and retaining that generous and warlike minde  
 " of his father, hee inclined to his Councell, who with so many reasons propounded,  
 " so honourable a party, and worthie of such a prince, notwithstanding that the com-  
 " mand had bene giuen him by his brother as a Schoolemaster or guide: and with  
 " this resolution hee caused the Nauy to bee diligently viewed and furnished, and gaue  
 " E order how they should goe forth in battell. But, there fell out an accident which had al-  
 " most ouerthrowne the whole action, and deprivd them of immortal glorie. Some of the  
 " kings Souldiers being placed in a Venetian Galley, they fell to quarrell with others that  
 " were in the same galley, so as there were some hurt & slain. Veniero the general sent some  
 " officers with his admirall to bring the offenders vnto him, but they being distempered  
 " receiued the admirall with iniuries, wherewith Veniero being much incensed, hee caused  
 " the offenders to be apprehended, & would haue two of the with their captain Anticastro hãg-  
 " ed at the main yard. After which Paulo Sforza their Colonel, going to speake with Veniero,  
 " he would not hear him, threatening him that if he did not depart, he would turn his ordinace  
 " vpon him & sink his boat. D. John was wonderfully discontented with the general Venieros  
 " F actiõ, holding himself much wrõged; for that he had not referred the iudgement to him,  
 " as it was fit, but had chased away Colonell Sforza, whom hee had sent, with threats and  
 " disgrace. The whole armie was suddenly in a mutinie, the Spaniards seemed to prepare  
 " themselves to reuenge, and the Venetians stood vpon their guard. But Colonna with great  
 " dexteritie (although hee held himselfe wronged therein by Veniero) fought to preuent  
 " this growing mischief. Barberigo laboured in like manner, who with great eloquence  
 " and

Veniero incen-  
 " sed against the  
 " Spanish Souldi-  
 " ers.

D. John discon-  
 " tented with the  
 " General Venie-  
 " ros.

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and iudgement, so pacified *Colonna* first, and then *D. John* as they were content to G  
 preferre the generall good of Christendome, before their owne priuate respects;  
 yet they would not that *Veniero* should treat any more with them concerning any  
 businesse, neither as a publicke person, nor as a priuate, but that *Barbarigo* should  
 supplie his place vntill they had further order from Venice. The third of October  
 they went forth in the same order that they should fight, and bent their countes towards  
 Cephalonia, where they had newes that did much trouble them, for that by a fregate  
 dispatcht from Candie, they had letters brought them from *Marino Canalli*, where-  
 in was related the losse of the Realme of Cypres, by letters intercepted in a Galeot  
 the which were sent after the taking of Famagosta from the generall *Mustafa* to *Aly*, H  
 whereof they presently sent aduice to Venice. Comming to Val d' Alexandria, which  
 was the ancient Samos, they returned againe to Councell, where hearing for cer-  
 taine that the Turkes were in the gulphe of Lepanto, they refolued after much  
 disputation, to goe to the mouth of it, and not meeting first with the Turkes,  
 to set vpon two forts called Dardanelli, to force the enemye to fight, or with the  
 losse of their gallies to runne to land: with this resolution they parted the sixt of Octo-  
 ber, and came to the Ilands called Curzulares, where earlye in the morning they had view  
 of the Turkish armie, which came out of the mouth of the gulfe in good order. The gene-  
 rall *Aly* had beene informed by *Caracoffa*, who had gone to discouer the Christians, with  
 what intent they failed that way, in what order, and how many vessels they were: so as  
 opening at that instant the great Turkes letter, which by his order should be red as soone  
 as the enemies fleet approacht, they saw it was his mind they should fight, and ruin the  
 Christians forces. The Commander s of the Turkish Nauy being very resolute to incoun-  
 ter the Christians, and to shut them vp in the chanell of Cephalonia, being small, where  
 as *Caracoffa* had viewed them, had newly fortified their army with renne thousand Iani-  
 faries Spahies, & voluntaries, which *Mehemet* Bei had broght, with great store of victuals &  
 munition, and 100 Sangiacs & Alobei, which are men of fittle, a degree vnder a Sâgiac. But  
 the Christians parted from Cephalonia, and Val d' Alexandria, towards the Curzolares,  
 where the sea is verie streit, & full of shells, & rocks, which the Turks took for an aduantage.  
 Thus both armies were refolued to fight, & were put in baret in form of a Croisfant. In  
 the right wing of the Christians armie were fiftie and three gallies, whereof *John Andrew Do-* K  
*ria* had charge, hauing before him two Venetian galleasses, and at his backe the admirall  
 galley of Saucy, in the which was the duke of Vrbino. On the left wing were the like nûber  
 of gallies & galleasses, commanded by *Augustin Barbarigo* Proueditor general for the Ven-  
 etians, being assisted by the admirall galley of Genoua, in the which was the prince of  
 Parma. Betwixt these two wings was the bodie of the battell, consisting of 70 gallies and  
 two galleasses, and in the midst of center thereof, the three generalls with their royall  
 gallies, *D. John* in the midst, *Sebastian Veniero* general for the Venetians on the left had,  
 and *Marc Antonio Colonna* general of the Popes gallies on the right: behind the, as it were  
 in the reereward, where *D. Aluaro Bassan* Marquesse of Saint Cruz with thirty gallies: and  
 in the front of them was *D. John* of Cardona with eight gallies as a forlorne hope. On the  
 other side *Aly* opposed against *John Andrew Doria* 96 gallies commanded by *Pluccialy*, a-  
 gainst the Proueditor *Barbarigo*, he set 55 gallies vnder the charge of *Mehemet* Bei and *Si-*  
*rocco*, and *Aly* himselfe with *Portau* Bassan (who was general of the land forces) were in the  
 midst against *D. John* with 96 gallies, and the rest of the gallies were appointed in the  
 reere to succour them, with many foistes and brigandins, to passe from place to place  
 with the Generalls commandemens. *D. John* went in person to view the armie, being ac-  
 companied by *Lewis de Cardona* and *John Soto*: hee was in white armour, hauing in his  
 hand a Crucifix, going from place to place in a most swift fregat animating the  
 souldiers, and telling them, that they had not him for their Captaine and leader, but  
 that great God alone, whose humane shape, being dead vpon the crosse, to saue the  
 whole world, they saw in his hands. Hee put them in minde that they did fight for the  
 great God of victories, to whom all humane powers yeeld obedience: that hee was  
 their Generall and their guide, and the gouernour of euerie mans actions, promising  
 to euerie man that day an honourable and glorious victorie, whereof nothing could  
 deprue

Order of the  
Christian armie.Order of the  
Turkes armie.D. Johns speech  
to the armie.

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A deprive them, vnlesse they trusted to obtaine it. His words were short, but deliue-  
 red with such efficacy, as it made all them that heard him weepe for ioy, who with a  
 preface of their future successe, began to crie victorie, wherewith hee was much  
 contented; and so hauing saluted the Generall *Veniero* verie courteously, reioycing to  
 see that reuerent old man of seuentie and fise yeares old, in an action where hee must  
 fight as well as command, hee retired to his galley: and then hee set vp the standard of  
 the league, which was a Crucifix in a red field, in signe of battell. Whereupon  
*Aly* did presently discharge a canon, and *D. John* answered him in like manner. *John*  
*Andrew Doria* did an act of iudgement, stretching forth his right wing into the sea, & gi-  
 uing meanes to the rest to doe the like, to the end they should not be compassed in by the  
 Turkes gallies, who were in all places more in number, the which did auail them much.  
*Barbarigo*, *Anthony Canale*, *Marc Anthony Quirin*, and others which did assist him, kept  
 as neere the land as they could, so as they could not be charged in flanke but only  
 in front, the which *Sirocco* and *Aly* a renegado of Genoua sought to doe; and when  
 they were put to rout (which began among the enemies which *Barbarigo* had in front)  
 hee kept them that they could not escape, and made a wonderfull spoile of them.

The battell of  
Lepanto.

The fight grew hot, and the Canon of either side plaied furidly, wherein the  
 Christians were somewhat fauoured by the wind, the which in the beginning being  
 in their faces, changed instantly as the battell begonne, and carried the smoake in-  
 to their enemies eies. In the beginning the two Generalls Gallies, of *D. John* and *Aly*  
 Bassa affronted one another, about the which the combat was very hot. In *D. Johns*  
 gallies there were foure hundred Harquebuziers and Musketiers, vnder *D. Lope de*  
*Figueroa* their Commander; in the prow were *D. Michel de Moncada*, *D. Bernardin de*  
*Cardines*, and *Salazar*, Captaine of the Citadell of Palermo; in the midst were *D. Fran-*  
*cisco Zapate* and *Lewis Carrillo*; and in the poupe *D. John*, with the great Commaun-  
 der of Castille, the Earle of Plego, *D. Lewis de Cordona*, *Roderigo de Benauides*, *D.*  
*John de Guzman*, *D. Philip de Heredia*, *Ruy Dias de Mendoza*, and others. In *Aly* Bassa  
 galley were foure hundred Ianifaries, shot, and some Archers tryed men, who fought  
 verie valiantly against *D. Johns* Spaniards, who entred twice into the Turkes Admirall,  
 and were valiantly repulst by them, *Aly* being succoured by diuers others gallies which  
 were about him; but such was the resolution of the Christians, as they became ma-  
 sters thereof, *Marc Antonio Colonna* arriuing, in whose galley was the Commander  
*Romeias*, who wanted neither iudgement nor courage. *Aly* Bassa was slaine, and in a  
 maner all that were in his galley; his head was cut from his bodie, and presented  
 vnto *D. John*, who caused it to be set vpon the end of a pike for a spectacle to en-  
 courage the Christians to pursue the victorie, and to daunt the Turkes, who be-  
 gan then to faint. *John Andrew Doria* was also Victor on his part, but some said that  
 hee might haue done better if hee had list, for hee suffered *Pluccialy* to escape. In  
 these actions there is no man troubled but such as are in them, the rest speake at plea-  
 sure. The most furious combat was in the left wing of the armie, whereas the Prou-  
 editor *Barbarigo* commaunded, who left scarce any one of the enemies gallies, but  
 was broken, sunk, or taken. This wise and valiant Captaine was shot into the eye with an  
 arrow, whereof hee dyed. *Portau* Bassa fled away in a boat fleeing *Aly* slaine and the  
 battell lost. *Caracoffa* Gouvernour of Valona a famous Pyrat, was slaine by *Honorat*  
*Gaietan*, Captaine of one of the Popes Gallies. The valour of *Martin de Padille* was  
 great; who with his onely galley took three of the enemies. It was an horrible spec-  
 tacle to see the Sea dyed with bloud, full of dead Carakasses and peeces of gallies.  
 Many fought to runne themselves on ground, but they were prevented by the Venetian  
 gallies: many Turkes cast themselves into the Sea, thinking to saue their liues by  
 swimming, but they fainted and perished before they got to land. It was the great-  
 est victorie that had beene at Sea in many ages. The battell continued eighteene  
 houres, wherein they spent some part of the night: there died about fise and twen-  
 tie thousand Turkes, and almost all the Commanders: others write that there were  
 fiftene thousand Turkes slaine, and seuen thousand Christian; and some write thir-  
 teene thousand. There were taken and carried away one hundred and seuentene  
 gallies,

Aly Bassa slaine

Victory of the  
Christians.Number of the  
dead.

gallies, and thirteenth Gallies, and many were funke, the number whereof was vnknowne; there were some thirte and nine gallies, gallies, and foits which escaped and came to Lepanto, which reliques *Plucially* had charge to conduct to Constantinople, yet they were so ill handled, as hee was faine to leaue fixe of them behind. They tooke one hundred and seuentene Canons, and two hundred fiftie and eight small peeces of Ordnance: some number three thousand eight hundred fortie and fixe prisoners, and some 5000, among which were the two Sons of *Aly Bassa*, *Sirroc* gouernor of Negropont was taken, but he was so wounded, as he died sooneafter: his wife, who was exceeding faire, was also taken prisoner. There were 15000 Christian slaues set at libertie. The Christians, besides priuat men, lost 14 Captaines of gallies, and sixty knightes of Malta, and aboute eight thousand that were hurt of men of name, there were slaine *Angustin Barbarigo* the Prouiditor, with fifteene other gentlemen of Venice: *D. Bernardin de Cardine* a Spaniard, *Horatio* and *Viginio Vrsini*, with diuers others: and of wounded *D. Iohn* himselfe, the Generall *Veniero*, *Paul Iouardin Vrsini*, the earle of Santa Fiora, *Troilo Sannelli*, and *Thomas de Medicis*. They found in *Alys* galley two and twentie thousand peeces of gold called Soldanini, and in that of *Caracoffa* forty thousand. The whole prey was diuided at Port Caligiero, some write at Corfu, to euerie one of the confederates according to the rate: the king of Spaine had of fix parts three, the state of Venice two, and the Pope one; and all the captaines and fouldiers were commended and rewarded for their good seruice. After which *D. Iohn*, *Marc Antonio Colonna*, and *D. Iohn Andrew Doria*, retired to Messina, whereas they found that the Marquesse of Pescara the Viceroy was newly dead, hauing frequented women too much. *Marc Antonio Colonna* went to Rome, & the great Commander of Castille with him, to treat with the Pope rouching the next yeres seruice for the league, and to goe to his gouernment of the duchie of Milan, which the king had giuen him after the death of the duke of Albuquerque. This victorie was wonne the tenth of October 1571 without any further pursuit, for the opinions of the commanders depending of sundrie masters were diuers, and also for that the season of the yeare was too farre spent.

The duke of Alba being incensed against the Queen of England, for that she had stained his money, and as hee thought fauoured the Rebels of the Netherlands vnder hand, he studied how to crosse her, and to cause some troubles in her Countie, and to giue the better forme to that which had been begun by his praesides, hee sent *Chiapin Vitella* vnder colour to treat with her of the composition of reprisals, and restitution of that which had been taken from king *Philips* subiects, but hee gaue him secret instructions against that state, if hee might conueniently effect them. There was no meane to come to any accompt for the spoiles which were taken by the English from any of the king of Spaines subiects or adherents, for that they were either waisted by priuar men, or else the truth could not be verified. Wherefore *Vitelli* was sent backe with good words, and could doe nothing in that respect. And as for the enterprises whereof hee had charge to conferre with certaine Noble men discontented with the present gouernment, hee could not worke any thing; for during his aboad in England, hee was carefully obserued, yet the Pope had his Spies and Negotiators in the countie, and did sollicite king *Philip* to helpe to deprime the queen both of her crowne and life, and that the Roman Catholikes, and such as vnder that pretext desired innouations, might be the Masters. To effect this, they had need both of men and money, but especially of a stranger to bee their leader, such a one as the duke of Alba, whom they held to be fitter than any other. The king whither through importunitie or willingly, being full of other affaires yielded, and it happened that *Chiapin Vitelli* after his retume from England, coming into Spaine to craue leaue of the king, for that he was called into Italie, by some princes, vnto whom hee was bound, was stayed, and sent backe into Flanders with instructions to the duke of Alba, to entertaine the praesides of the malecontents of England: but this froward and disdainfull man, being incensed for that they had refused him the gouernment of the Netherlands for *D. Frederic* his sonne, and that the duke of Medina Celi was in fent to succeed him, hee contented and ouer-threw all that praeside, where without doubt he might haue done much harme.

## News

A Newes being come to Fleisging that the duke of Medina Celi, was arrived neere unto Ostend with forty vessels, they sent forth twelve Ships of warre, who tooke diuers of them, and the duke was forced with twelue more to fly to land in a cocke boat. Hee thought at his coming thither that all troubles had beene pacified: but seeing that there was more confusion than euer, and greater ruines than hee could repair, he excused himselfe for not accepting the gouernment, and demanded leaue to returne; the which was some dishonour to the duke of Alba.

This year the king of Spaine being ielous of the French king, least hee should aid his subiects of the Netherlands was verie irrefolute in giuing aid vnto the league, his Ministers in Italie propounding new enterprises in Afrike, as well for the hope which the king of Tunis gaue them, as to free the coast of Spaine from that nest of Pyrats. The which did much distast the Pope, hee beeing verie desirous to see some better fruits of their victorie, and that the league might continue inuiolably, with like conditions that it was made. Whereupon the kings Ministers were forced to discouer vnto his Holinesse the feare they had of the French, least they should countenance his subiects in the Low Countries: but the Pope being assured of the contrarie by the French king, hee grew discontented against the Spaniards, as if they had inuented it, to reape all the benefit they could of that warre, transporting it into Afrike, notwithstanding the ielousie increased; and although they made prouision of all sides, to send forth a mighty armie, yet they proceeded coldly and found many delaies.

found many delays.  
 Pope *Pius* being newly dead, although the Pope did shew himself very desirous to  
 maintain the league, and did solicit it earnestly, yet it required much time; and the  
 Spaniards being discontented that they could not draw the armie against some places  
 in Afrike, from whence they received great annoyance, were slowe in execution this  
 yere. Yet after many delays, *D. John* general of the league could not avoid it, but granted  
 two and twenty gallies to the confederats, and fixe thousand foot to be distributed among  
 their gallies, himselfe remaining at Messina, with the rest of the armie, to succour where  
 his Majesties occasions should require, if the French should shew themselves enemies.  
 D There parted then from Messina *Marc Antonio Colonna*, with the gallies of the Church,  
 and the knight *Gil d' Andrada*, whome *D. John* had made Commander of the king of  
 Spaines two and twenty gallies, and being ioynd at Corfu with *James Foscarin*, who  
 was newly made general for the State of Venice, *Veniero* being dissint, in favor of *D. John*  
 they thought to haue some certain intelligence of the enemies fleet, being come forth vn-  
 der the comand of *Placcialy*, who was much made of & esteemed by *Selim* for those poore  
 spoiles which he got of the knights of Malta, being a signe that hee had fought and van-  
 quished, although his companions in the battel had bin defeated, and forced to flee: who  
 like a politick & courageous Captaine, did so solicit new prouisions of an armie, shewing  
 that the losse was not so great as the amazed multitude did esteeme it, as hee put his Lord  
 E in better hope. Having drawne all his forces together, he had a fleet of two hundred gal-  
 lies, galleots and foists, with five galleasses, with the which they sailed towards Maluagia.  
 The general *Colonna*, who in the absence of *D. John* held the first place, & *Foscarin*, hearing  
 where the enemy was, after consultation, they went to fight with him, having 140 gallies  
 23 ships, six galleasses, and thirty smaller barkes descouering them as they parted from  
 Dragoniere; but for that the wind was contrarie, they could make no vse of their galle-  
 asses, which kept them from fighting. But *Placcialys* fleet being more in number than in  
 force, he thought it sufficient to keep the enemy that yere from attempting any matter  
 of importance, and not to hazard a battell: and therefore still in his retreat he made a shew  
 as if he would fight, with which art he fled from them with reputation. At that time *D. John*  
 F had a resolute answer from the Catholike king, that he might ioine with the army of  
 the league with all his forces, and attempt some thing against the Turke, whar they should  
 thinke most fit: whereof hee had aduertised the Generals at Corfu, at such time as  
 they had resolved to goe and affront the enemy, so as they thought it not fit to  
 stay and attend him, as hee desired. But *Placcialy* being retired, and the Ge-  
 neralls being come to Capfali vnder Cerigo, there they had letters from *D. John*,  
 who

## The generall Historie of Spaine.

Lib. 29.

who called them backe to Zante, and then to Corfu, whether after many difficulties they brought the armie: but D. John would not willingly free the generals, especially *Colonna*, for that they had not attended him; whereupon their resolutions against the enimie fell out crossly; but *Folcarin* and others laboured by all means to pacifie that disdain: and they made a new resolution to goe against the enimies fleet, which they vnderstood lay in the port of Nauarino, and some vnder Modone.

The Christians had sayled as farre as Striuali, when as D. John de Cardone, being sent to discouer the enimie, gaue them that aduice, which made them resolute to hasten their voyage that night, so as they might bee vpon the enimie before day; the which was better deuised than executed, for they arriued so late, as being first discouered by the Turkes, they might retire with all their fleet, vnder the fort of Modone, and defend themselves long from the Christians armie, who sought by diuers means, but alwaies in vaine to draw them out of the fort to fight. They refused, for that they would not remaine there in vaine, to beseege the Castle of Nauarino, a place of fame, hauing giuen the charge thereof to the prince of Parma, but with weake prouisions, where hee preuailed nothing, they being soone relieved by land with many horse and foot, by the garrisons thereabouts.

Hauing staid in those seas some daies, being in October, and fearing an Autumne storme, and the kings Gallies beginning to want biscuit, they were constrained to depart: the which did much discontent the Ministers of the State of Venice, for that they had spent that time, wherein they had designed great enterprises, without any fruit, but with incredible charge. The Navy then returned towards Corfu, leauing the passage free for *Vlucially* to retire to Constantinople, at such time as hee beganne to feare the euent. D. John hauing retyred to Sicile, and from thence to Naples, *Marc Antonio Colonna*, and *Doria* went into Spaine to relate vnto the king what had bene done that yeare; and *Colonna* to free himselfe of some imputations laied vpon him by such as did malice his greatesse, wherein hee did preserve his honour, and returned into Italie with great reputation.

After the arrest of the English Merchants, and their goods both in Spaine and the Low-Countries as you haue heard, the English sought all means to bee reuenged of the Spaniards. Some vpon their owne coast, and others went vnto the Indies: Among which Master *Francis Drake*, who was then a man of no great note, with the helpe of other aduenturers manned forth two ships and a Pynnace, and went to Nombre de Dios in Noua Hispania, where hearing that the Towne was not very well peopled, hee landed in the night with one hundred and fiftie men, whereof he put seauenty into a fort, and the rest seized vpon the market place, the inhabitants in this amazement flying to the Mountaines, but soone after they within the fort apprehending that their companions in the Towne had bene all slaine, for that they had heard some shot, and their trumpet did not answere them. They retyred inconsiderately to their Pinnace, which they of the Towne finding, made all the hast they could to get to their ships. Thus Master *Drake* without any losse but a Trumpeter, and hauing slaine but one man within the towne, retyred much discontented from Nombre de Dios. After which hee came to the sound of Darien, where hauing conference with certaine Negros which had fled from their Master of Panama and Nombre de Dios, they did aduertise them of certaine Mules which were to passe from Panama to Nombre de Dios laden with gold and siluer, whereupon hee landed a hundred shot, and went to attend them with these Negros, where hee tooke two troupes of them, hauing none but their driuers, being without any feare: hee unladed the Mules and tooke the gold onely, being vnable (as some of them write) to carrie the siluer through the Mountaines. Within two daies after he came to a place called the house of Croffes, where hee slue siue or six Merchants: he found not any gold nor siluer there, but much merchandize, & fired the house with the goods being valued at about two hundred thousand ducats, & thence his went to his ships: presently after there came downe three hundred shot, Spaniards, but it was too late.

The

## The generall Historie of Spaine.

A The Venetians seeing that there was no likelihoode to make their profite by the support of this league, and that in this warre they had lost the realme of Cyprus, spent foure millions of ducats, and recovered not any one place of importance; finding also, that the Spaniards after all their delays, would still be masters, command in all their counsels, and haue the honour of all executions; they resolved to make a peace with the Turke, by the mediation of the French King, and the diligence of *Marc Antonio Barbaro* their Consull, who had bene staid at Constantinople, the which was concluded vpon restitution of certaine small places in Dalmatia, and 300000 crownes which the Venetians should pay vnto the Turke at three payments. The Senate being certified of the conclusion, they sent their embassadours to the Pope and catholike King to iustifie their actions: Pope *Gregorie* the thirteenth was discontented, but there was no remedie, for hee must allow of their reasons, which seemed pertinent.

B The King of Spaine seemed no wayes distasted with this peace of the Venetians, but would shew by the effects, that hee was able of himselfe, without the help of any other, to maintaine continuall warre against the Turke, for the defence of Christendome, and not only defend himselfe from him, but make warre against him at his doore. He therefore commanded that the fleet which was prepared at Naples and Sicile, should goe and attempt some thing in the Leuant Seas, or be employed to annoy *Vlucially* vpon the coast of Africke, where hee had expelled *Amida* out of the realme of Tunes, for that hee had performed all duties to the King of Spaine, and paid the tribute which his father had promised to the Emperour *Charles*: the which did much displease the Turkes holding Alger and other places in Africke, who procured *Selim* approbation to haue him dispossessed, and another set in his place, who should be more at his deuotion, the which was executed by *Vlucially*: wherefore King *Philippe* thinking that he had an interest therein, and that it was necessarie to weaken the Turke forces in those partes, being greatly suspected to Sicile, and other parts of Italie, which Countries the Turkes desired much to ioine vnto his empire, hee sent commaundement to D. John by *Soto* his Secrerarie, whom hee had sent into Spaine to that end, that hee should employ the gallies hee had readie in this expedition which would be verie profitable for Christendome, whilest that the Turkes forces were but weake at sea, to attempt a succour so farre off.

D In the meane season there was great means made for the deliuerie of *Aly Bassa* sons, which had bene taken at the battell, whom D. John had obtained from the Confederates with great instance, but one of them was dead before, to his great griefe, that hee could not wholie gratifie the mother: wherefore he sent him home that was liuing, called *Mosmed*, accompanying him with a dwarf of his owne, and foure Turkes that had bene taken with him, and many presents which the mother had sent vnto his Highnesse, in signe of honour, but he refused to accept them, and wrote the reason thereof vnto her, wherein he shewed the greatnesse of his mind. I haue forborne, said hee, to accept the present which you sent me, and *Mosmed* hath it, not for that I doe not esteeme it, as come from your hands, but for that the greatnesse of my ancestors is not accustomed to receiue gifts from such as are forced to flie vnto them for saueur.

E The armie beeing ready for the enterprise of Tunis D. John parted with the Duke of Sessa, *Antonio Doria*, *John Andrew*, and other noblemen, on the eight day of September 1573 from the port which in old time was called Lilybee, and had bene long neglected, (notwithstanding that it be one of the best ports in the Island, and had bene much vied by the Romans in the Carthaginian warres) others write that they went from Palermo. There was in the fleet one hundred and sixteene gallies, foure and thirtie shippes, and other vessells of burthen. The Duke of Florence did send six gallies to this enterprise, vnder the command of *Simon de Rossermini*. They landed at Goulette, whereas they found not any difficulty, to keep them from entering into Tunis, for it had bene abandoned vpon the brute of their comming, and all the Moores and Turkes were fled to the mountaines and defarts, carrying away all their goods, yea their victuals: yet the King that was aduanced by *Vlucially* was taken prisoner: Biferia a city some forty miles from Tunis was recovered with the like facility, yielding by the persuation of *Amida*, who thought by this conquest to recover his estate.

Q 9999

The

Christian army  
retires to Corfu.Sir Francis  
Drake's first  
voyage to the  
Indies.Peace betwixt  
the Turke and  
the Venetians.Ridout of  
the King of  
Spaine to Naples  
March 2. 1573.  
the Turke.Some of Aly  
Bassa's son  
liberty by D. JohnEnterprise of  
Tunis.



Fort built at  
Tunis.

D. John effects  
to be King  
of Tunis.

D. Diego prince  
of Spaine borne

Amida and Goulette  
recovered  
by the Turkes.

Porto Carrero  
an indifferet  
gouernour of  
Goulette.

The matter being called in question, there were many of the Kings counsell in Spaine, G and of D. Johns, of opinion that Tunis should be demanded, & Goulette raised, for that those places brought nothing but charge vnto the King, but they were not beleueed: yea it was concluded to fortifie the City better, and to make a new fort betwixt it and Goulette, and to ioyne the fort vnto the towne by two long curtines; to beate downe the old wall of the towne, and to lay it open towards the fort. For the effecting whereof Gabriel Serbelloni had the charge, and was made Colonell generall of the garrison that should bee left there, which should consist of fixe thousand men, three thousand Spaniards vnder the commaund of Salezar, and three thousand Italians vnder Pagan Dorria: afterwards they said that D. John led eight thousand men there, with labourers sufficient for the fortification, and a troupe of horse. D. John having thus ordered all things, hee returned happily to Messina, and then to Naples, where he was receiued with much ioy in November, being assured that the Turke could not send a fleet from Constantiople to Barbarie, vntill the next yeare, and that in the meane time Serbelloni should haue leisure to fortifie. D. Pedro Porto Carrero was gouernor in Goulette, a man more respected for his birth, than for his iudgement and knowledge in martiall affaires: he was preferred vnto it (no man knowes the reason) in the place of D. Alphonso Pimentell, an indolent and a valiant captaine. In Tunis there was left more like a gouernour than King) Mahomet brother to Amida, who was alwayes opposite vnto him: some write hee was but his cousin, and as for Amida, he was carried backe into Sicile, whereas in former time they had seene his father Muley Hassen, disposedd and made blind by him, and with him was the King whom Pluccially had aduanced in his place: for that Amida had giuen D. John some cause to suspect him; yet some write it was for that the Moores did hate him deadly for his crueltie. This happie exploit of D. Johns, made him to discouer his intentions more plainly vnto the Pope, which was, to remaine King of Tunis, with the good liking of King Philip his brother: continuing in this opinion, he intreated the Pope to be Intercessour for him; taking counsell both in this and all other affaires of his Secretarie John de Soto, whom hee fauoured so much, as he caused him to marrie (about that time) with the baronesse of Saint Philadelphus at Palermo: the which did nothing please the King, as we will shew hereafter. But the Sultan Selim did soone make him loose that desire. D. John being come to Naples from the taking of Tunis, their ioy and feasts were doubled: hauing receiued newes, that King Philip had another sonne, the which being christned was called D. Diego. He staid there some moneths much honoured: then hee passed into Lombardie, being called into Spaine by his brother; but he went not by reason of the Turkes successe at the enterprise of Goulette.

The great Turke being much incensed for the taking of Tunis, by a young man, who had so much preuailed over his forces, as after that he had in a manner disarmed him at sea, he had dispossessed a King which had beene placed by him at Tunis, and set an other in his place, which was contrarie vnto him: hee sent in the yeere one thousand five hundred twenty and foure Sinan Bassa into Barbarie, with a nauie of one hundred and three score gallies, thirty shippes, with many galecons, foists and other small vessells, carrying twenty thousand harquebuziers, and almost as many archers, with great store of ordnance, and at land they had fiftene thousand Moores and Arabians on horse backe. At the newes of this great fleet, the viceroys of Naples and Sicile made preparation to defend their gouernement, if the Turke should make any attempt vpon them. D. John had commaundement to furnish Goulette, (where as we haue said Porto Carrero was gouernour) who required certaine money of cardinal Granuelle then viceroys of Naples, for the leuying of certaine men to send thither, the which he refused, saying that he had no other charge, but to preferre the country which he had in gouernement. So as Tunis and Goulette were left to their defence that were in them: where the Commanders did not agree amongst themselves; for Porto Carrero could not endure that any man should thinke hee wanted counsell, or that he was not verie sufficient to defend Goulette; taking it in ill part, that Gabriel Serbelloni should presume to send him five ensignes of Italians, to fortifie his garrison, saying that he would not impart the honour of the gard, and defence thereof to any but to his owne nation: but it was not long before he changed his opinion; for whenas he

Strife among  
the Moores.

Ignorance of  
Porto Carrero.

Goulette 22.  
taken by June.

Fort at Tunis  
taken by assault.

A he saw the fields covered with Moores and Arabes; which they of Alger and Caruan had sent about Tunis, as fore runers to Sinan Bassas army, which arriued soone after, he then demanded men of Serbelloni importunately, protesting that if he sent him not some, he should be the cause of the losse of Goulette. King Mahomet thoughtd haue filled forth with nine hundred horse, and foure thousand soore of his owne nation, against these troupes of Moores; but he was suddenly abandoned by his trecherous, and disloyall subjects, so as with three score horse only, being supported by the Regiment of Salezar, and some Spanish horse, he elaped. Serbelloni being grieved with these accidents, thought that it was no time now to regard the vanities of Porto Carrero, but went himselfe to view the estate of the garrison of Goulette, when hauing caused some faults in the fortification to be amended, he returned to his fort, where hee made them to labour with all diligence to put it in defence, vnd the citie also, but they gaue him too great respite: for the Turkes army being landed, and meaning at the first to assault Goulette, Sinan sent Aydar king of Caruan to besiege Tunis, the which he did, and battered it furiously with a great quantitie of ordnance, so as Serbelloni resolved to leaue it, and to defend his fort betwixt the citie & Goulette, the which was presently inuested by the Moores towards the towne, but he scattered them often by his continuall sallies, and flew great numbers. Goulette being besieged, Porto Carrero did importune Serbelloni to send him help, the which he did by the lake: but the Turkes did soone take that passage from them, making a long bridge of barques bound together, and thereon as it were a causey of earth, whereon they placed many musketiers. The batterie planted against the bastion which looked towards the sea, made a great breach, where the Turkes gaue a terrible assault, with bridges made of mameyours, according to their custome, the which notwithstanding was defended by the valour of the Christians: but Porto Carrero did either forget the duties whereunto men besieged are bound, or hee did not know them: Hee neuer would suffer his men to make a sallie, it seemes hee feared to wast powder and shot, so as the Turkes had good meanes to view the fort, to lodge, and to plant their ordnance at their pleasures: And to shew the great arrogancie of this gouernour, whereas Antonie Carrase a gentleman of Naples sought to giue him good aduice, he caused him to be strangled & to be cast in a sacke into the sea. Serbelloni, although he had need of all his strenght within the fort, yet knowing the importance of Goulette, he weakened himselfe to fortifie it, being continually called on by D. Pedro, and sent him men as he could; yet could he not prevent it, but that Goulette was taken by force, Sinan hauing caused a general assault to be giuen, the which was continued with such fresh supplies one after an other without intermission, as they within it were no longer able to make any more resistance, but were forced, and all (or the greatest part) put to the sword: some write that Porto Carrero with three hundred soldiers were made slaues, and that the sonne of King Amida was taken in that place. Goulette being taken, the Turkes went and besieged the fort both by sea and land, hauing filled certaine great barques with packes of wooll wex, to choake their cannon shot, and planted many harquebuziers in them, with long towling peeces, which carried very great bullets, to keepe the besieged from their defences. Sinan made batteries, and cast vp trenches to approach vnto the fort, as he was accustomed, to batter, sappe, and mine at one instant in diuers places; where hauing made great breaches, hee caused three seuerall assaults to be giuen, but they were all resolutely defended; and hee caused fire to be set to a mine, the which did more harme vnto the Turkes than vnto the besieged. The assaults were continued vnto the fourth time, & still they were repulld with great slaughter: but this valor decreasing by litle and litle through their ordinary assaults, they were loeweake at the last, which was generall and more obstinate than any of the rest, as the place was forced, and all within cut in peeces. excepted Serbelloni, who was taken being wounded, and drawne by the beard before the Bassa, who caused him to be kept. Pagan Dorria flying the Turkes, and thinking to find more mercie with the Moores, was slaine by them, and his head set vpon a pike. Porto Carrero being a prisoner, died within few dayes after, (as some say) of poison. D. John de Sinoghera after these two losses, was left alone with three hundred and fiftie men to defend the tower vpon the lake, standing betwixt Tunis and Goulette, the which (although it were very strong, yet considering his owne strength,



strength, and the enemies, he could not hope to make any long defence) he yielded vpon certain conditions, and passed afterwards into Sicile, to carrie newes of this great losse. Thus Gouletie (the honour of the Emperours conquests, the which kept Afrike in awe) was lost through carelesse *Sinan* caused it to be rased to the ground, and then returned triumphantly to Constantinople.

*D. Sebastian King of Portugall gets into affike.*

17 This yere the Christians reaped both losse and dishonour in Afrike, for *D. Sebastian* the yong King of Portugall, of too warlike a disposition, as we haue shewed, and desirous of glorie, seeking to aduance himselfe by some enterprises against the Moores, hauing not imparted any thing vnto the Queene his grandmother, nor vnto the Cardinall his vncle, by whose care his actions should haue bene gouerned, by reason of his age, which was voyd of experience: He sent *D. Antonio* Prior of Crato his cosin, but base, to Tanger in Afrike, which did belong vnto the Crowne of Portugall, and made him his lieutenant generall there, deliuering him the Standard with great solemnitie. He would haue him accompanied with some numbers of soldiers, but specially with many knights: and within few dayes after the King himselfe, taking many of the chiefe noble men with him, imbarked at Cascais, whenas no man suspected it, and went in like maner into Afrike, leauing order in Portugall, that some knights should follow him, and therefore hee did write many priuat letters vnto them. Being come to Tanger, and hauing tried the Moors forces in the neighbour garrisons, and seeing his men in all their skirmishes to be ouerlaid with multitudes, and the nimbleness of the enemies horse, he beganne to consider better of the daunger wherinto he had runne, of whom depended the peace and quiet of his whole Realme; and so being better aduised by some noble men of authoritie that were with him, but especially being moued by a letter written by father *Lewis Gonzales* a Iesuite, who had bene his Scholemaster, and was then in great credit with him, he resolved to returne presently.

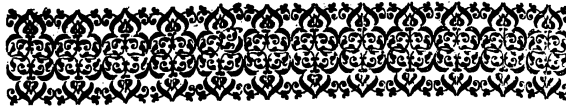
THE



## THE 30 BOOKE OF THE Historie of Spaine.

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¶ All the Realmes of Spaine vnited to the Crowne  
of Castille vnder *D. Philip*  
the second.

Great Commander  
of Castille  
sent gouernour  
into the Low  
Countrie.



On *Lewis de Requesens* great Commander of Castille was sent to succeed the *D. of Alba* in the gouernment of the Low Countries after that the duke of Medina Celi had refused it. He was a man approaching somewhat in disposition to his predecessor. He had accompanied *D. John* of Austria in his sea-army, when as he fought with the Turke at Lepanto, as his chiefe Councillor, and after his returne into Sicile, the King *D. Philip* had made him gouernour of Milan, where hee remained not long, the King thinking him fit to calme that which the Duke of Alba had left in trouble in Holland and Zeland, into which prouinces it seemed that the whole warre was reduced. Among other disorders, he found the Spanish souldiers discontented, and cursing the Duke, who owed them foure and thirtie moneths pay: whom he was forced (for the first triall of his wisdom) to seeke means to pacifie, the which he did in some sort: but when he beganne to enter into the managing of affaires, he fell grossly into an inconuenience which did preiudice the rest of his gouernement. What his actions were, during his charge there, you may reade at large in that Country historie. He liued not long there, but died of a pestilent feuer in the yere one thousand siue hundred fouentie and sixe, leaving those Countries in greater confusion than the Duke of Alba his predecessor had done.

King of Spaine  
renewes his of-  
firmations; and  
breakes with  
the Genouois.

In the yere 1574 it was found that king *Philip* was indebted to the merchants of Genoua and Spaine in 37 millions of ducats; for the which hee gaue them assignments out of his royall reuenues: whereupon for the relieving of his necessities, and to free the king from the Genouois, the Deputies of the chiefe Cities and Townes were called to Madrid, to consult how to relieue the king in these great wants. Among other, there was one in Court, whose name was *Francisco Bravo*, who told the king, that the contractions which he had made with the merchants, were in respect of them, against all law and equitie; the which, if he did not remedie within a yere, hee would not haue any means to free himselfe: telling him moreover, that he had beene fraudulently circumvented by them, in very great summes, contrarie to all diuine and humane lawe. Whereupon in the yere 1575 the king of Spaine made a decree touching the losse and preiudice which his royall reuenues had received by the contractions which he had made with the Genouois and others, making a staie of all the said contractions and assignements, the which did much trouble the Genouois and others, to whom the king was indebted, for by reason of this suspension they could not giue satisfaction vnto their creditours, which made them to present an answer to this decree vnto the King, shewing that it would bee a blemish to his honour, and verie preiudiciall to his seruice; yet could they not get it reuoked, but were forced to make a new composition.

Genoua di-  
uided into factions

The citie of Genoua was diuided into two factions, the old (which were the noble men and gentlemen) and the new (who were some gentlemen, supported by the common people.) *D. John Idiagues* as embassadour for the Catholike King, had labored much to quench this fire which beganne to kinde, and had persuaded them to lay aside armes: but this yere the furious multitude little respecting the promise of the wiser citizens to

disarme,

A disarme, and to treat an accord with the liking and authoritie of the Catholike King, for whom *Idiagues* was employed in that action, matters were brought to despair, the faction of the new offering by force to reforme the publique gouernement after their owne manner, and to abate the power of the nobles, who were called the old; who not suffering so great an indignitie, went most of them out of Genoua, *John Andrew Doria* being as it were their head. The Pope sent Cardinall *Morone* thither, but the Genouois would not treat with him alone, vnlesse the Catholike kings Embassadour were called, he being the chiefe protector of that common weale. The matter was found so difficult, as the faction of the old despayring, were come with good forces, some to Final, and some to A-qui, resolving to recouer their countie and dignitie by armes, choosing *John Andrew Doria* for their Generall in that warre, who refused that charge, vntill he had leaue from the king of Spaine, whom he serued. In the meane time, they had newes that the king was ready to send another Embassadour, to adde authority and counsell to the other two, which was the Duke of Gandie: but *D. John d' Austria* came first with a naue vpon that coast, to see that no Prince, by means of this tumult, should enter into Genoua, and make himselfe master thereof: and therefore they made prouision of souldiers, drawing into the duchie of Milan two regiments of Germans, and leysing some Italians. The people of Genoua grewe ielous that *D. John* meant to seise vpon their citie; but he, according to the order he had from his brother, hauing conferred with Prince *Doria* and the gouernour of Milan at Spetie, they concluded onely, that there should be all means attempted to quiet that citie, and if the people should continue in their obstinacie, the faction of the Old should haue leaue to recouer their countie, with their auncient rights and dignities: and the rather, for that they offered to make warre at their owne charge, requiring nothing of his Maiestie, but *Doria* person, and the gallies wherewith hee serued the king. The Emperour and the French king sent their Embassadours to pacifie this tumult, but they could not effect anything, especially he of France, whom for that they would not breed a ielousie in the king of Spaine, they dismist with good words. They without the citie finding by the treatie that there was no hope of any pacification, were readie to goe to armes, when as *Charles Borja* Duke of Gandie arrived; but hoping that his authority, and the priuat instructions of the catholike king, would preuaile much, they staid: but yet the mischief could not be thus cured. Soone after, the Secretarie *Escobedo* hauing beene sent by *D. John*, returned from Spaine, who brought order from the king, that all the resolution of that businesse, for that which concerned his Maiestie, was referred to *D. John*, who was then at Naples, whither *John Andrew Doria* was gone to that end, the nobilitie hauing provided money to make warre: when *D. John* hearing that they to whom it was compromitted in the name of those great princes, could not pacifie them, he sent order to the Gouernour of Milan to dismisst his Germans and Italians, that the faction of the Nobles might employ them, to reduce them to their duties that had no will of an accord. With which troupes, the faction of the Old went to field, and tooke diuers places. In the end, after many letters written from the Pope, Emperour, and King of Spaine, it was wholly compromitted to their agents, who caused a suspension of armes, and there were hostages giuen by both factions to stand to their arbitrement, but the accord was not fully concluded vntill the yere following.

This yere there grewe seeds of warre in Africke, which past into Europe, to the great preiudice of Christendome; for that *Muley Mahomet* king of Marocco, being loath to leaue the gouernment of that realme to *Muley Moluc* his vnckle, according to the will of his grandfather dying, *Moluc* fledde vnto the Turkes for aid, and obtained it; with the which, and with the Moores which fauoured him, he made warre against his nephew, and defeated him thrice in battell, so as he remained absolute Lord of the realmes of Fez and Marocco, his nephew being fled vnto the mountains, where, with some that followed him, he ranne vp and downe, not as a king, but like a thiefe; being by nature both couetous and cruell, vntill that in the end he perswaded the ill aduised king of Portugal, not onely to giue him succours to recouer his realme, but to passe thither in person, with the ruine of that royall house, as you shall hereafter heare.

*Muley Mahomet*  
expelled  
out of his realme

After

1576

D. John of Austria was appointed to succeed him in the government of the Netherlands, to which end he came into Luxembourg, but he would not advance, vntill that the Estates had accepted him for gouernour, and Lieutenant generall to the king his brother. This prince

John de Escovedo Secretarie to Don Iohn,

D. Iohn aspires to the crowne of England,

1577

D. Iohns carriage in his gouernment,

Voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea, and about the world.

2 After the death of *Lewis de Requesens*, great Commander of Castille, D. *John d' Austria* was appointed to succeed him in the government of the Netherlands, to which end he came into Luxembourg, but he would not advance, vntill that the Estates had accepted him for gouernour, and Lieutenant generall to the king his brother. This prince was once in an humour (as we haue said) to obtaine the crowne of Tunis, by the bounty of the king D. *Philip*, whom hee had caused to bee often importuned by the Pope, wherein the king tooke no delight, but the taking of that citie by the Turkes, and the raising of those forts which the Spaniards had built to keepe it in awe, made him to forget that humour: but it did not quench his desire to raigne in some other countrie, in the which a Secretarie of his called *Iohn de Soto* entertained him. Which the king vnderstanding, hee tooke him from him, and commaunded him to vse the seruice of *Iohn d' Escovedo*; by which change he got little, he animating him more to greatnesse: wherefore he thought it expedient (to diuert him somewhat from these ambitious desires) to drawe him out of Italie, and from those honourable employments which presented themselves, and to send him into Flanders, to contend against his rebellious subiects: the which D. *Iohn* hearing, hee bare it with great impatiencie, to see himselfe so much dejected, as to become (as a man would say) an *Algoznil*, or *Prouost* Marshall, to punish common people, whereas he had beene Generall of armies to the greatest Potentates in Christendom, against the incomparable forces of the great Turke.

Having failed of Tunis, he conuerted his thoughts vpon England, and caused the king to be solicited to make warre vpon that realme; for that (said he) *Queene Elizabeth* had alwaies fauoured the Estates and townes of the Lowe countries, in their conumacie and rebellion, and to make him Generall, hoping to make himselfe king; thinking that the affaires of the Lowe countries were too little to keepe him occupied. The king D. *Philip*, for that hee would not flatly refuse him, seemed to yeeld to it, but hee said, they must first subdue the Flemings, commaunding him to goe directly out of Italie thither, and not to passe by Spaine: but he obaied him not, for he went out of Italie into Spaine, and all by the counsell of *Escovedo*; which made the king to bee ill conceited of him: but in the end hee was forced to goe, and arrived as you haue heard, being accepted for their gouernour, hee ratified the treatie of Gand, made by the Deputes of the Prouinces, for the expelling of all strange souldiers, and other things, the which was confirmed by the king of Spaine, in April, 1577, and his Letters of approbation sent to D. *Iohn*.

Then the poore Netherlanders beganne to hope for better vsage, thinking that they were at an end of all their miseries, but the effects which followed did soone shew that this hope had beene conceiued vpon apparances. For in all D. *Iohns* gouernement there was nothing but dissimulations, secret enterprises, accusations, false imputations, surprises, and apparent delignes to heap vpon this people all the miseries of the precedent gouernements; although the effects did not follow according to the Spaniards desires. The which they imputed to D. *Iohn*, who was not come into the Low Countries to liue there in a quiet estate, or to walke in his night gowne, but with an intent that the enterprife of England should proceed, and that the King would make him Generall: but seeing that (notwithstanding all troubles in his gouernement were in a manner pacified) they made no preparation tending to inuade that land, and that there came no aduice out of Spaine conformable to his desire, yet would hee commaund an armie, and breed occasions to employ it where hee was. What his particular actions were you may read in that countrie historie.

Sir *Francis Drake* being encouraged by the good successe of his first voyage to the Indies, resolved to make a new attempt, and to passe into the South, thinking thereby to doe his Prince and Countrey great seruice, to winne himselfe immortal fame, and to annoy the King of Spaine and his subiects: wherefore in November in the yere one thousand five hundred seuentie and seuen, he went forth of Plimouth with five English shippes and barques, bending his course towards the Indies (my meaning is not to report the particularities of this voyage, but onely to touch the action summarily, for

A for that it concerns Spaine) in August after his departure he past the Strait of Magellan, and came into the South sea, where as the Spaniards liued secure from all feare, hauing neuer seene any Englishman there before. Being in this sea, hee tooke many shippes and barks, with great store of treasure: but there was one shippe which exceeded all the rest in wealth, hee tooke it at a place called Cape S. Francisco, 150 leagues from Panama: the shippe was called by the Spaniards *Cacatuego*, which name (after the taking thereof by Sir *Francis*) was wittily changed by a Spanish ship-boy, and teamed *Cacaplata*, for that it yielded him so much siluer. They found in her (besides great store ofiewels, and pretious stones) thirteene chests full of ryals of siluer, foure score pound weight of gold, and 26 tunne of siluer. Having done diuers exploits, and sackt some townes vpon the coast of Peru, and Noua Hispania, being now full fraught with treasure, and sufficiently reuenged (as he thought) of the Spaniard, hee resolved to goe to the Islands of the Molucos, and so returne to England by Cape Bona Esperance; the which he performed happily in November, being the third yere of his voyage. By the report of *Nugno de Silva* a pilot (whom he had taken in the beginning of his voyage at the Islands of Cape-Verd) & others, Sir *F. Drake* carried hie to the coast of Peru, 866 kintals of siluer, every kintal being worth 1200 ducats of Spaine: all which amounteth to a million thirtie nine thousand and two hundred ducats. He had besides, tenne kintals of gold, every kintal being valued at ten thousand and five hundred Spanish ducats: which last some amounteth to a hundred and fiftie thousand ducats, besides other treasure in that shippe which had not bene custumed (the value whereof was vnknowne) as pearles, pretious stones, ryals of plate, and other rich commodities.

These exploits of his in the South sea, (where they had neuer seene any enemy) did much trouble the Viceroy of Peru, who sent forth *Pedro Sarmiento*, a good navigator, with two shippes, to meet with Captaine *Drake* if hee could, or to fortifie in the Strait of Magellan, against such as should hereafter seeke to passe it. D. *Pedro* passed through the Straite with one of his shippes, and so went into Spaine, where he informed the king of the nature of the Strait, and of the means to buda a fort there, the country being rich, and abounding with all necessities. Whereupon the king (being aduertised that there were more shippes making ready in England) sent *Diego Flores de Balde* with twentie three shippes, and three thousand and five hundred men, and a new gouernour to Chili, with five hundred old souldiers come out of Flaunders; but before they were free from the coast of Spaine, they were surprized with a storme, and eight of the Fleet cast away, with aboue eight hundred men, the rest put into Cadiz.

D. *Iohn d' Austria* hauing drawne a world of miseries vpon those Prouinces which which were vnder his gouernment, died in the Campe, neere vnto Nemours this yere 1578, of a pestilent feuer, a prince who conceiued high and great enterprises in his mind, but aboue all, hee was much incensed against the Lowe Countries, and their generall Estates: his death was happie for them, hauing thereby some ease of their miseries and calamities. Men made diuers censures of his death, and of *Escovedo* his Secretaries, who in a manner at the same time was slaine in Spaine (as some said by the kings commaundement) for the which *Antonio de Peres* was afterwards called in question, as you shall heare.

*Alexander Farnese* prince of Parma, who was D. *Iohns* lieutenant, had commaundement of the armie, and was afterwards gouernour in his place: hee was more temperate and modest in his gouernment than the Spaniards that went before him. This prince was allied to the king of Spain, hee hauing married in the yere 1565 D. *Maria* of Bragançe, daughter to D. *Edward* of Portugal, who was brother to the Emperresse D. *Isabella*, so as they were cousin germans: which marriage might purchase to the house of *Farneses* some right to the crowne of Portugal: where, soone after there happened a lamentable change; for that this realme which had maintained it selfe with honour and reputation, in all the parts of the habitable earth, for so many ages, was reduced vnto a Prouince, vnder him of Castille, as you shall heare.

1577

1588

Treasure Sir Fr. Drake brought out of the South Sea.

Ships of Spain cast away.

1578

Death of D. Iohn of Austria.

1577

Moors.

Xeriffes kings  
of Collanuco  
their beginningMahomet Ben  
Hamet Xeriffe  
the father.Three brethren  
Xeriffes.Burning and  
Armes killed  
makes a man  
complicat.Emanuel king  
of Portugal  
fortified by  
Moors.

4 We must now enter into the mournfull Tragedie of the death of D. Sebastian king of Portugal, who thrust on by his ambitious desire of glorie, governed by ill counsell, and among other affections, by zeale of religion, wherein the Iesuits had instructed him, would (contrary to the graue aduice of the Catholike king) and without any reason, bee an actor in the quarrels of the Xeriffes, princes of Afrike, contending for the empire of Marocco and Fez, from whence the race of the kings, Merins, (of whom wee haue often made mention in this worke) had bene expelled by their fathers. It will be fit, to give more light vnto our historie, and more tast of the fruit which may be reapt, to relate briefly the beginning of these Xeriffes, and the policie of their suddaine and admirable advancement to the large dominions, so neere vnto Spaine, there being but a small cut of sea betwixt them, or (as a man would say) a puffe of wind.

Mahomet Ben Hamet called Xeriffe, which signifies famous and sacred, the which among the Mahometans they giue vnto them that are of the line of their Prophet Mahomet (from whom he said hee was descended) lived in the times of our fathers, in the towne of Tigumeder, in the countrie of Dara in Numidia. He was a politicke man, and a great hypocrite, who had by a fained sanctitie purchased the reputation of very religious and wife. He was learned in their law, in Astrologie, and in art Magike. He had three sonnes; whom hee instructed in the same manners, arts, and disciplines, and were esteemed as the father; especially after that they had bene at Mecque, and at Medina Tal Nahi in Arabia, which is a voyage held among them of great merit: for at Medina is the sepulchre of their prophet Mahomet. Their names were *Abdelquibir*, *Hamet*, and *Mahomet* the youngest, who past the rest in policie and valour.

Hamet and Mahomet being come to Fez, a great and well peopled citie in Afrike, and the chiefe of the reale of Mauritania Tingitana, to make themselves knowne there, they were much made of by men that were curious of Sciences, and in a short time one of them obtained a publike Lecture in the Colledge of Modarafa, and the other had the charge to instruct and bring vp the children of *Muley Mahomet*, and *Oataz*, who was the last king of Fez saue one of the race of Benimerins. The Xeriffe their father hearing that his sonnes prospered, hee admitted them to ioyne the art of warre with knowledge and learning; for those two faculties vniued, make a ready way to greatesse: the which they could practise in such sort, that as they had bene esteemed for their learning, so they got a reputation to be valiant among the Xeques and Alcaides of the realme; and vpon this opinion they had charge giuen them of some troupe or corner of horse, at their instance, vnder colour of religion, saying that it was to make warre against certaine Moores and Africans which went to seue the king of Portugal, and did annoy the other Mahometans of their sect: *Muley Nacer* brother to the king of Fez, was very vnwilling they should haue this Commission giuen them; saying, that by the like practises, and vnder a cloake of holinesse, the families of *Isfakis*, *Magaracs*, *Almorauides*, and *Almohades* had raigned in Afrike, and ruined the ancient royall houses. Yet they had commission to leuie men, and proued famous captaines in a short time; for hauing for a time ouerrunne the provinces of Duquene and others, where the Portugals had some forts, and done many gallant exploits, they past into that of Sus, which depends vpon Marroc, whither their fame was spread; and being there visited by many Moores and Africans of those marches, liuing then in libertie, without any king, and who beleued that their designe was to make warre against the Christians which did hold the coasts of Afrike vnder the kings D. John the second, and D. Emanuel of Portugal, and the townes of Ceuta, Tangir, Arzile, Alcafar, Ceguer, Azamor, Mazagon, Saphi, and Cap d'Aguer, & farther off, the citie of Arquin, they had presently a great troupe; especially for that king Emanuel entertained many Moores and naturall Africans: so as that Christian king might at sometimes haue drawne into armes of those nations aboute fiftie thousand horse, and twice as many foot. Vnder the name of this religious warre, the Xeriffes became strong and fearefull in the field: and in fauour thereof, they did obtaine of the inhabitants of the province of Dara in Numidia, where they were borne, the tenths of their reuenues: for vnto God, said they, the tenths of the fruits of the earth are due by

ancient

A ancient constitutions. The citie of Turedant, which is a seat royall, and in olde time was the third member of the Miralimums estate, did not onely receiue this import willingly; but they also perswaded the other Westerne Provinces to doe the like, and to chooseth for their gouernour the old *Mahomet Ben Hamet*, the father of these two Xeriffes, *Hamet* and *Mahomet*: by reason whereof, he made himselfe master of Turedant, & made sharpe warres against the Moores which held the partie of the Portugals, in the province of Dara and others. A certaine Xec of the towne of Tiguin, in the mountaines of Atlas the greater, towards the province of Sus, drew vnto the Xeriffes the people of Hea; lying neere vnto him, who did contribute the tenthes of their fruits, and of the seedling of their cattell, and in the end hee put them in possession of the towne of Teneff, which is the chiefe of that province of Hea, one of the best of Afrike: and then they called themselves princes, by the practises of this Xec, who was a Genouois renegado. But they were expelled by *Nugno Fernandes* of Atayde a Portugal, who forced them to retire to Tazarot, a towne of the iurisdiction of Marroc, and in the meane time old *Mahomet Ben Hamet* the Xeriffe died. His three sonnes continuing their enterprises, besieged the towne of Alquel, and tooke it from a Xec, called *Cidi Bugima African*, vassall to the king of Portugal: and then they seized vpon the citie of the mountaine of Xanxaua, the which they fortified, and were continually assisted by the Lords, townes, and communalities of that Westerne quarter of Afrike, in regard of this holy warre. After which, they got more reputation, hauing incountred and taken D. Lope de Barriga, gouernour of Alifio, who was the most redoubted captaine king Emanuel had in Afrike. Notwithstanding *Abdelquibir* the eldest of the Xeriffes was slaine in this conflict. The two others continuing their designes made themselves masters of Marroc, a goodly great citie, and chiefe of the realme, by a notable treason practised against *Nacer Buxenuf* of the race of the *Hententats*, who was king, but hee held nothing, in a manner, but the very towne, for all the dependancies were at that time held by pettie tyrans; and the champaigne country by the Alarabes, who in that countrie doe commonly hold Lords; towns; yea and kings in subiection. This *Nacer* hauing often receiued the Xeriffes very kindly into Marroc, and used them with all honour and courtserie; hee was one time poysoned by their fraud, goeing forth to sleepe at the Hexon with him. They had suborned a certaine Moore, who crossed these noble men in their way as they returned from hawking, hauing a cake in his basket made of flower and sugar that was poysoned, who seeming to go on his way like a traueiler, he was staied by the Xeriffes, who demanded of him what hee carried in his basket, and if he had not something good to eat, or to mingle with water to disalter the king, who was there present; whereupon this Moore drewe out his cake, and presented it vnto the king, who did eate thereof, and dranke the water, into the which he had sleeped it; whereof hee did not presently complaine: but being come to Marroc, hee fell sicke and died within 6 daies. In the meane time *Mahomet* knowing what would happen, went to Xanxaua to fetch his forces, to second his brother *Hamet*, as they had agreed, who by the meanes of some confederates, which vnder other pretexts were then at Marroc, seized vpon the citie, euen as his brother arriued with his troups, and made himselfe to be acknowledged for king of the Marroquins; and seeming with a counterfeit modestie to be very much grieved for the accident which had befallen king *Nacer*; as a thing (said he) practised by some of his enemies vnknowne to him, hee said that his election was a blessing of heauen, the which must follow: seeking to pacifie the children of the deceased, promising them honours and estates at their desires. Then hee sent to aduertise the King of Fez, that hee had bene created King of Marroc; and that hee would hold the citie of him; and sending him certaine presents, accompanied with submissions and promises, hee rested satisfied. Thus hee got the possession of Marroc, and of the rights of that realme, the iurisdiccions whereof extend farre towards the South; which (as wee haue said) were distracted by the usurpations of pettie Lords: and many townes also had infranchised themselves, gouerning themselves like common weales, but they reduced them to their old obedience. The warres against the Christians and Moores which did adhere vnto them, being the chiefe support of their authoritie and credit with the people, they continued it, and had diuers incounters with the Portugals.

1577

Xeriffe makes  
himselfe master  
of Turedant.Xeriffes seize  
vpon Marroc  
by treason.

1577

Portugals; but that wherein they did labour more curiously, and wherein they were most fortunate, for the setting of their great enmity, was to practise the Moores which followed the king of Portugals partie, to draw them vnto themselves, wherein finding some difficulties, they sought to let a diuision among them, and they faining to be partakers in their quarrels, did so bandie them one against another, as the Moores and Alarabes of the countie of Duquele and they of Xarquie of the one part, and they of Garbia of the other, by mutuall encounters and bloodie battels made themselves so weake, as the Xeriffes did easily subiect them one after another, and enrich themselves with their spoyle: which was so great, as afterwards they had not any need of armes, horses, nor followers: and then the two brethren diuided their estates, so as *Hamet* was king of Marroc, and *Mahomet* king of Sus, or of Tarudant, which towne he did beautifie with buildings, and fortifie very much: but, as the prosperities of this world are neuer absolute, going to besiege the towne of Cap d'Aguer in Sus, hee was roughly repulst, with the losse of a great number of men; the which did but quicken his spirits and courage to find means to recover this losse, and to maintaine his reputation: wherein both hee and his brother *Hamet* were much assisted by the approbation they had of the king of Fez, who was content when they had any losse, that they should repaire their forces by new leuiues made in his countries, and by his subiects which did voluntarily follow them: and therefore for some yeares they entertained friendship with this king, who was the cause of their aduancement, by all duties and good offices, paying him the like tribute that *Nacer* king of Marroc was accustomed to paie, and moreover, the fifth penie of their spoiles taken in warre. But finding themselves once strong, they began to neglect it, wherewith the king was discontented, commanding one of his capitaines to let them vnderstand, that if they sent him not this tribute, he would make warre against them as enemies. The death of king *Mahomet Ostaz* ensuing, pacified this quarrell, for that the children of the deceased who had bene scholars to one of the Xeriffes, would not molest them, but confirmed them easily in their conquests, making a new promise of a light tribute, of the which they neuer paid any thing, being glad to haue such an occasion to breake with them of Fez, whom they knew to be men of little valour, liuing in delights and pleasures: Ambition which hath no bounds, prouoking them to passe all the bonds, respects, and considerations of the fauours which they had receiued from the house of these *Ostaz Merimes*, whom in the end they did ruine: and the better to attaine to that which they pretended, they made an alliance with *Aben Hadu*, and *Muley Ferez*, brethren, and *Muley Drys*, with other Lords of the mountaines, & enemies to the familie of the *Ostaz*; so as when *Muley Hamet*, who had succeeded *Mahomet* his father in the realme of Fez, thought (after that the tribute had bene discontinued some yeares) to force the Xeriffes: they gaue him plainly to vnderstand that they owed him not any thing, and that they had more right to raigne, and to demand tribute of the kings and people of Afrike, than any other; for that they were descended from the Prophet *Mahomet*, and his lawfull successours: wherefore, if he thought it good to bee their friend, they would bee his: and if he attempted to crosse them in the warres which they made against Christians, that both God and *Mahomet* would punish him, neither should they want power to defend themselves. And soone after, the Xeriffe of Marroc, who confined vpon the country of Fez, made triall if this king had the courage to enter into warre; for he began to force the inhabitants of some places of his iurisdiction which lay neere vnto him, to paie him the tenthes of their fruits, which was the chiefe article at that time of the receipt of their treasure: yea, they did not exact any other thing, but certaine customes or tolles. Whereupon the king of Fez resolved to proclaim war against them, & came in person to besiege Marroc, being vnprouided of Ordnance: for hee had but two peeces, with the which hee made a batterie neere vnto the port of Ciet Belabez Cebti. The other hearing of this siege at Sus, came speedily and put himselfe into Marroc, with three thousand horse, the which the king of Fez with his armie could not preuent: then instantly, with his and his brothers forces, they made a furious sallie, and put the assaillants to rout, pursuing them vnto the Province of Escura, doing infinit harme euen in the taile of their army. King *Hamet Ostaz* making halt, with the first to come to Fez, where he had news the same night, that

Hamet and  
Mahomet di-  
uide their e-  
states.

Tenths of fruits  
the reuenues  
of Kings.

Muley

A *Muley Mus* and her brother, had raysed a tumult in the citie, & that he would make himself King: which rebellion he suppressed by his comming. By this bad triall which the King of Fez had made, he was so incensed, as he would returne againe to the siege of Marroc, whereas the two brethren, did not attend him, but came forth to meete him, and charging him at the passage of the riuer of los Negros, at a place called Buacuba, they defeated his forward: in which conflict *Muley Mahomet* his son was slaine, and with him King *Aben Abdalla*, he who had lost Grano in Spaine, and the King of Fez was forced to returne in disorder, with great losse of his men, baggage, and women, and to leaue the field to the Xeriffes, who by fauour of this victorie, made all them of the iurisdiction of Fez, which confined vpon Marroc, to contribute the tenths, without any resistance, and when as afterwards the King of Fez sought to be reuenged, they made head against him and his Captaines, and put them to many routes, so as that wrong remayned vreuenged.

B The Xeriffes hauing handled the King of Fez thus roughly, he of Sus led an armie beyond the mountaine Atlas, he tooke Tafillet, a towne of Numidia, and carried away the Lord thereof called *Amar*. He also took some other places, some by force, some by composition: so as these two brethren extended their dominions towards Numidia and Lybia, and subdued the Arabians and Affricans which liued in those drie countries. But that which gaue more fame to *Mahomet*, was the taking of Cape d'Aguer, which he had already attempted, and was then ill defended by *D. Guttierre* of Montroy a Portugois, who was forced and taken there with a good spoile, especially of armes and ordinance, whereof the Xeriffes could make great vie. This conquest settled them in their Estates, and made all the people of the mountaines and valleys, friends, yea obedient vnto them, and some thought that they had made *Emanuel* King of Portugal giue ouer the warres of Affrick, and demantle the townes of Azamor, Safi, Arzille and Alcaçar Ceguer, the which happened soone after.

Xeriffes in que-  
rell betwixt  
themselves.

C But as all equalitie is odious in great men, and their societie nothing firme: these two brethren fell in the end to quarrell, and to open war. The cause was the hatred which *Hamet* bare to his younger brother *Mahomet*, for that hee was more esteemed and respected then he, he was indeede more valiant, more iust, and more loyall in that which hee promised: he was discontented also, that of all the boote which *Mahomet* his brother had taken at Cap d'Aguer, of the which he should giue him the fifth part, hee had not sent him any thing but *D. Guttierre* prisoner, and some few slaues: Wherefore he sent him an imperious message, that he would haue all the Ordnance, the harguebuzies, and the munition, which he had wonne and 400. slaues more, and then the fifth penie of all the rest of the boote: whereupon there were diuers answers and replies. *Hamet* seeing that hee did not performe what he desired, sent certaine troupes to leaue tribute of the land, which his brother enioyed; the which he did for that time endure. After which *Hamet* desired that they might haue an enterview in Marroc, but *Mahomet* knowing his brother well, excused himselfe, and seeing they were vpon complaints, *Mahomet* sayd, that he had deprived him of the lawfull succession of their father, who had left him great treasure in Tazaror, demanding a moiety both of the moueables and conquests, where he had alwaies bene in the greatest dangers. He sayd moreover, that *Mahomet Harran* his son hauing bin borne before that *Hamet* had any children, he ought to be sworne King and successor to all the Realmes, according to a certaine ordonance of their father. From these words they fell to armes, and without the meditation of *Cidi Arrabal* (who was an Alfgau of great authority among the Moores and Alarabes) the warre had then growne furious and bloody, but he pacified them, and procured an enterview vpon the bankes of the riuer Hued Isfen, whether either of them came with 500. horse, and lighted in the field, where there were two tents pitched, betwixt the which they parleyed, without any other companie, but the aboue-named Alfgau, their troupes being far from them. At their coming together, *Mahomet* humbling himselfe something, *Hamet* presently laied hold of him, shaking him after a rough manner, and seeking to ouerthrow him: but *Mahomet*, who was strong and active, kept himselfe vp, and in the end in wrassling, got his brother vnder him, doing him no harme, but reproched him with his disloyalty, the other pouting forth many injuries, vntill the Alfgau parted them, and then they both retired, so as this vnkind meeting

Rrrrr

did







Gouverneur of Alger, who had some intelligence of these Carauels, who assayed them with fourescore Gallies, tooke them, and carried them to Alger, with all the Christian souldiers, notwithstanding any thing that *Buafon* could pleade, who sayd, that hee had brought them for his seruice, that by their ayde hee might enter into the Estate of Fez, from whence the Xeriffe, their common enemy, had chased all their house and family by force: but hee could get nothing from *Salharrais* at that time but reproches, that hee should bee ashamed, beeing a Mahometane, to haue recourse vnto Christians in his affaires, rather then vnto Turkes: yet notwithstanding afterwards, hee not onely deliuered these Portugall souldiers, but came himselfe with the forces of his Gouvernement to ayde *Buafon* to recouer the Realme of Fez: for it happened, that the Xeriffe hauing greater desseignes, and aspiring to the Empire of all Affricke, made an enterprize vpon the Towne of Tremessen, which was a store-house for the Turkes, where they had a Gouverneur and a Garrison, sending his three eldest sonnes *Harran*, *Cader*, and *Abdalla*, to whome it was yielded without resistance. *Abdalla* remayned there with a good Garrison, but hee stayed not long till hee was inuested by *Salharrais* with a mightie armie, by whome hee was vanquished going forth to fight with them, notwithstanding that the father had sent him a supply of eight thousand horse, vnder the command of *Cader* and *Abderramen* his Brethren, who were the cause of this losse, by their accustomed iares and diffentions: for beeing brethren by diuers mothers, they had alwaies some quarrell a foote, and could not agree in this important action. *Cader* was slayne in this conflict, beeing not succoured by *Abderramen*, and *Abdalla* (fore wounded) was forced to retire in disorder.

*Bahami* an old Captaine, and Cousin to these young Xeriffes, thinking to reprehend *Abderramen* for the fault which hee had committed, vsing some sharp and manly words vnto him, hee wounded him in the arme with his sword; whereof hauing afterwards complained vnto the Xeriffe *Mahomet*, hee was so incensed against his sonne, as some thought hee was poysoned within a moneth after, with the fathers consent: so in a short time three of the Xeriffes sons dyed: for *Mahomet Harran* the eldest, who was appoynted Successeur to the Realmes of Marrocc and Fez, and had assisted him in the Conquest of Tremessen, returning afterwards to Fez, he dyed of sickness. In the meane time the Xeriffe had newes that the Inhabitants of the Mountaine *Nefuca*, called otherwise *Derenderen*, a people subiect to rebellion, were reuolted. They had mutined before, by the perswasion of a Preacher of the sect of *Mohaydin*, called *Cidi Abdalla*: but now the Xeriffe imputed this tumult to the praetises of *Muley Hamet* the disposessed King of Fez and his children: but more vpon a conceipt, then any wel-grounded reason: so as incensed with a violent passion, hee sent his sonne *Abdalla* to Marrocc, where this poore King was, with charge to cut off his head, and there was commaundement sent to *Habis*, Gouverneur of Sus, to do the like to his two sonnes *Cazeri* and *Nacer*, who liued at Taradant, the which was executed.

The Rebels of *Derenderen* had annoyed the Xeriffe, beeing animated by their Preacher *Cidi Abdalla*, and now they shewed themselves no lesse obstinate. It is a mightie people, but barbarous, superstitious, and disloyall, inhabiting this long mountaine, which was strong and of hard access, hauing with in it spacious valleys well tilled, carrying grayne, oyle, and other fruites, which is a branch of the great Atlas, in the territory of Marrocc: who made such resistance against the Xeriffe, who came against them in person, as after that he had lost a great number of his men, hee resolved to leaue them vntill another time.

The town of Tremessen beeing recovered by the Turkes, *Buafon* Lord of Velez, who was at Melille, came againe to intreate *Salharrais*, that he would not ruine his good fortune, but deliuer the Christian souldiers which hee detayned, paying him some reasonable ranfome. *Salharrais* beeing incensed against the Xeriffe, and thinking that if hee should assaile him after the route of his sonnes, hee would bee so amazed, as hee might dispose him of Fez, requiting him with the like as he had attempted to do against him at Tremessen, hee granted *Buafon* his request, and moreover offered to furnish him with a good number of Turkes, hauing agreed vpon some pay, and he himselfe went with him

Cousin of the  
Xeriffe *Mahomet*.

him in person. *Buafon* promised to pay him a thousand doubloons of gold daily, for forty daies together, and gaue him caution in the town of Alger: Hee agreed also that *Salharrais* should carry away all the mouables, iewels and treasure which should bee found in Fez, belonging to the Xeriffe.

This accord being made, the Turke went to field with foure thousand men of his nation, and twelve peeces of ordinance, giuing order to other troupes to come and ioyne with him at Tremessen: the Lord of Dubude of the bloud of the *Meritis*, came also with some souldiers. It may be the newes hereof made the Xeriffe retire from pursuing the Montanyards of *Derenderen*, sooner then hee would haue done, and to put himselfe into Fez, whether all his forces being come, hee went to encounter the Turkes vpon the Marches of Tezar, whereas the Realme of Fez confines with that of Tremessen, and there attended his coming many daies: but seeing his long stay, and his victuals being cut off by *Buafon*'s children, who held the passages, and had their retreats into the mountaines of Matagara, hee was forced to retire. Xeriffe was no sooner parted from Tezar, but *Salharrais* arrived, to whom the Inhabitants opened their gate, and received a garison of Turkes: then causing his army to march against Fez, hee went along the foote of the mountaines, being coasted by the Xeriff's army which held the plaines, and was much stronger then he in horse. *Salharrais* was a captaine, and could embrace all occasions, so as one day hee surprized the Xeriff's reereward, led by *Abdalla*, his sonne, and put it to route, and made him to abandon his munition and baggage, so as the Xeriffe was forced to goe hastily to Fez, marching all that day and the night following without any stay, and then *Salharrais* lodged presently vpon the bankes of the river Sebu.

The Inhabitants of Fez haue a preiudice, that if their King suffers the enemy to approach within halfe a league of the city, as being to weake and wanting meanes to resist him, they may open him the gates, and not bee taxed with treachery, and so they cause their Kings to sweare at their coming to the crowne: For it is a great folly, say they, by a vaine, weake & vnseasonable loyalty, to expose such a city to the spoile, in supporting a Prince obstinately, who is vnprovided of force and meanes to defend them. This preiudice forced the Xeriffe to goe forth againe to fight with the Turkes army, and with his enemy *Buafon*, and fearing that the captaine of the Turkes which hee had for his gard, would abandon him, and retire to *Salharrais*, hee caused his head to bee cut off.

All the captaines and gouernors of Sus, *Daa*, Marrocc, and the Prouinces of Fez, were in his army with their people, which shewed to bee foure score thousand horse, of the which he sent eight thousand good horse of Sus against the enemy, to fight with him at the passage of a river, and hee with the rest of the army followed after, stretching it out vpon the river side, so as there was nothing but the river betwixt the two armies, *Salharrais* finding great difficulty in his passage, planted his ordinance, vpon the rivers side where there was a ford, and caused euery horseman to take a Harguebozier behind him, and the ordinance to play continually vpon the Xeriff's squadrons, so as hee past a great number of his shot in despite of them, who with admirable celerity cast vp a kinde of rampart to defend them from the horse, and shooting incessantly gaue meanes to the rest of the Turkes horse and foote to passe, neither could they bee forced to quit the place, which they had taken, notwithstanding the many charges of the Xeriff's horsemen.

The Turkes army being past, they lodged that night as strongly as they could. The next day they marched towards the city, whereas the Xeriff's army made great resistance, the which was diuided into three battailions, and hauing made a trench vpon the great high way, planted with ordinance, they could not passe; but *Salharrais* making a shew as if he would goe and beseege the bourrough of Zefere with part of his army, whereas the Xeriff's victuals and munition lay, hee caused his sonne *Abdalla* to leaue a little hill called *Dardubag*, which hee had in gard, of the which hee himselfe, with the other part of the Turkish army, seized instantly; and then hee feared not the enemies horse, the which could not then annoy him, the way being rough and full of stones. Notwithstanding the Xeriffe charged the Turkes, but they of that nation and the renegados which were in his army, and of his gard, betrayed him so as *Salharrais* Turkes got the aduantage, and

Preiudice of  
the Inhabitants  
of Fez.

Turkes make  
the Xeriffe re-  
tire.

and with their shot disperced their first Squadrons: and put them to flight, wherefore A  
the Xeriffe seeing that they of Fez that were with him began to wauer, and that most of  
them retired towards the old city, hee resolved also to retire himselfe into new Fez, with  
hisouldiars of Marroc and Sus, in whom he did most relie, and the Turkes marching on  
in good order, came and camped neere vnto the port called Bebelsetoh, whereas ma-  
ny of the Inhabitants came vnto them, and Arabians that were friends to *Buafon*, with  
an intent to haue it opened vnto him. *Muley Abdalla* the Xeriffs sonne, who had entred  
the city by another port, caused two peeces of ordinance to bee planted vpon the por-  
tall of Bebelsetoh, which made many shot into the Turkes campe, and did them much  
harne, but *Buafon* and his friends brake open the gate, and made way for the army to  
enter.

Fez abandon-  
ed by the Xer-  
iffe to the  
Turkes.

Then there beganne a furious and bloody conflict in the streetes, where there died  
many good men of either side, in the end *Abdalla*, who had no confidence in them of  
Fez, abandoned it, and retired himselfe into the castle of new Fez, passing by the suburbs  
of Merz, where he reported vnto his father how all things had past in the great towne,  
who holding himselfe not safe in new Fez, went to field, in a manner flying towards  
Marroc, hauing aduised his wiues, his daughters and household traine, to saue themselves  
as they could: abandoning his treasures, jewels, and mouables (whereof hee  
went alwaies well furnished) to them that could lay hold of it. Some escaped, others  
were staid and taken, and amongst them two of the Xeriffs daughters, who had that day  
a notable losse. *Aliken Bubcar*, who was captaine of the fort of new Fez, held it, vntill  
he thought that the Xeriffe was in safety, and then hee yielded it to *Salharrais* by com-  
position, his men going forth with their armes and horses, and what goods they could  
carry with them.

Fez taken by  
the Turkes.

The city of Fez being thus wonne, some captaines of the Turkes army, who hated  
*Buafon*, gaue *Salharrais* to vnderstand that the Inhabitants of Fez did detest him, for that  
hee was affected to the Christians, and was proud, and of an ill disposition. That they  
murmured already against him, and gaue it out that they would neuer receiue him wil-  
lingly for their King; and therefore hee should binde them much vnto him, if hee gaue  
them *Muley Bubcar*, one of the sonnes of *Muley Hamet Outaz*, to whom by right the  
Realme did belong, and that it was their desire. Vpon these reports and perswasions  
*Salharrais* caused *Muley Bubcar* to bee proclaimed King of Fez, retayning *Muley Buafon*  
in the fort of new Fez well garded, which made the people to mutine: for whereas the  
Turkes had said that *Buafon* was hated and reiected by the Inhabitants of Fez, it was a  
meere slander, and the contrary did soone appeare, for they tooke armes for his sake a-  
gainst the Turkes, so as *Salharrais* was forced (to pacifie this tumult) to send him vnto  
them with an Alcaide, he promising to returne againe to accomplish their conuentions.  
*Buafon* being brought into the city, cast himselfe into the Mesquite of Caruin, and  
would not come forth, saying, that he had bene ill intreated by the Turkes, and in dan-  
ger to be slaine by them, and therefore he would not fall againe into their hands. But  
the Alcaide, which did accompany him, gaue him so many reasons, as hee returned with  
him to *Salharrais*, who pacified him with good words and made him King of Fez: but  
hee condemned the Citizens to pay an ounce of gold for euery house, because they had  
seditiously taken armes against the Turkes: whatsoever past betwixt them afterwards,  
it is certaine, that *Salharrais* departed very ill satisfied of King *Buafon*, and returned from  
this enterprise (where hee had gotten much honour and profit) in such a rage against  
him, as hee aduertised the Xeriffe, that he might boldly make warre against Fez when hee  
pleased, assuring him that hee would neuer giue aide to *Buafon*: It may bee hee was the  
more incensed, for that hauing sent *Ta Haya* a Turke to Veles, to receiue the fort of Pip-  
non, which it may be was an Article of their Conuentions, the captaine that was in it,  
would not yeeld it, but deliuered it vnto *Muley Mahomet* sonne of *Buafon*, and when the  
Pirat demanded it of *Mahomet*, hee refused him, but it happened on a time that the Pi-  
rat tooke *Mahomet* out of his fort, and intreated him so roughly, as hee yielded vp  
the place.

The Xeriffe *Mahomet* being chased from Fez, thinking that the towne of Meguineus,  
would

A would be of great expence hee commanded his sonne *Abdalla* who was in it, to abandon  
it, for the which hee repented himselfe, hearing how much *Salharrais* was discontented  
with *Buafon*: for this place was very commodious to make an enterprise vpon Fez,  
which hee presently resolved. But hee had reason to thinke how to keepe it from the  
Xeriffe *Hamet* his brother, who vpon the newes of this losse was returned to Taflet,  
and had made himselfe Master thereof, with an intent to attempt some great matter.  
Hee therefore resolved to punish him in such sort, as hee should neuer haue more cause  
to feare him, going himselfe in person to beseege him in Taflet, and in the meane time  
he sent an army against *Buafon* the new King of Fez; giuing the charge thereof to his  
sonne *Abdalla*; *Buafon* for his part sent his army to field, being led by *Muley Nacer*, and  
Muley Mahomet his sonnes: but these two brethren (the one being base) disagreeing,  
they diuided their forces, and gaue *Abdalla* meanes to defeat *Mahomet*, and to make the  
other retire: which made *Buafon* goe out of Fez with a great army, who charged *Abdalla*  
so furiously, as hee put his army to rout with great slaughter. In this battaile there  
was a race of Arabians cut in peeces, called Arrahamenes, whom the Xeriffe drew out  
of the country of Sus, and had placed them in the Prouince of Temecene, of the which  
there escaped not one.

Abdalla de-  
fected by  
Buafon.

The defeat of *Abdalla* was held secret by the Xeriffe, who did beseege *Hamet* his brother  
in Taflet, so as the beseeged knew not any thing: but contrariwise they found  
meanes to haue it bruted in the towne, that *Abdalla* was a conqueror in Fez. Where-  
fore *Hamet* who had put himselfe into that place, in hope to be releued by *Buafon*, be-  
leeuing that he had bene wholly defeated, and without hope of that which hee expected,  
he sent *Zidan* and *Nacer* his sonnes vnto their vncke, and yielded himselfe vnto his mer-  
cy: Who confined him at that time into an hermitage, but hee caused the heads of his  
Nephewes, to bee cut off, to free himselfe of all feare; and hauing left a good garrison  
in Taflet, hee tooke the way to Garciluin, and by that way entred into the Realme of Fez.  
*Buafon* seeing himselfe thus obstinately pursued, went forth against the Xeriffe, where  
there was a bloody battaile, in the which *Buafon* was slaine vpon the place, and his  
army put to flight. *Nacer* his sonne fled to Mesquineuz, to recover the mountaines,  
his other sonne *Mahomet*, entred into Fez, with fifty horse onely, but the Citizens, who  
alwaies held with the stronger, let him know that he was not welcome: wherefore hee  
went also to Mesquineuz, where hee found his brother *Nacer*, and so they past to Sala or  
Rabat vpon the Ocean sea, where they imbarked to passe into Spaine, but they were  
taken at sea by certaine Pirats Brittons. *Muley Bubcar*, sonne to the deceased King  
*Hamet Outaz*, being in this battaile with *Buafon*, fled to Tremessen, and from thence to Al-  
gier, where he died of the plague.

Mahomet the  
Xeriffe besee-  
ged his brother  
Mahomet.

Buafon King of  
Fez defeated  
and slaine.

Thus by this victory the Xeriffe was peaceable King of Fez, and all the Xecques of the  
people, and Gouernors of the Realm, came and yielded themselves vnto him. Being vn-  
able to force them of the mountaines, or being loath to blemish the glory of so great a  
conquest by some sinister accident, in seeking to subdue those base desperate people, he  
made an accord with them, that they should yeeld him a certaine homage. Being then  
cometo Marroc, hee caused his brother *Hamet* to bee brought thether, with the children  
that he had remayning, giuing them in gard, to *Ali Ben Buar*, and then hee went towards  
Taradant to make a marriage (for hee was accustomed euery yeere to marry some faire  
gentlewoman) and therefore hee carried two of his daughters with him, with a great  
trainee of women, some troupes of horse, and twelue hundred Turkes of his gard; but  
he came not thether, being slaine by the way, by treason, vpon this occasion. Hee had  
a priuate hatred with *Hassen Balsa*, sonne to *Haradin Barbarousse* (but the cause is not  
well knowne) so as *Hassen* sought all meanes to be reuenged. Being at Algier there  
came a Turke vnto him, who had heard speake of their quarrell, his name was also *Hassen*,  
a wicked and a murderous man, who made offer to kill the Xeriffe, and hauing receiued  
money, and great promises from the Basha, he came to Fez, whereas *Abdalla* was vice-  
roy for his father; whom hee gaue to vnderstand that hee had fled from Algier, for that  
*Hassen Balsa* would haue put him to death vpon certaine false reports, beseeching him  
to receiue him into his seruice. *Abdalla* who did not much loue the Turkish nation,  
would

Fez wholly sub-  
dued to the  
Xeriffe.

would not entertaine him, but willed him to goe to Marroc to his father the which hee A  
did, where he was receiued, and soone after made captaine of the Turkes of his gard,  
who were all discontented, and ready to mutine, for that they had bene about a yeece  
without their pay, the which they had often demanded of the treasurers, and were dis-  
dainfully reiected, with injuries, as it is the custome of that kinde of people: so as  
when the Xeriffe beganne his voyage to Tarudant; they were much incensed. The  
Turke *Hassen* taking this fit occasion to execute his designe, increased their discontents  
all he could, so as he grew confident to treat with some of the most mutinous of his  
garde, to kill the Xeriffe, and to spoile his treasure, shewing them how easily they might  
escape by Numidia, and get to Tremessen, before they should haue means to pursue B  
them.

This practise succeeded for the execution of the murthér, but they could not escape  
as they expected. The Xeriffe being at the passage of Mont Atlas, which is called Bi-  
bone, at a place named Algier, he would take a view of his garde, who for this cause were  
armed on horsebacke, and in battaile, *Hassen* who was their captaine, lighting from his  
horse, drew neere vnto the Xeriffe, who was at the entry of his tent, as if hee had some  
thing to say vnto him, being followed by foure other his confederats; being neere, and  
seeing him attentue to some other thing, the Treasurer who was not farre off, seeing  
*Hassen* lay his hand vpon his Cymitere, he cried out to Xeriffe that he should beaue of  
himselfe: the Xeriffe thinking to flie into his tent, was intangled among the cords and C  
fel, then the traitor cut one of his hamstrings, & the rest made an end of murdering him,  
killing his chiefe Treasurer (whom they hated) with him. This murthér being done,  
it was published by the Turkes themselves, with curses against the dead. Many of the  
troupes which followed in this voyage, ioyned with them, so as *Hassen* was presently  
strong and so feared, as marching towards the Prouince of Sus, wherefoeuer hee past,  
they did him honour and seruice, and being come to Tarudant they easily made them-  
selves Master of the towne, finding it abandoned by *Muley Odman*, one of the Xeriffes  
children, and there they gathered together the treasure that was found in his, and his  
two daughters traines, with that which they found in the castle of Tarudant. Thus  
perished the Xeriffe *Mahomet*, who from little was aduanced to one of the greatest D  
principalties in the world, built vpon the rapine of three mighty and ancient realmes,  
wherevnto hee had annexed many other Prouinces, by notable murders, and incredi-  
ble effusion of bloud, with an intent to make himselfe Monarke of all Africke, high-mind-  
ed, proude, a dissembler, a parricide to reigne alone, couetous, without loue, iniurious  
and contemning all other men: against whom God raised a petty enemy, when as hee  
thought to enioy all his conquests, and that he glorified himselfe, who slue him in  
the midst of his guards, yea and by them; so variable and inconstant is worldly great-  
nesse. The murderers liued not long vn timer. They found amongst the prisoners  
whom they deliuered at Tarudant, a Moore issued from the race of the Lewes, who was  
called *Gazi Musa*, and had bene superintendant of the Engines of sugar which the Xeriffe E  
held in that Prouince, and was then restrained vpon his accounts.

He was knowne by the Turkes to be a man of great iudgement and vnderstanding, and  
that might giue them good aduice, wherefore they honoured him with the Office  
of Iustice Major of the towne and country of Sus. Being doubtfull what to doe, hee  
advised them to fortifie themselves in that great and rich city, where they might  
well defend themselves for a time, vntill that succors came vnto them from Algier  
by Numidia, but *Hassen* who was rich, could not see the happinesse to returne vnto  
the Basha, whom he had serued lo wishfully, and therefore he resolved to depart with  
his booy, and seeke to get through the desarts to Tremessen, the which they might haue  
easily done, if they had taken this resolution sooner: for hauing spent about 3. weekes in  
Tarudant, they might wel thinke they should find incounters, hauing so long a iorney to  
goe, which they should not be able to resist: *Gazi Musa* seeing that the Turke should bee  
no longer his Lord, he secretly gaue intelligence to *Muley Odman* (who was in the  
Prouince of Dara, and leauied men, both Africans and Arabians his friends) of the de-  
parture and voyage which *Hassen* and his confederats made, who carried away his sisters  
and

Xeriffe Ma-  
homet the  
red.

disposition  
of the Xeriffe  
Mahomet.

A and the treasurer of the Realme, thinking by this aduice to bee freed from the remainder of  
his accompts. These theuees were not two iorney from Tarudant, but they found  
themselves charged, and so prest as they were forced to loofe both prey and life, for they  
were all slaine. So the virgins and the treasurer was recouered, and Tarudant also. This  
happened in the yeere 1557.

At Marroc the Alcaide *Ali Ben Buhcar* remained Gouvernor, who had bene a good  
seruant to the Xeriffe that was dead, and was much affected to *Abdalla* his sonne. Hee  
vsing wordly wildome, hearing how his Master had bene slaine, not attending any order  
or commandement from the new King *Abdalla*, slue the old Xeriffe *Hamet*, who had  
bene giuen in gard, least the people should force him to deliuer this *Hamet*, to seat him  
in the royall Throne, where they had seene him some yeeres before, the which might hin-  
der *Abdalla* who was then at Fez, desiring to settle him quietly in the realme as he did.

Among the Princes which this Gouvernor slue, there were two sonnes of *Muley Zidan*  
and of *Mariana* daughter to the deceased Xeriffe *Mahomet*, who found an easie means to  
be reuenged, for after the death of *Muley Zidan* her husband, she had retired to *Abdalla*  
her brother, whom she gouerned whilst he liued with great fauour, so as *Ali Ben Buhcar*  
had a most dangerous enemy of her about the King. *Abdalla* succeeded in the realmes  
of Marroc, Fez and Tarudant, with their appurtenances, without any contradiction: The  
father had ordained by a sollemne will, made in a Parliament or Conuocation held ex-  
pressly, that the eldest of his sonnes should succeed in all his Estates, Lands, and Siegneu-  
ries, as King, and after him his other brethren vnto the last that should be lying, accord-  
ing vnto the prerogative of their ages, and that not any one of their children should  
come vnto the crowne, during the life of any one of the vnckes, which Order *Abdalla* in  
the course of his reigne thought to breake, in fauour of his sonne *Mahomet*, and there-  
vpon *Mariana* tooke occasion to be reuenged of *Ali* who had slaine her children, and  
procured his ruine by this means. This woman who was of a great spirit, gouerned the  
King absolutely, yea she presumed to meddle in his greatest and most secret affaires, and  
to giue him counsell, which he tooke not ill, but did conferre willingly with her. Hauing  
then a designe to breake this testamentary Ordinance made by his father, and to leaue  
the realme to his eldest sonne called *Mahomet*. She told him that the fould he should  
haue some contradiction, if he should die during the life of *Ali Ben Buhcar*, who was vizir  
of the realme, a cheefe dignity next vnto the King, yea of so great authority, as in the  
election of Kings, the voice and approbation of the vizir was very necessary; for accord-  
ing to the custome of the Moores, all their Kings were chosen after this manner, not-  
withstanding any Ordonances and dispositions which Kings in their life time may make  
to the contrary, and she told him that this vizir would seeke to maintaine his fathers wil,  
for the saw him much affected to one of his brethren, (she speake it not by surmise: for  
dissembling the hatred she bare vnto *Ali* (as shee was very cunning) and diuising often  
with him of diuers affaires, and euen of this, as if it had bene a desire of her owne onely,  
and no intent of the Kings, she discouered his heart sufficiently, by his discourse and  
answers, being to open and free for a Moore. Moreouer he was rich and mighty of him-  
selfe, for he was Xeeq or Lord of a great people called Zaragana, and for his wisdom  
and valour, which were great, he was held lo necessary for the realme, as the King ought  
to respect him, and gouerne his affections according to his counsels. The King in truth  
did much esteeme him, and knowing that the election of his succesor depended of the  
vizirs voice and nomination, he did entertaine and gratifie *Ali*, thinking in time to bind  
him by his bounty to second his intentions. Confering alter with his sister of this  
desire which he had to leaue his realmes to *Mahomet* his sonne, she still objected vnto  
him the sincerity or rather severity of his vizir *Ali Ben Buhcar*, seeking to incense the  
King against him: So as on a time seeing the King discontented at some thing that *Ali*  
had done, according to the duty of his charge, but against the Kings will, this cunning  
woman fell in speech of the succession saying, that hee assured himselfe more of *Ali* then  
he sought, and namely in this businesse concerning his sonne *Mahomet*, perswading him  
to certifie himselfe by some tryall, and therefore she aduised him to counterfeite himselfe  
sicke for some daies, and not to suffer any one to enter into his Chamber, if he were not  
called

Services rashly  
performed.

Abdalla King  
of Marroc, Fez,  
and Tarudant.

Testament of  
the Xeriffe  
Mahomet.

Vizir a digni-  
ty at Marroc.

Kings of the  
Moors elect  
time.

called the which is not strang among those nations, whereas their Kings being out of war remaine whole monthes shut with their women, and no man sees them, but such as are called. During this fiction, the Vizir *Ali*, who loued the King and the Estate, came daylie to the pallace, morning and euening, inquiring of his health, yet could not bee admitted into his Chamber. *Mariane* talked often with him, and made him beleue that the Kings sicknesse was very dangerous: who obseruing her words and countenance, perswaded himselfe that he was dead, and that she sought to conceale it, so as one morning he intreated her to tell him the truth, which should not be hidden from him; for if he were dead it were needfull to prouide another King speedily for the Estate, and that such affaires could not admit delaies. Then *Mariane* seeing how this businesse wrought, brought him into the Chamber, where he saw the Kings bed couered, and he stretched out and couered with a cloath, as if hee had beene dead, and so hee held him: Then she said vnto him, consider *Ali* I pray you, seeing the King my Lord is dead, to worke so as his sonne may be chosen King, as you know he much desired. It is very fit answered *Ali*, that you women should meddle with such matters, what reason were it to choose a young man for King? It must not be, the Xeriffe *Mahomet* hath wisely ordained, that the brethren should succede one another, knowing that Kingdomes must be gouerned by men that are ripe of yeeres and Iudgement, and being ready to goe out of the Chamber to assemble the counsell, hee was amazed when he saw the King vp, who called him, and said vnto him, that he thanked him much, for the good office he intended to his sonne. *Ali* was so daunted, as not able to answer, nor to excuse himselfe with any reason, hee fled home to his lodging, where having taken the habit of a woman, he commanded a seruant of his to bring him two horses to a certaine place where he would attend them, and sodainely departed, with an intent to goe out of the realme. Being in that place, set at the foote of an oliue tree, attending his seruant, there past by two young Knights, which came from hunting, who seeing that *Ali* hid his face, thinking it had beene some leud woman, they came neere to see, and made him to vncouer himselfe, knowing him, they doubted some mischief, so as they carried him backe vnto the King, who caused his head to be presently cut off. And thus was *Mariane* reuenged for the death of her children.

This matter being knowne, the Kings brethren and all they of the bloud dispersed themselves, yea after that hee had caused *Muley Mahomet Aben Abdelcader* his Nephew, sonne to his elder brother deceased, to be slaine at Melquinez, whom he had married with *Lela Sophia* his sisters daughter, onely for ieaousie, for that hee was a wife and a valiant Knight, and much beloued of his subiects. His brethren and other kinsmen being gone out of the country, he did not care much to persecute them. This *Abdalla* Xeriffe was the mightiest King of Affrike, the most peaceable, and the most happy, if he had abstayned for the bloud of his owne house. His dominions extended from Benais in the Negros country, whether the Prouince of Sus doth bound, which they call Remoto towards the South, vnto the North sea, and from the Westerne sea, vnto the limits of Tremessen towards the East, in the which are comprehended foureteen great Prouinces. Hee did commonly entertaine three score thousand horse, well paid, the which were thus diuided 15000. in the realme of Sus 25000. at Marroc, and 20000. at Fez; and our of these hee drew fife thousand horse, which were his batrallion or Cornet: And moreouer hee had two thousand Harguebuziers on foote, Christians renegados, and fife hundred on horse-backe; with a thousand Harguebuziers of Sus for the gard of the towne of new Fez, which is the Kings pallace, and as bigge as a good towne. Hee gaue pay to all these souldiers as well in peace as warre, being paid euery foure monthes: when he had any enterprife, if need were, he assembled all his trained bands, and moreouer did entertaine what Arabians and Africans he pleased, lyuing in his countries, vnder a certaine vassillage, and paid them for the time they serued. He reigned seuentee yeeres, and ordained *Mahomet* his sonne to be heire to those their realmes, and to all his treasure, who beganne to persecute his vnckles, hauing three yet lyuing: that is, *Abdelmumen*, *Abdelmelech*, whom the Spaniards call *Muley Moluc*, and a bastard called *Hamet*.

*Abdelmumen*

*Dominions of  
Abdalla King  
of Fez and  
Marroc.*

*Abdelmumen* was slaine at Tremessen, by a murtherer who shot at him being at his prayers in a Mosque; *Hamet* liued among the Alarabes, but *Muley Moluc* had first retired to Alger, from whence hee did for a time sollicit the King of Spaine, by the meanes of *D. Rodrigo Alonso Pimentel*, viceroy of Valencia, to assist him to annoy *Abdalla* his brother, who sought to deprime him of his right, but seeing it was in vaine, he past to Constantinople, where hauing complained of the iniustice was done him by his brother, hee continued in *Selims* seruice, seeking all occasions to giue a testimony of his valour, and to make him willing to aide him to recouer the realmes of Fez, Marroc, and Tarudant, which did belong vnto him, and were vturped by *Mahomet* the sonne of *Abdalla*, his Nephew. He had beene in the warres which the Turkes had against the Venetians and the confederats, and at the recovery of Tunes, and the fort Goulette, where hee had carried himselfe so valiantly, as by the report of *Sinan Basba*, the Sultan *Selim* held him worthy to be assisted and fauoured, sending him backe into Affrike, with letters of fauor and commandement to his Lieutenants, to giue him what ayde they could; so as hauing by this meanes gathered together a good army of Turkes and Moores his friends, and some Arabians which his brother *Hamet* brought vnto him, he came vpon his Nephew *Mahomet*, and gaue him three defeats, the last whereof was admirable; for *Mahomet* had three score thousand horse, and tenne thousand foote, and 360. peeces of ordinance, yet hee disposed him quite, and chased him out of the realmes of Fez and Marroc, and their dependances. It is this *Mahomet*, which did incite *D. Sebastian* King of Portugal to passe into Affrike, whose misfortunes we must now relate.

*Mahomet* is  
belied by Mo-  
luc.

#### D. Sebastian the sixteenth King of Portugal, alone of that name.

*On Sebastian* King of Portugal had beene bred vp since the death of King *John* the third (being but three yeeres old) vnder the gouernment of Queene *Catherine* his grandmother, and of his vnckle *D. Henry* the Cardinal, who were his tutors, and Gouernors of the realme, who bred him vp in delights and superfluous pompe, in steed of that commendable simplicity of his predecessors: wherefore being twenty yeeres old, put vp with those vanities, being strong of body, of a courageous minde, full of ouerweening, (a natural vice in Portugals) and not content with his owne Dominions, he resolved (as it were by force) to alter the quiet of his realme, and to make triall of his valour, to his owne ruine, and of the crowne of Portugal: for not measuring his owne forces, hee would needs (without any constraint, and contrary to the aduice of Princes, which were allied vnto him, and his most faithfull friends) meddle in the warres and quarrels of the Xeriffes of Affrike: the chiefe blame whereof was imputed to the Iesuits, to whom Queene *Catherine* had given him in charge to frame his affections and Iudgement. These fathers who were in great credit, and well provided for in Portugal, being tired with their long peregrinations to the East Indies, where they are bound to procure the soules health of the Barbarians, with whom the Portugals doe trade, desired much that there might bee some occasion offered to set footing into Affrike, which was neere, by some enterprife of warre: enterrayning this young King in this humor, who to bee ready when time should require, made certaine legions or trained bands on foote, in Lisbon and other townes, causing them to bee inrowled, and armed with pikes, and harguebuzes, and some of them to bee drawne once a weeke out of Lisbon to bee trained.

Portugal;  
5  
*D. Sebastian*  
first of that  
name King of  
Portugale

*D. Sebastian*  
bred up by the  
Iesuits.

In the yeere 1574. he had an ything desire (as I haue said) to see the skittishes which were daily made betwixt the garrisons of Ceura and Tanger, & the bordering Moores, he past the straight with some companies of soldiers, saying that he went only to visit those places: Being arriued in those countries hee discovered his lowne weaknesse, hauing a desire to do more then he spake, and being yong & without experience thought to effect more then hee did. Being returned to Lisbon, he did still meditate vpon some warre,

*Death of D.  
Sebastian.*

Stiff especially

especially in those parts, and in this desire hee did things nothing befitting a King: A  
 practising amongst the common people, to the end, said he, to bee better accustomed to  
 the toyles of warre. He thought that a happy occasion was offered, hearing that *Muley*  
*Moluc*, or *Abdelmelech* was come with Turkes to assaile *Muley Mahomet* his Nephew,  
 to whom he presently sent to make offer of his forces if he had need, but the Moore (who  
 was no discreeter then hee) thanked him, saying that he was strong enough to repulse  
*Muley Moluc*, and to ruine him, whereof hee repented himselfe afterwards; for hauing  
 beene vanquished and dispossest, he was forced to come to intreaties. This Moore after  
 his defeats, fled with such as would follow him, hauing some iewels and other wealth,  
 vnto certaine places called Montes Claros, which is, a sauage country, but finding B

*Mahomet flies  
to King Philip  
for refuge.*

himselfe neither safe there, nor in a place fit to negotiat, hee went to Pegnon de Veles,  
 casting himselfe into King *Philips* armes, for hee was ashamed to haue recourse to him  
 of Portugal, whose offers hee had refused. Yet hee was forced to come vnto him, for  
 he found not King *Philip* disposed to deale in that businesse. King *Sebastian* who de-  
 sired nothing more then to goe to the warre in Afrike, granted him whatsoever hee  
 could demand, and did easily credit the promises and bragges of this Moore, who  
 said, that as soone as euer they should thew themselves in field on the other side of  
 the streight, the whole country would turne vnto him; for *Abdelmelech*, said he, had no  
 friends, and was in a manner vnknowne, the which was found false, for after the victory  
 he had beene receiued and acknowledged with great ioy and contentment, by them of C  
 Fez and Marroc, as their lawfull King, as well in fauour of the testamentary decree of the  
 old Xeriffe *Mahomet* his father, as for that he was held amongst the Xeriffes to bee most  
 valiant, and much regarded for his mildnesse and humanity, being alouer of Iustice,  
 and temperate, and modest in his behauiour, vertues which grace a Prince, and which  
 wanted in *Mahomet*, the effects whereof *Moluc* had made his subiects to tast: for he pre-  
 sently ordred the affaires of the Realme to their content; and for that the Turkes which  
 he had brought with him, committed many inolenencies (as men accustomed to all ex-  
 cesses, lying in the garisons of Barbary, farre from their Sultan) hee freed himselfe, and  
 sent them away well satisfied. So as being respected and beloued of euery man, they D  
 came and offered their seruices voluntarily vnto him; and sent him rich presents from all  
 parts of his dominions; yet some Christian Princes were glad to haue his friendship,  
 and among other, King *Philip*, whom he did also honour, so as many Christians began  
 to frequent his Court and countries, to whom he shewed both fauor and bounty: One  
 of his chiefeest cares was to provide for the succcession of the realme, wherefore he caused  
 the Noblemen, townes and states, to sweare fealty and homage vnto *Muley Hamet* his  
 base brother, according to their fathers testament, notwithstanding that he had a sonne:  
 the which was held by them to be a generous act, for the which there were great feasts  
 of ioy made at Fez, Marroc, Tarudant and other townes. Whilest that *Mahomet* beg-  
 ged succors of the King of Portugal by his Deputies; hee liued at Ceuta, a fort belong-  
 ing vnto Portugal, being in Afrike; the Governor whereof being aduertised of his E  
 Masters disposition, did him honour, attending an answer, the which hee had soone, and  
 according to his desire.

*Muley Moluc  
a friend to  
Christians.*

*Mahomet Xeriffe  
craves  
aide from Por-  
tugal.*

*King Philip  
disuades D.  
Sebastian from  
the vniuers of  
Africke.*

But the King *D. Sebastian* being aduertised by some that were about him, that hee  
 might finde himselfe too weake for so great an enterprize, hee tooke counsell to fol-  
 licit King *Philip* his vncle to bee of the partie, and to the end they might negotiat  
 such an action with more efficacy, hee sent *Peter d'Alcauosa* a favorite of his, to craue  
 an interview at Guadalupe vpon the confines of the realmes of Castile and Portu-  
 gal, who returned with a good answer; whereas these two Kings met to their great  
 contents, namely of Don *Philip*, there was some treaty of a future marriage be-  
 twixt Don *Sebastian*, and one of the daughters of Castile; but coming to confer of the  
 waite of Afrike, which was the chiefe subiect of their meeting, King *Philip* disuaded him  
 from it, as well for that he had a peccable treaty with *Muley Moluc*, as also for that he saw  
 such a war had need of a more experienced commander then *D. Sebastian* was, & better  
 soldiers then the Portugals of those times: for since the time of King *Emanuel*, that nati-  
 on had not done any thing memorabile in warre, at the least in Europe, or the countries  
 confining

A confining vpon Europe, yet hauing well defended their forts at the East Indies. The  
 conclusion was that King *Philip* aduised him not to meddle in the quarrels of those Prin-  
 ces Moores, but whatsoever hee did not to goe in person to those warres. Being im-  
 portuned by *D. Sebastian* to contribute men and shipping to this enterprize, hee excu-  
 sed himselfe vpon the great affaires he had in the Low countries, and the ieaousie he had  
 continually of the French, but especially of the Turke, who threatned Sicile and Italy,  
 and had already taken Goulette and Tunes, being ignorant, what this new Sultan might  
 practise against him; yet being intreated and conured by *D. Sebastian* not to abandon  
 him in his first enterprize, he would not leaue him discontented, but promised in case the  
 Turke did not arme against him, to furnish him with fifty Gallies and fūe thousand foul-  
 diars, so as he for his part should entertaine tenne thousand, and aduising him, what  
 warre soeuer he made in Afrike, not to abandon the sea shore, and that he should at-  
 tempt the recovery of Alarache, and so proceed by degrees along the Ocean, and then  
 they parted. King *Philips* aduise was very good, and the Portugals haue not yet any  
 cause to complaine.

*Aduise of King  
Philip to D.  
Sebastian.*

After that he had heard his Nephew speake, and discovered his heat and obstinacy, he  
 fell to discourse of the inconueniences that might fall vpon him, and began to thinke of  
 his affaires, as if the royall line of Portugall failed, and to seeke out what pretensions he  
 might haue, were they cleere or doubtful, and from that time hee resolved, that if Don  
 C *Sebastian* should chance to die in this warre, not to suffer any other to seize vpon the  
 Realme. The young King of Portugal being returned to Lisbon, full of hope and ioy,  
 hee still pressed King *Philip* to grant him a free promise of his succors, without that re-  
 seruatiō, if the Turke should send an army against him, the which hee granted, and there-  
 vpon hee thought it was but a leape to passe into Afrike with great troupes, which hee  
 imagined to haue ready; but when they came to examine euery thing in particular, they  
 neither found men, money, shipping, nor hories of seruice, nor any thing that might  
 serue to good vse, so as to provide all these things, which giue motion vnto armies, they  
 were forced to spend all the yeere 1577. And without doubt if *D. Sebastian* had had his  
 men and prouisions ready, as it was concluded, King *Philip* would haue furnished the

*D. Sebastian  
unfurnished of  
all things, for  
the warre.*

D gallies and men which he had promised. *D. Sebastian* beganne then to tast the difficulties  
 which are found in making warre, especially for Estates which haue enioyed a long  
 peace, and whereas both Nobility and people, haue neglected armes (the which is an  
 inexcusable fault in them that gouerne common weals, who should know that it is one  
 of the maine pillars of an Estate, especially in this age full of iniustice.) Seeing then that  
 Portugal at that time had neither capitaines, souldiers, treasure, victuals, armes, nor hor-  
 ses, which are the essentiall parts to make a warre, into the which *D. Sebastian* would en-  
 ter, he was forced to provide all these things extraordinarily and in hast, seeing that in  
 time of peace they had not thought of it. Hee was therefore forced to write into Italy  
 and Flanders, for some Regiments of old souldiers, the Prince of Orange (who was then  
 in armes against the Prince of Parma Lieutenant to King *Philip*) sent three thousand  
 E Lanquents into Portugall, vnder the command of *Martin* of Burgongne, Lord of  
 Tamberg. And it happened that the King of Spaine being peraued by Pope *Gregory*  
 the thirteenth, to succor the rebels of Ireland against the Queene of England, there  
 was a leauy of Italians made in the territories of the Church, the action went in the  
 Popes name, but the King bare the charge, six hundred of these vnder the command  
 of a Licentious English man called *Thomas Stukeley* (who not long before had got-  
 ten from the Pope the title of Marquis of Ireland) being shipped at Ciuita-uechia, came  
 into the riuer of Lisbon when they were preparing for this warre of Afrike. The King  
 being desirous to see them, staied them, and intreated them to goe with him to this war.  
 F He was forced to seeke money by meanes that were vnpleasing to the whole realme. The  
 king tooke the portions of Widowes & Orfāns, he made forced borrowings of the Cler-  
 gy, Nobility, townes and commonalties, he laied an imposition vpon salt: he made the  
 new Christians (as they call them) to buy the exemption of the confiscation of their  
 goods in case they should fall into the Inquisition, and hee vied other exactions, which  
 made all men complaine.

He staied marchants ships. He enioyed some of the Nobility, to mount themselves like men at armes, and many gentlemen to march with the foote, being so aduised, to better his new leauied Portugal footmen, of the which hee made foure regiments; In these preparations he spent the time vntill Sommer, being in the yeere 1578. And when he thought to take shipping, hoping that King *Philip* would haue sent him the gallees and men which he had promised, he found himselfe deceiued, for that the Castilian (hauing changed his minde) excused himselfe vpon new accidents which had happened that yeere, which would not suffer him to doe then, as he might haue done the yeere before: wherefore he had no aide from thence, but some voluntary aduenturers, and one very expert capitaine in matters of *Africke*, called *Francis* of *Aldana*. There was no man of any iudgement and experience in worldly affaires, but saw that this preparation was weake, and unfitting for such an enterprize, but there was no counsell, nor perswasion, no difficulties, nor any other consideration, could stay or diuert him. Hauing intreated the Cardinall his vncke to gouerne the realme in his absence, he excused himselfe vpon his age; wherevpon he made foure *Gouernors*, that is, *George* of *Almeida* Archbishop of *Lisbon*, *Peter* de *Alcaçoua* superintendant of the treasure, *Peter* de *Sa-da* and *Iohn* *Majcarenas*. They that did accompany him into *Africke* were *Diego* de *Sofa*, Generall of the fleet at sea, *Christopher* *Tauora* Master of his horse and capitaine of the voluntaries of Portugal, *Don* *George* d' *Alencastro* Duke of *Auero*, *Don* *Alphonso* of Portugal Earle of *Vimiofo*, *Don* *Lewis* *Cotigno* Earle of *Rodoudo*, *Don* *Alphonso* de *Norogna* Earle of *Myra*, *Don* *Iames* brother to the Duke of *Bragança*, and his Nephew the Duke of *Barcellos*, *Vasco* de *Gama*, and many others of the Nobility, but most of them in stead of good armes, were appareled in fatten, enrich with imbroyderies, as if they had gone to some feast or marriage; yea there were some which had lined their tents and pavillions with fatten.

*Gouernors made by D. Sebastian going into africke.*

*Superfluity of the Portugalls going to the warre.*

*6 D. Sebastian's Armie going into africke.*

In this equiPAGE D. *Sebastian* parted from *Lisbon*, being about foure and twenty yeeres old, the day after *Saint Iohn Baptists*, being the five and twentieth of *Iune*, hauing about two thousand sailes in his fleet, but there were scarce 60. ships of warre, nor defence, the best were five galleies and foure galleasses; he came to *Cadiz*, where he staied fifteene daies, attending the Castilian souldiers of *Andalusia*, which should follow him D the suffrage of King *Philip*, which some said were two thousand, others, fifteene hundred or lesse. He had a Legat from the Pope in his army, with ample power to giue pardons to all such as went this voyage; then sayling towards the coast of *Africke*, they cast anchor right against a place called the *Almadraues*, betwixt *Tanger* and *Arzille*. This place of *Arzille* was held by a Moore called *Albacarin*, who by the perswasion of *Muley Mahomet*, had consigned it some few daies before vnto the *Gouernor* of *Tanger*. The King landed at *Tanger*, and there *Muley Xecq*, the sonne of *Mahomet*, came vnto him, and soone after the father presented himselfe, and made a goodly oration of his rights and pretensions, and of his friends and confederats which he had in the country, promising to giue the King three ports of the sea, and other places in *Barbary*; and for a pawne hee gaue him his sonne in hostage. King *Sebastian* being fed with these fictions, past with his army towards *Arzille*, hauing drawne all the old souldiers out of *Tanger* and *Ceuta*, and put new in their places, hauing first caused *Muley Xecq* to runne towards *Mazagon*, to see if any Moores would ioyne with him, but there was not any one that offered himselfe, but to skirmish.

King *Abdelmelech* or *Muley Moluc* had bene aduertised of this preparation from *Cadiz* and *Castile*, and also from Portugal, and was much greued at the enterprize of this young Prince, nor that he feared him, or his forces, but for that he saw him abused, and also in regard he bare some affection vnto Christians. What moued him (said hee) to be mine enemy, and to trouble himselfe to take from me a realme which doth belong vnto me, yea by hereditary right, confirmed and allowed, to giue it to an other, and thereby not to benefit himselfe nor any Estate in *Christendome*? Doth hee thinke we are so vnprovided of souldiers, so faint hearted, so poore and needie, as wee cannot resist him. I foresee to my great griefe that the country of *Barbary* shall be a tombe for the King of Portugal and his army, for God who is iust will neuer suffer that so

*Muley Moluc speech of D. Sebastian.*

vniust

A vniust an enterprize shall succeed. This Moorish King did often vse these or such like speeches, as it hath bene since reported. But because he would not bee found vnprovided, hee gathered together a mighty army, and went timely to field, vpon the Marches of the realme of *Marroc*, and hearing that the Portugal army had landed at *Arzille* with an intent to goe to *Alarache*, hee aduanced into the country of *Temifan* tending to the Portugals frontier, and then being aduertised that the enemy hauing left the sea shore, approached neere vnto *Alcaçaquibir*, and had already waded through a little river called *Macazen*, which fallies into that of *Luco*, whereat hee wondred, knowing well that there was ignorance and confusion in the conduct of the King of Portugals army, and that it was not strong ynough to leaue the sea shore, and to march into the country.

*Error of D. Sebastian.*

In truth this was one of *Don Sebastian's* chiefe errors, who (meaning to goe to *Alarache* which stands vpon the sea, and hauing his vessels already at *Arzille* to carry him in an instant) would rather trie to lead his army by land, and enter farre into a country, which was vnknowne both to him and his, to finde a bridge which is vpon the riuer of *Luco*, the which is not to bee waded through in those parts, and being betwixt his army and *Alarache*, stopped his passage. He marched vpon the riuer of *Luco*, and made five lodgings, before he had any newes of *Muley Moluc's* army, but such as vncertaine: yet hee was so neere it, as he was ready to fall into it before he saw it, doing all things after his owne fantasie, not suffering any one to contradiet him: Hee had commanded *Diego* de *Sofa*, Generall of the fleet, to goe and attend him neere to *Alarache*, marshalling his army to lead it by land, as wee haue said; against the opinion of all men, yea of *Muley Mahomet*, who beganne now to despair of his restitution. Some said that hee had a great desire to see his army in battaile, and to play the Sargent, and to trie if hee could order his squadrons, who like a young man and without experience, did not consider that the conduct of armies is no childrens play, growing into choller when any one told him, that a good capitaine must haue a good foote, a good eye, and good eares, and that hee should alwaies take the surest way, how strong foucer his army were, so as no man durst speake vnto him. *Muley Moluc* came to *Alcaçaquibir*, and hauing there ioynd with his brother *Hamet*, hee made hast to get the bridge, which the Portugals fought after, and there past his army, so as the two armies were so neere in a plaine champion field called *Tamira*, as if night had not approached, they might haue seene one another that day. Then were they to resolute what to doe; for they must of necessity fight or retire in disorder to recover the sea, the one or the other was very dangerous, but a battaile most; for there was no comparison betwixt their forces. King *Mahomet* made the greatest instance to haue *Don Sebastian* retire with his army, although it were with some losse. Most of the captaines were of that aduice, especially of strangers, but howeouer, either in a picht field, or in a retreat, hauing so many horses to pursue them, this army must of force be defeated, wherefore let vs leaue this testimony to posterity of *Don Sebastian*, that hee made choise of the most honourable manner of dying. Hauing therefore put his army in battaile by the breake of day, hee beganne to march courageously against his enemies. Hee had about 14000. foote, two thousand horse and three thousand pioniers; and there was double the number of boyes, whores, victuallers, carters and other vnprofitable people. But to describe the King of Portugals army more particularly, it did consist of three thousand *Lanquenets* vnder the *Sieigneur* of *Tamberg* their *Collonel*, fixe hundred Italians, vnder *Strukeler* an English man, two thousand Spaniards vnder *D. Alphonso d' Aguilar*, fixe hundred souldiers drawne out of *Tanger*, 2050. aduenturers on foote, the rest were peasants of Portugall. Amongst which footmen there were eight thousand pikes. Moreouer five hundred horse of *Tanger*, and 1500. as well of the gentlemen of Portugal, as of the Kings attendants. The souldiers were ill paid, the campe ill furnished, and all things managed with small order. In *Muley Moluc's* army there were 42000. horse, Moores and *Alarabes*, carrying lances and targets after their manner, and about 15000. harguebuziers, whereof two thousand were on horsebacke, fixe and twenty peeces of ordinance well mounted, and expert gunners.

*Resolution of D. Sebastian.*

Stiff 3

Moreouer

## The generall History of Spaine.

Lib. 30.

Moluc falls  
very sick.Captaine in  
Moluc's army.7  
battalions Af-  
fricke and  
death of D.  
Sebastian.Death of Mu-  
ley Moluc.Death of King  
Mahomet.Defeat of the  
Portugall ar-  
my, and death  
of D. Sebas-  
tian.

Moreover there was great store of victuals, his men well paid, and all orderly gouerned: All the discommodity thereof (the which in deed was very great) was the indisposi-  
tion of King *Moluc*, who hauing drunke milke to greedily, it quailed in his stomack, whereupon he fell extremely sicke and died in the heat of the battaile, the which did not hinder their victory. The armies approaching nere together, *Moluc* made hast to ioyne, for he feared that some of his troupes would disband, and goe vnto the enemy, and in truth there were some which left him, but not many, nor they whom he most di-  
strusted. *Hamet* his base brother was Generall of the horse, *Duali* and *Mahomet Faba* captains of the Andaluses and Christians renegados: *Ozarin* of Ragoufa led the hargue-  
buziers on horsebacke, and *Musa* was captaine of his gard, with other good captaines  
Turkes. These two armies ioyned on a Monday the fourth of August, it being past  
noone, the canon hauing plaied a little, the Portugall army was presently enuiored by  
great numbers of the enemies horse, but *Moluc* left point was furiously charged by  
three hundred men at armes, led by the Duke of Auero, the which was put to route; there  
were about ten thousand Arabes which fled about twenty leagues, to carry newes  
that the Christians were victors, which disorder made *Muley Moluc* to get to horse-  
backe, so full of griefe, as he would haue gone thither to fight notwithstanding his sick-  
nesse: But the souldiers of his gard staid him, and put him into his Litter, where with-  
in halfe an houre after hee died, but they concealed his death. The Duke of Auero fear-  
ing to ingage himselfe to much, being not followed, ment to retire, after that he had  
broken that part of *Moluc*'s army: but the Moores being ashamed that so few horse  
had thus shaken them, they sent a great number of harguebuziers, both of foote and  
horse-backe thether, who charged them in front, so as they chased these men at armes  
troupe of Arabian horse, came vpon them in front, so as they chased these men at armes  
vpon their battalions of foote, and disordered them very much: But they were presently  
repulsed by the King, Don *Sebastian*, who was mounted vpon a strong horse, and in greene  
armor, being followed by the Duke of Auero, and a squadron of fresh horse, who be-  
ing charged by a great battalions of the Moores Cavalary and shot, were soone put  
to route, in which retreat they happened the like confusion. And then the whole  
bodie of *Moluc*'s army, with *Hamet*, fell vpon the disordered troupes of King Don *Sebastian*,  
with such fury, as they were no more able to resist them.

In this charge the Duke of Auero was slaine, with many gallant gentlemen, the whole  
army put to route and the ordinance abandoned. Yet King *Sebastian* charging *Hamet*  
troupes made a breach in them, and forced them to turne their backs, but returning,  
he saw all his battalions, ouerthrowne, euen to that of *Mahomet*, which was the last and  
nerecest to the riuier, with an incredible slaughter of his men; so as *Mahomet* being for-  
ced to flee, thinking to passe the riuier of Mucazen, missing the foard, he was mired and  
drowned with his horse; but to increate all these miseries, *D. Sebastian* was charged by  
so great a number of Moores, as both he and all they that did accompany him, were  
slaine; it is certaine that many left him, flying towards Arzille; but they fell into the  
like misery, for being pursued by the victorious Moores, they were in a manner all cut  
in peeces. There died about 12000. Christians, amongst the which the chiefe, with the  
King Don *Sebastian*, were the Duke of Auero, the Marquis of Aranda, the Bishops of  
Coimbra and Porto, the Popes Legat *Christoph de Tauora*, and his brother *Aluaro Pe-*  
*res*, *Alphonso* of Portugal Earle of Vimiofo, *Lewis Cotigno* Earle of Rodondo, *Vasco de Ga-*  
*ma* Earle of Vidiguera, *Alphonso* de Noroña Earle of Mira, *John Lobo* Baron of Aluira,  
*Aluaro de Melo* sonne to the Marquis of Ferrera, *Roderigo* de Melo eldest sonne to the  
Earle of Tentugal, *James* brother to the Duke of Bragança, *John* de Silueira eldest sonne  
to the Earle of Sortella, the captaines of the Regiments of strangers, with others, so  
as by this defeat many Noble families of Portugall were extinct. There were ma-  
ny more taken prisoners of all sorts: The Duke of Barcellos, and the King of Spaines  
Ambassador were deliuered without ranome. Don *Anthony* (who was base sonne to  
the Infant Don *Lewis*) Prior of Crato, of the order of Saint Iohn, being taken prisoner,  
escaped miraculously: some of the rest redeemed themselves, but the greatest part re-  
mained slaues in diuers places.

Hamet

Lib. 30

## The generall History of Spaine.

1203

A *Hamet*, a Conqueror, hauing gathered his people together, and caused a retreat to bee  
founded, did that night publish the death of his brother *Abdelmelech* or *Moluc*, whereup-  
on he was receyued and acknowledged for King, but to the great griefe of most of them  
who knew him to be a man of little valour, and not like vnto the deceased.

The day following, the new King sent some troupes to view the dead, where they  
found about 1500. of their men slaine, whose they buried in the same place: they also  
found the bodie of *Mahomet*, who had bene the cause of all these miseries. The body of  
King *Sebastian* was found naked among a troupe of his men that were slaine, and knowne  
by two of his seruants, as they say, to whom they had promised libertie, if they could find  
him. *D. Sebastian*'s bodie was left (as it were in deposito) at Alcaçar: but a while after the  
Xeriffe *Hamet* (renewing the alliance and peace which his brother had made with the king  
of Spaine) offered him this bodie, and to set his Ambassador, and the young Duke of Bar-  
cellos freely at liberty.

The King would not accept of *D. Sebastian*'s bodie, but intreated him to deliuer it vn-  
to the Portugals, the which he did, and sent it to the Gouernor of Ceuta, to whom *An-*  
*drew Gaspar* of Corfica did consigne it in *Hamet*'s name, and tooke an act thereof: *Hamet*  
caused the bodie of *Muley Mahomet* to be flead, and the skinne to be stuff with straw, the  
which was carried in great ignominy throughout the Realme: and the bodie of *Abdelme-*  
*lech*, was carried twenty leagues from Alcaçar, and buried with his ancestors. Thus there  
died three Kings in that battell. The King of Spaine accepted of the deliuerie of the duke  
of Barcellos, and of *John de Sylua* his Ambassador, in requittal whereof he sent a present to  
the Xeriffe in Jewellst o the value of an hundred thousand crownes. Don *Sebastian* had  
reigned one and twenty yeares, one moneth, and sixe and twenty dayes, and dyed being  
foire and twenty yeares old, sixe moneths, and fiftene dayes.

The losse of this battell being knowne in Portugall, caused a generall sorrow and  
mourning, but they were doubtfull for a time, who were slaine or prisoners, wherof  
they were certified by degrees, and this desolation crept into priuate families, so as there  
were scarce any among the Nobilitie but felt of it. The Kings death was held doubtfull  
many yeares, some denying, that there was any certaine testimonie that his bodie had  
beene found among them that were slaine in the battell: saying, that the liberall offer  
which *Hamet* Xeriffe made to king *Philip*, who demanded it not, was a great presumption,  
that he himselfe doubted, that the bodie which he left at Alcaçar Quibir, was not Don  
*Sebastian*, yea, that he did not beleue it: others haue presumed to say, that they had seen  
him after the battell in Portugall in a disguised habit, shrowding himselfe for shame in  
religious houses, and that being oppressd with griefe for the death of so many of the  
Nobility, he had bene so sorrowfull, as holding himselfe vnworthie to raigne, he had re-  
turned into Affricke in a religious habit, and wandred among the Barbarians, who giue  
free passage to them that do penance for their sinnes, of what religion soeuer they be: yet  
two and twenty yeares after this battell, there hath bene a man found so resembling *D.*  
*Sebastian*, shewing markes vpon his bodie, naturall or accidentall, so like vnto those  
wherewith this Prince had bene marked, and speaking so confidently of things said or  
done by this king from his infancy, to the time of this lamentable day, and of secret con-  
ferences and speeches which he had had, as well with Ambassadours of forraigne Princes,  
which had bene sent vnto him, as other persons yet liuing, which haue certified it, and  
discourfing so particularly and truly of the estate of Portugall at that time, as it hath  
made many doubtfull whether he were *Sebastian* or not, whom they held to haue bene  
slaine at the battell, in the plaine of Tamita in Affricke. You shall hereafter here it at large,  
and the man himselfe speake. But howsoeuer, Don *Sebastian*'s funerall was made at Lis-  
bone with great ceremonie, at the end whereof they cryed *Reall, Reall*, for the King Don  
*Henry*. King *Philip* did also make a funerall pompe at Madrid, where it was obserued, that  
the Duke of Alba sayd, that the King should go and do those obsequies in our Ladies  
Church at Belem in Portugall, and not at Madrid, which made some thinke, that the  
king had discouered his conceptions, and had resolved touching the succession of the  
Realme.

Don

D. Sebastian's  
body consigned  
Portugals.Death of Don  
Sebastian was  
belieued of  
many.



## Don Henry the seuenteenth King of Portugall.

8  
Don Henry 17.  
King of Portu-  
gall.

BY the decease of Don *Sebastian*, the Crowne of Portugal seemed to belong to Don *Henry* his great Vncle, Cardinal of the title of foure Saints crowned: but King *Philip* Councill, (I know not by what law) found that the right which he pretended, was stronger then the Cardinals, yet he modestly gaue way to his preferment, and the rather for that seeing him old and broken, he thought he might with more content of the Portugals take his ranke afterwards without any difficulty or dispute. Yet there were many other pretendants to this succession, which might cause some troubles in the State, and therefore the first request which the citie of Lisbon made vnto Don *Henry* in the name of the whole country, was, that for the quiet and tranquillitie of the State, hee would be pleased in his life time to name him, or her, who (in his opinion) ought to raigne after him: wherein they layed a burthen vpon him, which did exceed the force and capacitie of his iudgement. For this Prince in the whole course of his life had shewed a simplicitie of manners, and a weaknesse in his discourse, which had made him to be alwaies held fitter for the Church, then to gouerne a temporall State. Yet seeing himselfe King, hee sought to be feared, and gaue way to his ambition and choler, which procured him no more loue then before, but made him to be both hated and cursed. He disappoynted and dismist all those, that had had any fauour or office in Court during his nephewes raigne, for that they had not respected and honoured him, as he thought, according to his ranke and neerenes of blood, causing some to be arraigned by course of Iustice, for their char- and neerenes of blood, causing some to be arraigned by course of Iustice, for their char- ges, for words proudly spoken, and such like things which had past in the life of the de- ceased King, who were degraded of honours, deprived of the rewards which they had de- served, and sent from Court: He intreated *Pedro d'Alcaçaua* more roughly then any o- ther, who had bene of the seeret Councill and high Treasurer. He appointed other Offi- cers in their places that were dismist, who were no honeste then the former, but much more ignorant in affaires, who framing themselves to their masters humors, thought to shew themselves sufficient to bring in examinations and reuisions of accompts, against such as had made parties, and contracted with the King, causing most of those contracts to be broken, and it may be such as were least vniust.

To know the disposition of this new King, and to make his ministers conformable to King *Philip*s desire, which was to vnite the Crowne of Portugues to that of Castile, in what sort hee would, he sent *Christopher de MORA*, a Portugall, bredde vp in Castile, to reside there, with the title of an agent onely, who spared no paines, cost, nor presents to pour- chase friends to his Master. But the better to assure his pursuit, he was aduised in Castile to send some man of qualitie vnto the king Don *Henry*, with the title of Ambassadour: the which the King of Spaine had till then forborne to do, for that he thought he should thereby preiudice the right which he pretended from the death of Don *Sebastian*, if hee did by this act acknowledge him for King of Portugall, in sending an Ambassadour vnto him. There was chosen to this charge, Don *Pedro Giron*, Duke of Ossuna, after the resolu- tion taken by the King Don *Henry* in an assembly of the Estates of the Realme, touching the nomination of his successor, which was, That the King would not name any one at that present, but might do it in time, by the aduice of the Iudges, assigned by the Estates, and in the meane time to preuent all inconueniences that might happen, if the King should dye suddenly, being very old, there should be a rowle made of fifteen of the chief and worthiest men among the Nobilitie, of the which the King should choofe fise, who should be after him Gouernors of the State, vntill the Iudges had determined who should be the true successor to the Crown, in case the king had not named one: and that the fise of e- thus chosen by him, should be kept seeret during his life: and to examine the rights of e- uery one of the Pretendans, and to iudge with the King (being aliue, and sitting in his Estates) or after his decease, in case there were no sentence giuen, there should bee ano- ther rowle made of foure and twenty Doctors, and men of State, of the which the king should

Proceeding for  
the succession  
of Portugall.

A should choofe eleuen Iudges, which should make a royall Chamber to that end; and it was decreed, that all the sayd Pretendans should bee cited and adourned to appeare, or their Ambassadors, or Agents, before the sayd Chamber, there to produce their rights and pretensions, and to be heard in all that they would say and alledge, to the end they might make report, and proceed to the nomination. The Pretendans were Don *Philip* King of Spaine, Don *Anthony* Prior of Crato, Donna *Catherina* of Portugall, mother to D. *Theodose* of Bragança, *Rainacio Farnese*, son to her sister D. *Maria* of Portugall, both being daughters to the Infant Don *Edward*, and *Emanuel Philebert*, Duke of Sauoy, borne of Donna *Beatrix* of Portugall: all these deriuing their rights from Don *Emanuel*, King of Portugall: moreover, there was *Catherine de Medicis* the French Queen, the Pope but especially the realme and states of Portugall.

Pretendans to  
the Crowne of  
Portugall.

Don *Philip* was borne of D. *Isabella*, eldest daughter to Don *Emanuel*, the Duke of Sauoy was sonne to D. *Beatrix* second daughter to the sayd King, Don *Anthony* was is- sued from the Infant Don *Lewis*, who was also sonne to King *Emanuel*, but Don *Anthony* was base, yet he maintained that he had a sentence for his legitimation. The Duchesse of Bragança was daughter to the Infant D. *Edward*, who was also sonne to King *Emanuel*, but *Rainacio Farnese* was issued from *Mary*, the eldest daughter of the sayd Don *Edward*. As for the Queene mother of France, she fetched her pretensions farther off, saying, that the Kings which had raigned in Portugall since Don *Alphonso* the third, brother to Don

Queene mo-  
thers title to  
Portugall.

*Sancho Capello*, had bene vlturpers of that Realme, the race being base and proceeding from an vnlawfull coniunction: for that they say, Don *Alphonso* being married in France with the Countesse of Bullen, by whom he had one sonne named *Robert*, from whose the Pretendant was descended, he had left the sayd Countesse to marrie another wife in her life time, which was Donna *Beatrix* of Castile, and that from this vnlawfull marriage, all the Kings were issued which had held the Realme vnto that day. The Pope pre- tended it to be a fee, saying, that the Realme of Portugall was a fee of the Church, and was so acknowledged by Don *Alphonso Henriques* the first, who obtayned the title of a king, who in acknowledgement had bound it to pay a certaine quantitie of markes of gold for a yearly rent, and for not paying those rights the Realme was deuolued vnto the Church, to dispose thereof. This right was corroborated after the death of the Car- dinal then raigning, for that (said they) it was the spoiles of a Cardinal. But the realme and the generall Estates, pretended to haue an aduantage aboue all, for that (sayd they) women could pretend no right in Portugall to the succession of the Crowne, neither for themselves, nor their descendants: for they had neuer seene any women raign, although it had bene often in question, euen with the Castilians, who had bene reiecte, and if they should haue any access, or their descendants, it must be after the males, before whome, women haue no precedence, in regard of their age, the which is not considera- ble in fees, much lesse in Soueraigne Estates.

Popes title to  
Portugall.

Most of these Pretendans being cited, they sent their rights, titles, and Pretensions, the which were receyued by the sayd chamber without any difficultie, but in regard of Queene *Catherine de Medicis*, whose cause was odious, and her allegations iniurious to the king then raigning, and to his Predecessours, the Abbot of Saint Gelais her Agent found great difficultie to haue it admitted. Onely King *Philip* appeared not in this Chamber, dislayming the Iudges that were chosen, yea all the Portugals in his cause, the which (he sayd) was so iust and cleare, as it needed not any examination nor doubt, ha- uing had consultations vpon that point in the best Vniuersities of the world, as well for that which concerns right, and the lawes of Realmes, as for conscience, and to satisfie the king Don *Henry*, (whom he did importune by his Ambassadors to name him, with- out any other forme obserued by the Estates) he sent him a coppie of the counsels which many Lawyers and Diuines in Spaine had made him, that other reasons being exami- ned and weighed, hee might not make any difficultie to name him. Aboue all they had wonne father *Lyon Henrique* a Iesuite, his Confessor, who hauing first made him incline to the Duchesse of Bragança, laboured afterwards to perswade him to name King *Philip* for his successor. The Duke of Ossuna and *Christopher de MORA* his Ambassadour doubting that this iudiciall proceeding would not preuaile, & that the familiaritie of the Castilians had

Lisbon refused  
the King  
of Spaine  
letters.

had bene alwaies odious vnto the Portugals, who detested their gouernement, they had letters from the King their master, to the chiefe of the Nobilitie, to the Cittie of Lisbon, and to the principall townes of the Realme, full of perswasive reasons and promises, concluding in the end, that if they did not receiue him willingly (his title beeing so well grounded) he would vse force, and therefore they should aduise not to draw themselves, their families, and the whole Realme into a warre, and the miseries which follow it. These letters were deliuered to many with good words and presents: but the cittie of Lisbon would not receiue them: and as *Christopher de Morza* had left them with the Officers of the Cittie: they sent them sealed vnto their King, who was much troubled with this weightie busines, and could not resolue any thing that was pleasing to king *Philip*, who threatened him, and began to let the Portugals know, that he prepared to armes: for not meaning to be taken vnprovided at *Henries* death, which could not belong, and that this delay should not any way preiudice him in that he pretended to be King of Portugal, in despite of all those that would contradiet, he had drawne into Spaine of Germans, Italians and Spaniards of his old regiments of Italy, to the number of 18000. foot, whom he enteratyned many moneths with great charge and hinderance to his subiects, in Andalusia, and other places nere to Portugal, which they could not coniecture to be to any other end, but to invade that realme, where they sayd openly, that armes and force were his best title: for he had no right vnto it. He among all the pretendants which did most trouble him, and the King *Don Henry* also, was *Don Antonio*, Prior of Crato, who was very well beloued of the people, and of many of the Nobilitie. The King was so incensed against him, as he gaue commandment he should not be heard, and taking vpon him to re-examine his cause of Legitimation, he sought to dissolue the sentence which was giuen by *Emanuel d'Almada*, Bishop of Angra, appoynted Iudge by the Pope: whereof Pope *Gregorie* the 13. beeing aduertised, he retayned the knowledge of the cause to himselfe: yet *Don Henry* either moued by his owne passion, or prest by the Castilians, declared this sentence to be voyd by his owne authoritie, without forme of law, or solemnitie of iustice: but *Conefagio* in the Historie of Portugal, writes, that king *Henry* had obtayned a Breefe secretly from the Pope, by the which he gaue him authoritie to iudge the cause of legitimation absolutely, without any forme of Processe, and that of foure witnesses, two confessed that they had bene suborned by *Don Antonio*, and that the other two were suspected, as his neere allies, and disagreeing betwixt themselves, and that *Lewis* his father tearmed him Bastard in his last will, whereupon hee declared *Don Antonio* illegitimate, imposing him perpetual silence touching the pretended marriage and legitimation, sending a Sergeant to Crato, to seaze vpon the Prior, but hee found him not. This he writes. But were it true or false, the King leauing the qualitie of a Iudge, commanded *Don Antonio* of his royall authoritie, not to come within thirtie leagues of the Court. Then his indignation increasing, he banished him the Realme, deprived him of all pensions, priuiledges and fauours which he had receiued of precedent kings, seeking by all meanes to haue him apprehended, and to put him into some straight prison: yet *Don Antonio* went not out of the Realme, but retired to some of his friends, or to some Monasteries vpon the frontier, neither did he forbear to come and sollicite the Iudges, with the which the king was dayly incensed. Being prest by the importunities of king *Philip's* Ambassadors, terrified by his preparation to armes, and perswaded by his Confessor father *Lyon Henriquez*, he did adhere wholly vnto him: and there was then no difficultie, but to find meanes to name him, and to get the consent of the Estates, and therefore he propounded a kind of accord betwixt the Realme and king *Philip*, the which should be treated by his means in an assembly of the Estates, the which he called to that end.

K Henry falls  
sicke.

But the king of Castile would not put his right to Compromise, and detested this Assembly of the Estates, aduertising king *Henry*, that he should not treat of this businesse with them, vnited in one bodie, but particularly with the chiefe of the Clergie, the Nobilitie and the townes. In the meane time the king *D. Henry* found himselfe ill, so as being taken with great faintings, which held him long, the Council, which was about him, and the Deputies assembled in the towne of Almerin, (whether they were retired by reason

A reason of the plague, which was very violent in Lisbon, and in a manner in all the other townes of the Realme, thinking that he would neuer recover it, they presumed to open the boxe, wherein was the lyft of such as he had chosen to be Gouernors of the Realme, and to proceede to the nomination of a Successor, in case he had not done it, where they found, that of the fiftene that were contayned in the rowle, he had chosen *George d'Almada* Arch-bishop of Lisbon, *Francis de Sada*, Lord Chamberlain, *John Telle*, *John Mascaregnas*, and *Diego Lope de Sosa*, President in the Councell of Iustice at Lisbon. The king was somewhat recovered, but knowing that he drew neere his end, employing the remainder of his daies in the care of his soule, and leauing this businesse with others imperfect, he dyed the last of Ianuary, 1580. having held the royall state, (as the Castilians sayd) fteuenteene moneths and some dayes, beeing 68. years old, for he dyed in the same moneth, and on the same day that he was borne.

An. 1580.  
Death of King  
Henry.

This was the last king of Portugal, in whom ended the direct masculine line. And as the first Lord of Portugal, (though with the title of an Earle) was called *Henry*, euen to the last. He was of a thinn bodie, low of stature, and leane of his visage, hee had an indifferent good wit, and was endowed (besides the Latine tongue) with some knowledge. He was alwaies held to be chaste, and did neuer blemish that angelicall vertue, but with the desire of marriage in his latter dayes. He was accompted sparing, giuing rather then denying, for he refused seldome, but he gaue sparingly: he was ambitious of all Iurisdiction, as well ecclesiasticall as ciuill, zealous in religion, but more seuerer then was fit in the reformation of Clergi-men. He was Bishop, Gouernor of the Realme, Inquisitor Maior, Cardinal, Apostolicke Legate and King. But the greater he grew in dignitie, the more he discovered his incapacitie and weaknesse, suffering himselfe in greatest affaires, to be ouer-ruled by his ministers, not able to determine the cause of the succession. Hee was very oblitinate in his opinions, neuer forgetting any wrongs, so as iustice was in him but an vnusuall execution of his passions, and therefore a religious man (whome hee had prest to take vpon him a most strict course of life) sayd vnto him, that hee would obey, seeing there was no humane helpe against his Commandements, for he had the will of a man, the authoritie of a Pope, and the execution of a King: To conclude, hee had many virtues, and fewer vices, yet they were equal: for he had the vertue of a Church-man, and the defects of a Prince: during his life he was feared of many, and beloued of few, so as no man lamented his death, onely such as were well affected, (desiring the cause of succession had bene first decided) had some feeling.

Life of King  
Henry.

The fise Gouernors being at Almerin, at the time of his death, they began to exercise their charge as Kings, and their first resolution was to send Ambassadors to king *Philip*, (whome they saw in armes; and who had in a manner threatened the deceased king, and the Realme) to intreate him to proceede in this busines, by the way of iustice, and to assure him, that it should be done him, witnessing moreover the great good will and respect which the Gouernors, the chiefe of the Nobilitie, and the good townes of Portugal, bare vnto his highnesse. The king before their audience, made some difficultie, whether he should receiue them with the accustomed ceremonies to Princes Ambassadors, or as simple Deputies of his subiects: but he was counselled to heare them as Ambassadors, to the end he might winne the loue of the Portuguese, so as they were heard with their hats on, the king beeing vncovered at their coming in. The Ambassadors were the Bishop of Coimbra, and *Emanuel de Melo*, and they came vnto the King being at Guadalupe, who made a long relation vnto them of his rights, and of the consultations which he had made, as well to make them apparent to the world, as to satisfie his owne conscience: that he knew well there were many among the Nobilitie and townes ill affected vnto him, whom he had good meanes to draw vnto their duties: wherefore the Gouernours and the Estates should be well aduised, and not be the cause of a warre in their country, giuing them a short time to send him their last resolution. The Deputies of the Estates of the Realme, who had bene called by the deceased king, were all at Saint Iren, a towne right against Almerin, the river of Tagus running betwixt them: who seeing the Gouernors manner of proceeding, they gaue them to vnderstand, that their Councell and Assembly was superiour vnto them: as representing the Realme, and the general

13  
Disorder be-  
tweene the Go-  
uernours and the  
Eftates.

D. Antonius  
proceedings.

generall Eftates thereof, and therefore they sent word vnto the Gouernours, that lea-  
uing Almerin, which was finally, and not able to lodge so great a multitude, they should  
come to S. Iren, to the end they might all together determine of that was fitting for the  
preseruatiō of the Realme, and put it in execution, and not make them, vpon euery oc-  
casion, to passe the riuier, for their affaires required expedition, and no delays, saying,  
that their most necessarie prouisiōs, was to man the entrie of the Realme with soldiers,  
the which they should haue done before they sent Ambassadors to King *Philip*. This did  
amaze the Gouernours, and caused bad intelligence betwixt them and the Eftates, so as  
in disdain one of another, they did not any good for the publike. Among these Gouer-  
nours, there were there noted to fauour King *Philip*, the other two were for the Realme. B  
Among the Deputies of the Eftates, most of them were for Don *Antonio*, Prior of Cra-  
to, who hauing notice of the death of Don *Henry*, came presently to Lisbon, spake vn-  
to the Magistrates of the Cittie, shewed himselfe vnto the people, saluted euery man,  
seeking to maintaine himselfe in the loue of the multitude, with all the humilitie that  
might be: hee wrote vnto the Deputies of the Eftates at S. Iren, and came himselfe to  
present the Popes Bull vnto them, by the which the sentence of the deceased King, given  
against him, was suspended, he remembered his rights vnto the Crowne, and protested  
that he would submit himselfe to iustice, according to the resolution which was taken whe-  
lest he liued in the open Eftates, and conformable also to the sayd Kings last will, which  
eight moneths before his death, by the which he declared him his successor, that should  
be found to haue most right by the Iudges: This course was desired by all in generall, C  
namely, by the other Pretendants, except King *Philip*, who pressing the Ambassadors  
much to haue their last resolution, whether they would receiue him for their King or  
not, and they desiring him to giue them a longer time then he had prefixed, he told them  
plainly, that he would vse his rights according to his meanes and dignitie. The which  
Gouernours, the Duke of Bragança, and other Noblemen, that were at Almerin,  
seeing, they began to prouide for the frontiers, but so late, and so slowly, as all men won-  
dered: the Deputies of the Eftates insisting still, that they should all assemble in one place,  
to consult ioyntly together how to repulse the iniurious force, which the Castilians, their  
ancient enemies, would do vnto the Realme. And although it seemed reasonable, that D  
the Gouernours, who were but few in number, and had but a transitorie and limited au-  
thoritie for a time, should passe vnto S. Iren, and make shew to allow of it, yet they did  
it not, they still remaining in their severall lodgings, making very preiudiciall decrees  
apart, which in the end blemished the honour of the Crowne of Portugall, one weak-  
ning anothers authoritie, whereas if they had beene well vnited, euery man would haue  
obeyed them, and they might haue opposed such forces against King *Philip*, as happily  
he might haue yeelded to a iudiciall court.

The Gouernours sent Commissions into the Prouinces, to raise the Commons, and  
commanded the Lords which had lands and vassals to be mounted and armed readie to  
march, when they should be called, but they did little regard it. The King of Spaine be-  
ing aduertised of all their disorders, was exceeding glad, for that they prepared a way for  
him to attaine vnto that which he pretended: and without any further delay hee caused  
those troupes which he had so long enterrayned, to march towards Badajos, where hee  
had appoynted the Rendez-vous for the armie: he commanded Don *Fernando de Silva*,  
Earle of Cifuentes, *Guidon* Major of Castile, to draw forth the Standard-royal, which  
is neuer displayed, but when as the King goes to the warre in person. Hee made choice  
of the Duke of Alba to be his Lieutenant to leade this armie, whom hee freed from prison  
for a certaine precipitated marriage made by Don *Frederick* his sonne, and by his coun-  
sell causing him to come to Merida, to the which he saw not the King, but marched directly to the armie: F  
to Portugall, yet some say, that he saw not the King, but marched directly to the armie.  
In the meane time he did write againe, and perswaded the Gouernours, the Eftates, the  
Nobilitie and Commons, to receiue him without resistance, sending them new consul-  
tations, which he had drawne from the Diuines of the Vniuersity of Alcalá of Henares  
of Castile, to the which he sayd, there was no reply, and that they were conformable in  
euery point to those which he had before from other Vniuersities. King *Philip* with his  
Council

14.  
*Philip* troupes  
marcheth to-  
wards Portu-  
gall.

A Councell and Lawyers did set downe (as a thing which they ought not to call in questi-  
on) that beeing the most ancient male liuing of the race of Don *Emanuel* of Portugall,  
he should preceede all others in the succession to the Crowneye presently after the death  
of King *Sebastiam*: for the Cardinall (whome he had suffered to raigne) was not capable  
thereof, considering his qualitie, beeing a Clergi-man. This beeing presupposed, he de-  
manded of the Diuines: first, whether he were bound to submit himselfe to any Iudge or  
Arbitrator, to haue the Realme of Portugall adiudged vnto him. Secondly, if there were  
any other pretending that Crowne, who might decide their controuersies: and that there  
being no competent Iudge to do it, and the Portugals refusing to receiue him before  
the cause were decided, which might be a meane to oustrate him, whether hee might  
not take possession of his owne authoritie by armes, without any scruple. And last of all,  
if the Gouernours or Eftates of Portugall alledge, that they are bound by oath, not to ac-  
knowledge any one for king, but he to whome the Realme shall be adiudged by iustice,  
if that may excuse them.

To the first point the Diuines of Castile answered, That Don *Philip* beeing a Soue-  
raigne King, he was not bound to submit himselfe to any Iudge, but onely take coun-  
cell, and that he might thereupon adiudge the Realme vnto himselfe, and not charge  
his conscience, grounding vpon the neerenes of blood, which was apparent. And if  
there were no Iudge in this cause, they sayd, that the Pope, who had the greatest power,  
might not take knowledge of it, for that it was merely temporall, hauing not any cir-  
cumstance to bind it to the Spirituality. The Emperor in like manner was no competent  
Iudge: for the Kings of Castile are Soueraignes, Emperours in their countries and  
Eftates.

The Eftates of Portugall were inferiours and subiects; and therefore in no sort Iud-  
ges: the deceased King Don *Henry* could not preiudice the right nor dignitie of King *Phi-  
lip*, in appoynting eleuen Iudges to determine of the Succession of that Crowne: be-  
sides, hee beeing dead, the Commission of those Iudges was expired, and their autho-  
ritie extinct. As for the referring it to the compromise of Arbitrators, it was not vsed but  
in matters which were doubtfull: and whereas their titles and interests were obscure. If  
they would say, that in this cause King *Philip* should not be regarded as a King, but as a  
private person, bound to plead against the rest, pretending the same succession by rea-  
son of blood: it was a fruitiuous distinction, for that the dignitie of a King cannot be se-  
parated from the person that carryeth it, in any case whatsoever. If they did pretend, that  
the controuersie must be ended, whereas the matter in question lyeth: that this rule hath  
no place in matters of Kingdomes.

To the second point they did apply some of the former answers, and to make it more  
plaine, they sayd, that it was sufficient for the King to exhibite his titles and right to the  
Gouernours, or to the Eftates, to iustifie his proceeding by armes, the which he might  
lawfully vse in case of refusal, the which was a kind of contumacie and rebellion. And last  
of all they sayd, that an oath made by whomsoever, to preiudice another, doth not bind  
him that hath taken it, especially where there is no Iudge, and he cannot pretend it for an  
excuse against a Soueraigne, especially when his title is apparent.

King *Philip* hauing resolved to enter Portugall with an armie, more (sayd he) to feare  
the Portuguezes, then to do them harme, besides, the armie which he prepared at Ba-  
dajos, he caused his vassals (after their example) in euery Prouince bordering vpon Por-  
tugal to be in readines, commanding the Lords which had their lands there, to shew  
themselves in armes, but not to aduance, and that if any neare Townes, Noblemen or  
commons would acknowledge him for their King, they should assure them of all good  
vfrage: The Gouernours were much amazed, yet they made shew, as if they would defend  
themselves, sending into France, to the Emperour, and to other Christian Princes for  
succours.

But they did aboue all imploy the Popes authority and prerogative, that he would be a  
meanes to make King *Philip* lay aside armes, and submit himselfe to a quiet course of ius-  
tice: whereupon they obtayned, that there should be a Legate sent into Spaine to de-  
cide

Allegations  
made by King  
*Philip*, con-  
cerning his title  
to Portugall.

15  
Advice of the  
Diuines of Al-  
cala of Henares

cide this controuersie; which was Cardinall *Alexander Riaris*, who was not pleasing vnto the King, being held suspect, neither would he that the Pope should meddle in this business, much lesse determine of it: Besides, this Legate came late, the Castilian armie being already entred farre into Portugall: and the Gouernors were in such a confusion, and did so disagree among themselves, as they suffered to haue a Croisado preached against the Castilians, as if it had beene to go against Infidels: the Magistrates did the like in many townes, and they sayd, that there were slaine Noblemen of Portugall, who by the meanes of prisoners which were yet in Affricke, since the ouerthrow of *D. Sebastian*, did sollicite the Xeriffe *Hamet* to take vpon him the protection of the Realme of Portugall against the King of Castile: such was the hatred of these two nations, and the proceedings of Don *Philip* so much detested, seeking to be Iudge in his owne cause, and to decide it by armes, to the prejudice of the other pretendants, and namely, of the generall Estates of the Realme.

The contrarieties which were obserued in all that the Gouernors did, being fearefull, irresolute, and yet very ambitious, seeking to retain the royall authoritie longer then they might, and to sell their fauours to their owne priuate benefites, did witness the confusion that was in their minds, and in their affaires, being solicited by the Ambassadors of Castile, they yeilded to declare *D. Philip* King, vpon certaine conditions, whereof they drew Articles, which were all signed by the Duke of Ossuna, but the difficulty was to publish this decree with any collour.

On the other side they witnessed themselves daily both within and without the Realme. In the meane time they had not any money, and suffered the reuenues of the Crowne to be lost by their bad intelligence, and withall the peoples loue, who might haue supplied their present necessities out of their store, if they had seene any order or grauntie in them.

They refused to sell the Jewels of the Crowne, but the Ambassadors of Castile opposed themselves, saying, That they did belong vnto the King their master, who was the true and lawfull king of Portugall. They sent *John Tello*, one of the bodie of the citie of Lisbon, vnder colour to assist *Emanuel* of Portugall his brother-in-law, who did fortifie Belen, and other places, at the mouth of the riuer of Tagus, beneath the citie, but it was to be ridde of him: for he did not fauour the Castilian partie, no more then *Emanuel* his brother-in-law: and for that the Deputies of the Prouinces and townes which were at *S. Iren*, did crosse them, they fought to send them home as vnprofitable, saying, that after the Kings death, who had called them, their procurations were void, and that there was not any assembly of Estates: yet they were content that tenne of the said Deputies should remaine with them, to bee witnesses of their actions, who should come to Setuual, a towne and port of the sea, twenty miles from Lisbon, whether they meant to retire themselves, by reason of the plague which was crept into Almerin. The Deputies on the other side maintayned, that their proclamations were still in force, that the Estates were not ended, and that in the business, which was now in question, their assembly was more requisite then in any other occasion, inuiting them againe to come vnto Saint Iren, where there was not any danger of the plague: the which they would not doe, but went to keepe their Councell at Setuual, farre from those that did obserue them, being accompanied by the Duke of Bragança, and the Ambassadors of Castile.

Setuual was one of those places whereof the King of Spaine desired to seize, for that in holding this port, he might shut vp the riuer of Lisbon: and therefore hee had commanded Don *Aluaro de Bassan*, Marquis of Santa Cruz his Admirall, to go thither with his Fleet, consisting of aboue fixtie galleies, and to make some enterprise, whilst that the Duke of Alba should enter by land, from Badajos to Eluas, and other places of that country, as he did soone after, the king hauing first sent *Pedro Velasco*, Iudge of Badajos, to see, if with perswasive words, promises, and presents, he might draw the neighbour townes and places to yeeld themselves voluntarily, and without force: where hee behaued himselfe so discreetly, as he caused *D. Philip* to be acknowledged for King of Portugall at Eluas, Oliuença, Serpa, Mora, Campo Maior, a noua, Arouguez, Portalegre, and others.

Matteo of the  
Portugueses to  
the Castilians.

Gouernors  
bring King Phi-  
lip into Portu-  
gal.

Gouernors set  
to dissolue the  
Estates.

A others. The Duke of Alba coming to the army, found it much wasted with sickness, being in all but 4500. Italians, 3500. Germans, and 3000. Spaniards of the old regiments of Italy, the which the King supplied with 7000. Besognes, or new soldiers, which he had leuied in Spaine, after which he took a view of his army, where he found about 18000. foot, and 6000. horse, with 25. peeces of ordnance, and store of victuals, and other warlike necessities: for the carriage whereof he had aboue 6000. carts and wagons. The Duke of Alba was General both at sea and land: in this expedition *Peter de Medici* was General of the Italians, being diuided into 3. regiments: of the one *Prosper Colonna* was Colonel, of the other *Vincenc Carrasa*, and of the third *Charles Spinelli*. *Ierome* Earle of Lodron was Colonel of the Germans, *Sancho d Auila* was Marshall generall at land, and *Francis d Alana* was Master of the ordinance. There was no Generals of the horse, for all the companies were commanded by Noblemen that were of the Kings councill, but in executions Don *Francis de Toledo* the Dukes son should lead them. With these forces the Duke of Alba past the riuer of Caya, and entred into Portugall the 27. of Iune, 1580. threatening such as would not acknowledge *K. Philip* his Master for their king. The Deputies of the Estates, which remained at *S. Iren*, seeing the king of Castile to enter the realme with an army, they accused the Gouernors to haue abandoned the publike cause, and declared *D. Antonio* defender of the Realme alone, but soone after the people proclaimed him king, & although he excused himself, being content (said he) for that time with the title of defender, yet was he forced to accept it, seeing himselfe enuironed with many swords in the midst of a furious multitude, cursing the Gouernors, & crying, that he must lead them against the Castilians. If *D. Antonio* did then somewhat want a spur to prick him forward to the royall dignity, he had afterwards more need of a bridle to curb him, not to abandon himself as he did, in a time of so great confusion, hauing an armed enemy in the hart of the country, who wan the Nobility daily, & wanted neither money nor credit, which are the finewes of war. He might haue apprehended the want both of friends and money, into the which he soon fell, hauing no support, but the multitude, and some Monks, who shewed themselves in his cause, not only passionat, but desperate, or rather mad. A royaltie is held to bee so sweet a morsell, and the desire to be a king, is so vehement, as they do willingly breake the bounds of law to deuoure it, when occasion is offered, without any respect: yea there haue beene many who to raigne one day, haue not cared to be slaine the next: whereof there are some examples in the course of this History: so it is no wonder, if *D. Antonio*, who had suffred so many crosses to come to it, hauing got it, sought to keepe it. The first error he committed, was to haue caused *Fernand de Pina*, one of the Magistrates of Lisbon to be slaine, for that he spake against him, and then hee suffered *Suarez*, who had committed the murder, to be hanged, whom he might haue saued by his authority. The opinion of the Portugals is and hath beene for many yeares, that the city of Lisbon is the force of a world, and that whosoever holds it, may make head against the mightiest Monarks of the earth. In truth it is one of the greatest peopled cities in Europe, of great traffick and wonderfully rich: but a multitude of people is but a weak support, and riches in the hands of priuate men in tumults, when as euery man sees himselfe in danger, and seeks to preserve that which he hath, are not assured, nor to be accompted of, vnlesse they will vse violence and tyrannie, which make the most lawfull kings to be hated. These considerations were not regarded by Don *Antonio*, hee must needs runne to Lisbon, thinking that if all the Realme were lost, Lisbon alone would restore him.

The bodie of the citie, and the Magistrates, apprehending this hastie coming, and the peoples proclamation at Saint Iren, who had cryed *Real*, *Real* for Don *Antonio*, intreated *John Tello*, one of the Gouernors, with Don *Emanuel* of Portugal, as wee haue sayd, to come and hinder Don *Antonio*'s entrie, if he could, and to perswade him not to take the name of King vpon him, but only to tearme himselfe defender of the State and Crowne of Portugall, against the vniust and tyrannous inuasion of the King of Castile, that this title would be more fauourable for him, and make him to be followed and supported by the Nobilitie, and the great men of the realme: whereas that of King, seemed to bee vsurped out of season, whilst that hee with the rest of the Pretendents demanded it by iustice.

Duke of Alba  
enters into Por-  
tugal.

16  
D. Antonio de-  
clared defen-  
der of the  
realme of Por-  
tugal.

Ttttt 2

Don

Don Antonio  
reduced into  
Lisbon.

Don *John Tello* sent *Diego de Sosa*, and *Francis de Meneses*, who could not stay him, but they returned together into the Cittie, where they durst not stoppe his entrie, yet comming neere vnto Lisbonne, there was a harguebuze shot of, which past neere his haire, but they could not learne whence it came. Being entred into the cittie, hee was receiued with acclamations, and all signes of ioy, as the time would permit: for the greatest part of men of qualitie were retired to their houses in the Countrey, by reason of the plague, which was very great, so as the common people onely made him this reception, crying, *God saue the king*. But hauing once seized vpon the pallace, the riuier, and the Arsenall, and the armes, he went to the towne-house, whither hee called all the Magistrates that were within the Cittie, and was there saluted for king, and the othe taken and receiued with the accustomed formalities: which done, hee wrote vnto the Gouernours beeing at Setuall, that they should come vnto him. Don *John Tello* (who had bin sent by his companions to Lisbonne, with procuration to see what was necessarie as a preservation of the Cittie, according to their desseigne, and had till then authoritie as a Gouernour) departed presently, and carryed some others away with him, whome Don *Antonio* would haue employed: and by that meanes hee carried away fortie thousand Crownes, which he had gathered together, vnder colour of reparations that were to be done at Belen, S. Iulian, Cascais, Cabeça Secca, and other places lying vpon the riuier.

Beeing come to Setuall, the other Gouernours would no more admit him into their companie, saying, that he was confederate with Don *Antonio*, and that hee might haue hindered his entrie into the Cittie if hee had would. The new King beeing discontented with them all, he wrote againe vnto them, to draw them to Lisbonne, yet vsing very mild words, but they would not do any thing. Hee wrote also very kindly to the Duke of Bragança, who was with them, and in the end he sent Don *Francis* of Portugal, Earle of Vimiofo, to perswade them if hee might. In the meane time the Duke of Bragança taking leaue of the Gouernours, retired himselfe to one of his houses, seeing, that neither the one, nor the other, did any thing to purpose, and that they could not prevent it, but King *Philip* did raigine in Portugall, with whome soone after he made an accord. The Earle of Vimiofo seeing that he could not preuaile with the Gouernours, he incensed the people against them, who chased them out of Setuall so hastily, as some were forced to creepe out of windowes, and to slippe downe the wallies in danger of their liues, yet the Arch-bishop of Lisbonne, and Don *John Tello* stayed still, beeing assured to be spared, the one for his Ecclesiasticall dignitie, the other, for that he had not bene opposite to Don *Antonio*, but had done him good offices.

By this meanes the king seized vpon Setuall, and went thither to haue the place fortified and furnished, and then he returned to Lisbonne, to whom there yeelded the aboue-named places vpon the riuier, and other about the cittie. The Gouernours beeing thus eclipsed, got, with the Ambassadors of Castile to Castro Marin, where they made a strange Decree against Don *Antonio*, Prior of Crato, condemning him as a Rebelle, and declaring, that the will of the deceased King Don *Henry* was, that King *Philip* should succeed him in the royall dignitie.

Whilst these things past, the Duke of Alba aduanced, and had taken Villa-vitiosa, the Duke of Bragança's chiefe house, a place of strength, which might haue stayed him some daies, and then without any care to march in order with his army (for there was no enemy to feare) he came with small iournies to Setuall, whither he had appointed the fleet should come. This place was soone yeelded to the Dukes discretion, by men without iudgement and experience: yet he suffered all the soldiers to depart, retayning onely *Diego Bello* the younger, Captaine of the garrison, who fought to escape in a barke. There remained only one tower which garded the port, the which he battered, and then the captaine and souldiers yeelded it, to haue their liues and goods saued: after that they had beaten one of the royall galleons in peeces, thinking it would haue yeelded to the Castilians. This place being taken, the Marquis of Santa Cruz came with his fleet (consisting of 60. gallies and many ships) and lodged most of them within the port, from whence they did so stop the mouth of the riuier of Lisbon, which is nere vnto it, as nothing could go in, nor come forth, but by the mercy of the gallies.

The

A The Duke of Alba continuing his course, meant to go to the Cittie of Lisbonne, which is the head of the Realme, and therefore he deuised how he might passe the riuier with his armie, wherein there was some difficulty, by reason of the old foris which were at the mouth of the riuier, and those which Don *Emanuel* of Portugall had newly built and erected.

Don *Antonio* being returned from Setuall, (whether hee had gone before the losse of it) was receyued by the Inhabitants with greater estate then before, causing him to enter vnder a Canopie, but hearing of the losse of this important place, their ioy was turned into feare and amazement, for they must now studie how to make head against the enemy, who they might assure themselves, would be soone at their gates, if they did not speedily prouide for it. The remedie consisted in a multitude of souldiers and money to enterayne them, which they had not. There was a great multitude of common-people in Lisbonne, but not trayned vp in armes, yet full of courage, when the enemy was farre off. He commanded them to be readie, and to furnish themselves with armes, giuing them Captaines of their owne sort, for there were few men of qualitie that followed him, and the best families of the Cittie were absent: but he made publike Proclamations to call them home in this necessitie, and some he inuited particularly: to such as hee found willing, hee distributed in paper, honours, offices, commanderies, crosse of the Orders of Knights which are in that countrey, without regard whether they, to whom he gaue them, were men of merit, and capable according to the Orders: for many base men were seene to carrie the crosse of Saint *James*, of Christ, of Alcantara, and others vpon their Cloakes: but he was indifferent, so as they gaue money. Such as did not obey his commandements, and were slow in comming to the towne, hee vled with all rigour, causing their houses to be opened, and their goods to be sold for the charges of the warre.

If any rich man within the towne, feareing to be taxed, or forced to pay money, did seeke to escape, he was stayed at the Port, stript, and put in prison, so as the great fauor which Don *Antonio* had found at his first coming, grew now cold. His most constant friends were the begging Friars, many of which leauing their hoods, tooke armes, and garded the ports, or followed him, and made a company in his armie, which he sought to rayse of this multitude, hauing no other: but they shewed themselves mutinous and rebellious, when they came to lye in field, a practise which Shoo-makers, Taylors, Mercers, Vintners, and the other skumme of the people; had not bene inured vnto, by whome the estate and reputation of Don *Antonio* were supported, who could not be ignorant of this absurditie, but that glorious name of King couered all defects, and made all dangers light. Hee had sent *Diego de Meneses* to Cascais, with some troupes to gard the passage, yet hee did not thinke the enemy would haue past there, but rather would haue gone about the towne towards Saint Iren, where the riuier grows narrow, for towards the sea, it is very broad: but notwithstanding any thing that *Meneses* could do, the Duke of Alba past vnder Cascais, at a place called Marines Vechos, neither did he euer seeke to hinder his landing, nor offer him skirmish, so hauing forced *Meneses* to retire, the Duke was master of the field, Don *Antonio* who expected some good seruice from *Diego de Meneses*, had made him Generall of his forces by land, and his brother *George de Meneses* of his armie at sea: where he had good Gallions, and some other Vessels, but growing iealous of *George*, he had taken his charge from him, and put him in prison.

It may bee, hee would haue done as much to *Diego*, if hee presented himselfe before him after the Dukes passage, but hee put himselfe into the Castle of Cascais, which cost him his life. Don *Antonio*, King of Portugall, must of necessitie issue forth of Lisbonne against the Duke, and fight with him for his honour, but hee found himselfe very vnfit for it: for neyther by faire meanes nor rigour could he gather together at that time about a thousand foote, and some five hundred horse, ill appointed, and neuer trayned vp in the warres, neither could hee possibly stay them about that day, for night beeing come, most of them returned to the towne to supper, for that there was not any breade in his campe.

Ttttt 3

The

Effat of Lisbon  
vnder Antonio

Decree of the  
Gouernours a-  
gainst Don An-  
tonio.

17  
Duke of Alba's  
exploits in Por-  
tugal.

Setuall taken  
by the Casti-  
lans.

The Duke of Alba meaning to attempt Cascais, found it abandoned by the inhabitants, the castle which was somewhat strong, refused to yeeld, whereupon it was battered and forced. The captain who commanded there, called *Antonio Pereira* was hanged, and his souldiers stript. *Diego de Meneses* was found in this place, whose head the Duke caused to be cut off, although there were some that did sue for his life. The cittie of Lisbon being amazed at the taking of Cascais, expecting to heare the like of the Castle of S. Julian, which is, as it were, their key, they protested to D. Antonio, that they would make their peace, if he did not put himselfe in defence, who offered himselfe to go, if they would follow him. Then every man was forced to take armes, and go to field, even the Negro slaues, of the which there is a great multitude in that City, so as of one and other hee found himselfe to haue an armie of 8000. men, ill armed, ill apparelled, and ill led, (for there was scarce one that could execute the office of a Sergeant, or place a Sentinel) with which troupe he went and camped at Alcantara, within fise miles of S. Julian, which the Duke did beseege and batter, which place was yeelded vnto him by *Tristan vax*, by the perswasion of a woman, who had obteyned a safe-conduct from the Duke to draw fourth a daughter of hers with her husband, which were within it. Cabeça Secca which was a fort built vpon the sand in the midst of the riuer right against S. Julian, was also abandoned to the Duke. So as there was not any thing that could hinder him from coming to the city gates, but *Belem*, and Don Antonio's armie, which lay in their ill-made trenches at Alcantara, and kept that bridge, the which was forced in it's lodging, and put to route by the Duke, and chased euery into the towne with some slaughter. Don Antonio escaped by flight, being hurt, but he staid not there: for passing through the town, and as it were, bidding them farewell, whom he could not defend, he tooke the way to S. Iren, hauing caused his wound to be drest at Sacaben, where he might haue bene taken, if they had pursued him: but he had the good hap to find meanes to retire to Coimbra, which of all the townes in the Realme had most resisted King Philip, and most disputed their pretended rights.

It is the onely Vniuersitie of Portugall, for all faculties, which had giuen aduice and counsell contrarie to the Doctors of Castile. The Duke of Alba tooke *Belem*, and soon after the Magistrates of Lisbon came to offer him the keys of the Cittie, demanding their liues and goods: the which was promised them, for King Philip's meaning was to haue it preferred, yet they could not prevent it, but the goodly suburbe which was vpon the way, was spoyled, and all the houses and gardens which were about the cittie, whither the Inhabitants had retired themselves by reason of the plague, and had carried most of their best moueables thither.

King Philip's gallies which were entred into the riuer, tooke them of Portugall, and the eleuenth of September, that yeare 1580. the Duke of Alba tooke possession in the king his masters name, of the city of Lisbon, and made him to be sworne and acknowledged, the people crying *Real, Real* for King Philip. Whilst that the Duke of Alba did these exploits in Portugall, King Philip was at Badajos, whereas he fell so dangerously sick, as the Physicians depayred of his life, and it was bruited in Portugall, that he was dead, so as many Noblemen did put on mourning weedes, and among others the King Don Antonio: He recovered, but his Queene Donna Anna, who fell sicke at the same time of a continual feuer, died.

The newes of the taking of Libone beeing knowne at Court, and what had followed, many Courtiers sought to disgrace the Duke of Alba's actions, accusing him of great negligence, to haue suffered Don Antonio to escape: they sayd, that he was more fitt to destroy then to edifie, not knowing how to do his master service, not to get him the possession of any thing, but desied, spoyled, and made vnsprofitable, and with such excessive charge, as it did exceed the value of the thing gotten: this was spoken, for that the suburbs and places about the cittie were spoyled. It is certaine, that this man for his fower, disdainfull, and haughtie grauitie, was hated of most of the Noblemen in Court. Then the King entred into Portugall, hauing first caused a generall Pardon to be proclaimed for all those that had opposed themselves against his reception, except Don Antonio, those that had fauoured him at Saint Iren, at Lisbon, at Setuall, and some others that were

A were named: the number of which hee did afterwards abate, causing his pardon to be reiterated, yet still reseruing some, so as it was commonly sayd, he knew not so well how to pardon, as to offend.

He did set a price of 80000. crownes for him that could either take or kill D. Antonio: yet notwithstanding this temptation, there was not any one that did attempt against his life, to reueale him, in eight moneths that he went wandring vp and downe the realme after all these miseries, being pursued and fought for in all places, with the greatest care and diligence that might bee. Hauing elcaped at the route of Alcantara, hee retired to Coimbra, as we haue said, where hee found so great loue and obedience, as hee gathered together about fise thousand foote, with the which hee approached neere vnto the city of Porto, a strong place neere vnto the sea, where although the Inhabitants had made shew to be Neuters, or rather inclining to King Philip's party, yet hee entred, and was well receiued. Being resolved to trie againe the hazard of a battaile, hee made a kinde of campe vpon the riuer of Duero, neere vnto that city: There hee made some spoile of them that were of the contrary faction, and fought to draw money from the Inhabitants. In case of any sinister accident, hee was resolved to flie into France, and therefore hee caused a barke to lie ready in the roade neere to Viana, a little place vpon the sea, at the mouth of the riuer of Limas. Whilst that hee busied himselfe about these things, the Duke of Alba sent *Sancho d'Avila* against him, with about fise thousand foote, some horse and foure canons. Vnto whom the city of Coimbra (which till then had bene faithfull to Don Antonio) carried their keies; they of Auerro did the like, who had bene spoiled by Don Antonio after that they had yielded vnto him. D. Sancho being come to the riuer of Duero which was not to be waded through, he past his men ouer in certaine boats, which he had brought with him in carts, and others that he surprized running along that riuer, notwithstanding that D. Antonio had commanded that all the boats should bee drawne to the other side. Don Sancho found not any resistance, for as soone as the Portugals, which were camped on the other side of the riuer, saw him come towards them, they fled, euery man sauing himselfe as hee could, without any great slaughter: this was in effect a multitude without experience or courage. D. Antonio hauing no more meanes to subsist, left the towne of Porto, where after that he had let the Magistrate vnderstand how hee had employed himselfe to the defence of the realme, and hauing excused himselfe by the baseness of the Gouernors, and the final assistance he had had from the Estates, he bad them farewell with teares, promising to see them before it were long, better accompanied, to free them from the tyrannie of D. Philip: for hee did hope to finde meanes and succors in France and England to restore him.

From thence hee went directly to Viana, with an intent to take shipping, where one attended him, but the sea went so high as it was impossible to put forth, staying there vntill the storme were past, beheld there came a troupe of horse which fought for him: whereupon he put himselfe into a small boat, desiring rather to commit himselfe to the mercy of the winde and waues, then vnto men. Being come vnto the ship with great paine and danger, there was no meanes to force the winde, nor to put to sea, so as hee was forced to come againe to Land in his boate, the sea driuing him to shoare, whereas he was not seene by them that pursued him. They of the house of Portugal were with him, who had alwaies followed him, namely the Bishop of Guarda, the Earle of Vimiofo, and some others; all which hauing disguised themselves like seruants and mariners, yet well furnished with rich iewels which were sowed vp in their doublets (for D. Antonio had made good prouision during his short reigne, as well at Lisbon, as in the pallice royall, as in other places) they saued themselves as well as they could. By this retreat the name of D. Antonio was suppressed in Portugall; neither was there any place or man which made opposition against King Philip in all the maine land of Portugall.

The townes and forts which are in Afrike beyond the Straight, yeelded obedience to King Philip, as Ceuta, Tanger and the rest, where he was content to leaue the same Gouernor and garriisons that were before: And it was not long before he had newes that D. Lewis d'Alcaide Earle of Zoghia, viceroy at the East Indies, had acknowledged him

*Apries let vp on D. Antonius head.*

*D. Antonio resists a new army.*

*Sancho de Avila sent against D. Antonio.*

*20 D. Antonio later affixes armes.*

*Portugal wholly reduced under King Philip.*

*Places belonging to the Portugals in Africa yield to King Philip.*

*18 Army of Don Antonio put to rout.*

*Lisbon yeelds to K. Philip.*

*19 Death of Donna Anna of Castile*

for his King, notwithstanding that he had beene much sollicitod by D. Antonio. Wherefore there remained nothing for the King of Spaine, of all the dependances of the realm of Portugall, to subiect vnto him, but the Islands of the Tercera, which are of great importance both for the Easterne and Westerne nauigations, for the which he prouided after that he had made his entry into Lisbonne.

Imputations  
laied vpon the  
Duke of Alba.

Before that the King parted from Badajos, the imputations and slanders laied vpon the Duke of Alba were such, as euery one was perswaded that he caused this goodly conquest to be trodden vnder foot by his souldiers, and that he gaue them such liberty, as without feare of punishment; they did spoile, sacke, kill and violate all diuine and humane lawes: wherefore the King sent two counsellors to informe, the one was called Francis of Villafaguana, taken out of the royall audience of Castile, the other in that of Galicia, whose name was Francis Tedaldi, who found much lesse disorder there then was spoken of: yet there were some infolencies supprest. There was something iustly imputed to the Duke of Alba, that by his sower and proud manner of proceeding, hee had hindered D. Antonios reception into fauour with the King, yea after that hee had beene saluted for King at Lisbonne, and when as the Duke went about to take the forts that were neere vnto the city, being certaine that King Philip shewed himselfe willing, when as he was moued by Diego de Carcamo. This Carcamo was a gentleman of Castile, who had serued D. Antonio when he was but Prior of Crato, in the life of King Henry: who seeing that King Philip had refused after his decesse to seize vpon the Realme of Portugall by armes, and that the Governours made a shew that they would defend it, he had demanded his leaue, and was retired into Castile, whereas the King suffered him to follow the Duke of Albas campe as a voluntary. Being in the army after the taking of Setuall, at the passage of the riuer of Tayo, he had leaue giuen him to goe to Lisbonne, to see the new King D. Antonio, letting the Duke vnderstand that it was the King their Masters pleasure. Being well entertained by D. Antonio, they beganne

Discours be-  
twixt D. An-  
tonio and Car-  
camo.

Carcamo  
speech to D.  
Antonio.

to discourse of the present Estate of the affaires, and of what might happen, seriously and without vanity; they both concluding that D. Antonio had committed an error, in taking vpon him the title of a King, and that he should haue beene satisfied with that of defender of the country, and that hauing in effect no support, neither from the Governours, who were opposite vnto him, nor from the Estates, who were dispersd, nor of the Nobility, nor of any other, but of the Inhabitants of Lisbonne, and some other townes, whereas the multitude being ignorant, inconstant, base and vilde, are alwaies mutinous and disobedient in such occasions, he must needs thinke that he could not subsist, and that he must yeeld vnto the forces of Castile, being in danger to be ill intreated, and without any respect if he were taken: and escaping, hee must not hope that any Prince in Christendome would undertake a warre for his sake. He might well procure some weake succors from France or England, vnder the name of voluntaries, without aduow, for once, with the hazard of some encounter, but this were no great foundation, obtaining a victory either at sea or land, to thinke your selfe thereby settled against a mighty Prince, as King Philip is, who hath meanes, in an instant, to repaire all the losses that may happen vnto him. It is true (said Carcamo) that this name and title of a King or Soueraigne Prince is a sweet enchantment to bewitch men, and it seemes that honour doth binde your highnesse, hauing once gotten it, to maintaine it with the hazard of your life, and rather to die fighting then to leaue it: This were good if we knew our aduentures, which are most incertaine; Man dies not when, nor how hee doth imagine, it depends of the wil of God. A King is as soone taken as slaine in a battaile. If your highnesse should be taken, consider, what would be your condition, and seeke no farther into Gods secret Iudgements, who shewes plainly by the successe of King Philips enterprises, that he hath ordained the realme of Portugal should be vnto that of Castile. That he should haue recourse whilest he had time, to those remedies which might warrant him from dishonour and infamy, rather then to contend in vaine against heaven and nature: and cast himselfe into the Kings armes, whom hee holds for his enemy; assuring him that he should find him milde, and forgetting all that was past, giuing him meanes to liue with honour, if not with the title of a King, yet in quality of a Prince,

whom

A whom hee will loue and acknowledge as his kinsman. Diego de Carcamo did without any dispute, make D. Antonio allow of these reasons, who knowing them to be most true, resolved to write an humble letter vnto King Philip, yet still retaying some right vnto himselfe.

He excused himselfe for that hee had taken the name of King, and receiued royall honours at Saint Iren, Setuall, and at Lisbonne, the question of succession being not decided, saying, that he had beene forced by the multitude, who would haue yeelded him no obedience, if he had onely carried the title of defender of the country, and that if he had prepared to make defence, it was by authority from the states, which is the greatest power within the realme, the royall seat being voided: and that his Highnesse should impute that to the loue and charity which euery good Portugues should carry vnto the crowne of Portugal: being then free, and full of honours purchased by the proper and peculiar vertues which God had infused into the Nation, both in Kings and subiects, the which hee greued to see confounded, and in danger to be darkened, being mingled with the trophies of Castile: And howsoeuer he held himselfe bound to perseuer in this defence, thinking the quarrel iust in his conscience, and by the consultations which hee had had both in the vniversities of the country, as strangers, as well of Diuines as Lawyers, yet considering the condition of humane things, and the vncertainty of their euent, and also to spare blood, and to prevent the infolencies and spoiles which follow warre, he was content to lay aside armes, and the title of King, knowing how his highnesse ment to intreat both the realmes and him. This was the substance of the letter which Diego de Carcamo, carried vnto King Philip, being yet at Badajos, the which hee receiued in good part, seeming desirous the quarrel might be ended by such submissions, without any more force. But for that this negotiation fell out, either during the Kings sicknesse, or vpon his recovery, being it may be aduised to haue this matter treated of farre from him, to the end hee might not haue his spirits continually importuned, nor haue occasion to alter his humors by any difficulty, that should put him in choller, hee gaue the whole charge thereof to the Duke of Alba, to whom Diego de Carcamo was sent, who made some voiaiges more to Lisbonne, and had so well aduanced the businesse, as there remained nothing, but to draw neere, and to conferre together by their Deputies, or in person if it might bee; when as Don Antonio receiuing letters from the Duke, conceiued by the termes thereof, an opinion that hee contemned him, and that hee would treat with him as a Master: for although that the Duke did witness by the tenor of his letters, that hee would imploy his best endeavors to attaine vnto a peace, saying that he honoured the memory of the Infant D. Lewis his father, the which did binde him to seeke D. Antonios aduancement in this treaty, yet he gaue him no other title but your Lordship, where they had beene accustomed to say vnto him, your Highnesse, since he was King, and before your Excellency, when he was but Prior of Crato. This ceremonious kinde of speaking being omitted by the Duke of Alba willingly, to humble Don Antonio, was the cause that the treaty went not forward, which was a great crosse both for the country and himselfe.

D. Philip being now King of all Spaine, entred into Portugall soone after his recovery, and came to Eluas, where he was acknowledged for King, and in all places where hee past, and then hee did free them of a forraigne imposition which was leauied vpon all merchandise which past from one realme vnto another, which was valued yeerely at a hundred and fifty thousand crownes, for a token of the vnion, and to shew that the Castilians and Portugals were now but one people. He appointed an assembly of the Estates at Tomar in April the yeere following 1582: hee visited Catherine Dutchesse of Braganca at Villa Boim, who yeelded her right to the Realme vnto him, if she had any. The Pope who had till then beene somewhat opposite to the Kings pursutes, did allow of all that had beene done in Portugall, being aduertised how matters had past; hee exhorted him that he shew himselfe thankfull vnto God for the prosperities which hee had giuen him, he should undertake to make warre against the Queene of England, either directly, or vnder hand, in fauouring the Irish: hee not onely offered him his spirituall treasures, but also quit him the fruites of the Archbishopricke of Toledo, which had beene long

D. Antonio  
writs to King  
Philip.

King Philip  
enters into  
Portugal.

Pope Gregory  
allows of the  
conquest of  
Portugal.



long in the hands of his Stewards, whilst that the Archbishop remained suspended of his dignity, and that his proceffe was in question at Rome, the which amounted to some millions of crownes, and did belong to the Church and Sea of Rome. The King knew well that he should not restore those fruits, and therefore he was not eager to enter into well that he should not restore those fruits, and therefore he was not eager to enter into open warre against the English, yet he promised to succor the Irish from Spaine, with our any further declaration, but saying, that he would deale with the affaires of Ireland, as the Queene of England did with them of Flanders. Hee was also to provide for the reduction of the Islands of the Tercera's, without the which his fleets could hardly continue their navigations to the Indies.

*Description of the Tercera's.*

These Islands are in the Atlantike Ocean, and are otherwise called the Açores; they be seven in number, most of them small, and not greatly inhabited. The best are the Tercera (which carries the name of them all) Saint Michel (which is the greatest) and Fayal: the other, which be, Santa Maria, Pic, Flowers and Corues, are barren and vnpeopled. The city of Angra the Bishops Sea, is in the Tercera, but the Bishops aboad is in that of Saint Michel, at a place called Puncto del Gada, which Island is some hundred miles neerer vnto Spaine then the rest. All the Inhabitants of these Islands are brutish, superstitious and vain, yet instructed by Iesuits and many sorts of Monkes which haue their dwellings there. Vntill that the Marquis of Santa Cruz had conquered them, they were of opinion that the King D. Sebastian was not dead at the battaile of Afrike, they did hate the Castilians mortally, & were entertained in this hatred by D. Antonio, who held them two years

*People of the Tercera's brutish.*

for this King being expelled, after that he had wandered throughout the realm, poore and in a disguised habit, for the space of eight months, and yet was neuer wronged nor discovered, notwithstanding that he spake to diuers men, in the end he had means to fraight a ship of the Low countries at Setuial, who for 600. crowns brought him to Callis, from whence going to the court of France, he was kindly entertained by the Queene Mother, one of the Pretendants to the crowne of Portugal, by whose fauor and authority, hee found in many priuat men that offered to do him seruice, & went to sea, & to the Islands, vnder his warrant, hoping to take some Spanish or Portugal ships coming from the Indies, and to enrich themselves with their spoiles, so as it was an ordinary trade from the ports of France to the Tercera's: where for a time D. Antonio Cyprian de Figueredo commanded, but not well pleased with him, he displast him, and gaue his Government to Emanuel de Sylua, who called himselfe Earle of Torres Vedras. They of the Island of Saint Michel, being some distance from the rest, did presently acknowledge the king of Spaine, diuiding themselves from the rest, whether French ships came many times to spoile it, and some Spaniards to defend it, who meeting made furious war, but the Spaniards had alwaies the worst. They of the Tercera's were firme for Antonio, and tooke all that came vpon their coast, and vpon that of Fayal, or that they could see at sea, to make a stock for D. Antonio, who reaped great commodity. There was one called John de Betancourt, descended from some French house, dwelling in the towne of Angra, who thought to draw the people into a mutiny for the King of Spaine, who being almost slaine, was cast into an obscure prison, where he remained long, and it is doubtful whether he died there. The Iesuits thought to speake, but they walled vp the gates of their conuents, and kept them long shut vp after that maner, giuing them meate twice a weeke, and yet they feared to bee worse intreated: but the other Orders of Monkes spake of none but D. Antonio, whose vertues and praises were most commonly the subiect of their Sermons, meddling much with affaires of state and warre. King Philip to assure himselfe of the Island of Saint Michel which held for him, and receiue the ships which came from the Indies, being not aduertised of that which had past in Portugal, least they should vnwillingly fall into the hands of the contrary party, he commanded that D. Pedro de Balde should bee sent with foure ships and six hundred Spaniards, who aduerturing to land in the Island of Tercera's, with an opinion that there were many in the Island affected to the King his Master, and by their meanes to doe some good exploits vpon the city of Angra, which was vnwalled towards the land, he was charged by the, who slue 400. of his men, so as he made all the haste he could to get to sea, and returne to Lisbon, where for his welcome

*Pedro de Balde defeated by them of the Tercera's.*

he was put in prison, charging him that he had fought contrary to his Commission, yet he was soone releas'd, finding that he was not expressely forbidden to fight. Lope de Figueroa being sent after to second him, thought to find him about the Island of S. Michel, but hearing of this defeat, he returned also to Lisbon, so as it was then resolved to send greater forces the next spring.

We haue formerly made mention of certaine companies sent by Pope Gregory the 13. to succor the Rebels of Ireland, vnder the command of Thomas Stukely, who comming to Portugal with sixe hundred foote, when as D. Sebastian did arme against the Moores, they were intreated by him to serue him in that warre, where most of them were slaine with their chiefe Commander. The rest returning into Portugall, with Sebastian Saniosep one of their Commanders, they had order to passe into Ireland; and the Popes Nuntio there had order to leauy Spaniards to fill vp the number, and to increafe it, who should saile into Ireland vnder the Standard of the Church, yea at the King of Spaines charge, hauing money to raise foure thousand men of the country, they being but nine hundred men in all vnder diuers captains Italians and Spaniards. These men landed in Ireland, and built a good fort, called Smerwicke, the which was furnished with ordnance, victuals and munition to maintaine a long seige, into the which three entered but sixe hundred men, the other three hundred returning in three ships, leauing three behind, but before they were fully fortified, the Lord Gray, Lord Deputy for the Queens Maiesty in Ireland, came and beleaged them, and prest them in such sort, as some of the captaines, compounding for their owne liues, the rest were put to sword: And so that enterprife was soone made frustrate, hauing more desire then means to annoy the English in those parts.

The time appointed being come for the holding of the Estates at Toisnar; the Deputies of the Clergy, Nobility, Prouinces and good townes of Portugal came thither, where King Philip was acknowledged by them all for King of Portugal; without any contradiction, and receiued the oath of fidelity, the which hee caused to be taken to the Prince his sonne. There they also treated how the Realme should be gouerned, where the King shewed himselfe very bountifull, for he granted vnto the realme, in a manner, all the Articles which the Duke of Ossuna his Ambaffador had promised and signed to the five Gouernours, before the taking of Lisbon, the chiefe whereof were: That the King should take an oath, as he did, to maintaine the realme in her lawes, customes, preuiledges and liberties. That the Estates of the realme should be held within the realme, and that they should resolute there, and no where else, of matters concerning the realme of Portugal. That the viceroy, or by what name soeuer they called the Gouernour, should be a Portuguese, vnlesse he were a Prince of the blood, sonne, vncl, brother, cousin or nephew to the King. That the offices of Iustice, charges of the treasure and reuenues of the crowne, should be giuen vnto Portugueses alone. That such as had offices and dignities within the realme, as well at land as at sea, preferred by former Kings, should enioy them still, and in like manner the offices of the house and crowne of Portugal. That the Gouernours and Captaines of places and the souldiers in garrisons should be all Portugueses. That the commerce of the East Indies should remaine for the Portugueses, distinct from them of Castile, as they had beene before this vnion, and vnder the same lawes. That the money which should be coined in Portugal, should haue the armes of Portugal alone, without any other mixture or addition. That all Clergy dignities, both great and small, should be giuen to Portugueses, and in like maner all commanderies of the Orders of Knights. That no Croisadoes, nor thirds of Ecclesiasticall liuinges, should be obtained from the Pope, to be leauied in Portugal. That no fees nor iurisdiccions should be granted in Portugal, to others the Portugueses. That rights, exchequing to the crown, should not be giuen to any but to Portugueses. That the King should take into his seruice two hundred Portugueses, giuing them the pension which is called Moradie. That the King comming into Portugal, the lodgings of his Court and traine should be made after the manner of Portugal. That the King going through the realme he should carry with him a priuat Councell consisting of a Prelate, Chancellor, Treasurer, superintendant, and a certaine number of Secretaries, which should bee called the

*Forces sent into Ireland by the Pope and King of Spaine defeated.*

*An. 1581. Estates of Portugal held at Toisnar.*

*22 Articles granted by King Philip to the realme of Portugal.*

council

counsell of Portugal, all Portugueses. That the prouisions of offices, as wel of Iustice as others should be made within the realme, & that their supreme Iudgements should haue execution. That the Kings Chappell and singing men should be entertained, as had bin vied in the time of other Kings, in the city of Lisbon commonly, or where the Kings person should be within the realme. That all forraigne impositions vpon the confines of either realme, should cease. That all Portugueses should indifferently bee admitted to serue the Kings and Queenes, and that the Queenes taking Portugal maidens to serue them, should marry then according to their qualities, as had beene accustomed.

At these Estates there was a generall pardon granted to them that had carried armes, or otherwise opposed themselves against king Philip. Out of the which were excepted D. Antonio, the Bishop of Garda, the Earle of Vimiofo, and others named to the number of 52. All the religious men which had adhered to D. Antonio, and those that had receiued office from him, were also excluded out of this pardon, and were made incapable euer to receive any grace or charge from the King. The vniuersity of Coimbra, which had held D. Antonio's part, and published his title, was (contrary to the opinion of many) confirmed in their priuiledges, and taking into the Kings special protection. As for grauties and rewards to private Portugueses, the King gaue much, yet he pleased not all factors. He confirmed the Duke of Bragança in the dignity of Constable of the realm. The Duke of Ossuna, who had left Portugal after the Gouernors flight from Setuual, was made viceroy of Naples, which is the goodliest charge of Spaine, wherevnto the Nobleman aspire and seeke to come vnto by degrees, as the chiefe of dignities which is given in that court. Christopher de Moya was made gentleman of the Chamber, which is much in Spaine. All that had imploied themselves to serue the King in his pretension and pursute of that realm of Portugal, as well of the nation, as others, yea and many which had opposed themselves, and were afterwards by some meanes reconciled, were gratified and rewarded, some superfluously, others more sparingly, so as some thought his recompences and rewards amounted to six millions of crownes.

The Estates being ended, the King drew neere vnto Lisbon staying some daies at Almada, not far off, attending the preparations which they made for his reception, and on Saint Peters day he made his royal entry, where after the triumphes, he wanted not importunat suitors for guifts and recompences, and there was so great a number of petitions presented, as the counsell was ouer-charged, and there could not be any expedition, so as to abridge al delays, the King discharged the body of the counsell, and committed the examination and prouision vnto two only, which were, D. Antonio Pignero Bishop of Leira, and Christopher de Moya.

The Great Turke being at truce both with the Persian and the Catholike King, had some cause giuen him to doubt a warre in Africke, for that in Tunis the people had taken armes, and expelled the Turkes that were there in gard, calling home their old King Amide, who had beene expelled and liued at Malta, wherevpon Amurath did presently send Vlucially with some galleies, who attempted to land some men, but the King of Fez opposed himselfe, hauing no wil that the Turkes should grow potent in Africke. And the Catholike King, who had made a league with the Moore, would not haue the Turke aduance on that side, protesting to Vlucially, that by reason of the truce, formerly made betwix him and the great Turke, he could not attempt war against him of Fez, vnlesse he would breake the truce; and therefore if he attempted any thing, hee would send his galleies against him; which threats made Vlucially resolute (hauing past thither wel provided) not to alter any thing this yeere. The disorders at the Tercera increased daily, many comming thither for refuge, after they had beene spoiling at sea, whereof some were French: And King Philip being aduertised that in France they prepared many ships of warre, and leauied souldiers publicly vnder the fauour of the Queene mother, to come vnto those Islands, there to fortifie themselves against the Spaniards, to cut off their nauigation to the Indies, and to assure them against the enterprises of the King of Spaine, and deprive him of the vse of them, he had already commanded D. Aluarez Bagan, Marquis of Santa Cruz, to carry 5000. men thither, when as hearing that D. Antonio had set saile with about 70. ships and 7000. souldiers (as reports are alwaies greater then

A then the effects) he prest the Marquis to be gonne, and seemed to be somewhat discontented with him, for his slacknesse in making ready the ships of Andalusia, whereof there were a good number appointed for this voyage: so as hee was forced to goe from Lisbon on the tenth of Iuly with eight and twenty ships only, some Biscains, the rest Flemings and Esterlings, appointing the rest which were at Saint Lucar, Santa Maria, and other ports to follow him. This Castilian army being come to the Island of Saint Michel, they found that the French were already landed, and did spoile it. So as they came happily to preserve the Island, and the chiefe fort of it called *Punta Delgada*. Hee was glad that whilst the French were busied about the spoile of that poore Island, they had suffered a great ship, and very rich, coming from the Indies to escape, the which had come unwittingly vnto those Islands, being ignorant how the affaires of Portugal had past.

These two enemies fleets were at anchor some thirty miles one from another, being couered with points of Land which runne into the sea: The French being about Laguna towards the West, and the Spaniards at Morro, which is to the East, with this diuantage, that the Marquis laying along the Island to finde a fit place to land, the army had beene fully discovered by the French, which hee could not doe of theirs, lying couered and hidden: besides the French had taken a Caruell of aduice, the Marquis hauing sent two vnto the Gouernor of the Island to aduertise him of his comming, and of the number of ships and souldiers which hee brought with him, and of those which should follow him. Being therefore hard to discouer the French army by sea, the Marquis was desirous to land some men to learne some certentie, but they were forced to returne without any certaine knowledge. Wherefore to bee better assured, he waited anchor, and put to sea with all his fleet, in order to fight, meaning to passe in that manner along the South part of the Island, where the enemy lay (for the other side of the Island was desert and had no landing) and by that meanes see what their strength might be, where at the breake of day there came a small barke vnto him, in the which was the Master of a Biscain ship, with letters from John de Castilo, who commanded in the fort of the city, by the which he did aduertise him of all that had past since the comming of D. Antonio and his army vnto the Island: That the French had in all 58. sailes, whereof 28. were great ships, and 6000. souldiers; that they had sackt the village of Laguna, and put to rout Pedro Pexot, and Laurence Noghera, who went to encounter them with 3000. men, part Islanders and part Spaniards, and then had entred into the city which they had found empty, and that they fought to winne the fort, into the which they were fled that had escaped at the defeat. That Laurence Noghera was dead of a wound which hee had receiued in the fight, and that Pexot went away soone after in a Carauel towards Lisbon, leauing many of his vessels in the Port, which had beene taken or brothen by the French, and that hee was straightly besieged in the fort; and therefore hee should take counsell, whether hee should fight, or retire with all his ships vnder the fort to fauour it.

E The Marquis being glad of this aduice sent the Master backe to John de Castilo with this answer. That hee should not trouble himselfe but hold good, for hee was resolved to fight, with hope to vanquish the enemy. This report came neere the truth for the number of their ships, for the French fleet at their comming from Belille in Britan consisted of fise and fifty sailes, whereof there were fise and thirty ships of warre, and twenty pinaces, carrying feuen and thirty companies of foote, which might make some foure thousand souldiers, whereof *Saincte Salene* was Collonel of fiftene Ensignes, nine were vnder the command of the Siegneur of Buz, eight vnder Beaumont, and fise vnder Fumee, ouer which Philip Stroffy was Generall, and the Earle of Brissac was his Lieutenant. The Marquis hauing spent that day in consultations, and in ordering all things necessary for the army, the next day, which was the three and twentieth day of Iuly, the two fleets were at sea, their prowes turned as if they ment to fight, which it is verie likely they had done instantly if so be that a calme had not kept them from ioyning. After dinner the vvinde growing somewhat fresh, the Marquis thinking that the French (vvhich had the vvinde) should haue charged him, and

Vvvv

hee

King Philip's  
bounty in Por-  
tugal.

22  
Entry of King  
Philip into Lis-  
bon, and as  
knowledge  
King.

Armist of  
French and  
Spaniards in  
the Island of  
Saint Michel.

Number of the  
French army  
at the Tercera.



¶ Many of  
the dead in the  
battaile.

Crucell: of the  
Marquis of  
Santa Cruz, to  
the French.

Spainish  
cruelty  
of the  
Marquis of  
Santa Cruz

Thus the French army retired, having lost their Commanders with about 2000. men, and eight of their best ships in the conflict, in the which the Spaniards said they had not above 200. slain, and about 500. hurt, wherein they flattered themselves strangely, for in the Gallion Saint Mathe-w, alone, there were above 600. soldiers and mariners, who by their owne confession were reduced to 70. when as *Stroffy* was oppressed by the Marquis and the rest that came. The Spanish fleet remained master at sea, neither cared to pursue them that fled, both for that night approached, as also thinking that he had done ynough. He was kept foure daies at sea, by reason of the winde which did rife, and could not get to the Island of Saint Michel, where he afterwards landed his men to refresh them, and to cure them that were hurt. There *D. Aluaro de Bazan* Marquis of Santa Cruz did an act which was held barbarous, discovering the pride and insolency of certaine Natures which cannot be pacified, and which neuer take delight in their victories, vnlesse they be seasoned with some new cruelties, committed after the fact in cold blood: for the first day of August the army being landed, *Francis* of Bouadilla having caused a great scaffold to be set vp in the market place of Villa Franca, in the Island of Saint Michel, he caused all the French prisoners, to the number of 300. to be brought thither by foure companies of souldiers, where he caused a sentence to be pronounced. That whereas (there being a peace betwixt the Catholike King and the most Christian) they had presumed to come out of France, in fauor of *D. Antonio*, sometimes Prior of Crato, in form of an army, with an intent to spoile the King of Spaines ships, comming from the Indies, and seize vpon his Islands, where they had already taken great booties; he therefore declared them common enemies to the commerce and publike quiet, and fauorers of his Maiesties rebels; and that as pirats and theues he condemned them to die, commanding the Iudge of the army to cause that sentence to be put in execution, vpon all of those that exceeded the age of 17. yeeres, for the seruice of God, and of the two Kings required. The age of these prisoners, which were exempted from death, to vse them in the galleys, was iudged after that they were carried backe to prison by their beards, so as many which had little or no beards shaued their liues, hauing secretly pulled the haire off their chins. There were found among those that were condemned foure score gentlemen, who lost their heads, or rather had their throats cut, for want of a good hangman, and the rest, both soldiers and mariners, were hanged, within two foot of the ground. This inhumaine and bloody slaughter, was detested by the Spanish souldiers, and by many of their captaines, saying, that it did blemish the honour of armes, and that they did wrong to those prisoners to terme them theues, being apparent that they were not come to that voyage for *D. Antonio*, but to doe seruice to the French Queene, by reason of the pretensions she had to the realme of Portugal, and that they should make them faire war, hauing behaued themselves like valiant souldiers, wherevpon they made many requests vnto the Generall, seeking to diuert him from that cruel resolution, but he was immouable. After this vnworthy fact (howe soeuer they may colour it) the Marquis staid some daies about those Islands, to receiue the India ships, if any came, so as he shaued two, which might haue somewhat repaired *D. Antonios* losse, if they had saile into his hands, whom he put in some feare, and all them that were with him at Angra in the Island of Tercere, that he would land there, for he past and repast twise or thrice in view of the city, but he had an other desaigne; for seeing the season approach, when as the seas grow high, he gaue order for the gard of the Island of Saint Michel, where he left *Augustin Inyguet* with 2000. Spaniards, and then sailed towards Lisbonne.

The defeat of *D. Antonios* army, and the death of *Philip Stroffy* did much trouble the French King, and the Queene-mother; after which he could not procure any great means to annoy the King of Spaine: Some of the ships of that fleet making hast to recouer the Ports of France, their captaines were reproched with base cowardise, and some of them were put in prison, being charged to haue bene corrupted by the King of Spaine, or his Agents, before they parted from France; and to haue failed of their duties in the day of battaile. They had prepared for *D. Antonio* (hauing newes of the comming of this army) a stately entry in the city of Angra; whether he came two daies before the battaile, to attend the issue thereof out of danger, by the aduice of the French captaines,

*D. Antonios*  
estate after the  
defeat of the  
French at sea.

His returne  
into France.

Am. 1582.  
King of Spaine  
fortifies the  
straights of  
Magellan.

*Sarmiento* for-  
tifies in the  
straights of  
Magellan.

A captaines, the vnfortunate successe whereof made the triumphs to cease: and when as after the defeat he saw the Marquis lie howring vp and downe, he grew a fraide, causing a light barke to lie ready for his flight, if he should be assailed, but hearing afterwards of his departure, he grew assured. This poore Prince saile from all his hopes staid their a while, and was perswaded by *Emanuel de Sylua*, whom he had made Governour of those Islands, to commit many insolencies to get money, whereunto he willingly gaue care, for he fore-saw his future necessity. He caused money of a base standard to be coined, and set it at a high rate. Yet would he not imitate the Marquis of Santa Cruz in cruelty, being sollicit to put to death fifty Castilians which were in prison at Angra, to reuenge the death of those that had bene executed in the Island of Saint Michel, which shewed his generous minde. About the midst of October he resolved to returne againe to France: for danger and want would not suffer him to liue any longer in the Island of Tercere. Having therefore recommended vnto *Emanuel de Sylua*, that which concerned the government of those Islands, for the gard whereof he left him five hundred French soldiers, besides those he had before: he parted with about thirty saile. And for that he would not arrive in France, whilst that the memory of the losse of so many gallant men was fresh, whereof they imputed the cause to him, he directed his course towards the Canaries, and the Island of Madera, to spend the time, and to get some spoile to content his souldiers: some ships both French and English abandoned him in a storme which disperst them about the Island of Saint Michel.

C The Marquis of Santa Cruz being arrived at Lisbonne, he was welcome to the King, who told him, that seeing he had bene so fortunate in that voyage, he would send him the next sommer to the Tercera with a stronger army, and that he should carry some galleys with him, to make an absolute conquest of those Islands, and to chase away the French and *D. Antonios* partisans, and euen there he gaue order for that voyage.

We haue formerly made mention that the King of Spaine after the returne of *capitaine Drake* from the South sea, had sent *D. Diego Florens de Balde* with 25. ships, to fortifie and plant in the Straights of Magellan, & to stop the passage of any other Englishmen that should attempt the like, and that five of his ships had bene cast away in a storme, vpon the coast of Spaine, notwithstanding the King sent commandement that he should proceed in his voyage, the which he did with sixteene saile, but he could not get into the straights that yere, so as leauing *Diego de Ribera* his Lieutenant, & *Pedro Sarmiento* (who should be the Governour of those forts) to attempt it the next yere, he returned for Spaine. And they happily got into the Straights, where they landed 400. men, with their victuals and munition, which done, *Diego de Ribera* left *Pedro Sarmiento* with 400. men, thirty women, and a ship with victuals for eight months, and returned with three ships, hauing staid but eight daies in the Straights. *Pedro Sarmiento* built a towne in the mouth of the Straight to the Northward, in the which he put a hundred and fifty men, calling it *Nombre de Iesus*, from whence he went by land, and sent the ship some five leagues within the Straights, where in the narrowest part he found a very good port, and built an other towne, which he called *Ciudad del Rey Phillippo*, or King *Phillipps* towne, but the snow and extreme cold of the Winter would not suffer him to finish his fort. Wherevpon pretending to goe to his other towne, hee sailed to the Straights mouth, to his first built towne, where hauing staid a day or two, he brake his cable in a storme (as hee said) and went to the riuer of Ienero, and then to Fernambuck to seeke for some supplie of victuals, where he obtained what he desired: But *Sarmiento* sayling towards his Colony, his ship with all his prouision was cast away, three of his men were drowned and himselfe hardly escaped. At Baya the Governour of Bresil fitted him with a barke, & furnished him with clothes and victuals for his people, but vpon the way he was surprized with so furious a storme, as he was forced to cast all his freight ouer bord, & to returne againe to the riuer of Ienero, where attending a whole yere, he neither receiued succors nor letter from the King, who was offended with *Pedro Sarmiento*, for that he had giuen him wrong informations touching the straights, and put him to a needlesse charge, and losse of men, so as *Sarmiento* hauing no means to releue his people, was forced to saile towards Spaine, where at sea he was taken by certaine Englishmen, so as in

Death of D.  
Diego Prince  
of Spaine.

Death of the  
Duke of Alba.

Death of D.  
Sancho de  
Almeida.

An. 1583.  
D. Philip the  
King, gave  
jurme at the  
Estates of Por-  
tugal.

Archduke Al-  
bert made  
Governor of  
Portugal.

King Philip  
gave out of  
Portugal.

Successors to  
the Tercera.

Fort built at  
the Tercera.

four yeeres those poore Spaniards which hee had left in the Straights had no succors. A

This yeere D. Diego the Kings sonne, Prince of Spaine, died, for the which he was very sorrowfull; but he did not much regard the death of the Duke of Alba, which followed soone after, at the least he made no shew of it, whereat the Portugueses (who had seene their Kings retire themselves for privat men) wondered. They remembered that King Emanuel had shut himselfe vp three daies for the death of a Pilot. The Duke of Alba was 74. yeeres old when he died in the Kings lodging at Lisbon: of whose deeds and disposition we haue spoken sufficiently. D. Sancho de Aulsa, accounted by the Spaniards for one of the best captaines of his time, died soone after the Duke, being hurt with a horse he sought to be cured by a souldier, with charmes, and neglected the Art of Surgery. B

Among other Acts of his the sacke of Antwerp is memorable, in the yeere 1576. King Philip being prest to returne into Castile, to consider of a marriage which was treated of betwixt the Emperour and one of his daughters, being also to goe to the Estates of Arragon, he made hast, before his departure out of Portugal, for that which was necessary for the government of the realme, and for the firme vnion thereof with Castile. He therefore summoned the Estates for the 26. day of January the yeere following.

1583, and there he caused his sonne D. Philip to be sworne lawfull successor to the crown of Portugal; he caused the funeral of the deceased King D. Henry to be made at Belem, where he was buried with his Predecessors, and he caused the bones of King Sebastian, and of diuers other Princes his kinsmen, which had bene left, or buried in diuers Monasteries, to be brought thither. As for the Government of the realme, in his absence, he gaue it to the Archduke Albert Cardinal, contrary to the opinion of most Courtiers, who thought he would haue left it to his sister D. Maria, widow to the Emperour Maximilian, who had retired her selfe into Spaine, and was come to him into Portugal at the time of this conqueit. He left for Counsellors to the Archduke, D. George d'Almeida, Archbishop of Lisbon, Pedro d'Alcaçova, who had bene so ill intreated by King Henry, the realme, who was honored by him with the office of Scribe of the purity, which is one of the greatest dignities of that Court: but the King contrary to the Articles concluded at the Estates of the realme, and against their priuiledges, put into the Counsell of the Hazienda, which is for the revenues of the crowne, two Castilians, one a Lawier & the other a Merchant. The Emperesse did also somewhat discontent the Portugals when as visiting the conuent of Santos, which is a retreat for Ladies of great houses living like religious women, but yet may marry, she drew out D. Iuliana d'Alencastro, daughter and heire to the Duke of Auer, being thirteene yeeres old, and tooke her with her into Castile, whereas they thought she would marry her. The Portugueses were also discontented at the Archdukes proceedings, who after the Kings departure, in the beginning of his government, made difficulty to signe the prouisions and ordinary letters, which ought to be dispatched within the realme, as the King had agreed, sending suitors ordinarily to Court. In the end the King, to pacifie the discontents, and to leaue a good conceit of him in his new conquest, gaue many gifts and rewards to them that presented themselves, and made their seruices knowne, or their desire to doe him any: the Duke of Bragança and the Marquis of Villareal were they that tasted least of his bounty, the which was noted, being the principal persons of the realme, from whence he parted the eleuenth of February that yeere, presently after the ending the Estates. E

The Marquis of Santa Cruz, after his returne to Lisbon, vied all diligence to make ready the army which he should leade the Sommer following to the Tercera: the which being knowne in France by D. Antonio, and those that fauored him, they wrought so as he had meanes to send about 1200. men, vnder the command of Monsieur de Chates a Knight of Malta, and Gouvernor of Diepe, a man well practised in marittall affaires both at land and sea: there were already in the Islands of Tercera and Fyal, feuen hundred French and three hundred English, and about three or foure thousand Portugueses and Islanders. The Island of Tercera was the place which must bee chiefly kept, to defend the approaches whereof, and the landing places, Emanuel de Sylua had caused some thirty forts to be built within compass of it, which was a weake fortification, for

A for being all small, capable of few men, and farre one from another, they might be easily forced with few men, and one could not releue another. This Emanuel de Sylua (as the Spaniards describe him) was a man full of will, and opinion of his own sufficiency, but in effect he was ignorant of the art of war, (as in a manner all Portugueses at that time were) and of a very tyrannous disposition: so as he omitted no kind of cruelty to get money: and did willingly giue care to them that found out any inuention to call the inhabitants of the Island in question, for the breach of his capitulations, Edicts, and Ordonances, to the end he might forfeit their goods. To effect the which, one Amador de Vieira gaue him good meanes, who being secretly enterrayned in that Island by King Philip, to

B discover who was affected to him, and to enterrayn them in that good will to serue him, when as he thought he had discovered all, he carried the roule to Emanuel de Sylua, who made his profit thereof. Monsieur de Chates being arrived at the Tercera, he would see all the fortifications of the Island, and vnderstand the reasons: for he did not comprehend much, considering the number of men, the defence of so many forts would require: withstanding that Emanuel de Sylua had rather made one strong retreat, capable of all that was good in the Island, both men, victuals, munition, and other things in the best place thereof, which might haue bene able to endure a sege vntill winter, with the souldiers and inhabitants that were there, the which making in all sue or fixe hundred men, good and bad, being well led and commanded, might make a gallant defence, and not trust to those small forts, which were neither made with iudgement, nor able to hinder the enemies landing: for they did not defend the third part of the approaches of that Island, the which hee found not so inaccessible as they had described it vnto him in France: This Knight did also find, that there was small prouision of victuals and munition, although there were good store of Ordinance. So as he made account, that if the Marquis came with such forces, as were giuen out, these Islands were lost without recoverie, Yet like a man of courage, he repayed, as well as he could, the defects of these hen-rouits, exhorting them all to be of good cheare, and to hope well, and that howsoever, he would dye honorably with them. The presence of this Captaine did much comfort the inhabitants of the Island, and did somewhat assure Emanuel de Sylua: who notwithstanding had prepared for his escape, if he saw himselfe prest; for he kept two vessels readie in the port, to

C fly into, whereof Monsieur de Chates was in doubt, and therefore he obserued him. The Marquis of Santa Cruz hauing put to sea with 30. ships of watre, 12. galleies, two galleasses, 5. galleons, and other smaller vessels armed, to the number of 60. besides carauels, pinaces, and other ships of burthen, carrying 10000. men, Spaniards, Italians, Germanes, and Portugueses, vnder Lope de Figueroa, Francis d' Bonadilla, and John de Sandoval, Colonels of the Spaniards, Lucio Pignatello of the Italians, Jerome Ledron of the Germanes, and Felix d' Arragon of the Portugueses. He came to the Island of S. Michel the 3. of Iuly, where hauing also imbarcked the Regiment of Augustine Inigues, which he had left there the yeare before, he then sayled towards the Tercera, where the city of Angra is, in the port whereof hee saw the ships which had brought Monsieur de Chates and his men, and some other vessels, which the Gouvernors did vie to send to sea: the he left certaine galleies to keepe them in, and instantly caused the city to be summoned, offering a pardon to the Inhabitants, and a good composition to the Captaines and souldiers: but they answered him with the Canon: the Marquis seeing that all landing places neere vnto the cittie were fortified, he began to coast along the shoare to find some fitter descent, but it seemed to him, that all were rampared and fortified: being in this care, he was aduertised by a Portugeze, that there was a good landing place at port des Moles, farre from Angra, where presenting himselfe, he found some access, but difficult, both for that the place was stonie, and there was a fort built: yet he did hazard some souldiers, who did assure the way for the rest. Being at land, they that garded this fort made some resistance, which gaue Monsieur de Chates time, being aduertised by the fires and smoke, and by the bels which hung at either of these forts, to draw his men together French and Portugueses, to go and succor them: but vpon the way he found the souldiers which had abandoned this fort flying, whom he caused to returne with him, being resolved to fight with the enemy, the which hee endeauored to do, and might haue amazed him, if Emanuel

Monsieur de  
Chates comes  
to Tercera.

Army of Spain  
going to the  
Tercera.

Conquest of the  
Islands of the  
Tercera, as for  
King Philip.





Grande's and chiefe Noblemen of the Court, the Marquis of Aguilar, and the Cardinal A of Toledo swearing last of all.

*Ambassadors  
came from Ja-  
pon into Spaine.*

The ioy of this ceremonie was augmented by the arriuall of three Ambassadors, which had bene sent two yeares before from three Kings of Iapon, of Bugno, Fiunga, and Arima, to the Pope, by the perswasion of the Iesuits, who desired that those Princes, seeing the noble and politike gouernement of these countries, and the greatnes of the greatness of the Pope of Rome, might be edified and freed of a certaine opinion which they had conceyued, that Christians came into their countries to get meanes to liue. They came into Spaine beeing accompanied by father *Alexander Valignari*, Visitor in those parts, at such time as the Court was full of feasts and ioy, for the prosperous successe of Portugal, for the conclusion of the Infanta's marriage, and for the swearing of the prince: so as they were not onely receiued by the Catholike king, and the whole Court, with greate pompe and state, but with extraordinarie content. The King at their reception, would not suffer them to kisse his hand, but embraced them as his equals, and to do them the more fauour, would haue both the Infanta's to do the like: hee made them see all his delights, and rarest things: and at the Princes ceremonie he commanded they should be set at his right hand, in the first place, whereas two men appointed for that seruice, instructed them in the order of the ceremonie, naming every Nobleman, and what place hee held, as they went to sweare obedience to the Prince. The king hauing royally intreated them, and honored them all that might be, being to go for Italy, gaue them a Caroch and a Coach, commanding, that throughout all his realmes, they should be receiued with all magnificence, causing a shippe to be prepared for them in Alicante, where they imbar- ked, but they were driuen by foule weather into Maiorca, yet in the end they arriued in Tuscany.

Antwerpe, one of the chiefe townes in the Low-countries, was this Sommer so sleight- ly beleaged by the Duke of Parma, with the forces of Spaine, as hauing no reliefe, nei- ther by sea nor land, they were driuen to extreame want, and almost to despair, where- upon they prest their Confederates to succour them: but the Estates not able to rayse lo great an armie, sent a sollemne ambassage of twelue of their Deputies to the French king to intreat him to take the Netherlands into his protection, as his owne subiects and val- sals: the which did much trouble the Councell of Spaine, seeing that the French king might with small difficultie get the possession of those countries, hauing the subiects hearts inclined vnto him: whereupon they sought by letters, and all other meanes to draw them of Antwerpe to a reconciliation with the King of Spaine. Don *Bernardin de Mendoza*, Ambassador at that time in France for the Catholike King (hauing been sent with some disgrace out of England, for that contrarie to the dutie of his charge, he had bene a busie practiser against that State) vpon the arriuall of these Deputies to Paris, came with a great clamor vnto the King, telling him that the Estates of the Low-coun- tries, as Rebels to the King of Spaine, had bin condemned of high treason by the Councell of the Inquisition of Spaine, and therefore were to be rooted out. That remembring the strict league and alliance betwix him and his master, he should not giue them audi- ence, but rather driue such rebels out of his countries: the which would turn to the good of France, (lying so neere vnto Spaine) and of all Christendome, which was disquieted with these wicked people.

*Bernardin de  
Mendoza his  
speech to the  
French King.*

That he should do wrong vnto all other Princes, to whome such presidents are very preiudiciall, if they should countenance and support their Rebels. But the King answered, that he would not giue audience to the Deputies of the generall Estates, as to Rebels, re- uolted, but as to afflicted people, who complained of oppressions. That Princes had ne- uer, neither ought they refuse to ayde the afflicted, especially when as their greatest de- sire is to be reconciled to their Prince (to obtaine the which they informed the King, that they had made many petitions vnto the King of Spaine, and could get no answer:) and therefore he thought, that any man might seeke support where he could, if right and iu- stice were denied him, so as he was not to be blamed, if he gaue them audience.

In the beginning of this yeare, there was preparation made in Spaine for the mar- riage of the Infanta *Donna Catharina*, with that pompe that was befitting such Princes: for

*Answer of the  
French King to  
Mendoza.*

A for the effecting whereof, the King with his children, and the chiefe of the Nobility of Spaine, came to Sarragossa, about the end of February, the Duke of Sauoy being arri- ued in *Doña* galleies at Barcelona on the 18. of the said moneth, from whence hee went by land to Sarragossa, where his Maiesty attended him without the city: and receiued him with wonderfull signes of ioy, doing him exceeding great honours. The same day that he arriued, he put the ring vpon his spouses finger, the King her father holding her hand, these assisting at the ceremonie, the Cardinall of Seuille, (to whom some few daies before a hat had bene sent) with the Cardinall *Granuello*, who made them sit: Mon- sieur *Taverne*, the Popes Nuncio, the Arch-bishop of Sarragossa, *Vicentio Grudano*, Am- bassador of Venice, with other principal Noblemen. The next day, according to the cus- tome of the Realme, the married couple came to the Arch-bishops church, (who per- formed the ceremonie) couered with a white yale. Masse being sayd, and returning to the pallace, they dyed in publick as one table, his Maiesty, the Duke, his wife, and the Infanta *Donna Isabella*, being all set of one side: for many daies after there were great triumphs, tiltings, tourneys, and other knightly sports made by the Nobility of Spaine, who shewed themselves very gallant in all their sports, especially the Duke of Medina del Rio-secco, Admirall of Castile, the Duke of Albuquerque, the Duke of Medina Celi, the Duke of Maqueda, the Marquis of Denja, the Duke of Patrana, the Marquis of A- guilar, and the Prince of Acoli, besides the great Commaunder of Castile, who was fauor- ite and Lord Steward to the Prince *D. Philip*.

*Marriage of the  
Duke of Sauoy,  
and the Infan-  
ta D. Catharina  
in Spaine.*

C To these there ioyned a great number of Knights, of no lesse Nobility, but not of so great dignitie, as well Spaniards as strangers, who were come thither to honour this feast of the Catholike King their Lord. The Duke of Sauoy had also brought with him a great troupe of gallant Nobility, of este which, on the foure and twentieth day of May, he made Knights of the Order of Saint Stephen, *John Baptista* of Sauoy, and the Marquis of Chambry, and besides these the Marquis of Nemours his cousin, and *Alejandro Roba* who were able and withall, *Carlo Pallancino*, newly made Master of the Dutcheise horse, Count *Saporiti*, and *Michel Bonelli*. But eight dayes after the King did honour three Princes with the Order of the golden Fleece: the Duke his sonne-in-law, the Admirall of Castile, and the Duke of Medina Celi. There were many rich presents mutually giuen by the King and Duke, and by the Noblemen both Spaniards and Italians. Then in the beginning of Iune the married couple being accompanied by the King, Prince, and the Infanta *Donna Isabella*, went to Barcellona, where they tooke shippe in *Doña* Admi- rall gally, and being accompanied with forty other galleies, hee brought them safely to Genoua, and entertayned them with great state in his owne house, from whence they past to Niцца, then going with an honorable trayne towards Turin, they were receyued with great signes of ioy, and the feasts were renewed. But the King of Spaine being re- turned to Sarragossa, whither he had already sent the Court, he caused the Prince to be sworn to the ordinarie solemnities, and then he past into Castile.

About the same time there came to Court *Pomponio Torello*, Earle of Mont Chiaru- lo, with an Ambassage from his Princes, the Duke and Prince of Parma, the first requi- ring of his Maiesty the restitution of the castle of Placentia, so necessarie for the pre- seration, not of his Estate, but also of his life, the mutinous people of Placentia being ani- mated by the Spanish garrison, to practise against the Duke, as some conspirators had lately done, who being not suppressed and punished, although they were discovered, gaue him continuall cause of feare.

*Ambassage  
sent into Spaine  
from the Duke  
of Parma.*

The Prince did sollicite concerning the enterprise of Antwerp, and also about his fa- ther's affaires: yet he refused to receiue it as a fauour done to him, for that hee would not spon- sifie an opinion, that he was as distrustfull as his father, of the Crowne of Spaine, to whom, and not to him, hee would haue the castle yielded. This busines was referred to Cardinall *Granuello*, the great Commaunder of Castile, and to *John Alduques*, at that time Secretarie of State, with commission not to treat with any other of the Councell, if seeming the king should yeeld that which hee ought. *Granuello* shewed himselfe very willing, not onely for the equize of the cause, but also for a priuate bond he had vnto the Prince, from whome he did acknowledge, that his brother Monsieur *de Champagne* held his

his





so as they receiued little harme by their shot, and comming close vp to the wall, after some resistance they ouerthrew the Barricado, and forced the Spaniards to retire, they entred pel mel with them into the towne, and wan the market place, where the Spaniards made head awhile, after which they abandoned the towne, and retired to other places, whither they had carried their wiues at the comming of the English. They had drawne many Indians vnto them, all bow-men with poysoned arrowes; them they had placed in corners of aduantage, so as if they did but breake the skinne of any one, he dyed. The armie staid here fixe weekes, and burnt the out-parts of it, but in the end there was a composition made, by the which they should pay an hundred and ten thousand duckets for the ranfome of the rest. They had bene aduertised of this Fleet 20. daies before their arriual, which had made them fortifie in that manner for their defence, and to conuey away their wealth. Hauing made this composition, they left the towne, and lodged in an Abbey, within a quarter of a mile of it, demanding a new composition for it, and a fort which stood at the mouth of the harbor: but not able (as they sayd) to ranfome the fort, it was blowne vp. From thence the Fleet went to Cape Saint Anthony, and then to the Cape of Florida, where they found a fort held by the Spaniards, the which, vpon their approach they abandoned: They found in it thirteene peeces of brasse Ordinance, and a chest of some 2000. pounds sterling, to pay the Kings Garrison, which consisted of a hundred and fiftie men. This fort was called Saint Johns, from whence they went vp the maine riuer to a towne called S. Augustines. And then the Fleet returned into England. They tooke in this action 200. peeces of brasse Ordinance, and 40. of Iron. In Saint Iago two or three and fiftie peeces: In S. Domingo foure score, whereof most was Cannon, Demi-cannon, Culuerin, and such like. In Carthagea sixtie three peeces: and in Saint Augustines fort fourteene, the rest was Iron Ordinance.

There was such excesse in their styles, and in their speaking and writing one vnto another, as vpon petition made vnto the King, he made an Edict and set downe a forme, what termes they should vse both in their speaking and writing, as followeth:

### Pragmatica, or an Edict:

*In the which is set downe a forme which is to be kept  
and obserued in their entertainments and courtesies of word  
and writing, and in carrying of Coronets vpon  
their Armes.*

Don Philip by the Grace of God, King of Castile, Leon, Arragon, the two Sicilies, Ierusalem, Portugall, Nauarre, Granado, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Maiorca, Seule, Sardinia, Cordoua, Corfica, Murcia, Isten, the Algarues, Algezire, and Gibraltar: of the Islands of the Canaries, of the East and West Indies, and the Lands and firme land of the Ocean sea; Arch-duke of Austria, Duke of Bourgondie, Brabant and Milan, Earle of Ausbourg, Flanders, Tirol, and Barcelona, Lord of Biscay, Molina, &c. To the Prince Don Philip our most deere and welbeloued Sonne, and to the Infanta's, Prelates, Dukes, Marquises, Earles, Barons, Priors of Orders, Commanders, and sub-Commanders, Captaines of Castles and places of strength, and to those of our Councell, Presidents, and Iustices of our Courts, Commissioners, and Prouosts of our House, Court, and Chancerie, and to all Corrigidors, Assistants, Gouvernours, chiefe Iustices, &c. and to all other our Officers, and naturall subiects, of what estate, preeminence or dignitie soeuer they be, or may be, in all the cities, townes, places, and Provinces of our Realmes and Seigniories, both present and to come, and to euery one of you

A you whom the contents of this our Edict may concerne, health and peace.

You shall vnderstand, that at the sute of the Atturneys of Courts of the Cities and Townes of these our Realmes, we haue bene forced to prouide a necessarie and conuenient remedie, concerning the disorder and abuse, which is in the entertainments by word and writing, the excesse whereof was growne so great, and come to passe, as it had caused some inconueniences, and daily more might be expected, if it were not reformed, and reduced to some good auncient order, seeing that true honour doth not consist in vanities, or titles given by word or writing, but in greater matters: whereunto these do neither adde nor diminish. And hauing often treated thereof with our Councell, Wee haue ordayned as followeth in this our present Edict.

First, although it be not necessarie to treat herein of our selfe, nor of the persons of Kings, yet to the end that it may be the better obserued and kept, which doth concerne them, We will and command, that from henceforth, on the toppe of the letter or paper that shall be written vnto vs, there shall bee no other title put, but Seigneur, or My Lord, nor in the end of the letter, any thing, but God preserve the person of your Catholike Maiestie, nor the subscription below, any thing but his name that writes it: and vpon the superscription, there shall be onely set, To the King our Lords.

C That to the Princes heires and successors of these our Realmes, they shall write in the same forme, changing onely Maiestie into Highnes, and that of King into Prince, and in the end of the letter, God preserve your Highnesse.

The same forme and style shall be obserued, with the Queenes of these our realmes, as with their Kings, and likewise with the Princesses of the sayd Queenes, as with their Princes.

That the Infants and Infanta's of these our Realmes, shall onely haue the title of Highnesse: In the top of the letter they shall write, My Lord, and in the end, God keepe your Highnesse, without any other ceremonie: and vpon the Superscription, To my Lord the Infant D.N. or, To my Lady the Infanta Donna N. Wherefore when they do speake or write Highnesse, without any other addition, it is onely to bee vnderstood of the Prince, the heire and successor of these our Realmes. Declaring, that it is not our will nor intent, that the contents of this Edict shall extend to Donna Maria the Emperesse, my most deare and welbeloued sister, although she be an Infanta of Castile, beeing certaine, that she is to be called and written Maiestie; and vpon the superscription, To my Ladie the Emperesse: and her sonnes, (brothers to the Emperour, our most deare and welbeloued Nephew) shall haue the same titles that are giuen to the Infants of these Realmes, and in like manner to the Arch-dukes his Vncles.

That to the sonnes-in-law, and brothers-in-law of the kings of these Realmes, shall be giuen the same titles that their wiues haue, and daughters in law to the sayd Kings, shall be vsed like vnto their husbands.

E And as for the entertainment which the sayd royall persons are moreouer to haue, our meaning is not to innoate any thing of that which hath bene accustomed.

That the style vsed in the petitions which are presented to our Councell, and in the other Councells, Chanceries and Tribunals, and the words which they vse when they are in Councell, shall be obserued as hath bene hitherto, vnlesse it be contrarie to this our prouision, and on the toppe they may set, Most mightie Lord, and no more.

That in the signing of all our letters, sedules, and prouisions, our Secretaries shall set, By the King our Lord, in the stead of Maiestie, and in the signing of our Secretaries of the chamber, they shall do the like.

F That in all iudiciall seates, as well belonging vnto vs, as to any other, and of what qualitie soeuer, whether they speake in private or in publicke, the petitions, demands, and quarrels shall be begunne in a lyne, with that which they are to treat of, without setting any title, word, or signe of courtesie on the toppe: And in the conclusion, they may say: For the which I implore the office of your S. or your W. (according to the persons and Iudges to whome they are to speake.) And the Notaries shall onely say: By the commaundement and decree of N. the Iudge setting to his name and surname

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only,

onely: they may also adde the name of such a mans Office, and the dignitie and degree A which he hath taken, without any other title.

That no man of what estate, condition, dignitie, degree or office whatsoever, shall assume vnto himselfe, either by word or writing, the title of Excellencie, nor of excellent Lord, neither may any be called Reuerent Lord, but onely Cardinals, and the Archbishop of Toledo, as Primate of Spaine, although he be no Cardinall.

That to Archbishops, Bishops, Grands, and such as we command to be covered, all men within our Realmes, shall be bound to giue the title of Your Lordship, and also to the President of our royall Councell.

That to Marquises, Earles, great Commanders of the Orders of S. James, Alcantara, B and Calatrava, and to the Presidents of our other Councels and Chanceries, the title of Lordship may be giuen both by writing and word, and not to any other, vntill it be to the chiefe cities of the Realme, and to Senates, and to Metropolitan Churches, to whom they may giue that addition, as they haue bene accustomed.

That to Ambassadors in like manner, which haue place in our Chappell, may be written or spoken Seigneurie or Lordship.

That in what concernes writing from one man vnto another generally without exception, this forme shall be obserued. They shall begin the letter with the busines they are to treat of, without setting beneath the Crosse, or on the toppe of it, or at the beginning of the line, any title, cypher, or letter: and they must end the letter, saying, God C keepe your Seigneurie, or Lordship, or Worship, and then the date of the time and place, and then his signature, without any courtesie before it: and hee thath taken a title, shall mention it when he signes, and whence that title is.

That in Supercriptions, to a Prelate shall bee set downe the ecclesiasticall dignitie which he hath, and to a Duke, a Marquis, or an Earle, that of his estate, and to Knights, and other men their names and surnames, saying, To the Cardinall, Archbishop or Bishop of such a place. And in like manner, To the Duke, the Marquis or Earle of such a place: and to meaner men: To Don N. or to N. adding his surname, and to euery one named in this Article, may be set the dignitie, office, charge, or degree which hee holds.

The vassall shall not be excepted out of this order, writing to his Lord, nor the seruant D to his master: but the father to the sonne, and the sonne father, may adde their naturall name to their proper, and betwixt the husband and the wife, they may note the estate of their marriage, and betwixt brethren the like allyance.

That the complements to women, and among themselves, by word or writing, shall be the same that is vsed to their husbands.

That to men of religious Orders, there shall be no other title giuen but father-hood, or reuerence, according to the charge which he holds. And in the supercription with his name, they may set the charge and degree which he hath in those Orders.

That whatsoever is contained in these our letters and prouision, shall be obserued by all the subiects of our dominions, yea writing to them that are absent.

Moreover, to preuent the great disorder and excess which hath bene, and is daily committed, in setting Coronets to their Scutcheons of armes, and to their seals and somer cloathes. We do ordaine and command, that no manner of person shall set any Coronet to his seale or somer cloath, nor in any other place where he hath armes, except Dukes, Marquises, and Earles, who we hold may carry them, being in their right forme, and not otherwise: And that the Coronets which haue bene carried, shall be presently left, and no more vsed.

And to the end it may be the better kept, obserued, and executed, we ordaine and command, that whosoever shall go against the contents of this our Edict, or any part thereof, shall for euery breach incur a penalty of 10000. marauidis to be diuided after this manner: F a third part for the Informer, another third part for the Iudge that shall giue sentence, and the rest to godly vses, the which shall be executed without any remission. Wherefore we command all and euery of you, that shall see these our letters and prouision, and the contents thereof, (the which we desire should hold the force of a Law or an Edict, made and registred in our courts) that you obserue and keep it, and cause it to be obserued in euery

A euery point, according to the contents, against the forme and tenour whereof you shall not do, nor suffer to be done at any time, nor in any sort, vpon the penalties which they do incur, which breake the commandements of their Kings and naturall Lords; and vpon paine of our displeasure, and the said thousand marauidis, for euery one that do to the contrarie. And to the end that no man shall pretend ignorance thereof, we command that these our said Letters and prouision shall be proclaimed publicly in our Court, and that the contents be precisely and inuolubly obserued, from the first day of the year following 1587. and that no man do otherwise in any sort, vpon the said paines: Dated at S. Laurence the 8. day of October, in the year 1586.

B

Signed. JO EL REY.

THIS yeare Don Pedro de Toledo, sonne to D. Garcia, sought to make an attempt vpon Affricke, but the little experience of some Neapolitans which landed in a small land called Chेरchine, was the cause of their ouerthrow and death, being defeated by a small number of Moores which put them to flight. Toledo being landed with the rest of his troups, and gone vpon the other side of the Island, he vnderstood by the mariners of C his mens successe, which holding for an ill presage, without care of any reuenge, hee began to faint, retiring with all his men into his gallies, and bent his course towards Sicily, where seeking to find some Pyrates, in the end he came to Naples, whether soone after came D. John de Zuniga, or Effuniga, Earle of Miranda, and Viceroy of Naples, the D: of Ossuna being called home into Spaine, to the great content of the Neapolitans, who taxed him for his cruell and couetous gouernement.

This yeare there was another enterprise by an English Gentleman, whose name was Thomas Cavendish, who passed into the South seas, as Sir Francis Drake had done: where after many accidents in November 1587. the Generall hauing two shippes, mette with a great shippe of the King of Spaines called Saint Anna, the which was Admirall of the D South-sea, being about 700. tunnes burthen, the which, after six or seuen houres fight, and three severall charges, yielded, to haue their liues saued. In which shippe, by the confession of the Captaine and Pilot, they had an hundred and two and twenty thousand Pezo's of gold, and the rest of the lading was in silkes, satten, damaske, muske, with many other good commodities: in the end they let fire of the Kings shippe and burnt her, hauing to the quantitie of 500. tunnes of goods in her: then sayling by the Philippina's, the Moluccos, and the Cape of Bona Speranza, they arriued safely in England, in September 1588.

King Philip (after much warre, the losse of his wiues and children, and the little hope he had of long life in the Prince his sonne, being of a weake complexion, and ill disposed) began this yeare to haue more cause of content, for now the young Prince began to bee vigorous, and of a spirit besitting an heire of so great dominions: and on the other side, the second Infanta Donna Catharina hauing had a sonne the last yeare, did this yeare double his ioy with another, giuing him the more content, for that the first was christened with so great solemnitie the twelfth day of May, foure daies after that the second was borne.

Yet touching his publike affaires, the Low-countrie warres troubled him much, the which hee referred to the valour and wisdom of the Duke of Parma, and liued himselfe quietly in Spaine. But finding, that the Queene of England did fauour and protect his Rebels of the Low-countries, (as hee learned them,) and that shee did feed the fire, of F that long warre, to be reuenged of that iniurie, and to employ his forces to aduance the Romish religion, he made preparation to transport the miseries of warre into England, giuing countenance and entertainment to all the fugitiue Papists of that country.

The Queene of England being aduertised of this great preparation in Spaine for the inuasion of England, shee was aduised to prevent it: whereupon shee armed forth a Fleet of some 30 sayle, in the which there were 4 ships, and 2 pinaces of her Maiesties, the

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rest

Pedro de Toledo  
de conseruans  
in Affricke.

Earle of Mir-  
anda Viceroy  
of Naples.

Cavendish takes  
the S. Anna in  
the South seas.

rest were Merchants of good seruice. Sir *Francis Drake* was appointed Generall of this Fleet, which went towards the coast of Spaine this year, in Aprill. And being aduertized, that there was great store of warlike prouision at Cadiz, the which was readie to go for Lisbon, he made all possible speed thither, to intercept these prouisions: so as on the 19 of Aprill, he entred with his Fleet into the harbour of Cadiz; where at the first they were affronted by fixe gallies, but they soone retired vnder their fort.

Ships burnt at  
Cadiz by the  
English.

There lay in the roade sixtie ships, with diuers smaller vessels vnder the fort; and such as could passe the shoals, fled vp to port Real: there came foure gallies more downe against them from Saint Mary port, and port Real: but they were well beaten: they burnt in this harbor a shippe of Ragouça, of a thousand tunne, having fortie peeces of brasse Ordnance in her, and richly laden, and another great new ship of twelue hundred tunne, belonging to the Marquis of Santa Cruz, high Admirall of Spaine, with many others laden with victuals, wine, iron workes, biscuit, oyle, fruites, and other commodities, which were to be transported to the Indies, or to serue for the prouision of the Fleet which was preparing for England: so as they burnt, sunke, and carried away to the number of thirty shippes and barks, being as they esteemed them ten thousand tuns of shipping. Whilist they lay in the roade, the gallies and forts shot continually at them: and such shippes as they could defend no longer, they fired, to shoue among the English shippes, who were somewhat troubled to auoid them. This resolute attempt was performed in one day and two nights, to the great amazement of the King of Spaine, and the Marquis of Santa Cruz his Admirall.

After their coming out of the roade of Cadiz, this English Fleet was followed by ten gallies, who notwithstanding sustered them to ride quietly at an anchor by them. Then they bent their course towards cape Sacre, being well victualled at the enemies charge: vpon the way they tooke at severall times, almost an hundred shippes, barks, and carauels, laden with hoopes, gally oares, pipe-staves, with other prouisions for the King of Spaines armie intended for England; all which they burnt, and landed the men. They also spoyled the fisher-boates, and nets, for the fishing of Tunies. And coming to Cape Sacre, they landed, and tooke three forts, some by force, the rest by composition. From thence they came neere vnto Lisbon, anchoring neere vnto Calcais, where the Marquis of Santa Cruz was with his gallies, and yet he came not forth against them. Hauiug a message sent him by the Generall, that he was readie there to exchange certaine bullets with him: the Marquis returned him an answer, that hee was not readie for him, neither had he any such commission from the king his master.

Carack of Portu-  
gall taken by  
Sir Francis  
Drake.

The Generall seeing no more good to be done vpon the coast of Spaine, hee bent his course towards the Ilands of the Azores, where (by good fortune) being within thirty leagues of Saint Michels, he met with a Caracke of Portugall, called S. Philip, the which they tooke, hauing made little resistance, sending the people home into their country, in other vessels well furnished with victuals. And this was the first Caracke that euer was taken coming from the East Indies. The riches of this prize was held exceeding great, whereupon they resolved to returne into England, the which they did with their whole Fleet, and their admirable rich prize.

S. Diego cano-  
nized.

The religious desire which the Catholike King had long had, to haue Friar *Diego Senilius* of the castle of Saint Nicholas, to be canonized a Saint, being dead in Spaine some hundred and fise and twenty yeares before, with an opinion of holinesse throughout all Spaine, did this yeare take effect: for that since the year 1563. instance being made by him, and the Spaniards, to Pope *Pius* the fourth, to *Pius* the fifth, and then to *Gregory* the 13. all which dyed before this busines could be ended. But continuing in this zealous disposition, he commanded the Earle of Oliuarez, his Ambassadour resident at Rome, to moue it againe to Pope *Sixtus* the fifth, so as on the third of Iuly this yeare, hee was canonized a Saint, at the charges of the King of Spaine, and his feast day appoynted the twelfth day of Nouember, to the great content of all Spaine. This yeare the Catholike King sent the Duke of Sabioneta out of Italy into Poland, to pacifie the tumults and confusions of that Realme, which were growne by the election of two kings, the Pope hauing also sent Cardinall *Aldobrandini* thither to that end.

The

A The King of Spaine after the conquest of Portugal, hauing gathered together a great Navy of shippes, and leauied a mighty army, euery man thought, hee would make some great enterprize according to the opportunity that was offered; but mens opinions were diuided touching the action, for that their humors and dispositions being diuers, they propounded things according to the qualitie of their owne passions. And so it fell out in the ordinarie discourses which were made touching the Catholike Kings enterprize, which they all restrained to three, against *Afrike*, England, or the vniited Estates of the Netherlands: but to resolve which was most expedient for his Majesty, they all disagreed, some seeking to perswade him to attempt the Netherlands, others *Afrike*, but most England.

In the end a truce being concluded betwixt the King of Spaine and the Turke, and thereby the enterprize of *Afrike* cut off; the question was now whether hee should invade England or the Netherlands. Wherevpon there was one which deliuered his reasons, by way of discourse to the Catholike King, shewing that it was more conuenient for him to make warre against England, then against the vniited Estates. It features hee was vassall to the King of Spaine, as you may iudge by the vanity of his discourse. Many (said he) considering at the first sight, the Catholike Kings interest to the Netherlands and to England, affirme, that although hee haue great pretensions to this Island, yet he is more bound to recover the Netherlands, then to conquer England; for that in all policy of state, wee should rather seeke to preserve that which wee hold, then to conquer new. Although this maxime of state be of great force, yet (said he) I doe not hold it to be of such import, as it shall sway downe the ballance, without all contradiction.

For in these graue consultations, we must not onely consider what is to be done, but how it may be most profitable, most easily, and most conueniently done: For that many times Princes are incited to enterprizes by honour and duty; and yet the consideration of many circumstances and discommodities restrain them: wherefore the consideration (which binds vs more to preserve that which wee hold, then to get new) is not sufficient to conclude, that his Catholike Majesty should rather vndertake the enterprize of the Netherlands, then that of England, neither should wee in effects of so great importance, giue credit to such light reasons. But to the end it may appeere plainly that the King of Spaine is bound in all respects to the enterprize of England, I will first of all (said he) lay not onely a true, but a necessary foundation, which shall support the whole building of my opinion; which is, that conquering England, hee shall at the same instant conquer the Netherlands: but winning the Netherlands, England is not gotten, nay their hopes are no whit increased.

Moreover, hee said, that the conquest of England was not so difficult as that of the Netherlands. If then (said he) the conquest of England draws with it the Netherlands, and if be more easie and more certaine; who doubts, that to peruert this order, were to loofe a goodly occasion, and to be the workman of his owne disgrace? but I will prouoe (said he) with pertinent reasons either member of my ground. That the conquest of England is more profitable then that of the Netherlands; and that it is more easie. For my prouoe of the first ground, I will produce three heads. The first that the Low countries haue not so long maintained warre, but with the helpe of England, without the which they could not stand, no more then mans bodie can liue without nourishment: That fire is more easily quenched by taking away that which feeds it then by casting on water, for that not hauing wherewith to feed it, it consumes it selfe: but seeking to vanquish it by the contrary; it may be it will grow more violent. So the Florentines could not quench the rebellion of the Pisans, before they had taken away the matter which nourished that fire which came from strangers, and therefore it was all one action to take away their succors which came from confederate Princes, and to winne the city, which otherwise all their forces and of their confederats would not haue bene able to effect.

For my second head (said he) I set downe, that England doth not onely maintaine the rebellion of the Netherlands by sending succors, but also by her countenance: for where

as the Netherlands see the forces of Spaine converted against them, they flie vnto England as to a Sanctuary, knowing that the English would alwaies take armes against any that should invade them. Wherein they imitate the Athenians, who thought themselves safe as long as the Olynthians stood, who being subdued, they knew not how they should keepe *Philip* out of their country. Euen so if England should fall into the Spaniards hands, the Netherlands should loose the ground of their rashnesse, being destitute of that support which hath maintained them in their infolencies.

My third reason (said he) is, that the burthen of so long a warre, hath so wasted the spirits and faculties of the Netherlands, as they scarce haue any pulse remaining; they hauing not onely beene cruell butchers of their owne liues, but Tyrants ouer their goods, taxing themselves at about forty in the hundred, besides hauing lost so many yeeres profit, their land being vtilld, and their trade of Marchandise sayling which doe much import them; hauing also endured so many spoiles, inuasions, burnings, routs of armies, and ruines of townes, with other great losses: So as they cannot possibly maintain this rebellion wanting life and spirit, which England gaue it. Whereby it appeeres that the conquest of the Low countries followes that of England, as the shadow doth the body. But on the other side we must not thinke the Netherlands being won England would be so easily vanquished: the which being a rich and a mighty Kingdome, seekes no support from any other, but relies vpon her owne forces; the which they would oppose against their forraine enemies, if the Netherlands should fall absolutely into the Spaniards hands, standing as they doe now, wherefore England in her defence depends onely of her owne power, and if it should expect any forraine succors, they would not flie vnto those rebellious States, which are needy, and depend vpon others.

Hetherto (said he) we haue shewed the difference of these enterprises, and how much more profitable that of England would be. Now I must prouoe the second head of my ground; that the conquest of that Island is more easie then that of the Netherlands, and therefore ought to be preferred, whether wee doe consider the profit, the opportunity, the possibility, the honour, and safety, or any other important consideration whatsoever. But discoursing now of the easinesse of this conquest, in regard of that of the Netherlands, I will proue (said he) that the difficulties be the same to invade England and the Netherlands. First of all I presuppose that a sufficient army being leauied, a royal enterprise is sooner brought to perfection, when as they are attempted both by sea and land, the which King *Philip* may do with greater aduantage in the enterprise of England then in that of the Netherlands: for as the voyage by sea is shorter and more easie, so he may more commodiously invade England by land, hauing meanes to land part of his army safely in Scotland, as we will hereafter shew: whereas if he should send an army by land into the Low countries, the way would be long to passe from Spaine through Italy and Germany, and it would be exceeding chargeable and dangerous. The second reason is, that it is more commodious, neerer and more safe to passe into England; for that from the straight of Gibraltar thither, is all open sea, without any let; but to go into the Low countries, hee must of necessity passe by England, the which by all reason of state should let the King of Spaine vnderstand in his passage, that neither friends nor foes are welcome, when they come with a great power, wherefore there is no doubt that whosoever will invade the Netherlands hee must breake this barre, or make plaine this mountaine of England, which crosseth him in his passage.

My third reason (said he) is grounded vpon a firme maxime of the Art of warre; that thou must neuer seek to invade any place, and leaue any thing behind to disturbe thee, wherefore it were a rash enterprise to attempt the Low countries, and leaue England behind, who being full of iualousie, may sodainly set vpon the Catholike Kings army in the hottest of their warre against the Netherlands.

The fourth, that going to conquer the Low countries, they must fight with braue old souldiers bred vp in the warre; but on the other side the English are without Art or practise of warre, they cannot vie the hargubuse, nor any other offensive armes, but onely bowes and arrowes, the which are of no force against corselets and head-peeces, as wee

See here his error and ignorance.

viz:

A vse: so as (said he) there is the like comparison to bee made betwixt the English and the Dutch souldiers as is betwixt idlenesse and exercise; or an armed and disarmed man. And what an aduantage it is to fight with vnskillful souldiers, it is apparent by the example of *Miltiades* in the fields of Marathon, who with lesse then 10000. braue men, put to flight that mighty, but vnwarlike, army of *Xerxes*, being about 600000. men.

The fifth, that there is more difficulty in that of the Netherlands, for that they will keepe themselves more close, so as they must bee wonne by inches, and a whole army must be employed in the seige of a towne and so of the rest, the which happily wilbe of no great importance, but that they will stay in course of his victory that seekes the winne them, but contrarywise England hath not any towne to stay: the violence a victorious enemy, hauing once set footing into the Island, the which wilbe no difficult thing for the King of Spaine to effect. So as England being without any forts but vpon the frontiers, and the Low countries full of forts both within and without, there is no doubt but the enterprise of that is more easie then this, as it is more easie to vanquish them that make no resistance. Whereof the Low countries are a familiar example, where notwithstanding that the King had great garrisons, yet they many times found great crosses, as they were often vanquished by the opposition of those forts, whereas there being no place in Portugal able to resist the enemies forces, the Spaniards entred into the heart of the realme, they being not able to make resistance.

The sixth reason is that forts and townes of strength are to an invading army but incombers after they be wonne, for that the greatest part of the army, is drawne away into garrisons, whereby it is much weakened.

The seventh reason (said hee) seemeth sufficient in this case to proue the truth of my opinion. If the King of Spaine sends an army to purge the rebellious humors of the Netherlands, it is to bee feared that this Phisicke will rather stirre vp the good humors then euacuat the bad, breeding a disease full of corrupt matter: whereas now the good matter hauing the predominant power, wee may hope that in time it will vanquish the violence of the disease: whereas by this course the humors of Malcontents may be corrupted, and they drawne to desire innovations: we know that by the composition made betwixt the King and his subiects, the Malcontents, they haue taken vpon them the burthen of this warre, so as the Spaniards and other strange souldiers might bee drawne out of the Low countries: If then an army should bee sent out of Spaine to subdue the Netherlands, or they should but heare it were so resolu'd: they would easily vnderstand that the victors would prescribe a Law to the vanquished: and the Malcontents would not onely loose that great desire they had to beare that great burthen of the warre, and the reward which they expected from his Maiesty, but they would feare to loose their preiudges and liberties, in regard whereof they haue made cruell warre against themselves. By this then and many other reasons it appeeres, how dangerous it is to exasperate the mindes offriend with so sharpe a medicine. If the Malcontents should ioyne themselves with the aduerser partie, and oppose against the Spaniards, that warre would proue more difficult then euer for the Catholike King, not only for that the Kings forces should be diminished, but also for that the enemy should be fortified: So as we haue hetherto proued that it is more easie and more commodious to invade England then the Netherlands.

Now we will shew (said hee) not by way of comparison, but in respect of it selfe, how much it doth import the Catholike King, and how easie it is for him to invade England. It is not to bee doubted but the Phisicke is best, which not onely cures the member that is greued, but also takes away the cause of the disease. If then the Catholike King seeke to conquer the Low countries, hee may well close vp the wound of their rebellion, but he shall neuer euacuat the corrupt humors, which haue fed the disease, seeing that England hath alwaies nourished the rebellions of the Low countries: And admit it were cured of this present indisposition, what health can it bee called, when as the body is still subiect to these peccant humors: wherefore England is fittest to be attempted, that afterwards wee may with safety digest or euacuat all concurrent humors. But to intreat more plainly of the facility of this enterprise: I denie not but that England is a mighty Kingdome,

F



and experience doe teach. The fourth, that the Catholike King being Lord at sea by A reason of his great fleet, he will at the same instant bee Lord at land: For having sufficient forces to vanquish the defences of the Island, he shal with ease land his men, and over-run the Island with his victorious armies, for such is the condition of that Island, that as soone as an enemy is entred, and his army orderly lodged, hee may cut off their victuals, and famish the Islanders.

Fifthly, for that by sea King Philip shall have the fauor of them of Ireland, who haue securely shewed themselves to adhere vnto him, and by land there is no man doubts (said he) but that Scotland will assist him in his designses with all her means.

The sixth in order, but the first to be considered, is the Iustice and honesty of the cause, B the which carries so honorable a title, as the defence of religion and the Catholike faith, as nothing shalbe able to hinder it, yea his Maiesties pretensions (said he) are such to that realme, and such is the duty which hee owes vnto the name which he carries, of Catholike, as there is no enterprise more due to him then this; whereby he shal not only take possession of a realme which is his due, but also hee shal purchase vnto himselfe immortal glory, aboute all other Kings, adding so rich and famous a Kingdom to that of Spaine.

The seuenth is the commoditie of the passage, knowing how short a cut it is from the Streight of Gibraltar to the Island, and what great commodities grow by expedition, and the ease of transportation of victuals, soldiers, artillery, munition, and al other provision necessary for the enterprise.

The eight, if King Philip makes warre against his enemy at his owne doores, he shal fill C England with feare and amazement, and the approaching danger will trouble all their counsels. There is nothing more terrible then to see the sword that must be the murderer of them and theirs.

The ninth, for that (said he) his Catholike Maiefty had many partisans in that Island; it importing much to haue some that fauor him among his enemies. And to proue that he hath some at his deuotion in that Island, I will produce three reasons. First the remembrance of this clemency which remains yet in the hearts of those people, and of his cunctess, hauing sometimes gouerned them as their lawfull Prince, with so great satisfaction to them all in general, as any other government, in respect of his, should seeme tyrannous. D The second reason is that of religion, knowing that there are many in this Island which adhere to the Church of Rome. The third is the riches of King Philip, who in his large dominions hath so many commoderies, pensions, offices and rents, to aduance men that shal deserue well, as it wilbe easie for him to draw the hearts of the English vnto him.

Hauing thus shewed the reasons why the Catholike King should rather inuade England then the Low countries, and with what facility it is to be performed, I will (said he) to the end that nothing shal remaine vsatisfied, make answer to an ordinary obiection which is made by many vpon this subiect, which is, that the king of Spaine making an attempt against England, he shal reuiue the emulation which hath bene betwixt him and the house of France, which fire lying now smothered vnder the ashes of peace, may kindle a great warre, for if the French should remaine as spectators of this tragedy of England, it might in the end turne to the preiudice of France, whereby they conclude that the Christian King should be forced to ioyne with England, least that hauing conquered that Island, he should afterwards turne his forces vpon France, which obiection notwithstanding he left vsatisfied.

During this great preparation of three yeeres in Spaine, which held all Europe in suspence, the King of Spaine caused an ouerture of a peace to be made vnto the Queene of England (onely as it seemed to abuse her with the imagination of a treaty, and to make her neglect the defence of her realme) who embraced this proposition, and sought to draw the vnited Provinces into this treaty, which they absolutely refused. Notwithstanding the Queene desirous of a peace sent her Commissioners in February 1588. F to Ostend; and in March following there came others to Bruges from the Duke of Parma, to treat with them in the King of Spaines name; who these Commissioners were, and what the successe of that treaty was, I leaue to the Netherland History, beeing but a fained shew of the Spaniard, to winne time, and to find England vnprovided when

A the Queene of England (seeing the Spanish fleet almost at her doore) called home her Commissioners, and prepared for her defence.

But now to come to this admirable fleet; the King of Spaine had deuised how hee might conquer England, hoping by that means to recouer his Inheritance in the Low Countries; for beeing Lord in England, hee might cut off their traffick by sea, the which many (well acquainted with the situation of both countries) held easie to be done. Wherefore the King of Spaine (hauing spent one and twenty yeeres, and wasted an infinite treasure, in those Lowe Country warres,) resolved to make an other attempt vpon the Netherlands by sea, but with greater forces, for that England was now his enemy, and might hinder all trade into those parts. So as hee resolved first to inuade England, wherevnto he was perswaded by diuers subtil spirits, both Spanish and Dutche, and by some English rebels, holding it more easie to be conquered then Holland and Zeland, and that it would be more profitable to inuade both England and the Lowe Countries by sea at one instant, then to maintaine a continuall armie to cut off their traffick from both the Indies. For the effecting of this resolution, hee had for some yeeres together made preparation of a great Naue at Lisbon, the like whereof had not bene seene in many ages in the Ocean sea. It was ready in the beginning of this yeare 1588. the same of this action was such, as there was not an honorable house in Spaine, but had a sonne, a brother, or some of the blood in it, thinking all to winne everlasting C honor with this invincible Armie (as they called it) and to make themselves rich with the spoiles of England and the Netherlands.

The King had resolved to make Don Aluaro de Bassan Marquis of Saint Cruz, (a Nobleman of great note, who had done the King great seruice in the conquest of Portugall, and the Tercera's) Generall of this armie. Hee sent vnto him, and acquainted him with his desseigne; hee put him in minde of his promise, that hee would spend his life in his seruice, and hee commanded him to prepare himselfe to conduct this fleet. The Marquis in his answer humbly thanked his Maiefty, yet he seemed by circumstances to dissuade the King from this enterprise, telling him that the English were gallant men at sea (of whom they had made good tryall) that they had good shipping, and that he should finde strong opposition. The King was much discontented with the Marquis for this answer, hauing euer relyed vpon him, and sent him word, that seeing hee failed his expectation, and had no courage to vndertake this Action, he would finde another to command his Army, wherevpon he made the Duke of Medina Sidonia his General. The Marquis finding himselfe in disgrace with the King, conceiued such greefe as he died before the fleet went to sea. But let vs returne vnto the Armie, whereof I will make a particular relation, as the Spaniards themselves haue set it downe.

Portugall did furnish ten great Gallions, with two smaller ships, vnder the command of the Duke of Medina Sidonia the General, in the which were 1300. saylers 3300. soldiers and 350. peeces of Ordinance.

E Biscay set forth ten Galeons and foure Pinasses, with saylers, soldiers, and ordinance proportionably, vnder D. Iohn Martin de Ricalde, the Admirall. Onipiscos did arme ten Galeons and foure Pinasses, vnder Michel Oquendo. Andalouzia set forth ten Gallions, & one Pinasse, vnder command of D. Pedro de Baldes. Italie had furnished ten Gallions, the which were commanded by Martin de Bretendona. Castille provided foureteen Gallions, and two Pinasses, ouer which Squadron Diego Floris de Baldes had charge.

There were also three and twenty Hulks conducted by D. Iohn Lopes de Medina. From Naples there were foure Galeas sent, commanded by D. Hugo de Moncada, they had in them 1200. slaues to row, 480. saylers, 370. soldiers, and 200. peeces of Ordinance. F Portugall sent foure gallies, vnder the conduct of Diego de Medrano, with all things proportionably.

There were 22. Pinasses and other smal ships, vnder the government of Antonio Buccado de Mendoca.

Besides all these there were 20. Carauells, which carried owers and other necessaries for the ships, so as there were 150. sayle of all sorts, in the which they had about 8000.

Y y y y y.

saylers

King Philip  
resolved to in-  
uade England  
and the Ne-  
therlands.

Description of  
particular pre-  
paration of  
the Spanish  
Fleet.  
An. 1588.





there to attend the Duke of Parma, whether the next day the English fleet came and anchored close by them, who that night sending downe ships before the winde, being full of wood, poulder, wild-fire and other combustible things, and beginning to burne, they made the Spaniards in that amazement, cut their cables, and to put confusedly to sea. In this confusion the great Gallies of D. *Hugo de Mendoza*, lost her helme, and was driven vpon Callis sands, where D. *Hugo* was slaine, and the Gallies spoiled by the English and lost, where there were three hundred slaues set at liberty.

The morning after their disorder, the Spaniards had put themselves againe into battail: and the English charged them before Graueling, but they desired to passe along with the winde, and to stand vpon their defence onely; this fight continued the whole day, in the which some of the Spanish ships were sunke, and some being spoiled, and not able to follow the fleet, were taken by the States men and carried to Fleetsingue. I omit the repetition of every particularity, because you may read them in the Dutch History. The Duke of Medina seeing that he had done what hee had in charge, thought it best now to retire, holding it better to hazard a dangerous passage by the North of Ireland, then to stay still vpon the coast of Flanders, with apparent danger, hauing no means to ioyne with the Duke of Parma: wherevpon they packt on all their sailes, hauing a greater will to die then to fight, whom the English followed for a while, but seeing them bend their course Northward, they left them, and retired into England. It seemes that God did miraculously defend the English, for in all their severall fights, they lost not one ship, nor a man of account, and not above a hundred common persons.

Thus the Spanish fleet hauing lost ten or twelve of their best ships, with foure or five thousand men, besides those that were sicke and wounded, whose number was great, distressed with want, and despayring of all helpe from the Duke of Parma (who prepared for their returne) they fought to get into Spaine behind Scotland and Ireland, expecting snail releefe in Scotland, and that Norway could not supply their wants, they took all the fishermen they could meet withall to serue them for Pilots, and fearing the want of fresh water, they cast their horses ouer-board, and so they sailed Northwards, till they came to 62. degrees. Then the Duke of Medina commanded the whole fleet to bend their course for Spaine or Portugal, and himselfe with about 25. saile, that were best provided of fresh water, kept out at sea, and so got into Spaine. Don *Martin de Riscalde* the Admirall with some forty ships, sailed neerer Ireland, hoping to refresh themselves there, but a great storme arising about the second of September, they were disperst, and many of them were driven vpon that coast, and there cast away; some sunke, some broken, some runne on sands, and some burnt by the Spaniards themselves, to the number of seuentene great ships: some write, they lost vpon fixe and thirty or eighty and thirty ships, in which I take it they comprehend some that were lost vpon the coast of Norway and that sunke at sea. Yet it was constantly reported, that of all that great fleet of a hundred thirty foure saile that went out of Lisbon, there returned but fifty three ships great and small. Of them perished in Ireland there were specially named a Gallies two great Venetian ships, called *La Rasta* and *Balanxara* and the Gallies called our Lady of Rosa, of a thousand tunne, in the which D. *Michel d' Oquendo*, General of the Squadron of Guipulcoa, was, in which ship there perished (by the confession of the Pilot) five hundred men, and not any one was saued but himselfe, among others (besides the General *Oquendo*) there died as he said the Prince of Alcely (held to be the King of Spaines base son) *Masur* a Commander of the souldiers, *Villafranca* capitaine of the said ship, with many Knights and Aduenturers of account: Moreouer hee confest that there was in that ship 50. canons all brasse for the field, 25. peeces of brasse and iron belonging to the ship, 50. tunns of sack, 15000. ducats in gold, with much plate and rich furniture.

After the Duke of Medina's returne with the remainder of his fleet into Spaine, many died of sicknesse, or of the wounds which they had received. Many taxed the Duke for this vnfortunate successe, but hee (like a iudicious Prince, who had unwillingly undertaken that charge) laied the blame vpon his Pilots, and the Duke of Parma, who was not ready to ioyne with him, so as the King allowed of his reasons, and gaue him leaue to goe home, and rest himselfe. There died many Commanders and men of account after their returne

Ships cast away vpon the coast of Ire.  
land.

Others write that heere-  
in Fla-  
nders after his  
lang at Callis.

A returne, as D. *John Martinez de Riscalde*, D. *Diego Floris de Baldes*, D. *Alonso de Lieua*, D. *Diego de Maldonado*, D. *Francisco de Bousadillo*, & D. *George Manriquez*, al of the counsell of warre. And many were taken prisoners, some in Ireland, as D. *Alonso de Lufon*, a Collonel, two of the house of Cordoua, and D. *Roderigo de Lasso*, and some in Zeland, as D. *Diego de Pimentel* a Collonel. Finally the losse was such, as there was not any great house in Spaine, but had some particular cause to mourne for some one of their blood. The Duke of Parma was much blamed by the Spaniards that were in the Low countries, but he excused himselfe, for that (as he said) the Spanish fleet came to soone, and to free himselfe, he caused some to be hanged, which had not discharged their duties. After the ruine of this great Spanish fleet, there fel a great iarre betwixt the Lord of Champagni and Mounseur *Richardot*, who was much fauored by the Duke of Parma, these two hauing run contrary courses in their treaty of peace in Flanders, with the Queene of Englands Commissioners. So as after this bad successe, Champagni taxed the Duke of Parma of negligence, writing many letters of the like tenor into Spaine, whereof the Infanta *Isabella* the Kings eldest daughter, affecting the Duke well, did still aduertise him, who seeing his reputation and seruice thus called in question, sent *Richardot*, President of Arthois, into Spaine to the King to make answere to all objections and slanders, wherewith they had incensed him, seeking to bring him in disgrace; and to get his government from him, accusing him that hee had not done his duty concerning the Spanish fleet, and that hee had received a great affront before Berghen vp Zoome, for that hee would not beleue the counsell of such as would haue dissuaded him from that enterprize; but *Richardot* gaue good satisfaction to the King and his Councell, and returned with a Commission for the continuance of his government, in despite of his enemies.

The King of Spaine being aduertised of the vnfortunate successe of his fleet and army, which he had sent to invade England, after the returne of such as were remaining of that miserable wracke, hee beganne to examine euery mans meritis; and who had deserved reward, and who punishment in this action, to preferre vnto himselfe, with the feare of some, and the loue of others, the authority of a wife Prince: wherevpon hee rewarded the heires of Don *Alphonso de Lieua*, who (as they said) was drowned with a thousand persons vpon the coast of Ireland.

He did punish seuerely *Fernando Lopez*, who was campe Master generall; and *Antonio de Gueuara*, Pouruoier generall, was depriued of his Office, for his milde-means.

In the meane time they had newes in Spaine of a great army preparing in England to send into Portugall, for the restoring of Don *Antonio*, wherevpon the King made provision for the defence thereof, sending the Earle of Fuentes for Generall into Portugall, with good troupes, hee augmented the number of their horse, giuing the charge to D. *Alphonso Vargas*, he made D. *Francis de Padiglia* Camp-master Generall, *Andreas d' Alua* Pouruoier, and *John Maldonado* Auditor.

E The provisions for this enterprize being made, they went from Plimouth in April: Sir *John Norris* and Sir *Francis Drake* being Generalls; they had with them fixe of the Queenes twenty ships of warre, and (as some write) a hundred and forty for transportation, hauing when they tooke shipping a cleuen thousand souldiers, and two thousand five hundred mariners: within fixe daies after their departure from England being the twentieth day of April, the army landed in a bay within a mile off the Groine, without impeach, from whence they marched presently towards the towne, approaching within halfe a mile they were incountered by the enemy, who being charged retired to their gates, and then the Generall lodged the army in the villages and houses thereabouts. F Generall *Norris* hauing viewed the towne before daie, resolved for to attempt it by scalladoe, and to land some Artillerie to beate the shippes and gallies which did play vpon their troupes, the which was effectually performed, so as the Gallies were forced presently to abandon the roade, and goe to Farrol, and then they prepared with all speed to surprize the base towne, the which was done the next day after, they entering it in three severall places, where after good

YYYYY 3 resistance

An. 1589.

*Richardot sent into Spaine by the Duke of Parma.*

*Provision for defence of Portugall.*

*Village of Forlugal.*

*Groine the base towne surprized.*

## The generall History of Spaine.

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resistance in one place, they were forced to abandon it, they all retreating into the high towne, the which they might easily doe for that the English knew not their passages. The rest that were not put to the sword, fled to the rocks in the Island, where they did hide themselves in caues, whereas many were daily found out.

D. *John de Luna*, a man of great command, having hidden himselfe in a house came forth the next morning and yielded himselfe. *John de Vera* a Commissary of the victuals was also taken that night, who confessed that at the entry of the English into the towne, there were five hundred Spaniards in seven companies, (as it seemed) returned weake from the voyage of England, all vnder D. *John de Luna*: the capitaines names were D. *Diego Bazan* bafe sonne to the Marquis of Santa Cruz. D. *Antonio de Herera*, D. *Pedro Manriques* brother to the Earle of Paredes. D. *Ieronimo Mouray*, of the Order of Saint *John*, hee was in the fort. D. *Gomes de Caruajal*, capitaine *Moucon* and *Causca de Secas*. And that the day that the English landed there came from Retenzas the companies of D. *John de Mosale*, and of D. *Pedro Ponce de Leon*. He confessed moreouer that there was order giuen for the baking of 300000. of biscuit: that there was two thousand pipes of wine in the towne, and a hundred and fifty in the ships. That there was lately come 300000. ducats from the Marquis of Seralba. That there was a thousand larrs of oyle, with great store of beanes, pease, wheat and fish. That there were three thousand kintals of beefe, and not twenty daies before, there entred three barks laden with mach and harguebuses: There were some others taken, and there were slaine by the common souldiers about five hundred. At their first entry into the towne, the souldiers finding three cellars full of wine distempred themselves, so as many beinge drunke were hurt from the high towne, and this disorder was the cause of a great mortality which fell in the English army. There was abundance of victuals, and prouision for shipping and warre; which the Commissary confest to be for a new voyage into England.

After the taking of the bafe towne, there came some two thousand men out of the country, downe to the very gates, as resolutely as if they would haue entred, but the English that were in gard making head against them, they fled away disorderly, hauing lost some eightene of their men. The Generall attempted the high towne both by mine and battery, and going to the assault the loose rubbish vnder their feete failed them so as they could not stand. They had diuers men hurt in their retreat, and they lost some twenty or thirty vnder the ruines of a tower which fell.

The day after that the English had offered an assault, the General vnderstood, by a prisoner, that the Earle of Andrada had gathered an army together of eight thousand men, at Puente de Burgos, six miles from the towne, which was but the beginning of an army, there being a greater leauy ready to come vnder the conduct of the Earle of Altemira, either to releue the Groyne, or to incampe neere vnto the place where the English should imbarke, and to hinder their shipping for to that end the Marquis of Seralba had written vnto them both the first night of their landing, as the Commissary had confest, or else to stop their passage into the country, whether they went daily by troups, and burnt, spoiled, and tooke great booties. The Generall resolved the next day to goe and visit these forces, leading nine Regiments with him: In the forward were the regiments of Sir *Edward Norris*, Master of the Ordinance, Sir *Roger Williams* and Collonel *Sydneys*: In the battaile that of the Generall, of Collonel *Lane*, and Collonel *Medkerke*: And in the reereward, Sir *Henry Norris*, Collonel *Huntleys* and Collonel *Brets* Regiments, leauing the other five Regiments with Generall *Drake* for the garde of the Ordinance.

Vpon the sixth day of May in the morning they discovered the enemy within halfe a mile off their campe; against whom the shot of the forward skirmished, and forced them to retire vnto their bridge, which was of stone, built vpon Arches, ouer a creeke that came from the sea. At the foote whereof on the other side the enemy lay verie strongly intrenched, who beinge with his shot at the further end of the bridge, Sir *Edward Norris* (who ledde the forward, and marched in the head of the pikes) past the bridge without any stay at all, beinge accompanied by

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A by Colonell *Sydney*, Capitaine *Hinder*, Capitaine *Fulford* and others. The way was euen, but they must passe thorough a storme of small shot; for the bridge was flanked on both sides with their shot, at the farther end there was a barricado, but they that had it in gard, seeing the proud approach of the English, forooke it, where Sir *Edward Norris* entred, and charging the first he encountered, with his pike, ouerthrusting himselfe beee self, and was fore hurt on the head, at the sword, but was honorably releued by the Generall his brother, Colonell *Sydney*, and some other Gentlemen: Capitaine *Hinder* having his cask shot off, had five wounds in the head and face at the sword. This was a most difficult, beinge seconded by the Generall, their brauest men which defended the place, beinge ouerthrowne, their whole armie fell presently to rout, and the English had the chafe three miles foure hundre waies. The Generals Standard with the Kings armes was taken, what number of the enemy was slaine, was not certain, but only by coniecture how many, two thousand men, (for of so many consisted the forward) in such a pursuit might kill. And to increase the number, hauing giuen ouer the execution, and returning to their stands, they found many hidden in the vineyards and hedges, whom they slue. And Colonell *Medkerke* beinge sent with his Regiment three miles farther to a cloyster, which he burnt and spoiled, he found two hundred men there, which he put to the sword: The English lost onely one Capitaine *Cooper*, and a private souldier. The execution beinge past, the Generall sent three parts of the armie three several waies to spoyle and burne; so as the countie round about was on fire. They found good store of victuals and munition in the campe, with some plate, rich apparell, and other booties, which they had left behind them.

Thus the English armie returned to the Groine, bringing small comfort to the Spaniards that were within it: and the next day the shippe their Ordinance, and then they let fire vpon euery house in the bafe towne, and on the Cloister, so as they left not any one standing. And on the eight of May, the English imbarked their armie without losse of one man, which (had they not beaten the Spaniards at Puente de Burgos) they could not possibly haue done, they hauing (as it seemed) an intent to charge the English when they should imbarke: the Commissarie confessing, that the first night of their landing, D. the Marquis of Seralba did write vnto the Earle of Altemira, the Earle of Andrada, and to *Ternis de Sentisso*, to bring all the forces they could raise, wherewith they might either beseege the English in the bafe towne, if they tooke it, or lye betwixt them and their imbarking place, and so fight with them vpon an aduantage, they hauing about 25000. souldiers vnder their commands.

The English armie leauing the Groine, on the thirteenth of May, there came vnto the Fleete the Earle of Essex, his brother Master *Valter Deuereux*, Sir *Roger Williams*, Colonell generall of the foote, Sir *Philip Butler*, and Sir *Edward Wingfield*. The Earle hauing put himselfe into that action, contraie to the opinion of the world, and with the hazard of his fortune, yet much to his honour. After which, the armie went and landed at Peneca in Portugall, within shot of the castle. The enemy beinge five companies of Spaniards (vnder the command of the Earle of Fuentes) sallied out of the towne, and came to the water side, as the English landed.

But the Earle of Essex, with his brother, and Sir *Roger Williams* hauing landed men enough to make two troups, they left one to go by the waters side, leading the other ouer the sand-hilles: which the enemy discovering, they retired further into the land, that they might haue the better meanes to passe away, yet they did it in such fort, as beinge charged, they came to the push of the pike, where they slue an English Capitaine: These Spaniards beinge fledde, the English entred the towne, which was neither fortified nor defended by any man.

F The Generall summoned the Castle that night, which was held by a Portuguese, called *Antonio d'Aurid*, who promised to yeeld it, so as he might bee assured, that Don *Antonio* was landed, and so he did. Thither came some Friars and poore men to their new king, promising within two dayes good supplies of horse and foote. Hauing staid at Peneca one day, the Generals resolved, that the armie should march by land to Lisbon, vnder the conduct of Generall *Norris*, and that Generall *Drake* should meete him

Sir Edward Norris hurt.

Spaniards defeated at Puente de Burgos.

English leave the Groine.

Souldiers come to releue the Groyne.

him in the riuer with the Fleete, that there should bee a companie left to guard the Castle, and fue in the shippes.

After which conclusion, hee marched with fourteen Regiments towards Lisbonne, commandement being giuen from the Generall, that no man should spoyle the countrey, nor take any thing from a Portuguesse, the which was very strictly obserued, so as the souldiers grew to some want of victualles in their march, but vpon complaint made vnto the King, it was better supplied. In fixe dayes march the armie came to Lisbonne, without any encounter of the enemy, who was betwixt them and the citie, but they dislodged as they approached.

English armie  
comes to Lisbonne.

Being come to the suburbs of Lisbonne, Sir Roger Williams, and Captaine Anthony Wingfield with some thirtie shotte, scoured the streetes neere vnto the Towne, where they found not any but old folkes and beggers, crying *Viva el Rey Don Antonio*, and their houses shut vp, the inhabitants hauing carried much of their wealth into the town, and fired some houses by the water side full of Corne, and other prouision, for that the English should not make vse of it. The whole armie being quartered in the suburbs, the souldiers being tyred with their fixe dayes march, and desirous of rest that night, the enemy being aduertised thereof, sallied forth about one of the clocke, and came vpon the English by three severall streetes, but especially vpon Collonell Bress quarter, who being (as most of the Companies) at his rest, made all the hast hee could to draw his men into armes, in which charge hee was slaine, with some other Captaines of his Regiment: but there was such resistance made in all quarters, as they were suddenly put to a foule retreat, and chased euen to the Citie gates, where they lost many of their best Commaunders: In this salley the Spaniards lost treble the number of the English, and some of good qualitie.

Cascais entred  
by the English.

During their march, Generall Drake came with the Fleete to Cascais, where hee entered without any resistance, the inhabitants being fledde with their goods to the mountaines, but the Generall sent a Portuguesse vnto them, to offer them all fauour, if they would acknowledge their king, and supply the wants of his armie: which offer they willingly embraced, sending two chiefe men to signifie their loyalty to Don Antonio, and their loue to the English. Wherevpon the Generall landed his Companies, but the castle was held still by 65. Spaniards.

The day after the Spaniards salley, Generall Norris called a Councell, to aduise whether it were fit to attend there for the horse and foote, which the King of Portugall had promised, and to send some conuenient troupes to Cascais to fetch their Ordinance and munition, which was with their shippes. The opinions of the Commaunders were diuers, some fedde with a vaine hope of Don Antonio, thought it best to stay there, and to send some three thousand men for the Ordinance. Others (despayring of all succours from Portugall) perswaded to march away, and not to stay vpon any vaine hopes. The Generall being loth to haue an imputation layed vpon him for his too great hast, or to loose any more time vpon Don Antonio's promises, tould them, that although the expedition of Portugall was not the onely desseigne of their iourney, but an adventure, the good successe whereof might get them great wealth, and much honour, wherein they had done so much, as whatsoeuer happened, it could not blemish their credits and reputations.

Yet in regard of the Kings last promise, that hee should haue that night three thousand men armed of his Countrey, hee would not dislodge that night. And if they came, that he might send the like number for his munition, and resolute to trie his fortune for the Towne. If they came not, he thought it not fit to diuide his forces, by sending any to Cascais, knowing how boldly they had sallied forth the day before, and that there were more souldiers armed within the town, then was in their campe. And that before their men could returne from Cascais, they expected more supplies: for the Duke of Bragança, and Don Francisco of Toledo were attended with great succours: wherevpon he concluded to march away the next morning, if the promised supplies came not that night: yet all the Portugueses which came vnto their king, would not make a cornet of horse, and two hundred foote.

The

A The Generall attended the effect of the Kings promise vnto the last houre, and hee sought to perswade him to stay eight daies longer, in which time he might haue ingaged himselfe, and receiued an affront, attempting a town that was well fortified, and great troupes of men in it. So as the next day, seeing no Portugueses appeare to ioyne with them, as was promised, the English Generall gaue order to march away, the Earle of Essex, and Sir Roger Williams making a stand, untill that the whole armie was drawne into field, and so they marched out of the suburbs: Captaine Anthony Wingfield, and Richard Wingfield, being in the reere of them with some shotte: after which the Battalions marched in order that night to Cascais. In their march, that day the Galleys of Lisbonne did somewhat annoy them, (their way lying along the riuer) and followed them untill they were past Saint Iulians, (spending many shotte, but doing little or no harme. The horsemen followed them a farre off, and cut off many sicke men, which were not able to hold march, hauing no carriages for them).

English armie  
retires from  
Lisbonne.

Hauing bene two dayes at Cascais, they were aduertised by a Friar, that the Spaniards came marching strongly towards them, and were at Saint Iulians, wherewith the Earle of Essex, and the Generals were much pleased, desiring nothing more then to fight with them: Wherevpon the English Generall sent away a messenger with a trumpet that night, who carried a challenge to the Spanish Generall, wherein he gaue them the lye, for that they reported, that the English had retired disorderly and with feare from Lisbonne, challenging him to meete him the next morning with his whole armie, if he durst attend his comming, and there to trie the iustnesse of their quarrell by battell: by whom also the Earle of Essex (preferring the honour of his countrey, before all other respects, sent a challenge to any one of his qualitie, that would meete in the head of their Battalies, single, or with more companie, to trie their fortunes, offering assurance for their returne, and honorable vlsage.

Challenge sent  
by the English  
Generall to the  
Spanish.

The English Generall put his armie in a readinesse by three of the clocke in the morning, and marched to the place where they incamped: but they had dislodged in the night in great disorder and feare, as the Generall was the next day informed: so as the troupes followed them to Lisbonne, but could not get any answer to his letters, they threatening to hang him, for that he presumed to bring such a message: but fearing the like measure to their prisoners, they sent him away without answer.

The armie being come to Cascais, the Castle was summoned, where the Captaine promised to yeeld it vpon sight of the Cannon, and not otherwise. Wherevpon the Generall caused three or foure peeces of batterie to be brought, where after the first volley, they compounded to depart with their Armes and baggage, he had in the Castle one Cannon, two Culuerins, one Basiliske, and three or foure field peeces, three-score and fife souldiers, with good store of victuals and munition, which hee might haue kept longer then the English had any intent to stay: the armie being imbarcked and readie to set saile, the fort was blowne vp.

Castle of Cascais  
yeilded to  
the English.

E Whilest they lay there in the roade, the Fleete, in fixe dayes, fetched in to the number of three-score Hulkes, laden with Spanish commodities, as it seemed, for the Kings prouision, and were going for Lisbonne: their chiefe lading was corne, Maits, Cables, Copper and Waxe: among which, some were of great burthen, very well built for sayling, hauing no great lading in them, and therefore it was thought they were brought to supply the Kings decayed Naue. Into the which the English that were in flie-boates were shipped, and the flie-boates sent home, with an offer of Corne for their hire. And then they sent shippes to fetch their men which they had left at Penecha, where as the enemy entred presently.

There were nine Galleys sent from Andalusia, to strengthen the riuer of Lisbonne, who in their returne, set vpon some shippes that were becalmed, and farre from the Fleete, but they did no great harme. The Fleet, by reason of the wind, went to the Islands of Bayonne, where they landed two thousand men, being all that were able to fight, and marched to the Towne of Vigo, which being entred by Captaine Anthony Wingfield, hee found the streetes full of Barricadoes, but not any one to defend them: for hee found but one man in the town, they being fledde away to Bayonne: the

Vigo taken by  
the English.

the Generall with some others, beeing entred into Vigo, they sent some Captaines out to spoyle, and burne the Countrey, which they did fuen or eight miles in length. In the towne they found not any thing, but wine, all their goods beeing carried away, and in the morning the Colonell generall hauing drawne the Companies out of the towne, he caused euery house to be set on fire, and then they imbarked againe, and returned home into England.

King of Spaine  
sends forces to  
the Duke of  
Sauoy to be-  
sege Genoua.

The Duke of Sauoy had an intent to beseege Geneva, which he pretended to bee his, in which attempt he craued ayde from the King of Spaine his father-in-law, who sent vnto him out of the Dutchie of Milan, *Pyrro Malacenza* with fise thousand foot, who went vnto him with all speed: from Naples hee had *Alexander Sforza* with a good number of horle, and *Paul Sforza* with foote: and from the countrey of Cremona, *William of Lodron* with fise thousand Germanes, and hee obtrayned the Marquis of Saint Martin from the Duke of Ferrara, to bee Lieutenant generall to the Duke of Sauoy, to whom he was allyed, furnishing him also with money, so as it seemed rather the King of Spains action, then the Duke of Sauoy.

An. 1590.  
Pretence of the  
King of Spaine  
to make warre  
in France.

The King of Spaine aspiring (as it seemed) to the Crowne of France, whereof he had taken vpon him the name of Protector, tooke now a new cloake to make warre, which was in the name of his eldest daughter, *Donna Isabella Clara Eugenia*, whom he had by *Elizabeth* of Valois his third wife, daughter to *Henry* the second of France, pretending the Dutchie of Brittanie to bee fallen vnto her by lawfull right and succession, by the death of King *Henry* the third, her Vncle by the mothers side. Vpon this pretext hee sent certaine troupes thither, seeking to dismember it from the Crowne of France, to the which it was incorporate, by the death of the Ladie *Anna* of Brittanie, accomplishing the descendants from the sayd Ladie *Anne*, who was promised to *Maximilian* Arch-duke of Austria, and afterwards Emperour, but married to *Charles* the eighth, the French King, who dyed without heires, and then shee was married to *Lewis* the twelfth, by whom shee had one daughter married to *Francis* the first, father to *Henry* the second his succellour, who had by *Catherine de Medicis* foure sonnes, all which dyed without children, and three daughters, *Elizabeth* third wife to the King of Spaine, *Claude* married to *Charles* Duke of Lostraine, and *Marguerite* wife to *Henry* the fourth King of France and Nauarre.

All the fore-sayd children beeing descended in the direct feminine line from the Lady *Anne* of Brittanie, their Grand-mother, so as the sonnes hauing no lawfull heires, the succession of of the sayd Dutchie of Brittanie did belong vnto the Lady *Elizabeth* of Valois, the eldest of King *Henrys* two daughters, and mother to the sayd Infanta: the which, according to the Lawe, the King her father would maintaine, should represent her deceased mother: for that the sayd Dutchie beeing but a fee of Fraunce, may descend vnto the daughters as well as to the sonnes, as appeareth in the sayd Dutchesse *Anne*, daughter to *Francis* the last Duke of Brittanie, who brought it to *Charles* the eighth, and *Lewis* the twelfth. The French answered, that Dutchie, which were but fees, and held by homage of the Crowne, beeing once incorporated, can bee no more dismembered, with many more allegations, as you may reade in the French.

The King of Spaine could not forget the affront hee had receiued the last yeare by the English in Portugall, hee fought how to bee reuenged, if not of the whole State in generall, yet of priuate Merchants, whose liuing consisted, and wholly depended vpon Trafficke into diuers parts, and hearing that the English Merchants had great trade within the Streights of Gibraltar, to Venice, Constantinople, Alexandria, and other places of commerce, hee resolved to interrupt them, and intercept them if he could by any possible meanes: Wherevpon hee gaue charge vnto certaine Gallies to lye continually in the Streights to attend their passage.

Fight betwixt  
the Spanish gal-  
lies & English  
ships.

It happened this yeare, that there were tenne good English shippes, and well fraught, coming from diuers parts, mette together at the Streights, and were bending home-ward. These shippes coming neere to the mouth of the Streights, hard vpon the coast of Barbarie they decayed twelue tall Gallies, wonderfully well manned, and gallantly appoynted, beeing commaunded by *Andrew Doria* for the King

A King of Spaine: who on the foure and twentieth day of Aprill, in the morning, bare vp with the shippes, and waied them amaine for the King of Spaine, and the English did the like for the Queene of England: after which, the fight beganne, one of the shippes at her first shot raked away all the men of one side of a Galley, and so pierced it, as it was ready to sinke, but the fight continued very furious, for the space of fixe howers. In the meane time, whilst they were in the hottest of this fight, there came in two Flemings to the Fleete, who seeing of what strength the Gallies were, the one of them strucke her sayles, and was presently taken by the Gallies: the other Flemming was also ready to yeeld, if the trumpetter of that shippe had not threatened to kill the Pilote at the Helme, if he did not speedily put off to the English fleete, and take part with them, by which meanes they were preserued from the Spaniards, whereas the other was taken basely and cowardly. After this long and furious fight the English shippes escaped, for the Gallies were so torne, as they were forced to flee into harbour, for that some of them were ready to sinke, neither durst they come any more forth, notwithstanding that the shippes lay becalmed in the streight.

The Catholike King finding himselfe ouer-burthened, and weakened with the warres which he had at one instant maintayned against his enemies, his treasure beeing exhausted, and hee wanting money to make his necessarie prouisions both for Flanders, and France vpon all occurrents, hee commaunded the Duke of Sessa, who was newly come Ambassadour to Rome, to succede the Earle of Oliuarez, who was gone Viceroy into Sicily, to intreate his Holinesse to grant him part of the reuenues of the spiritual liuing in Spaine, leauing vnto the Priests a competent liuing according vnto euery mans qualitie, but this demand was not allowed of, nor held conuenient in the Court of Rome.

This yeare there was a memorable fight at the Ilands of the Azores betwixt the king of Spaines Armado, and one of the Queene of Englands shippes called the Reuenge. The Lord *Thomas Haward*, second sonne to the Duke of Norfolk, and now Earle of Suffolke, going forth with fixe of the Queenes shippes, fixe victuallers, and some pinaces to attend the West Indian Fleete in their returne, lying at one of the Ilands of the Azores, they were aduertised of the approach of the Spanish armado, (beeing three and fiftie sayle of men of warre, commaunded by Don *Alphonso Bacan*, brother to the Marquis of Santa Cruz) the which were presently in sight, many of the English beeing then on shoare, to furnish themselves with ballast, fresh water, and other necessities, so as their shippes were light for want of ballast, and halfe their men sicke and vserviceable for fight.

Fight betwixt  
the Reuenge &  
the Armado of  
Spaine.

The Spanish Fleete beeing covered by an Iland, were come so neere, as they had scarce any time to weigh their anchors, yet some were faine to slippe their Cables, and to set sayle. Sir *Richard Greenfield* (who was Vice-admirall in the Reuenge) wayed last, staying to recouer her men that were in the Iland, which otherwise had beene lost, and not able to recouer the wind, as the Admirall, and the rest had with some difficultie done, he was perswaded by the Master and some others to cast about, and to trust to the sayling of the shippe: but Sir *Richard* would by no meanes turne head to the enemy, protesting that he would rather dye, then dishonour himselfe, his Countrey, and her Maiesties Ship. But he could not force through them, as he thought, but was boarded of either side by their huge Gallions.

The fight beganne at three of the clocke in the after noone, and continued very furious all that euening. The Spanish shippes were full of souldiers, in the English there were not any but Marriners, and some few voluntarie Gentlemen, with their seruants. They made many assaults, thinking to force her with their multitudes, but they were still repulst. The fight continuing all the day, and some howers in the night, many of her men were slain and hurt, and one of the great Gallions, with the Admirall of the Hulses sunke, and a great slaughter made in diuers other Spanish shippes. The Spanish shippes which attempted to board the Reuenge, as they were beaten off, others came in their places, there beeing neuer lesse then two mightie Gallions by her side, so as shee had bene

assayled



his fortune in France with 6000. foot, and 2000. horse, then to stay any longer in the A government of the Netherlands. On the other side, Don John by his letters which hee did write into Spaine, made strange complaints, full of bitterness and despair, yea with threats; if they suffered him to languish any longer in that estate: and his letters were seconded by Escovedo, who wrote to Antonio Perez, whom he held to be a friend to Don John and himselfe; but hee discovered all their secrets vnto the King; as it appeared by letters written from Perez vnto the King, and noted in the margent with the Kings owne hand.

During all this businesse, Escovedo being sent for into Spaine, the King resolves to haue him made away, either by murder or poyson, as well for the great liberty and boldnesse hee vled in his writing, as for the strange speeches he sometimes vttered, which were very displeasing vnto the King, taking for a colour a certaine proposition made by him to fortifie and man the rock of Magro, and of some 6000. Ducats imployed by him, contrary to the Kings intent. In the end, after that he had conferred with the Marquis of Velez, and duly considered of all Escovedos practises: holding it a dangerous matter to send him back to Don John, the King found it expedient to haue him slaine. So Escovedo returning home to his lodging in the night, he was murdered in the streete by Garcia of Arras, and his confederates, at the induction of Antonio Perez, who had receiued commandement from the King. Hauing bene formerly concluded betwixt the King and Perez, that if the murderers should chance to bee apprehended, that Perez, taking the fact wholly vpon himselfe should flee into Arragon, whereas the King might more easily defend him then in Castile, Escovedo being murdered in this manner, the fact began to be discovered. The widow and her sonnes made their complaints against Perez. The King receiued them into his Councell of State, but hee sent them not before their Ordinary Iudge, himselfe giuing the whole knowledge of the fact to the President of Castile, and commanding him to talke with Escovedos sonnes, and to the Secretary Mathew Vasques, who presented their complaint, to the end they might bee silent. But all the Presidents admonitions were of no force, yea hee made them more violent in their complaints. Perez aduised the King to suffer this fact to come to a triall of lawe, with a moderate & slow pursuit, yet not to decree any thing, or else that he would giue him leaue D to retire from Court; the which the King tooke in ill part, promising him by the faith of a Knight, neuer to abandon him, and that hee would keepe him in his seruice. But Perez in the meane time saw the storme approaching, whereof hee was the more assured after the death of the Marquis of Velez, who had bene a liuely witnesse vnto him. The King seeing him perplexed, and in distresse for this death, did confirme this promise againe vnto him more strictly. In the meane time they doubled their complaints, the which (in like maner tending to the dishonor, and to charge the Princeesse of Eboly) the complainants framed at large by writing, and presented it to the King, yet for all this hee gaue no sentence: but being prest by Vasques, to whom he had begun to discover himselfe, as appeared by the answer which hee made him in writing, copyed by Perez, with a postscript E of the Kings.

In the end the King commanded his Confessor to reconcile the Princeesse and Perez, with Vasques: wherevnto the Princeesse would not giue eare, finding her selfe wronged, for that he held him vnworthy to conferre with her. The which did wonderfully discontent Perez, not daring to moue her therewith, for that he held himselfe bound vnto her seruice, for the fauours he had receiued from her. And seeing that by their reiterated complaints, notwithstanding the Kings promise in the faith of a Knight, they pursued him with all violence: he belouged the King, at the least, to do him this fauour, that he might retire himselfe. The King finding himselfe wronged on both sides, by the Princeesse, for that she would not reconcile her selfe with Vasques, as hee had commanded; and with Perez for that he would retire himselfe. After that hee had consulted with his Confessor, and with the Earle of Barayas, he caused the Princeesse and Perez to be committed to prison, vpon a colour, that by this imprisonment hee should force them to bee reconciled, the King himselfe being a spectator of this apprehension, made by his commandement, the which was in the year 1579.

The

A The next day, the King sent to visit Perez wife, and to comfort her, wishing her not to be troubled for her husband. Hee in like manner sent his Confessor to visit Perez, seeming to haue a care that hee should be well intreated. After that he had bene detained some moneth in prison, hee sent him with a certaine garde home to his house, where he commanded Perez that he should sweare to Don Rodrigo Manuel, by the faith of a Gentleman, that he would continue friend with Vasques: Perez remitting his plene (yet hauing the knife neere his throte) yielded thereto: and so continued in his house, bearing the charge thereof, vntill the year 1585, and receiuing no allowance nor fee. At the end of which time (to the end the blind should not see any thing) hee was with other Secretaries put to the Visita (which is a lawe to examine the actions of such as they meane to intrap.)

*La visita in Spaine is the law of fishing.*

The charges of this Visita were more honourable to Perez then hurtfull. They did consist of two points, the one concerning the Kings secrets, whereof hee aduertised the King, for that he would not discover them, seeing that they meant to force him thereto; hauing alwayes faithfully acquit himselfe in keeping them in his bosome, as the King had trusted him. Hee in like manner informed the Confessor, shewing vnto him for his discharge, a writing of the Kings owne hand: wherevpon the Confessor did forbid him to purge himselfe by his Kings writing: wherevnto he obeyed, for that he would not diuulge his secrets: suffering himselfe to bee condemned in a fine of thirty thousand Ducats, suspension of his office, two yeares imprisonment, and then to be banished eight yeares. The which Perez endured by the perswasions and goodly promites of this Father Confessor.

This condemnation was made by the strangest Act that hath bene scene, whereof the Councell had no knowledge, neither was it signed, nor any iudicial sentence pronounced. The Act being insinuated to Perez, being lead from his house to the Castle, his goods before seized on were freed, and it was told him that hee should not performe the said Act, so as hee would deliuer the papers and Instructions which hee had written vnto the King, and from the King to him: that by this meanes hee might wholly discharge the King, and lay all vpon Perez owne head, wherein consisted the end of their proceeding. For there were yet two secret points in the sentence: the one was, they would make Perez guilty of Escovedos death: the other, that hee had no meanes to complaine of force and violence in his Countrey of Arragon: besides an accusation of ten thousand Ducats wherewith they charged him, whereof by many liuely reasons, and by a note of the Kings owne hands hee was discharged. Which note hauing bene deliuered into the Confessors hand, hee read and retained it, and afterwards denyed the hauing it.

*Trick of a false Monke.*

When they came to execute the said Act, Perez thinking to preuent it, fled into a Church for liberty (fearing that his enemies would murder him in prison) from whence notwithstanding hee was drawne, but hauing obtained a sentence to his advantage, this execution was stopt. Notwithstanding hee was afterwards taken againe, and carried to the Castle of Turnegano, where hee was cruelly intreated by one Torres of Aulda a Licentiar, who kept him ninety dayes in Irons, from the sight of his wife and children, who were in like manner committed to prison; to the end they should not demand Iustice, as the wife had done once at Lisbon, vpon the Kings promising by the faith of a Knight, the which was done to the end they might the better come to the Kings papers and her husbands, which this Friar Diego Chines hunted so after, knowing how much they did import to free the King. To attaine vnto the which hee had already written two letters (by the meanes of the Earle of Barayas President of Castile) to Perez wife, sending her word, that there was no other meanes E to see her husband in liberty, then in yielding vp the sayd papers: and in so dooing, that both shee and her husband should bee deliuered out of prison, wherevnto shee resisted courageously, refusing flatly to giue them. So as in the end her husband did write a note vnto her with his owne blood (so straightly was he kept) that she should deliuer them, the which shee did, yet by a diuine instinct shee refused some, sending them in two cofers to the said Confessor, being at Monzon, with the Keyes, the which were deli-

Zzzzz. 2.



delivered into the Kings owne hands by him that had charge of the cofers ; by the deliverye of which papers, the Lady onely was set at liberty.

luerie of which papers, the Lady only was left in liberty.

At the Kings retorne from Monzon, the papers being read, *Perez* was somewhat enlarged in the towne of Madrid (but not without a further meaning) for the space of foure moneths, hauing leaue to bee visited, and the weeke before Easter to go to Maffe, but this was a short ioy, for *Escuados* sonne came to renew his old complaint, and *Perez* was againe sent to the Caste to prison, and loone after hee was called into the Court: where being examined vpon this complaint, hee continued faithfull and constant vnto the King; refusing to declare any thing according to his commandments and promises; aduertising him notwithstanding what the euent might be of such kinde of proceedings: but all was in vaine; for it was ordered that hee should answer within ten dayes, vnto the cheefe points of a proceffe, which had lasted ten yeares. At this examination the Confeisseur aduised him, to confesse *Escuados* murder, but not to declare the motives and reasons; which *Perez* did not approue. But rather, to the end the King might bee discharged, to compound with *Escuados* children, who were the parties interessed, the which was effected at *Perez* charge, for twenty thousand Ducats, and it was presently paid. All this did not serue the turne, for the President *Rodrigo Vazquez*, a Kinsman to *Escuado*, seeing that *Perez* could auoyde all stormes, wrote vnto the King that hee should consider well of the composition which *Perez* had made, by the which the world did murmur and surmise, that his Maiestie had caused him to do it. And therefore his regall authority required, that hee should declare, or cause *Perez* declare the reasons of this accord; whereby his Maiesty should stop all mens mouths, and *Perez* should bee better discharged. Wherevpon the king did write vnto *Perez*, to tell the reason why, by his commandement and for his seruice, hee had caused *Escuado* to be slaine. This note and commandment from the king, made the greatest to murmure; for (said they) if the king hath commanded him to murder *Escuado*, what reason, or what preparation do they pretend? Is it now time, after twelue yeares since it was done, to demand the cause? yea a Cardinall, & the Popes Legat passe vnto the Confessor in *Perez* behalfe: To whom he answered, that they should rest satisfied, and that what had beene done, was to giue contentment to the President *Rodrigo Vazquez*; and that all should be well. As in like manner Father *Salinas* preaching Friar, discoursed sufficiently in a Sermon which he made in the kings Chappel, in Iustificatiō of *Perez*, but all was without effect, the Confessor holding it a sinne to demand Iustice: Notwithstanding *Perez* remained firme and constant, and being examined vnto the Kings note, he would not declare any thing, for he did not easily giue credit thereto: wherevpon the Iudge took occasion to put *Perez* to the rack (although his minde were sufficiently tortured, with the confusion of a precedent order) yet relying vnto the Kings first instruction and commandement, he continued constant, & endured the torture, euen to the effusion of his blood, yet in the end hee was forced to declare the motive causes of the murder of *Escuado*, with the circumstances, producing the Kings originall letters to that end, and an Autentike witness, who was yet liuing: whose testis biller, and did not produce it. *Perez* finding by all these violences and outrages, that they would draw his life into question, he found no better means, then to seeke how he might escape out of prison in Caphise: as he did by the assistance of his wife, and of *Giles de Maza*, a Gentleman of Aragon, his kinsman in the night, the Thursday before Easter: *Maza*, a Gentleman of Post, without any rest, vntill he came into Aragon: for the which his living thirty leagues foot, without any rest, vntill he came into Aragon: for the which his wife and children smarted, for they were cast into prison, with a friend of *Perez*, which cruelty was intolerable before God; as in such twents, whereas, where men were slaine, God makes foolles to speake, and to tell Kings and Princes the truth, to their confusion. For *This Martino* the kings foolke, & a naturall heeling that the chiefe in Court receiued that *Perez* had so feared, asking the King what *Perez* was for whom such a man did so much reuerence? Surely said he, he was not guilty, and therefore, Sir, be thou also glad. These words by a foolle were observed by the wisest. It seemed that imprisonment of *Perez* wife and children, proceeded from hatred, or to stop their iust complaints, so that the Confessor sought to be reuenged of them, for that the said Lady had once charged him

*An.* 1591.  
Arragon  
action.

**Perez escapes  
out of prison,  
and flies into  
Aragon;**

A him that instead of a Confessor, hee was a Soueraigne Iudge, teaching him what was written of the poore widow in the holy Scripture. And also for that which Donna *Gregoria Perez*: their daughter; after a long puritie, spake with great courage and griefe of heart, vnto the President *Rodrigo Vazquez*: that she was come with her young Brethren and Sisters, to the end that without making them to languish any longer in misery, he should make haile to suck vp their blood, and that they were come to that end, desiring rather to dye at once, then they should thus suck their bloods by degrees. Wherewith the President was no lesse terrified, then the Confessor was at the Mothers words. *Perez* hauing recovered Arragon with great difficultie, being much broken with the Racke, and his long and miserable imprisonment; hee staid some time at Calatajub, where hee retired himselfe into a Monastrie. There were priuate letters sent to a Knight of that towne, without any Act, or sufficient warrant, to draw him from thence: the which not able to effect, being hindered by the religious men of that Conuent, hee gaue him a Monkes Sell for his prison. *Perez* did write from this place vnto the King, but all was in vaine; for vpon new complaints and accusations, hee was drawn out of this Conuent by the Kings expresse commandment (not without some mutinie of the towne men) and lead to Saragosa, from whence hee did importune the King with new letters, sending a religious man exprelly with good instructions of all matters. This religious man spake vnto the King, who gaue him good words: but hee was not welcome to the reuered father the Kings Confessor. But nothing could helpe him, to stay these pursuites begunne: or else God would haue the truth knowne to all the world, the which some priuate mens mallice sought to suppress.

Peretz seeing that hee preaulled nothing, hee had recourse to his papers, letters, and instructions, as well from the King, as from some others, which had bene kept safe by his wives industrie: whereof hee made a collection, decifaring the whole estate of his businesse, and made a Booke, the which hee presented vnto the Iustice: whereby his aduersaries seeing themselves confounded, and that hee should be absolutely discharged, they inuented an other meanes to intrapp him: which was that the King referring all his rights, should desist from this action against Peretz, and that they would charge him to haue ill acquitted his duty to his Prince. Although that this seperation of the cause was repugnant to the customes of Arragon, and that the King might not doe it: yet they gaue it forth that they had instructions, impugning them of Peretz, the which was alledged wholly against the Kings authority, to the blemish of his reputation, and contempt of his writing, the which Peretz, neither in prison, nor out, for the onely respect hee bare vnto the King, would euer shew, but onely at this last charge, where hee was forced to make vie of them, least he should fall into the like inconuenience that P<sup>is</sup> had done; who would not iustifie himselfe of *Germanicus* death, by the writings of *Tiberius Caesar*, who had commanded him: Peretz discharge being the more receivable, for that hee did make euery man know by liuely reasons, what had moued the King to doe it. Peretz enemies seeing there was no advantage to bee gotten of him before the Soueraigne Iudge, they drew him to the, *State of the Inquests of Arragon*, where as the King is both Iudge and party. There he was examined vpon the old Articles, the fifth day after the separation, and also vpon two new points: by the which in their Interrogatories they did obiect against him, that when as he heard the French King did prosper, hee reioycied, and contrarywise hee was sad, when as he heard of the King of Spaines good successe. Moreover that hee had a desire to retire himselfe into Berne, or into Holland and Zeland. To whom he answered, that they ought not to search into the secret Cabinet of God, who alone knowes the hearts of men, pretelling of the force and violence they offered him, to the prejudice of the Kings seruice: Offering yet to produce more Instructions before any third person, whom it should please the King to name, and especially before the Archbishop of Saragoza: But this offer was not allowed, nay not any one durst deale in his businesse, nor his owne Advocate, hearing the threats of the Marquis of Almenare, who had corrupted some witnesses vpon Peretz, to retreat into Holland.

Yet this Inquest could not worke out any thing to prejudice *Perez*: then his aduersaries tooke a new resolution, to deliuer him ouer to the Inquisition, vppon

**Zzzzz 3**

*Peres put into  
the Inquisition.*

*An. 1591.  
Arragon.*

those witnesses which had bene suborned by the Marquis of Almenare, touching his re-  
create into Holland, accusing him also of Inchantment. This forged A& of the Mar-  
quis, was censured throughout the realme, and every man would take knowledge there-  
of, who found it to be such, as it was nothing preiudiciall to *Peres*: yea the Salmidine  
of Saragoſſa (which is the supreme Magistrate of the towne) was afterwards com-  
mitted to prison, for that he had received the depositions of these false witnesses: wher-  
by all the people and Estates of Arragon, did see with what passion and spleene they did  
proceed against *Peres*: and would haue them iudge definitively, whether he were guilty  
or not, the which if they refused to doe, then said they, *Peres* cause was good. Notwith-  
standing the Officers of the Inquisition, (contrary to the priuiledges of the manifesta-  
tion, and other rights of the realme) came vpon the fine and twenty of May, that yea-  
re 1591. and tooke him out of the prison, leading him to the Inquisition; but within foure  
houres after, the Inquisitors were forced through a mutiny of the people, to deliuer him  
back to his first prison of the manifestation: the tumult was very great, with the effu-  
sion of some blood; and the burning of houses: yea the Marquis of Almenare, for that  
he had done against their priuiledges, was committed to prison, hauing a thousand in-  
iurious speeches giuen him by the women and children, and being out-raged and bea-  
ten by the skumme of the people: whereof fifteene dayes after, (hauing in his extremi-  
tie freed *Peres*) he dyed in prison. *Peres* enemies being not yet sufficiently taught, by  
this third bloody and horrible error, they persisted in their obstinacie to haue him in the  
Inquisition: wherevpon thirteene Lawyers of the realme, were appointed to Iudge,  
whether *Peres* cause deserved to be sent thither, or not. At the first they ordeined, that  
it was againſt all right to deliuer him to the Inquisition: But afterwards by the sollici-  
ting of *John Lewis Murano*, who had wonne most of them with presents, they gaue an  
other sentence, contrary to their first, directly impugning the priuiledges, examples,  
concordants and declarations of the realme, which disannull the Edicts of Conſication,  
proceeding from the Inquisition. Yet his aduersaries would proceed, and the rather, for  
that the King had commanded the Gouvernor of Arragon, to keepe *Peres* in perpetuall  
prison: or at the least that he might neuer goe out of the realme of Arragon: wherein  
the deputies, to obey the King, agreed most together. The people notwithstanding were  
resolute, seeing the wrong and violence they not onely did to *Peres*, but also to his wife  
and small children, yea to religious men that were his sollicitors: the which all the world  
detested: and in like manner to his reuenues, so as in prison hee liued onely of almes,  
the which were grudged him, besides the wrong which was done vnto his mooueables,  
basely sold at an out-cry, yea the shirts and smocks of his little Infants borne in the pri-  
son, with the thimble and needle wherewith *Donna Gregoria* his eldest daughter did sows  
besides many other great indignities, which were done to him, his wife and children,  
whereof the people had great pittie, concluding thereby, that whatsoeuer he endured,  
proceeded onely from reuenge, hatred and spleene, and that he was not culpable.

His pursuing enemies knowing well, and hauing found it by experience, how the peo-  
ple stood affected to their priuiledges, and to *Peres*, durst not attempt to put him againe  
into the Inquisition (which should haue bene done on the twentieth of August) without  
force: and therefore they gathered together a good number of the Kings soldiers, with  
many Noblemen and Knights of the Viceroyes house (which had neuer bene seene  
before) the which troubled both the City of Saragoſſa, and the whole realme, for that  
it was directly against their priuiledges: but all turned for this time into smoke, they  
not daring to effect any thing. Not content herewith, they made better prouision of  
men on the 24. of September following, hauing raised 2000. men to take *Peres*, being  
assisted by the Officers, Noblemen and Knights. On the day appointed, the Gouverneur  
called his soldiers together before the breake of day, and put them into battaile: and to  
strike terror into the Burgeses, he caused them to giue a charge of shotte, where there  
was a yong child slaine, and some hurt by the Gouvernours owne hand. At the houre of  
Counsell, the Inquisitors arriued, who demanded to haue the persons of *Peres* and of  
*John Francisco Maiorini* deliuered into their hands. Vpon which demand (notwith-  
standing, a petition presented at the same time, by some good Countrymen) they obai-

A obtained, *Fiat*. Wherēvpon many Noblemen and officers went to the prison to receive  
him. Whether being come, a Lieutenant called *Miser Clameria*, with the Officers of the  
Inquisition, being accompanied by some soldiers, leading with them two Notaries, the  
better to qualifie their exploite, they entred into the prison, and caused *Peres* to come  
downe, where hauing obserued the ceremonies of his euocation, they demanded to haue  
him for some points concerning religion, and the faith. *Peres* seeing this, and standing  
vpon his right and the priuiledges of the realme, nothing would preuaile, but they put  
Irons vpon both his legges, and prepared to lead them away. Whilst that the Viceroy,  
or Gouverneur, the Soueraigne Iudge, the great Noblemen, Earles and Knights of this  
company, were in Armes in houses neere vnto the prison: at the same instant the peo-  
ple came running in great troupes, crying, Liberty, liberty, (the which in the like case  
vpon the breach of their priuiledges, is lawfull.) At the first they were but a multitude  
of labourers, and the skumme of the people (whereof few were armed) which fell vpon  
them that were vpon the place of Iustice. The rest of the people seeing that they had  
no leader, and that it was not onely for *Peres*, but also for their liberties, that made them  
to stirre, they went and intreated *Giles de Meza* to bee their head, who hauing taken  
vpon him this charge, with those men he had, and such as came scattering vnto him, hee  
charged the horsemen, and the rest of the Gouvernours souldiers, whom he presently put  
to flight, who were also set vpon by two hundred children, armed according to their ages  
and strength, and a poore naturall foole, who played his part with stonnes. Finally,  
their fury was so great, as they slew the Coche Moyles, and burnt the Coches, which  
should haue carried *Peres* and his companion into Castile, they also set fire of the house  
whereas the Viceroy and other Noblemen had saued themselves. There were slaine in  
this tumult the said *John Lewis Murano*, and *Pedro Ieronimo* of Baradix, one of the chiefe  
Councillors of the towne.

This Combate, happened for their liberties, was done with such zeale and heate, as a  
very old man would haue exposed sixe or seauen of his sonnes to sacrifice themselves  
for this cause, commanding them to arme, and rather to dye: and a Gentlewoman of a  
good family, sent her Nephew and onely heyre. The furie being past by the death of  
fifty or sixtie persons, and about a hundred and fifty hurt; the people returned to the  
prison, with an intent to haue *Peres*. The Officers of the Inquisition, seeing in what  
danger they were, tooke off his fetters, and by their Maisters commandement, intreated  
him to goe out of prison, fearing to be slaine there. *Peres* demanded an Acte, but so  
that by reason of the confusion hee could not haue it, hee went forth, to the great ioy  
and content of all the people: who conducted him to the house of *Don Diego* of Ere-  
dia. This done, they went to retire *John Francisco Maiorini*, setting all the other pri-  
soners at liberty. The same night *Peres* went out of Saragoſſa, with *Giles de Meza*,  
remaining three dayes vpon a Mountaine, during the which hee vnderstood that the Go-  
uernour caused him to be pursued, wherevpon hee returned back into the towne, where  
he lay hid forty dayes, to vnderstand what would become of this businesse: which was  
that they prepared an Armie in Castile, to come towards Saragoſſa, and yet the Vice-  
roy gaue out a brute of an Accord, which was but to vnderstand where *Peres* remained:  
as appeared by the letters of an Inquisitor, who had feed men to that end, hoping by  
such a service to get an Archbishopspricke: By reason whereof *Peres* retired the day be-  
fore that *Don Alonso de Vergas* entred with his Armie into Saragoſſa, hiding himselfe  
among the rocks: vntill in the end hee came to Sala, where hee rested himselfe some  
dayes, vntill that hearing of the new and intollerable Accord, hee sent *Giles de Meza*  
vnto the Lady *Catherine* Princessse of Nauarre, the French Kings onely sister, interce-  
ping her to receive them vnder her protection and safeguard. And hauing certaine in-  
reelligence that they pursued him, and sought him in all places, hee went by night from  
Sala and came to Pao, where hee found *Giles de Meza*, with an answer from the Prin-  
cessse, which was that hee might come boldly, where hee should find all freedom, going,  
comming, or staying, with liberty of his religion, yea shee sent some horses to fetch  
him vnto her. Where being arriued, and hauing saluted the Princessse, hee gaue him as  
good a reception as he could expect of such a Lady.

*Tumult in  
Saragoſſa for  
Peres.*

*Peres escapes  
out of Arragon  
and comes to  
Paris.*

*Allion of  
Arragon.*

*Rena*

*Perez*, being thus vnder the protection of this Princeesse, the greedinesse of the Spaniard to shed his blood, did hunt after his death, offering new Accords, to entertaine him neere vnto them, vntill they might finde some meanes to effect their designes, to which end they bargained with diuerse persons for his life. Betting at *Pao*, there was a very good agreement offered him by Don *Martin de la Nuesa*, in the behalfe of the Viceroy, of Don *Alonso de Vargas*, and of the Inquisitors, but he durst not trust them. Many letters haue discovered the reasons and practises to murder *Perez*, and the names of the vnder-takers: among others, of one *Bastamantes* his owne kinsman: of another Arragonois furnished with poyson, and letters from the Viceroy, found about him, who being discouered, hee was condemned to dye, but at the request of *Perez*, the Princeesse pardoned him: then there was another of Nauarre hired to that end, who discouered himselfe to *John Francisco Maiorini*: to whom in the King of Spaines name, hee promised pardon and great rewards: But going about to perswade him by his reasons, that in executing the Kings will to murder or poyson *Perez*, was no treason. *John Francisco* hauing discouered the ground of his speech, hee revealed him, and the Nauarrois was banished. They would also haue suborned a naturall Foole to murder him, but he was wiser then they that sought to corrupt him.

All these practises and attempts were the cause that *Perez* retired into England, considering that in France hee should neuer bee safe from such practises against his life: Norwithstanding that hee was comprehended in the letters of Pardon granted to them that had offended the King of Spaine, which were afterwards dispersed throughout the world. Wherevnto hee would not trust, taking example by Don *Bernardo de Cabrera*, the Kings Secretarie, who seeing how hee was enuied, retired from Court, and became a Priest, yet the King called him back againe, being loth to loose such a seruant: being returned, their enuie increased, and he was so violently pursued, as Don *Pedro* of Arragon caused him to loose his head like a traitor: and yet afterwards, this Don *Pedro* dying, hee declared him an Innocent, and to haue bene faithfull: saying, that hee had been abused by his household seruants, who hated *Cabrera*, commanding that all his lands and goods should bee restored to his Nephew, which had bene confiscated: In the meane time the Innocent man was dead, and had suffered wrongfully.

The like was scene at Brussels, in the Councell of the troubles, who put to death during their greatest executions, a poore innocent man that was a prisoner, who had neuer bene called, heard, nor examined, so as some three or foure moneths after his death, when they came to call him to bee examined, they found that hee had bene executed, without any arraignment, or sentence giuen. Wherewith some of the Councillors that were borne in the country, being troubled in conscience, the Councillor *Vergas* a Spaniard, sayd vnto them: Trouble not your selues, it imports not, if hee bee dead an Innocent, his soule is the more happy, and his body is freed from all miseries.

But returning to that which followed in the towne of Saragoça, after the departure of *Perez*. The King of Spaine, to bee reuenged for this tumult, gathered an armie together vpon the frontiers of Castile, giuing it out that it was to bee sent into France, to succour the League, of the which Don *Alonso de Vargas* was Generall, who hearing that *Perez* was escaped, fell with all his troopes vpon the realme of Arragon, to punish them of Saragoça. There was a petition presented against him and his armie, by the whole body of the realme of Arragon, to the end that the Iustice Maior, according to their ancient priuiledges, should take armes, to repulse the attempts of Don *Alonso*. According to the which, by a decree of seuentene, the Iustice with the whole realme, fell to Armes, distributed the Offices of warre, leuied men, and brought Saint *Georges* Stander to field (an vsuall thing in such cases) and so marche in good order out of Saragoça, but with bad successe: for that the Captaines (traitors to their Country) basely fearing the forces of Don *Alonso*, retiring themselves, abandoned their companies, so as the armie of Arragon came to nothing, euery one slipping away, through the treachery of a Maister Inquisitor, who aduerted the King how many men there were, who were their Commanders and Captaines, with their names and surnames, and the meanes how to defeat them.

To

A To vnderstand the reasons of the Arragonois, to the end it may not be held a rebellion, lightly vnderaken without cause, or an alteration without ground. It shall bee good for the better knowledge of the matter, to relate briefly, the estate, condition, and beginning of the realme of Arragon.

Since the generall losse of Spaine, which hapned vnder King *Roderigo*, by the means of Cont *Julian*, for that he had defouled his daughter *Caba*. The Moores or Sarazins held Spaine long, without either King or Lord. In the end, the realme of Arragon freed it selfe from the power of the Moores, and the Arragonois made themselves their owne Maisters and Lords, not acknowledging any particular Prince, and without any Soueraignty but their owne. So as being weary of their rest and liberty, they required (as the children of Israell did sometimes to *Samuel*) to haue a King, and therein they demaunded the Popes aduice: who answered them as *Samuel* had done the Israelits. But seeing they desired to haue a King, he did with them to prescribe him lawes and conditions, and ouer him a Soueraigne Iudge, with assistants, to bridle his ambition. The Arragonois gaue credit to this Councell, and before they would chooseth a King, they erected the dignity and precheminence of *El Iusticia* of Arragon, which is a Soueraigne Iudge about the King, with seuentene Assistants. And they made a law which was called the *Laws of manifestacion* for the preservation of the Vassals right, against the out-rages and oppressions of the mighty, be hee King, Prince, or other Iudge. Which law, with other

C Statutes and Ordonances, together with their Priuiledges, are to bee seene Printed, vnder the Kings royall authority, and haue continued many hundred yeares, to the honor and reputation of their Kings, and especially of Don *Ferdinand* of Arragon, surnamed the Catholicke, who would not giue eare (being come to the crown of Castile, by *D. Isabella* his wife) to the bad counsell which the Spaniards gaue him, tending to the abolishing of the said priuiledges, saying: *So long as the two ballances of the King and realme, shall be in a iust Counterpoise, the king and realme shall continue and flourish together, but if one of the Scales seeketh to weigh downe the other, the one or the other will fall to ruine, or it may bee both together.* Moreouer the Arragonois made a law of vnion, consisting in two points worthy the knowledge, for the clearing of this present discourse. The one is, that whensoever the king shall breake their lawes, they may chooseth an other. For you must vnderstand that they do not swear vnto their Kings, but conditionally in these termes. *Nos que valemus tanto como vos, y vos tanto como nos, oç hazemos nuestro Rey y Señor con tal, que nos guardes nuestros fueros, y libertades, sy no, no.* And hee must humble himselfe vpon his knees, bare-headed, before the Soueraigne Iudge, which is *El Iusticia*, and swear first, and then the Arragonois after him. The second point of this vnion is, that the Princes and Noblemen of the realme, may make leagues and confederations against their King in case of oppression, or of breach of their priuiledges. And vpon these conditions they did chooseth their first King, who was a Knight of Arragon, called *Garcia Ximenes*, and after him three or foure: But this election continued not long; for the King *D. Pedro*, called with the Poignard, desiring to make the realme successiue, and hereditarie, insisted in an assembly of the Estates, to disauill this law of election, the which in the end was granted, by the foure members of the realme, reseruing all their other rights and priuiledges but that: the which hee did willingly accept, and after this Accord made (holding the Charter of the Election in his hand) he drew out his Poynard, and cut it in peeces, saying these words. *Que tal fueray fuero, de poder elegir Rey los vassallos, sangte de Rey auia de costar, and withall stabd himselfe through the hand,* from which time the King was called Don *Pedro* with the Poynard: as his effigie is to bee seene at this day, in the royall hall of the deputation in the towne of Saragoça, where as all the Kings his successors are, vnto *Philip the second* last deceased. By vertue of the law of vnion, and of their priuiledges, the Arragonois took Armes this yeare 1592, proceeding thus iustly in their businesse,

F the chiefe Iustice causing the sentence to be insinuated to Don *Alonso de Vargas*, by two Notaries and two Lawyers: who hauing made their insinuation vnto him, vpon the penalty of body and goods, they returned freely to Saragoça. Of which their proceeding may appeare by the Commission giuen to Don *John de la Nuesa* chosen Generall of the armie, signed by *El Iusticia*, by the Abbot of *Piedra*, *Lewis Nauarra*, *Don Lewis* of *Marauillo*, Don

Saying of Don  
Ferdinand  
King of Arca-  
gon.

Manner of  
the King of  
Arragons ailes.



of his subiects) to giue ouer the government, and to spend the remainder of his A  
dayes in contemplation, giuing God thanks for the prosperous course of his life, and  
the happines of his Estates, retying himselfe into some Religious place, and there pray  
continually for his soules health: And to resigne vp the government of his Realme to  
Philippe his sonne, and to *Albert* his cousin, that with their ioynt Councils and cares  
they might gouerne his subiects, vntill his sonne grew to more yeares, and were capable  
of the sole command. That hee would also adde vnto their Councils fiue of the chiefe  
Noble-men of the Kingdome, Spaniards borne, whose counsell, helpe, and authority,  
if need were, they should vse, but I doe not find that this resolution tooke effect.

Muley Zeig  
becomes a  
Christian.

Muley Mahomet sometimes King of Fez and Marrocco, was expelled by his vnde B  
Muley Moluc, who, imploring ayde from *Sebastian* King of Portugall, they both dyed  
in battell, as you haue heard. Mahomet had a sonne called Muley Xey, who had  
bene giuen in hostage with some Noblemen to *Sebastian*, who sent him to Mazagon.  
After the battell hee was coueysed with his company into Spaine, where hee was  
brought vpp vnder the protection of King Philippe, and this yeare beeing instructed  
in the Christian Religion, hee became a Christian, and was Christened in that fa-  
mous Monastery of Saint Laurence (called *Escoriall*) with his couzin and other Coun-  
ciliars, all making profession of the Gospell.

1594

The Turke this yeare made all Italy to tremble, for that *Cigala* beeing come forth C  
with an hundred and threescore Gallies, and other vessells, it seemed at the first, that  
hee had a desseyne to enter into the gulphes, but finding the Venetians to make great  
preparation, they fell vpon the coast of Calabria, where they did much harme vn-  
der the coming of Prince *Doria* into those Seas, who seeing the Turke gone rety-  
red himselfe, but the Turkes hauing fortified their Fleet with more Gallies, re-  
turned againe and threatened Italy: Wherevppon *Carlo Spinelli*, by commandement  
from the Viceroy of Naples, caused the City of Rhegium to bee abandoned with  
some others vpon that coast.

Turkes invade  
Italy.

*Cigala* coming to Rhegium, and finding their goods carried to some safer place, D  
hee burnt it in dildaine, and threatned to passe farther into the country. The mi-  
sery which the poore people endured, and the cruelty which those Barbarians vsed  
was exceeding great, the spoyle they made were valued at many hundred thousand  
crownes: And for that the King of Spaine had need (if hee would defend his owne E-  
states, and the honour of the holy Church from the Armes of Infidells) of great summes  
of gold, he made request vnto the Pope, that the Cardinall and Archbishop of Toledo be-  
ing dead in Spaine, and hauing left a million of crownes to bee employed in godly vses,  
he would make declaration that the said summe might bee employed in those godly  
and important warres, wherein the Pope tooke deliberation, and did soone after satisfie the  
King, confirming the Cardinall *Albert* of Austria in the succession of the said Archbi-  
shop, hauing bene named by his Maiesty. But to treatre more strictly with him of  
many affayres importing Christendome, he sent *John Francisco Aldebrandini* Ambassa-  
dour into Spaine, who was receaued there with royall magnificence and great shewes of  
honor and loue.

Albert of Au-  
stria Archbi-  
shop of Toledo.

1595.

In the beginning of this yeare 1595. the warre began to grow hotte in the Franche  
Contry of Bourgundy, betwixt the French and the Spaniard, whether the King of Spaine  
refused to send the Constable of Castile, who was Gouernor of the Dutchie of Milan,  
with 4500. souldiers of the Realme of Naples, and he gaue commission to *Fernando de*  
*Toledo*, *Ladomick Melzi*, to *Alexander Carraciola*, and to *Alexander Gonzaga*, either of  
them to raise a troupe of horse, and that they should leauy a thousand foot in that estate,  
and three thousand in the Duchy of Vrbis.

Constable of  
Castile sent vnto  
the French  
Court.

Protestation of  
the Spanish  
Ambassador at  
the disputation  
of the French  
King.

The French King hauing left the religion wherein he had bene bred, and fallne to the  
Romish Church, was after great sute and instance, absolved by the Pope with the ac-  
customed ceremonies. Before the doing whereof, the King of Spaines Ambassa-  
dour made a protestation in the King his Masters name, that whatsoever the Pope  
intended for to doe in the said busineses, should not any way preiudice his Masters  
rights to the Realme of Nauarre, nor to the Duchy of Bourgundy, nor yet to the  
great

A great treasure hee had disbursed at the request of the Catholikes of France, where-  
of hee meant to bee repaid, and that hee would not desist from armes, vntill that  
Realme had satisfied him: which protestation being accepted by the Pope, the said  
embassadours Secretarie caused a publike instrument to bee made with licence from  
his Holinesse. And this yeare died D. *Antonio* of Portugall at Paris, which newes  
were verie ioyfull to the king of Spaine, being freed from the apprehensions of daile  
troubles in that realme, by means of his pretensions.

Death of D.  
Antonio king  
of Portugall.

The Archduke *Ernestus* of Austria being Gouernour in Flanders for the king of  
Spaine, the earle of Fuentes commanded the armie by provision vntill the coming  
of a new gouernour, the king resolving to send the Cardinall *Albertus* to succed  
his brother: vpon whose dispatch (whether it proceeded from the kings own disposition,  
or a desire in him to make himselfe the more acceptable to the people of those Prouin-  
ces, at his first coming) there were many Ships of the East Countries, and the  
Netherlands, (which had bene staied in Spaine, to serue as men of warre, and to  
waite home the Indian fleets) discharged in diuers Hauens and Ports: And at *Seuil-*  
*le* the Duke of Medina Sidonia, told the Merchants and Masters of ships, that  
it was the kings pleasure and command, being moued there vnto by the Cardinall  
of Austria, and that from thenceforth their ships should haue free passage into Spaine,  
and haue pasports to goe and come if they would demand it, hoping they would  
in time acknowledge the kings gracious fauours, and submit themselves vnto their  
naturall Prince: And the better to perswade the vntied Prouinces of the kings loue  
and fauour towards them, hee set *Philip* of Nassau, Prince of Orange, and Earle of  
Buren, at libertie, hauing bene long restrained in Spaine, which was thought to be  
done at the instance of the Prince of Spaine, and of the Archduke, to the end hee  
might haue him with him into the Low-Countries.

Ships of the v-  
ntied Prouin-  
ces, discharged  
in Spaine.

Experience hath often taught that armes are more fortunate, and produce greater  
effects in an enemies Countre, than at home, and that there is no such triumph  
as that which is fetcht farre off. The French held that all their combusions had bin  
forged in Spaine, that the Iesuits had bene the chiefe workemen: The attempts a-  
gainst the French kings person, by *John Chastell* who had hurt him in the face, and o-  
ther their disciples, did verifie this opinion; Besides the French king, had by his let-  
ters giuen the Estates of Arthois and Henaute to vnderstand, that if they did not de-  
sist from relieuing his rebellious Leaguers, vpon the frontiers of Picardie, hee was  
resolved to make warre against them, prefixing them a certaine time, to giue him  
answere, which they neglected: wherevpon the French king grounding the necessitie  
of his armes, vpon these considerations, hee made a declaration at Paris, in Ianuary this  
yeare, by which, for certaine reasons therein contained, he denounced war against the  
king of Spaine and all the Low-countrie Prouinces vnder his obedience, as his ene-  
mies, causing it to bee proclaimed in all the frontier Townes of his Realme.

French king  
proclaims war  
against the king  
of Spaine.

E After the publication hereof, there was the like proclamation made at Brussels, in  
the name of the king of Spaine, against the French king (whome hee tearmed Prince  
of Beame) and against all the French that held his partie: the Leaguers were ex-  
cepted, whome hee called the good confederate French Catholikes, and he pro-  
mised to aide and assist them with all the means which God had giuen him, pro-  
mising the like to all the French, of what qualitie soeuer, that should within  
two moneths after that proclamation forsake him, and giue good testimony that they  
are no enemies to the Romish, Catholike, and Apostolike Religion, nor to the king  
of Spaine. This Ediēt was made in March, and proclaimed in all the Low Country  
townes vnder the kings obedience.

King of Spaine  
proclaims war  
against the  
French.

F In the yeare one thousand siue hundred ninetie and sixe, the king of Spaine made  
an ediēt, complaining that the reuenues of his crowne and the treasure which came  
yearly from the Indies, were consumed by reason of his great charges, for the de-  
fence of his Estates, and of all Christendome, imputing the cause to the great inter-  
est which he paid for the exchange of money, and vpon other contrasts made with  
the Merchants in his Majesties name, so as in a manner all his receipts and reuenues were  
A a a a a

1596  
King of Spaine  
breakes with  
the Merchants.

ingaged

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ingaged to others, being without any treasure to supply his wants, for that the G Bankers (who had been accustomed to furnish him by exchange) made now some difficultie to deale any farther, hauing in a manner all the reuenues of his Crowne in their possession: for the preventing of which inconuenience, hee found no better meanes than to repaire the treasure, and to free it from the wrongs it hath suffered by interests, which hee hath allowed in his contraction, to auoid greater danger which might grow by the want of meanes, to supply the necessities of the warre, the which his meaning was to prevent by these meanes, being impossible to vse any other vpon those occasions: wherefore (to cut off the said interests) his meaning was to resume vnto himselfe all the assignements which hee had giuen vnto any Merchants and Bankers, for what summes or contracts fouer, which haue bene made by his commandement, since the decree made by him the first of September, one thousand five hundred seuentie and siue, and the first of December one thousand five hundred seuentie and seuen, vnto the twentieth of Nouember this yeare one thousand five hundred nintie and siue, which assignations hee suspended, so as the Merchants might not receiue them, but the reuenues should be brought into his Coffers, and all contracts for interest should cease, as done by his expresse commandement, by his royall Councell in this behalfe, as done by his expresse commandement.

Merchants  
breake by re-  
sion of the Edict

This Edict being published, it bred a strange alteration among the Merchants in Spaine, Italie, and the Low-Countries. The Cardinall *Albertus* hauing taken vp money at Andwerp for the payment of the armie, and sent his bills of exchange into Spaine, they were not accepted, but sent backe againe and protested, which was a blemish to his credit, and made many merchants to breake, imputing the cause vnto the Edict.

Titles forbidden  
in Italie.

The corruption of titles being brought out of Spaine into Italie, men honouring one another in their speaking and writing with affected courtesies in such sort, as they found not titles sufficient to satissie their arrogant ambition, so as to tearme meane men, most worthy or excellent (which was due to Soueraigne Princes) they held it no flatterie, the which was growne so familiar among all sorts of people, as euen base and obscure men did arrogate it: the king hauing made a prouision in Spain some yeares before for this abuse, this yeare *Henry de Guzman* Earle of Olis Spain, being Viceroy of Naples, did send downe an order for that realme, the which was in some sort obserued in the Duchie of Milan; ordaining that in their letters there should bee no title of courtesie giuen to any but onely the dignitie which hee held, as to the Duke, Prince, Marquesse, Earle or Doctor, such a one, taking away all superfluitie or suspicion of flatterie, as well within as without the said letters: the which was rigorously obserued in the Realm of Naples. But the Court of Rome and the Clergie men, disliking to receiue a law from any other than from the Pope, would not suffer it to be obserued.

Inundation of  
the river of  
Guadalquivir.

The King of Spaine being desirous to be reuenged of the spoiles which the English made daily, as well in Spaine as in his other dominions, gathered all his sea-forces together, in the beginning of this yeare one thousand five hundred nintie and siue, appointing the *Rendes-vous* to bee at Seuille, but this sudden preparation was disturbed by diuers accidents. The first was the strange swelling and overflowing of the River of Guadalquivir, to the great spoile of the neighbour Countie, for passing over her banks, there were many persons drowned, with much cattel, and very many buildings overthrowne; but the greatest losse was at Seuille, in which port there lay many Ships of the Fleet, they were staied long from making of their preparations. And in the meane time, whilst they proceeded slowly in this action, according to the custome of that nation, who persuaide themselves to doe great matters with fame onely, and repose the chiefe of their most important enterprises, in tying the enimie, and consuming him at leysure, the English armie appeared vpon their coast, as you shall heare.

Armie of Eng-  
lish for Spaine.

The charge of the English fleet and armie was giuen to the Lord *Charles Howard*, high Admirall of England (who at his returne from that seruice, was by the Queenes Maiestie

## The generall Historie of Spaine.

A Maiestie made Earle of Nottingham) and to the Earle of Essex, being ioyned together in Commission. Being vpon their going from the coast of England, they did publish in print in severall languages, the true, iust, and virgent reasons which had moued her Maiestie to vndertake the sending forth of so great an Nauie, with a full declaration of her Majesties pleasure, and so they set saile from Plymouth vpon the third of Iune, this yeare, the whole English fleet consisting of some hundred ships of all sorts, the which was diuided into foure squadrons; of the which the Lord Admirall commanded the first, the Earle of Essex the second; the Lord *Thomas Howard* (now Earle of Suffolke) the third, and Sir *Walter Rawleigh* the fourth.

B On the tenth of Iune this fleet got sight of Caliz, or Cadiz, in Andalusia, but they kept not the order appointed for their coming in, by reason of the mistaking of their masters and their falling in the night with the West, sooner than they expected, which made them stand vpon another boord, and had somewhat disordered their fleet. The Lord Admirall (one of the Generals) was with the greatest part of the fleet ahead to the Windward of the other. Generall the Earle of Essex and his Squadron, the wind being then at South; Sir *Walter Rawleigh* was by reason of some chase in the night to Leeward, and afterne.

English fleet  
enters into  
Caliz, toade

C The Spaniards which were to the number of fiftie and seuen saile, rod vnder the Towne of Caliz and the Gallies being seuentene lay in the mouth of the Bay, to couer the ships and to attend the landing of the English: The Lord Admirall came to an anchor before the Southwest point of the Iland, called Saint Sebastians, the Earle of Essex fecing the Gallies rowe towards the landing place which hee had chosen, bore with them vntill hee made them leaue their course, and then loost vp, and came with his Squadron to another anchor by the Lord Admirall, which the rest of the fleet fecing, came all vnto them, only the Lord *Thomas Howard* in the Sea-honor anchored between them and the shoare. The Generals called a Councell, where it was ioynly agreed vpon by them that their men should be landed, and the Town presently attempted on the West side, which was next to the anchoring, for which purpose the Earle of Essex Lord Generall, Sir *Francis Vere* Lord Marshall, and Sir *Coniers Clifford* Sergeant Maior, went to draw together as many souldiers and Gentlemen as their boats could wel carrie at once: which being done, and all their boats about the Lord Admiralls ship, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* (who was but then arrived in the Due Repulse) came and protested against their landing, holding the attempt to be dangerous, and the performance (as the wind blew and billowe went) impossible, for indeed it was growne to a storme, whereupon it was resolved that the souldiers should bee returned to their ships, and the Spanish fleet first assailed, according to Sir *Walter Rawleighs* aduice.

It was past noone before this later resolution was taken, and more than two houres after before the Souldiers could bee carried backe vnto their Shippes, some of their boates miscarrying before they could recouer their shippes; which being done, my Lord *Thomas Howard* weighed anchor first, to giue the other ships scope to cast about; then the rest of their principall ships, as they could get leaue of the smaller Vessels which rodde close by them, who also put themselves vnder saile; but the winde was so strong, and in such a place, as most of their ships had bene driuen too farre to leeward, if they had not come to anchour, which the chiefe leaders perceiving, they came to a roade: Besides, the Sunne being not verie high, they thought that the bringing in of so great a fleet towards night, would fo disorder them, as the attempt should bee made to their great disadvantage. So as the first day there was nothing executed by reason of these accidents. Onely, in the evening from the Bulwarke called Saint Philip, from the Ships of warre which lay at Anchor, and from the Gallies which did aduance a little towards them, some few Canon shot were bestowed vpon the Due Repulse, who answered them with the like, especially against the Gallies, when they approached, to make them know the English could entertaine them, if they came on.

F That night the gallies coasting by the shore, betwixt S. Mary Port & Rotta, came to obserue what order was kept by the reuerward of the English fleet, but they were soon turned backe.

A a a a a i j.



backe. On Munday early in the morning, there was a Councell held aboard the Lord Admirals Shippe, where it was resolved to weigh anchor presently, and to assaile the Spanish fleet, the which was accordingly performed, after this manner. The Lord *Thomas Howard*, and Sir *Walter Rawleigh* (for so the Generall had appointed it) bare right in the middell of the Chanell with the kings great ships which retired before them, scornning to bestowe a shot on the gallies, which discharged their Canon as they passed by them. The Lord Marshall, being in the Raine-bow, looke vp the Gallies, which lay vp with their sternes close vnder the Towne, and kept their prowes towards the Ships that should passe by them: The Rainebow was a good while in fight, before that any other ship came vnto her, and was plyed with shot both from the gallies and from the Towne.

The Earle seeing her so ouer-matched, made haste vnto her, and so making the enimie a fairer mark than the Rainebow (which was a farre lesser ship) cald her of many blowes. Some other ships shot, but farther off, and to lesse purpose. This encounter with the Gallies, was a verie great advantage vnto the enemy, they hauing so many to so fewe, for in effect these two ships aboue mentioned performed this whole seruice. Besides, there were two Bulwarkes of the Towne on their side: all which notwithstanding, the Gallies were forced to tie before them into the Baie, two onely except, which Sir *John Wingfield*, coming then vp in the Vanguard, did keep so in as they durst not looke out.

During the fight with the Gallies, the wind calmed, and the English fleet went slowly ahead, most of the Spanish ships neuer staied vntill they came to Portreal which is the furthest part of the Bay, the ships moued themselves with their broad sides towards the English, that they might fight to their greater advantage. The English masters of ships were generally of opinion, that they could not go neer without danger of running on ground; the which did much trouble the forwardnesse of the chiefe Commanders of the foremost ships, led by the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, whose desire being to draw as neere the enemy as they might, were notwithstanding inforced to come to anchor without the reach of Musket shot, and to attend the flood, where they fought with perpetual volleys of the Canon, from fixe in the morning to eleuen of the clocke: the ships that followed them neere were commanded by Sir *Francis Vere*, Lord Marshall, Sir *George Carew*, now Lord *Carew*, Vice-admirall of Sir *Walter Rawleighs* Squadron, and Generall of the artillerie, by Sir *Robert Dudley*, Vice-admirall of the Lord Admirals Squadron, by Sir *Robert Southwell*, Vice-admirall of the Lord *Thomas* Squadron, by Sir *Robert Croffe*, the Earle of Suffex being aboard him, and by Sir *George Offord*. The Earle of Essex and the Lord Admirall came vp an houre before the flood, hauing bene all that morning soundly battered by the forts of Cadiz: And for that the Atke drew too much water for the narrownesse of the Chanell, where those ships did ride, who also took vp the whole breadth of the riuer, the Lord Admirall put himselfe into the Lord *Thomas Howards* ship.

When the flood beganne to swell, the Lord *Thomas* and Sir *Walter Rawleigh* determined to lay the Armadoes aboard with the Queenes ships, (for the hulkes filled with Muskietiers, which were promised, came not) but as soone as *Soto* the Spanish Admirall perceived that the said Leaders beganne to hoyle their top-sailes, they presently cut their Cables by the halfe, and draue ashore, sauing as many of themselves as they could carrie at once in their boates; of the rest some were slaine in the furie, and the rest taken to mercie.

The Admirall of the Spaniards called the *Philip*, a goodlie and a powerfull ship, tooke fire before she could be entred, by an inch of a match fired, and laied in the mouth of a barrell of powder in her gunner roome: But the Lord *Thomas Howard* and Sir *Walter Rawleigh* saued the Mathew and Andrew, Viceadmirall and Rereadmirall of the Spanish fleet, the other ships were set on fire by certain Negroes, who leapt into the riuer and saued themselves by swimming.

The India fleet of merchants being about 40 saile, were gotten vp 4 English miles into the riuer; for the redemption of which the K. officers in Cadiz offered the English 600 thousand

Spanish ships  
vnto ground  
at Cadiz.

A thousand pounds sterling: The Earle of Essex was often prest to haue them first taken and then sold; but hee beleued that such as offered the composition had meant to buye the money from which hee could not bee dissuaded, vntill he saw the ships all in a flame, which the duke of Medina Sydonia commanded to bee done.

The number of the Spanish Fleet was fiftie seauen ships, foureteeen of the kings men of warre, (and three great Fly-boats which brought the Treasure from Portricco; the rest were Merchants, all faire ships, full of good ordnance, and richly laden than euer any Fleet was that went to the West Indies. Here also I should remember, that during the fight, the gallies and Fort of Pontall, plaied continually vpon the English ships.

The English hauing obtained this great victorie by Gods especiall fauor, the earle resolved to follow it with all possible expedition; and so immediately hee dispatched the Sergeant Maior to get as many Gentlemen and old souldiers into boates, as might well bee landed at once, which being performed, his Lordship and the Lord Marshall went to discouer the landing, and finding it good, he put betwixt two and three thousand men on land, returning the boates to fetch my Lord Admirall with his seconds.

These being put in battell, he commanded the Marshall to march directly with his regiment to the other side of the land, which was halfe a mile from their landing, his Lordship with the rest that were on shoare following him speedily. Beeing come to the Southside; the Earle diuided his troups equally, sending the one halfe with Sir *Corniers Clifford*, Sir *Charles Blunt*, and Sir *Thomas Gerard*, to breake downe a bridge called El Ponte del Suafio, at a streit, that keeps the passage from the maine; marching himselfe with the other halfe towards the Towne: the like directions hee gaue for the seconds, to bee equally diuided, and sent these two waies. When hee came within halfe a mile of the Towne, a cornet of horse, with some shot, made offer to skirmish; but they were soone put to flight: when they came within musket shot of the Towne, there sallied forth great troups both horse and foot, vnder fauor of their walls, with their Cornets and Ensignes, which the earle discouering from a little hill as they fell out of the towne, hee gaue direction to the foremost of the troups being some thirty pikes, and as many shot, to retire away as soone as the enimie offered to charge them, the which they did, giuing the enemy courage to come farther on than they first intended, but the English charged them so fast, as they had scarce time to recover the Port and shut it.

The Horsemen which sallied out of the Towne, were called the Knights of thires: they could not get into the Towne being so closely followed by the English foot; whereupon they forsook their horses, & leapt ouer the walls at the west corner, by which the English also entred. The English in pursuing the Spaniards staied not vntill they came to the foot of their foremost rampar; and then the Earle diuided his troups equally, consisting of twelue hundred men; keeping the one halfe with himselfe on the Southside of the Port, and sending the Marshall with the rest to the Northside. The Earle of Essex, on this side, with much ado found means for himselfe and some few others; to get vp, where he saw on the one side a Parapet of stone, almost inaccessible, for that neither the bulwark nor any part of the Courtine was finished. There the English did first beate the enemy from the Parapet, yet they lay open to another square bulwark of stone; which flanked them within a pikes length, but they durst not beate the bulwark with shot as the enimie did them little harme: Notwithstanding, considering that they must quit the place for that their men lay vncouered, the earle sought for an entrance, which being found, the leape downe being a pikes length, hee commanded one *Ennis* which stood next him, being Lieutenant to the Earle of Suffex to enter, which after hee and foure or five other souldiers more had done, the like charge was giuen to Captaine *Pooley*, who carried the Generals red Ensigne, whereupon Sir *Arthur Savage*, Captain of the Earles company, with diuers Gentlemen followers and seruants to his Lordship took the same course. In the mean time, whilst that thirtie or fortie were thus entred into the Towne, the Lord Marshall who besides his own soldiers, had with him the generals gard of Partizans, forced

English land at  
Cadiz.

Cadiz entered by  
the English.



forced the Port, which his Lordship espying, being not ten paces from it, hee presently turned from the leape, and entred that way, carrying with him all the chiefe Adventurers of the armie, and worthy Sir *John Wingfield* (who before had slaine a Commander of the enemies with his pike, and was cast behind) having a shot in the thigh, but having recovered one of the enemies horses, hee came vp presently to second them, not staying for any dressing.

From the entrance of the English into the Towne, vntill they came vnto the Market place, the enemy fought with them continually, and kept them play aboute halfe an houre before they could recover it, yet at the last having wonne the place from them, they notwithstanding so flanked it, and kept their houses (which were built like castles) as they slue many of the English, and among others that valiant gentleman Sir *John Wingfield*, who though vnarmed, offered himselfe continually to all daungers, so as hee was shot in the head from the castle which did continually play vpon those that made good this market place.

At length they got into the houses which annoyed them, and slue those they found in them: And as the Lord Generall before it was darke cleared all thereabouts, but the castle, or that which they call the vpper Towne, so the Lord Marshall cleared all the other side towards the water, and brought those that were in the Fort and Bulwarke of Saint *Philip*, to sue for mercie: which done, the Generals entred the Towne-house, whither all the chiefe citizens came to kisse their feet.

The next morning, both the Castle and forts yielded to their mercie, without any other conditions. The poore and baser sort were dismissed, and all women of qualitie whatsoever. The Corregidor deliuered his sword vnto the Generall, offering to bee his prisoner, and to giue for himselfe and some others of good place twelve thousand ducats: no man was slaine vpon cold blood: it was held there were about two thousand Spaniards slaine in the furie of the fight.

Besides the chiefe Commanders of the armie, who had giuen many proofs of their valor and experience in martiall affairs, there were many gallant gentlemen which seemed worthily in this action, whome in the end the Generall rewarded with the honour of knight-hood. I may not forget to make particular mention of Sir *Samuel Baguel* who received eight wounds with the pike, and sword, whome the Lord Generall (meeting in the market place all bloudie) knighted, to the encouragement of all others, before that either the castle was taken in, or the whole Towne wonne.

The towne was verie rich, and did much enrich the armie, but the worthiest men got least, for they were fighting, whilst the baser sort intended nothing but pillage, and spoyle. There was good store of brass ordnance, and though no great, yet very happy store of powder, for the English having not about twelve hundred men, their powder was spent, and they were overlaid on all sides, with the number of the enemies shot, who hurt and slue their men from the houses: when they had made them quit the streets, they found by chance by the market place, such powder as they had brought for their owne defence, and the supply of their men that should fight there, with the which they secured their turnes, till their succours were entred and the Towne assured.

The Promissions of Sea for the kings fleet, as masts, pike-staves, deale-boards, caske, and all kinde of shot, cables, anchors, wine, oyle, vinegar, rice, figs, and such like things, wert of great value, and will not be supplied by the king of Spain in many years. And as for his losse in shipping, the kings Officers of his naue, who wert then taken prisoners, did protest with sighes and teares, that nineteene of the ships which they had spoiled, with the *S. Mathew* and Saint Andrew, which they had taken, were able to beat the greatest part of ships that the king hath in all the world. So as laying together the ruining of the Kings Fleet, the enioying of some of his great ships of warre, which before had neuer beene done, the burning of the Indian fleet of Merchants, whose lading the prisoners confest to haue beene worth eight Millions; the impeaching him to send that yeare to releue his men at the West-Indies, and so by consequence to receive no treasure from thence the next yeare; the taking of the Citie, wherein were foure thousand foot, and fixe hundred horse

King of Spaine  
beset at Cadix.

A horse of the chiefe cavaliers of Andalusia; the sacking of this place, from whence he is to set out all his fleets for the West Indies, and the spoyle of all his prouisions there: All this, I say, layed together, will proue one of the greatest blowes that euer Spaine received. Yet all this was done in one day, and without any great losse; for in the whole fleet there was not any man of note, but Sir *John Wingfield*, slaine. At the assault and winning of the towne many gentlemen were hurt, and some slaine; and yet not many, considering the strength of the place, and the nature of the attempt.

As soone as the English fleet was entred into the road, and that the Spaniards had discovered the Dutch Squadron in the fight, immediately, both at Seuille, Saint Lucar, and some other places, they did not onely arrest all such Dutch ships as dealt with them friendly by way of trade and marchandise, but did confiscat their goods, and did imprison the marchants and owners of the same, and, as it was reported, did intreat many of them verie cruelly.

The English being masters of the towne of Cadiz, the two Generals had an especial care for the well-intreating of all religious persons, both men and women, whom they caused to be freely transported out to port. Santa Maria, without any ranfome or other molestation; and, giuing the bishop of Cusco free passage without ranfome, they let him vnderstand, that they came not to deal with Church-men, or vnarmed men, and men of peace, or with children; neither was it their intent to make this voyage for gold, siluer, or any other riches; but that their onely coming was to meet with their dishonourable practices, and many injuries, and to deale with men of warre and valour, for the defence of the truchonour of England; and to let them vnderstand, that whensoever they attempted any base and dishonourable practise against their Soueraigne *Queen* and *Mistresse*, that it should be reuenged.

The day before the English departed from Cadiz, being the fifth of Iulie, the citie was burnt, the Ladies, Nunner, and other women and children, being safely sent to Saint Marie port, with their apparell and jewels, euery man being forbidden to search them vpon paine of death.

I have thought good to annexe vnto the end of this relation, for a remembrance to posteritie, the names of such as received the Order of Knighthood from the Generals, as a testimonie of their well deserving in this worthe action.

Sir Samuel Baguel.	Sir Christopher Heydani.
Sir Arthur Savage.	Sir Francis Bopham.
The Earle of Suffex.	Sir Philip Woodhouse.
The Lord Burke.	Sir Alexander Clifford.
Cont Lodowike.	Sir Maurice Berkeley.
Sir William Broward.	Sir Charles Blunt.
Sir George Dinnocce.	Sir George Clifford.
Sir Henrie Neneh.	Sir Robert Crosse.
Sir Edwin Rich.	Sir James Hildemare.
Sir Richard Leuen.	Sir Philip Leigh.
Sir Peter Egmont.	Sir John Leigh alias Lee.
Sir Anthonie Ashley.	Sir Richard Weston.
Sir Henrie Leonard.	Sir Richard Wainman.
Sir Richard Lewison.	Sir James Weston.
Sir Horatia Pore.	Sir Richard Ruddle.
Sir Arthure Throgmorton.	Sir Robert Almon.
Sir Miles Corbet.	Sir William Almon.
Sir Edward Cynoy.	Sir John Bomes.
Sir Oliver Lambert.	Sir Edward Bomes.
Sir Anthonie Cooke.	Sir Humphrey Druel.
Sir John Towne.	Sir Amias Preston.

Names of  
such as were  
knighted at  
Cadix.

## The generall Historie of Spaine:

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Sir Robert Rowington.  
Sir John Bucke.  
Sir John Morgan.  
Sir John Adridge.  
Sir John Aschenden.  
Sir Mathew Browne.  
Sir John Allon.  
Sir Thomas Gates.  
Sir Gille Merritt.  
Sir Thomas Smith.  
Sir William Pooley.

Sir Thomas Palmer.  
Sir John Stafford.  
Sir Robert Louch.  
Sir John Gilbert.  
Sir William Harney.  
Sir John Gray.  
D. Christopher prince of Portugal.  
Sir John Fanderburgh, Ad-  
mirall of the Hollanders.  
Sir Robert Dudley.

8 August.

Thus this triumphant English armie left Cadiz, hauing received from the duke of Medina Sidonia nine and thirte English prisoners, which had bene slaues in the Spaniards hands: Which done, they past along the coast of Portugall, they tooke, spoiled, and burnt Farol, they march into the country thereabouts after which full they shaped their course for England.

Farol burnt by the English.

Hauing done this great affront to the king of Spaine, they left him full of rage, and desire of reuenge: whereupon presently after the retreat of the English, he gaue commandement to the Adelantado of Castille, to prepare a mightie fleet; wherein he employed great care and diligence, so as it was ready the same yeare. But this fleet had a farr different successe to that of England. It consisted of fourescore ships; which went out of Lisbon the eighth of October 1596: They coasted along Gallicia, to goe and ioyne with the Generall of Biscaye, where they had leuied some troups of souldiers: the Adelantado comming to double cap S. Vincent in the night, it seemes he mistooke his reckoning, and fell short of the cap, where they were taken with a cruell storme; in the which fise and foure of their ships were cast away, on *Symon and Iudas* day; and the rest were so shaken with the storme, as they had great difficultie to saue them: so as their enterprise ended vaine that yeare.

Fleet of Spaine, and prepared against England.

Spanish fleet cast away.

Canonization of S. Raymond desired by the Spaniards.

This yeare also they treated in Spaine of the canonizing of blessed S. Raymond, the which was afterwards effected at Rome. They renewed their suit vnto the Pope; which had bin made many yeares before to diuers of his predecessors. After that instance had bin made vnto his Holinesse by the rowines of the realme of Arragon; who had sent *Paul Costabile*, Generall of the preaching friers of which Order S. Raymond had bene also Generall, the Pope hauing pronounced that they should passe on to perfect this businesse, the Archbishop of Tarazona came to Barcelona with two bishops, and the Proctor generall of S. Dominicke, to renew Saint Raymond's boile: the which was done with great ceremonie, and authentical writings sent to Rome to prosecute the rest. About the same time *Luca Calanconi*, Chamberlaine to the Pope, armed, being sent with two cardinals hats by him, to Francis d'Avila, Archdeacon of Toledo, and to *Francisco Nugnes de Guevara*, President of the royall Council, who had bene newly created cardinals, being exhorted by his Holinesse to passe vnto Rome, as they did that Winter: so as in the beginning of the next yeare they came into Italie, hauing a good opportunitie to passe in those galleys which were come from Genoua; whither the duke of Medici should also haue gone, being appointed by the king to be Viceroy of Sicile: but he was stayed many monethes by some sinister accidents. And there arrived also *Alphonse Cariglia*, who required a great aid of money for the price of Transylvania; to maintain the warre against the Turke, who sought the king verie well affectedly notwithstanding that hee was enforced to maintain warre in those places, to his exceeding great voyle and charge. Yet he satisfied that princes desire with a bountifull hand, and gaue free libertie to the Popes Agents, to buy a quantitie of corn in his realmes, to serue the state of the Church. And then about the end of September, the Indian fleet arrived safely at Seuille, being verie rich, the which did much comfort the Spaniards after the great losses they had

sustai-

## The generall Historie of Spaine.

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A sustained by the English armie. There was nothing did more afflict the minds of the Spaniards, than their hatred and disdain of the English, being not able to endure, not only to be troubled in their traffique to the Indies, and their rich fleets to be layd for, piercing euen into the heart of America, but also to invade the continent of Spaine with a royall armie, and to land there by by force, incounting, spoiling, and burning their ships euen in their ports. Being therefore tormented with a desire of reuenge, and grieved that the last yeares fleet, being ruined by tempest, could not effect what they had designed, there was a new order giuen, that many galleons should bee armed, and new troups of souldiers should bee leuied, not onely in Spaine, but also in Italie.

B The king therefore, touching matters of warre, gaue an extraordinary authoritie to the Cont *Fuentes*, who was newly returned from the gouernement of Flanders: They caused all ships of foreine countries to be stayed within their ports; with an intent to make vse of them in this armie: but the king falling verie sicke, this preparation was somewhat stayed, they being doubtfull of his life, both in respect of his great age, and the violence of his infirmities. And so the souldiers which were leuied for this seruice, were sent to lodge, some in Gallicia, and some in Biscaye, to bee fully imbarked when time should serue.

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Spaniards concerned against the English.

Preparation in Spaine for a new armie.

The important cause concerning Marchants and Bankers, was now in question in Spaine; they hauing for many yeares furnished the king with money for his warres in Flanders, and other places, a businesse which troubled all the Bankes of Europe, as one depends vpon another, with their subalternall credits and interests. Wherefore some princes were moued by an act of true bountie, to help their subjects that were marchants, least they should faile in their credit. Besides the kings souldiers being, by reason thereof, in great want, they fell to mutinies. In this businesse therefore of so great importance, and wherein the king pretended to bee defrauded in diuers manners, of many hundred thousands of crowns, this controuersie with the kings officers was long and tedious, the marchants at the last being well content to come to any reasonable agreement; the which at the length was made about the end of this yeare. And for that it had been discovered, that *Girolamo Lomellini* had sent great summes of money into Fraunce, the which had bene verie prejudiciall vnto Spaine, and forbidden, by reason of the warre which continued yet with France, he was subject to arigorous punishment.

Controuersie in Spaine touching the Bankers.

There fell out a great accident in the Venetian embassadours palace at Madrid, whose name was *Augustine Nani*, a man of great judgement, and of a generous spirit, in maintaining the dignitie of that charge which hee held nere the king: The Prouost Marshall of the cite would haue apprehended one who had retired into his palace, flying from the Sergeant which followed him, hoping hee should be safe there, as in a place of franchise, according to the vse of Courts: the Prouost carrying himselfe too imperiously (as such people are accustomed to doe) a gentleman of the embassadours, of the house of *Bachero*, and his Secretarie, comming at this noyse, could not endure it; so as from great words they fell to deeds, and the Prouosts wand was broken (the which they are accustomed to carrie, as a marke of their authoritie) with other accidents; so as most of the embassadours familie came running at the noyse: whereupon the kings officers complained. But matters were afterwards tempered by the king, with the equitie and respect which ought to bee had to the accident and person. Yet the State of Venice, being willing to take away all causes of distast, that might grow, made a speedie election of a new embassadour, which was *Francis Soranzo*; but hee past not into Spaine vntill the next yeare, all shadowes of dislike being in the meane time vanished away, taking all occasions to shew mutuall kindnesse betwixt them and the embassadour *Nani*, who was extraordinarily fauoured by the king and prince; and at his departure hee was made a knight, and honoured with rich presents.

Quarrels in the Venetian embassadours house.

F They were verie carefull this yeare in Spaine, to prevent the English, least they should haue some new opportunitie to annoy them, as they had done at Cadiz; which cite

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and castle they did fortifie better, with all other places vpon the coast, the earle of Fuentes lying continually towards the sea with great forces, and hauing good garrisons in the coast townes, hee sent his horsemen to runne along the coast, that they might bee free from feare.

*Marriage of the  
prince of Spain  
published.*

And for that the king of Spaine, by the continuall indisposition of his bodie, the great trouble of his mind, hauing such a world of weightie affaires, could not hope for any long life, he sought to provide for the future gouernement of his subiects. Wherefore he did publish the future marriage of his sonne D. Philip vnto the eldest daughter of Ferdinand Archduke of Austria, whom some call *Gregoria Maximiliana*, others *Marie*. But whilest they made preparation for the solemnitie of this marriage, and sent to the Pope for dispensations, as well for this, as for the future marriage betwixt the Archduke *Albert*, and the Infanta D. *Isabella*, they had newes that the sayd princeesse was suddenly dead, hauing left the greatnesse of this world, to attaine vnto a better life in heauen.

*Preparation for  
the island voy-  
age.*

The fortunat successe of the English the last yeare at Cadiz, hauing affronted the king of Spaine at his owne doores, gaue them courage to make new attempts this yeare, and to send forth a goodlie fleet to sea, vnder the command of the earle of Essex, who was both Admirall at sea, and Generall of the land forces. This fleet consisted of an hundred and twentie saile, whereof there were threescore men of warre, the rest were victuallers, and ships for transportation of souldiers, and to attend the English fleet. The Estates of the vnited Prouinces sent ten tall flie-boates vnder the command of Monsieur de *Daniard*. This fleet was victualled for three monethes, with large allowance, with a supplie of apparell for the mariners and souldiers. It was diuided into three Squadrons: the Admirals Squadron, the Lord *Thomas Howards* Squadron, who was Vice-admirall, and Sir *Walter Rawleighs* Squadron, being Rere-admirall. The Netherland flie-boates were commaunded by their owne Admirall. There were six thousand souldiers appointed for the land seruice, with ten peeces of ordnance for the field and batterie, with all necessarie prouisions. And there were in this fleet about fure hundred voluntaries, of knights and gentlemen. The chiefe Commanders of these land forces, were, the Earle of Essex Generall, the Lord *Montjoy* his Lieutenant generall, Sir *Francis Vere* Marshall of the field, Sir *George Carew* Master of the ordnance, Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, Sergeant Major of the armie, Sir *Christopher Blunt* Colonell generall of the foot, with all other officers necessarie in such an action. In all this great fleet there were not aboue eighteen or twentie ships of her Majesties royall Nasie, the names of which, and of the Captaines that commaunded in them, I leaue to a particular discourse written of this voyage, by a worthie knight, who was an eye witnesse, and an actor in it; the which I hope hee will suffer to cometo the presse.

*Designes of the  
English fleet.*

This goodlie armie being readie, it seemed they had three seuerall designes, to defeat the king of Spaine fleet, commaunded by D. *Martin de Padiglia*, earle of S. Gadea, and Adelantado Major of Castille, if they met it at sea, or to rume it in the harbour of Farol, if they found it there; and to take all fleets of treasure, or any East or West Indian ships they should find at sea, in the way to Spaine: and lastly, that they would take the island of the Terceres, which they held to bee an action of great importance. With this resolution they put to sea with this gallant fleet; but neither of these enterprises succeeded: for bending their course directly for Farol, they were in-countred with verie stormie weather, and contrarie windes, so as the whole fleet was scattered, and many of the shippes in verie great danger, a great part of the fleet being forced to put backe againe into Plymouth. The shippe wherein the Generall was, had a verie dangerous leake, and her mastes crackt in diuers places; yet hee held it out as long as possibly hee could, till in the end her vpper workes gaue way, and her maine beames did reare, so as they looked hourly when the Oretoppe would fall, and the ordnance sinke downe into the Keele. Whereupon hee was forced to put backe to Plymouth, where hee found a great part of the

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A the fleet. There they repaired their shippes, and the earle tooke another, his owne being made vnseruiceable: But they were kept in by continuall stormes and contrarie windes, vntill their three monethes victuals was in a manner spent, and the sicknesse growne great in the flie boats which carried the land armie. Whereupon the Generall had order to discharge his land forces, all but a thousand old souldiers which had bene drawne out of the Low Countries; so as they were made vnable to land any forces at Farol. After which there was a project made by the earle, to send in certaine ships of fire, and to burne the king of Spaines fleet as it should lye in the harbour, without any danger to the queenes ships. Which counsell being allowed of at Court, they put the second time to sea. But some of good judgement in the fleet, held this exploit vnseable, they hauing not sufficient forces to performe it; neither could they attempt it without apparent daunger, as indeed it succeeded not; for that the Saint Mathew, one of the chiefe ships which should haue bene employed in that action, had lost her fore-mast, and was put backe into England, as they pretended: So as hauing no meanes to doe any seruice vpon the fleet at Farol, they concluded for the intercepting of the Indian fleet, and defeating of the Adelantado, if he did put to sea: for there was no meanes to take in the island of Tercera, their land forces being discharged. Whereupon they shaped their course for the islands, where they layed wait for the Indian fleet; but they escaped them, and got into Tercera road. What the reasons of the missing of this Indian fleet were, and what was else done at the islands by this armie, I leaue to an ample relation of him who was an eye witnesse, and did well obserue it. And so, hauing failed in all their designes, this fleet returned home into England.

The Spaniards did inlike manner arme. There was the regiment of *Alexander de Monti*, consisting of 15 companies, imbarcked at Naples, the which had like to haue bene cast away in a storme vpon the coast of Romania. In the end they came to Genoua, and there joyined with the troups of Gambalaita, all which were transported into Spaine in *Doria's* galleys, passing from Barcelona to Cadiz, where a part of the fleet lay: there they imbarcked their land forces in certaine galleons, being six thousand Italians, going towards the Groine, with an intent (being joyined with the Adelantado, and the rest of the fleet) to make some attempt vpon England. But on the eight of September they had so cruell a storme, as they were scattered from their Admirall, and in exceeding great daunger, whereof some were cast away. A galleon, wherein *Alexander de Monti* was, and some of his companies, hauing lost her maine mast, was driuen to the Canaries, and after that to the coast of Africke, hauing lost his pilot with most of his mariners: there he ran her on ground, and recovered Mazagon, where he furnished himselfe of all that hee wanted; and then he past towards the strait, meeting with an English ship, which fought long with him; but in the end he tooke her: Then joyning with D. *Pedro de Toledo*, with some other vessels, they scoured the coast of Barbarie, securing the coasts of Spaine, and in the end they came to winter in Saint Marie port. The rest of this Spanish fleet, after this cruell storme, for the most part, recovered Farol. Thus both fleets this yeare, without any fruit, put themselves to the hazard of the sea, and receiued great losses.

The warres hauing continued long betwixt France and Spaine, many princes desired to see the miseries of Christendome at an end. Pope *Clement* the eight as much affecting this generall peace as any of his predecessors, considering the great miseries which the diuisions of the French and Spaniards did cause, and that the Turke made his profit thereof, and had inroached farre into Christendome, hee resolved to reconcile these two kings of Spaine and France. Father *Bonauenture Callagiro*, a Sicilian borne, Generall of the Franciscanes (and whil after wards was made Patriarke of Constantinople) was sent by him into Spaine; vnder colour to visit the Convents of his Order, but in effect it was to found king *Philip* whether he had any inclination to a peace with France: where hee found all things well disposed, and the Spaniards desirous to change the doubtfull events of a troublefome warre, with the assured and more profitable effects of peace; his old age, his son young, whom he desired to make, and to leaue him his Estates quiet, his eldest daughter, to whom he would give the Low Countries, marrying her to cardinal *Albert* of Austria, who like new Lords should haue need of the loue and good neigh-

*Spaniards pre-  
paration at sea.*

*Mediation for  
a peace betwixt  
France and  
Spaine.*

neighbourhood of a French king, the French being vnited, and their ciuile warres ended, they were likely to transport the warre into his countries; having taken Amiens by force, euen in view of his armie. All these considerations made the king of Spaine incline to a peace, not onely with the French, but with the Queene of England and the vnited Prouinces of the Netherlands. *Calatagiron* being returned to Rome, assured the Pope that hee had found a disposition and desire of peace in king *Philip*, and that hee was wearie of the warres. So the Pope continuing in this good desire, sent this Franciscan into France, to perswade the king to peace and friendship with the king of Spaine. *Alexander* cardinall of Florence, his Holinesse Legat in France, understanding the Popes pleasure, together with *Calatagiron*, perswaded the king to yeeld vnto a peace. And on the other side, by the exhortations of the Patriarke *Caietan*, his Holinesse Nuncio at Madrid, the king of Spaine referred the whole treatie of the said peace to his nephew cardinall *Albert*.

Whilest that *Calatagiron* went to Brussels, to sollicite the cardinall to send the deputies to Veruins, the French king aduertised all his allies, to the end they might be comprehended in this accord with the Spaniard, if they thought good. The queene of England (who had more annoyed the Spaniard than all the princes of Christendome) refused to be comprehended in the accord, and so did the Estates of the vnited Prouinces, who sent their embassadours to the French king, to dissuade him from a peace with the Spaniard. The king of Spaine did greatly desire a peace with them, and sought it by the meanes of his kinsmen and allies, who, at his request, sent their embassadours to that end into England, and the vnited Prouinces, but without effect. The king of Spaine hearing of all their answers, and being out of hope of a peace with the English and Hollanders, caused them to proceed in the treatie with the French: whereupon the deputies of either king came to Veruins: Who having long disputed, and being often ready to breake off, almost in despair, in the end a peace was concluded, in Iune this year 1598. The deputies for the French king were, *Monfieur de Belieuue*, Counsellor of State, and *Monfieur de Syllyer*, Counsellour also of State, and President of the Court of Parliament at Paris: And for the Catholike king, *John Richardot* knight, President of his priuie Councell, *John Baptiste Taxis*, Commaunder of *los Santos*, of the Order of Saint James, and of his Councell of State and warre, and *Lewis Verreichen* knight, chiefe Secretarie and Treasorer of the Charters of the said Councell of State: who according to their Commissions concluded in the name of the said kings.

That the treatie of peace made at Castle Cambresis, in the year 1559, betwixt the kings of France and Spaine, should be newly confirmed and obserued.

That all hostilitie and quarels should cease, with promise not to annoy nor prejudice one another.

That their subjects should haue free traffique.

That all places taken since the treatie of Castle Cambresis, should bee restored of either part within two monethes.

That the said kings and the Infanta of Spaine, referred vnto themselves all the rights, actions, and pretensions, by reason of the said reahns, countries, or seignories, whereunto they or their predecessors haue not exprelly renounced, to make their pursuit by some friendlie course, or by iustice, and not by armes.

The force and life of king *Philip* began to decline, which he foreseeing, hee was desirous to effect the promise which he had made to the Archduke *Albert*, his nephew, and if the marriage betwixt him and the Infanta *Isabella* his daughter were not consummated, yet they might be assured by the cession of the prouinces, which he meant to make in fauour of it. Whereupon, the sixt of May, he caused to be read at Madrid (in the presence of prince *Philip* his only son, who was then about 20 yeres old, of *D. Gomes d'Avila*, marques of Vellada, Lord Steward of the princes house, *D. Christopher de Mera*, carle of Castell, *Roderigo*, great Commaunder of the Alcantara; *D. Iohn d'Albuquerque*, great Commaunder of Leon, all three Counsellours of State, and *Nicholas Dancant*, knight, President and Chauncellour of Brabant, with *la Loa*, Secretaris of the affaires of the Low Countries) the contract, by the which he did institute the future spouses, and their heires, of what

A of what sexe soeuer, soueraigne Lords of all the Prouinces of the Low-countries, of the franche countie of Bourgondie, and of the countie of Charolois, with condition that the donation and cession should be void, and of no force, in case the marriage were not accomplished. That the eldest of the lawfull children issuing of this marriage, should be preferred before the younger, and the male the female, jointly in all the Prouinces, without any diuision: That for want of lawfull heires it should retume to the Crowne of Spaine: And that they should not alienate any part thereof without the consent of the heires and successors of the king of Spaine. That the Princess, heire of the Netherlands, being a maiden or widow, should marrie the king of Spaine, or the prince his Sonne; and if shee haue neither will nor power to doe it with the Popes dispensation, shee shall not take any aliance but with the consent of the kings of Spaine: And so of the heires and descendents of the future Spouses. That all negotiation and traffick to the East and West Indies shall bee forbidden them and their subiects. That the Arch-duke suruiuing the Infanta, hee should hold those Countries during his life. That hauing children, their portions should bee assigned them, vntill that the elder after the decease of the father should take possession of the whole. That onely the Catholike, Apostolike and Romish religion should bee maintained in the said Prouinces, and in case of contrauention by them or their descendents, they should lose their rights to the said Countries.

C Prince *Philip* did consequently ratifie this donation, more (as some thought) to please the king his father, than for any good liking hee had of it, for the deprived him of many goodlie and rich Prouinces: And the Infanta his Sister hauing accepted the transaction, sent her fathers and bothers letters Patents to the Gouernours and Councels of the Prouinces, with their letters which promised all assistance for the warre, and her owne which contained a declaration of this accord. Thus the Archduke, as the Historie saith, married a great Princess, a troublesome quarrell, and a long sure, all in one day. From which time shee did write vnto him, as a wife doth vnto her husband, taking vpon her the titles of all those Countries and Prouinces, and sending him a procurator to take possession in her name. The empress, mother to *Albertus*, and sister to the king of Spaine, receiued the promise of marriage for her Sonne, and did also make a promise in the name of the Archduke *Albert*.

The king of Spaine would moreover shew, that in giuing his daughter the Infanta to the Archduke, hee would not abandon them for want of money to continue the warre against the vnited Prouinces: hee made a new contract with *Camillo, Soniolla, Maluenda* and *Grimaldi*, to whom hee did reassigne and confirme the reuenues of Spaine, and reuoked the edict which had bene made at Pardo, vpon condition that for an ouerplus and new loane, they should furnish him with seuen millions and two hundred thousand ducats, paying euery month two hundred and fifty thousand ducats to the Archduke *Albert* to supply the charges of the low countrie warres, & that for the space of eighteen monethes, the first payment whereof should be due the last of Ianuarie, in the said year 1598, the whole summe for the Low countries amounting to foure millions and a halfe. The rest should be paid in Spaine, or where hee should command, after the rate of an hundred and fiftie thousand ducats monthly, for eighteen monethes together: both which parties amount to 7200000 ducats.

The king of Spaine sent in the beginning of this yere 4 thousand Spaniards, Besognes, into the Low countries, to fortifie the Archduke *Albert*, whose as it seemed did not greatly trust the Wallons. *D. Sancho de Leua* was their chiefe comstaunder ouer foure Colonels: they came by sea in 40 ships, the lesser got safely into Callice for that the Estates ships had bin forced by fowle weather to weigh anchor, yet they took one of the greatest, in the which was *Alonso Sanchez* of Villareal with 150 Spaniards, and made foure more to runne on ground to saue the soldiers.

The States of the vnited Prouinces, finding the number of their shipping to bee great, & that they wanted employment for them, not daring to traffick into Spaine, where their ships and goods were daily arrested, and their men imprisoned, whereby in time their Navigation would decay, they resolved to seeke their fortunes at the East

Bbbbbb

and

Articles of the cession.

Donation ratified by Prince Philip.

King of Spaine makes a new contract for the payment of his debts.

Spaniards sent into the Low-Countries.

Vnited Prouinces sail vnto the Indies.

Queene of England &amp; Estates of the Low Countries resist a peace with the Spaniard.

Peace betwixt Spaine and France.

Contents of the articles of the peace.

Cession of the Low Countries to the Infanta of Spaine.

M

sexe



*Jabella*, he would needs be carried thither, to seek a safe rampar, against the assaults which G an intestine warre was ready to giue him vpon the trouble some dissolution of the soule and bodie. He, whom Histories oblerue to haue beene greater than any one of his house, who without danger sitting in his Cabinet, hath disposed of more famous actions than any of his predecessors, finds now that the Soueraign Creator hath made the poorest cottager equal to the greatest king in many respects. He hath giuen them the earth for their abode, for they nurse and common mother, the same beginning of creation, one common heauen, one sunne, one Moone, the aire and water common; the soules of one and other haue one nature; they come all into the world naked alike, and all haue one issue out of this life. He finds now that death feares no guards; that he knocks as familiarly at Princes H Palaces, as at the cottages of poore Shepherds, hee laies hold of them, when as teares preuaile not, armes are of no force, prayers cannot moue him, nor presents corrupt him, the Philitions art cannot stay him, nor drugs and receits preuent his power: Yea, that sometimes he takes them away when they haue not leisure to deliuer their last will. Finally after this end they must all run one course, when as their bodies shall putrefie alike.

He had surmounted the crosses of fortune, and great accidents in his time, but hee could find no preferuatiue, to make him insensible of griefe. The gout, a feuer, a stithy Phthiriasis, an apostume on his right leg, foure other, wonderfull soule and stinking, on his breast, an infinit number of lice, breeding of that corrupt & stinking matter, & dispersing themselves ouer his whole bodie, gaue him to vnderstand, that nature could make a wretched Anatomie of his bodie, as well as of the meanest of his subjects. Being come to the Eccuriall, and his paines increasing, hee prepared himselfe for death, and after hee had receiued the Sacrament, hee desired to see D. *Geracio* of Loyola solemnly consecrated Archbishop of Toledo, by the Popes Legat, it being resigned vnto him by the Archduke *Albert*.

His feuer and infirmities increasing in the beginning of September, hee called for D. *Philip* his sonne, and the Infanta *Jabella* his daughter; where in the presence of the Archbishop of Toledo and some others, he shewed his body vnto the Prince, and said vnto him, *Behold prince the greatest of this world, see this wretched carcasse, whereas all human help auails nothing*. He then caused a brazen coffin to be brought, and a death head to be set vpon a cupbord with a Crowne of gold by it. He then commanded D. *Lewis de Vago* a gentleman of his Chamber to fetch a small Casket, wherein there was a rich Jewell, the which he gaue vnto his daughter in the Princes presence, saying, *This Jewell was your mothers, keep it in remembrance of her*. And forthwith he drew out a paper which he gaue vnto the Prince, saying, *That it was an Instruction how he should governe his estate*. After which, he drew forth a whip, at the end whereof appeared some markes of bloud, and holding it vp he said, *that it was bloud of his bloud*, although it were not his own bloud, but the emperor his fathers who had vsed it: which done hee disposed of the order of his funerals. After which, in the presence of the Popes Nuntio, he recommended the Sea of Rome, the Pope, and the Catholike Apostolike and Romish Religion to his children, desiring the Nuntio to giue him absolution of his finnes, & to blesse his children. He did recommend the Infanta vnto the Prince his Son, and the good estate of her Countries. He did not remember the children of D. *Catherina* duchesse of Sauoy his other daughter, to whom before she died he had bequeathed for a remembrance the picture of our Lady of Lorette. He was so resolute and ready to die, as his Confessor did with that hee might die of that disease, and in that estate, least that his recouerie should alter that good & happy disposition. The continuall feuer, whereof he had languished three yeres, and the violent torments of the gout, had prepared him for death, long before he was ready to take him. He gaue no care to any discourse but touching his departure. A gentleman of his chamber seeing him to haue some intermission of his paines, aduised him to remove into some other chamber that was more chearefull, the Physitians warranting that hee might liue two yeres longer; Giue (said hee) this picture of our Ladie, to the Infanta; it was the Emperesse my Mothers, and I haue worn it fifty yeres: He spake of his departure, as of a royall entrie into goodliest Cities vnder his obedience; and of his funeral, as of a Coronation. I will (said hee) haue this Crucifix hung at my neck, and resting vpon my breast: I will

A will haue that in my hand with the which my father dyed. Hold a candle of Mont Sarra readie, and giue it me when I am in the Agonie. Goe (said hee) to two Religious men, and measure my fathers Herse, obserue how hee is laid; I will be so, and with no more ceremonie than the poorest Monke in this Monasterie. They that were about him, spake of his constancie, as Saint *Augustin* did of the admirable resolution of a holy Spaniard. The violence of his paine was great, but the force of his courage was greater, the one suffered, and the other lung, the flesh suffered and the spirit spake. Nothing liued more in him than a feeling of his finnes, the which toucht him so neere, as after that they had made an incision in his knee, and the Prince his Sonne asking him if he felt not the paine of his greenewound, I feele (said the king) the wounds of fifty finnes much more.

Approaching towards his end, hee commanded that the Marquesse of Mondejar should bee set at libertie, but restrained from coming to court; and that the wife of *Anthony Perez* (sometimes his Secretarie) should bee set at libertie; vpon condition that hee should retire himselfe into some Monasterie. Hee receiued the extreme vnctions from the Archbishop of Toledo, after that hee had demanded the manner of the administration thereof, for that hee had neuer seene it giuen. Hee had resolved to send the Prince and the Infanta to Madrid, for that they should not bee present at the pitifull spectacle of the ruine of his bodie; but hee changed his opinion, and would haue the Prince present when they gaue him the extreme vnction; after which hee commanded them to leaue him alone with his Sonne, to whom hee spake these words: I was desirous my son you should assist at this last actio, to the end you should not liue in ignorance, as I haue done, how this holy Sacrament is administered, & that you might see the end of kings, and whereunto their Crownes and Scepters are reduced. Death is ready to snatch the Crowne from my head, and to set it vpon yours. Therein I recommend two things vnto you; the one is, that you remaine alwaies obedient vnto the Church; the other that you doe iustice to your subjects. The time will come when this Crowne shall fall from your head as it doth now from mine: you are young, I haue beene so, my daies are numbered and are ended; God keeps the

C D accompt of yours, and they shall likewise end. They say that hee did enioyne him, with passion, to make warre against Heretikes, and to entertaine peace with France. The Prince thinking that his end approached, demanded the golden key of the Cabinet from D. *Christopher de Mora*, meaning to grace the Marquesse of Denia his fauourite therewith: but hee desired the Prince to pardon him, saying that hee might not leaue it whilst the king was liuing, but by his expresse commandment: whereat the Prince was offended.

D. *Christopher* complained hereof vnto the king, who neither commended the demand being too sudden, nor allowed of his refusal, commanding D. *Christopher* to carrie it vnto the Prince, and to craue his pardon: who returning to visit his father, D. *Christopher de Mora* kneeling downe, left the key and deliuered it vnto him; the which the Prince tooke and gaue to the Marquesse of Denia: And as the prince and the Infanta stood before his bed, hee said vnto them; I recommend vnto you D. *Christopher de Mora*, the best seruant I euer had, with all my other seruants. And so giuing them his last farewell, and embracing them, his speech layd him; continuing two daies in that estate vntill hee died, being seuentie and one yeres old; and hauing raigned fifty.

He was borne at Vailledolit the five and twentieth of April, in the yere one thousand five hundred twenty and six, and dyed the thirteenth of September 1598. He was but little of stature, yet of a pleasing aspect, but no goodlie man by reason of his greynethor lip, which is hereditarie in the house of Austria, otherwise he was faire of complexion, rather resembling a Fleming than a Spaniard: offo found a constitution of body, as he was sildome or neuer sicke. He was sometimes troubled with faintings: and did neuer eat any fish: he was of a constant resolution, and of a great spirit, apprehending precisely the ends of things, and foreseeing them with an admirable wildome and iudgement.

Pope *Clement* the eight, hearing newes of his death; assembled the Consistorie, B b b b b ij. where

King Philips  
last speech vnto  
his Sonne.

Birth and  
figure of the King  
of Spaine.

1598  
Pope indignant  
upon the death  
of King Philip.

where after audience given vnto the Cardinalls, hee told them in a graue speech full of passion: That if euer the holy See had cause of greefe and affliction, it was for the death of that Prince, the Church hauing lost a great Protector, and her persecutors a mightie enemy. That his whole life had benee nothing but a warfare against infidelities, heresies, and errors. That two things did comfort them in this losse the one, that being dead with an admirable conformitie in the will of God, an incredible patience in his paines, and an vnnchangeable constancie in his Religion, he held him rewarded in heauen with immortall glorie: the other, that hee had left a Sonne which made them hope that it was rather a resurrection of the father than a succession of the Sonne. In the end hee recommended them both to their prayers, paying thereby for what the one had done, and what the other offered to doe by his letters for the good of the Church.

Virtues of King  
Philip.

His pietie.

To speake of his vertues: it is said that all good Princes may bee written in a ring. Philip had great vertues, it were a rare thing to haue all. The seedes of such princes as haue no defects are in heauen. Hee was great in pietie, Religion, iustice, liberalitie and constancie. As for his pietie and religion, hee hath bene heard to say, that if the prince his Sonne became an Heretike, or a Schismaticke, hee would bring sigots himselfe to burne him. He alwaies protested that his desires in warre, and his exercises in peace did onely tend to the aduancement of Religion. The last words he pronounced with his last gaspe were, That hee died a Catholike. He respected the Pope as hee that carried the keyes of heauen in his hand, the prince of the Church, and Gods Lieutenant: generall ouer mens soules. The Pope respected him as the chiefe supporter of the peace and vnion of the Church: *Pius 5.* did so terme him when they made the league against the Turke: and his successeur *Gregorie 13.* answered him that caused his health to be prayed for at Rome, My life imports the Church little, the which after me may haue a better Pope: Recommend the king of Spaines health vnto God, for it is necessarie for the affaires of Christians for

standome. And hee himselfe held his assistance necessarie for the affaires of Christians for being tickle, and the Philistines doubting to let him bloud by reason of his weakenesse, *Feare*

Speech of the  
king of Spaine.

This is spoken  
for the prisons  
of Cardinalls  
which are at the  
discretion of  
Spaine.

not (said he) to let me bloud, the estate of Gods Church permits not that I should die of this disease, nor of this bloud letting. Euerie man knowes in what credit hee was in the Confitorie, to haue his intention approued, and likewise in the Conclau for the election of Popes. Hee held Rome by the laire and the throat, being in his power to famish it, refusing the commodities which they may draw at need out of his estates which inuiron it. As hee honoured the Pope, so did hee much esteeme the Prelates of the Church, and had a great care to preferre men of vertue and merit to ecclesiasticall dignities. There was a great controuersie betwixt the archbishop of Valencia, and the Viceroy, to know to whom they should first present the Pax and the Censor: the which hee ended, commanding that hee that presented vnto his Maiestie, should giue it first vnto the archbishop, thinking that the honor that hee did vnto Gods Ministers was an infinite glory vnto him, and that a prince should affect no other commendation, than the care and zeale of Religion; when it is without dissimulation or hypocritie. Hee did witness his zeale and passion in the seeking out of many reliques of Saints, especially to haue the body of *Saint Eugenius* Bishop of Toledo, hauing to that end sent embassadors expressly to *King Charles* the ninth: and to the Queene Mother, who granted it, contrarie to the aduices of the Cardinall of Lorraine, Abbot of Saint Denis: hee went to receiue it at Toledo, and caused it to bee conducted to the Escoriall. How much did hee spend for the canoizing of *Frier Diego* of Alcalá of the order of Saint Francis, and of *Frier Raymond* of Regnafort a Iacobin, famous among learned men, for that hee gathered the decretales into one bodie, and throughoutall Spaine, for that hee past like another *Elizacum* vpon his cloake from Majorca to Barcelona, and that which is very rare in our age, refused the Archbishopricke of Tarragone. Wee find not any now that hide themselves in causes from spiritual dignities, or that out off their nose and eares to make themselves incapable of church preferments, which requires sound bodies and sanctified soules. No affaires could interrupt him in the course of his deuotion, and we in the relations of *Antonio Peres* that hee did often referre the care of businesse to another day,

En este dia no  
haue mal ni Sol.

A. day, when he was preparing of his conscience, or among his Monkes at the Escoriall. He went bare headed in the procession of the Sacrament, and being on that day at Cordoua, some one did aduertise him, that the Sonne was offensive: to whom hee answered, *That the Sonne that day would doe him no harme.* Being a religious prince, hee loued no new religions. He neuer received the Capuchins. They of his house haue built many collages, of Iesuites in diuers places, at Vienna in Austria, at Tumaat in Hungarie, at Prague in Bohemia, at Hal, at Grats, at Munch, at Inspruck, and he alone of his house is dead without any memorie of his bountie towards them. Speaking against that great multitude of religions, and the increase of regular Orders, hee said, That they should reduce the new to the auncient, and maintaine those in the first integritie of their institution, and that it was to be feared the world would abound more in religious Orders than in pietie. Hee vied them of Saint *Dominicke* in his confessions, and in his other deuotions the Ieronimists, to whom hee gaue that rich temple of the Escoriall. Hee did respect *Dominicke de Chaner*, his Confessor, as hee caused him to be visited in his cell by the President of Castille, when hee was in doubt of any point of conscience or of penance.

Hee had a Councell of conscience for the direction of his enterprises. This Councell hath often drawne him out of many difficulties, and hath freed him from the bond of his promises. The historie of Portugall doth furnish a memorable example. The duke of Osuna, and *D. Christopher de Mora*, had promised mountaines of gold to them that should be opposit to *D. Antonio*, and should fauour the kings right to the Crowne of Portugall. Hee being expelled, these men demanded the effects of those promises, and that their bills should be discharged. The king commaunded that all should bee sent to the table of conscience. The Iudges payed them with this sentence: Seeing that king Philip is heire to the realme of Portugall, the petitioners could not compound for his right for money, gifts, or promises, and haue deserved death, for that they did not willingly yeeld it vnto him: If the realme did belong to *Antonio*, they could not then deliuer it: And therefore king Philip is no way bound to performe those promises which his embassadors and agents had made vnto the petitioners: But vsing his clemencie and mercie, hee freed them from the paine of death, which they had vpon this occasion de-

Councell of  
conscience.

Advice of the  
king of Spaine  
council of  
conscience.

D. ferred. As for his iustice, the example of his son is sufficient to shew his rigor. It is true, that in many actions he hath proceeded more by his absolute power than by the ordinarie course. These great motions cannot alwayes be ruled by the ordinarie formes, nor subiect themselves to the iudgement of reason, nor to humane discourse. Yet hee protested, being nere his end, That he had not done wrong nor iniustice to any one, but through ignorance, or false impression. It is an act of iustice in a prince, to suffer them to tell him of the vnjust actions of his gouernement. It is true, that it cannot be termed an act of iustice, to haue made his creditors so often to loose that which they had lent him, nor to reduce the 18 millions of gold, which hee did owe the Genouois, so 12.

King of Spaine  
a seuerer iusticer

E. His liberalitie hath appeared in recompensing the merits of many of his seruants. He made his Schoolemaster Primat of the Church of Spaine, as his father had advanced him vnto the Popedom. There are few such princes now, that vse such requitals. There are no more *Alexanders*, who gaue eight hundred talents to his Schoolemaster *Aristotle*. Kings haue long hands, but few haue them so large after this proportion. The king of Spaine did neuer leave any goodlie action either of learning, iustice, or warre, without reward. Hee did not onely doe good vnto the good, to make them better, but also to the bad, lest they should grow worse. But hee did neuer advance them hee, loued to fauour disproportionable to their condition: Hee did much for *Ruy Gomes*, for the loue of his wife the princeesse of Eboly: Yet this liberalitie did neuer make a passage for him to great affaires. He was verie circumspect in the distinction of great charges, especially of such as concerned the administration of iustice, whereon, as *Plato* said, depends the safetie and ruine of an Estate. And although that the earle of Chinchon, being bred vpon him in his youth, should haue expected more than any other, yet he obtained nothing but what he held fit for his qualitie. He was wont to say, That all stomaches were not fit

His liberalitie.

That is 80000  
crownes.

Honours raise  
them that de-  
serve them not.



His confidence.

His great moderation in prosperity.

His confidence in adversity.

Vices of the King of Spaine.

King of Spaine virtuous and distrustfull.

to digest great fortunes, and that ill meat did not corrupt sooner, and turne to bad humors, than honour in a soule without merit.

As for his constancie against afflictions, fortune could neuer shake him. In two diuers accidents, happening at two diuers times, he shewed the constancie of his mind, and the equalitie of his affections; neither puffing him vp insolently in prosperitie, nor deiecing himselfe basely in aduersitie. When the post brought him newes of the victorie of Lepanto, he thought to see him much transported with joy, but hee made no shew of any alteration; and hauing vnderstood the order and successe of the battell, hee spake these words coldly; *D. John hath bin caried much.* Now, when another post did bring him newes of the losse of that great naue at sea, thinking it would haue plunged him into a gulph of cares and perturbations; at the report of so fatall an accident, hee was not a whit moued; saying onely, That hee had sent it against men, and not against the windes and waues. Vulgar spirits are transported with choler at euerie grosse accident, this vnmarchable losse doth not trouble this prince, who continued his deuotion in his Oratorie. Some other would haue torne his haire, and haue whipt the Ocean, as *Xerxes* did. The duke of Medina Sidonia, Generall of this armie, sending to know his pleasure, if hee would haue him come and giue an account of his charge, he answered, That hee should first goe home to his house, to refresh and rest himselfe before he came to Court.

It were fit we should see the backside of this Medaile, and speake something of the errors and vices of this prince, as well as of his vertues, seeing it is fit to speake all for examples sake; yet it is not good to trouble the rest of the dead. *Xerxes* image ouerthrew him that strooke it with a staffe: A dead stone did reuenge the iniurie that was done vnto a dead man. It is sufficient to say, That as this prince was commended for many great vertues; so hee was blamed, in his youth, of great dissolutiō to voluptuoussnesse, and a violent propension to crueltie. These two vices doe seldom abandon one another: Euerie voluptuous prince is cruell, if necessitie constrain him. This plague doth infect and blemish the glorie of vertues, how bright soeuer they be in the life of a prince. *Vittorinus* might haue bene compared to the best Emperours, yea hee should surpass *Traian* in bountie, *Antonine* in clemencie, *Nerva* in grauitie, *Vespasian* in sparing of his treasure, *Pertinax* and *Seuerus* in the integritie of his life, and in the feruor of militarie discipline: but all these vertues were so quenched by voluptuoussnesse, as no man durst speake vnto him. The king of Spaine hath put many to death in the excessse and first fits of his choler. He was as suspitious, distrustfull, and cruell, as euery ny was. He did not allow the prince his sonne to speake with the Infanta his daughter, but by permission, and in the presence of their gouernors. The jealousie of Soueraigne power makes no distinction of persons, nor spareth not his owne blood, as appeared by his owne sonne: and Sultran *Solymen* caused his sonne *Mussafa* to bee strangled, for that the Ianizaries made great acclamations of joy at his returne from the warres of Persia.

Some write of him, That, besides the aboue named vices, he was fearefull, doubtfull, close, and a dissembler, ambitious, and proud beyond the condition of man, and nothing religious of his word in matters of Estate; the duke of Villhermosa, and the marquesse of Fuentes, are good witness; he put them to death after that he had pardoned them the reuolt of Arragon. And those words which he spake in his last instruction to his sonne, speaking of the Low Countries, doe verifie it; *it is true* (said hee) *I haue giuen them to your sister, but it imports not; you haue an hundred euasions, which you may vse in time.*

His ambition appeared, in that he affected the Empire by all possible meanes, which not able to obtaine, he sought the title of Emperour of Spaine: yea some write, That he was resoluēd to goe vnto the Indies, to take vpon him the title of Emperour of America. After all his ambitious proiects against Affricke, his attempts against England and Ireland, and his intelligences with the Turkes, Barbarians, and Persians, whom hee hath sought to diuide, and to make vse of, euen against Christian princes, yet in the end he was forced to confesse, *That all the power and pompe of this world was meet vanaite.*

He

His vices and children.

A He had foure wiues, but he was vnfortunat in the first, the which was *Marie* princeesse of Portugall, who bare him one sonne, whose name was *Charles*; but his life was short and vnfortunat, and his end violent, being charged by the Inquisition to haue thought ill of the Faith, and to haue had intelligence with *Chastillion* Admirall of France, and with the prince of Orange touching the Low Countries. His second wife was *Marie* queene of England, by whom hee had no issue. His third was *Elizabeth* of France (surnamed by the Spaniards, the Queene of Peace) who brought him two daughters, the Infanta D. *Isabella Clara Eugenia*, now Archduchesse of Austria, and Ladie of the Low Countries, and the Infanta D. *Catherina Michelle*, who was duchesse of Sanoy. His fourth wife was *Anne* of Austria, daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian*, and his owne neece, by whom he had three sonnes and one daughter, of the which, at his death, there remained onely the prince, who was then called *Charles Lawrence*, but at his comming to the Crowne he was surnamed *Philip* the third.

He ended his dayes with an act of wisedom worthie of his long experience. Princes cannot enter into their realmes by a better port, than the loue of their subiects. If their fathers be dead, desired, and lamented; they must doe some great matter to mollifie this sorrow. Painters are no more bound to represent the true lineaments of the face, than princes are to represent their fathers vertues, whose liuelie images they are. Before his death he made an Edict which could not be pleasing vnto his subiects, who began to murmur, and it seemed that they would not be so satisfied, if they proceeded to execution. It was not made for that the king of Spaine had any desire to haue it executed and obserued; but to the end he might giue the prince his sonne a good occasion to win the peoples hearts; for he sayed presently, that hee would neuer allow of the execution of that Edict, and that he would breake his head that should first speake it; the which hee spake so lowd, as euery man thought himselfe happie to liue vnder the command of such a prince, who would proue better than his father.

We haue formerly made mention of a paper which the king drew out of a casket, and deliuered to his sonne, the which contained this instruction following.

My sonne, I haue bene euer carefull to leaue you your Estate settled and in peace; but neither the many yeares which I haue liued, nor the assistance of princes my allies, could euer purchase it. I confesse that I haue spent in lesse than thirtie three yeares, fise hundred ninetie and foure millions of ducats, all which haue bred me nothing but cares and troubles. It is true, I conquered Portugall, but as France did easily escape me, so may this be wrested from me. I would to God I had followed the aduice of the Emperour *Charles*, my deceased father, of famous memorie, or at the least that you would beleue and follow mine. I should then beare my crosses more willingly, and should die with more content, leauing you in this vallie of miseries. Behold then what I leaue you for an euertlasting testament, besides so many kingdoms and Estates, that you may see, as in a glasse, after what manner you shall gouerne your selfe after my death.

E Be alwayes verie watchfull of the alteration and change of States, to make your profit thereby according to occurrents. Haue a vigilant eye ouer them that are most familiar with you in counsell. You haue two meanes to entertaime your realmes of Spaine, the one, the present gouernement, the other, the trade to the East and West Indies. As for the gouernement, you must either relie vpon the nobilitie, or vpon the Clergie. If you leane vnto the Church-men, keepe the other in awe, as I haue done; but if you fortifie your selfe with the nobilitie, shorten the reuenues of the Clergie as much as you may. If you seeke to countenance them alike, they will consume you, and trouble your realmes, whereof you shall neuer see a final conclusion. If you will make good vse of the nobilitie, my aduice is, that you keepe good correspondence with the Low Countries, for they are friends to the French English, and some princes of Germanie: therein you can haue little assistance from Italie, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, or Scotland. The king of Scotland is poore; Denmark drawes his reuenues from foreine nations, Sweden is euer in faction, and not well situated, the Polonians are alwayes masters of their kings, Italie, although it bee rich, yet is it far off; and the princes are of diuers humors: On the other side, the Low Countries are populous, rich in shipping, constant in labour, diligent in search, hardie to vnder-

take,

1598 take, and willing to endure. It is true, I haue giuen these provinces to your sister, but it imports not, there are an hundred euasions whereof in time you may make your profit: The chiefe are, that you keepe your selfe alwaies gardian to her children, and that there be no alteration concerning religion: for these two points taken away, you are quite depriued of those countries: And then will some other princes present themselves, and bind them vnto them by some meanes, which may proue your ruine. If you thinke to fortifie your selfe against this by the Clergie, you shall purchase many enemies: I haue tried: yet keepe good correspondencie with the Popes, be bountifull and kind vnto them; entertaine such cardinals as they fauour most, and labour to beare a sway in the Conclauce. Keepe friendship with the bishops of Germanie, but commit not the distribution of their penitions on to the Emperor. Let them know you, they will serue you the more willingly, and receiue your presents more thankfully. Draw not any neere vnto you that are of base condition, neither respect the nobilitie and commons alike: for, seeing I must now speake the truth, their pride is great, they are verie rich, they must haue what they desire, they will be burthensome vnto you, and in the end will be your masters.

serue your selfe then with such as are of the noblest families, and aduance them to preferments of great reuenues: the common sort are not so needfull, for they will procure you a thousand discontents, which will consume you. Beleue not any of them, if they be not of qualitie. Free your selfe from English spies, and French pensions. Employ some of the noblemen of the Low Countries confidently, whom you shall haue bound vnto you by fealties. As for the Nauigation of the East and West Indies, therein consists the strength of the kingdom of Spaine, and the meanes to curbe Italie; from the which you shall with much difficultie restraîne France and England: their power is great, they haue many mariners, the seas are spacious, their marchants too wealthie, their subjects too greedie of gaine, and their seruants too faithfull.

I haue excluded the Low Countries, but I feare, in time, mens humors may change; and therefore you must often change your ministers at the West Indies. Such as you call home make them of your Counsel for the Indies, and so, in my opinion, you shall neuer be circumvented, but both the one and the other will acquaint you with the gaine, aspiring to more honour. See how the English seeke to deprime you of that commoditie: they are mightie at sea both in men and shipping. As for the French, I do not much feare them. Fortifie your selfe with them of the Low Countries (although they be partly hereticks, and would continue so) with this promise, That they shall freely sell their marchandise in Spaine and Italie, paying the kings customs, and other duties. And in taking passages to faille to the East and West Indies, let them put in caution, & take an oath to discharge their goods in Spaine at the returne of their ships, vpon paine of punishment if they infringe this order: the which I thinke they will willingly offer to obseque. By this meane the riches of the Indies and Spaine shall haue free commerce with the Low Countries, whereby both France and England shall be disappointed.

My son, I could prescribe you greater designs for the conquering of kingdoms, but you shall find in my studie such aduertisements & discourses as haue bin giuen me: command *Christopher de Mora* to deliuer you the key presently, least those secrets shold fall into some strangers hands. I did cause some briefs of those instructions to be burnt the 7 of September; I doubt all are not suppressed, be careful to seeke for them. I haue this day added, if you can, win *Antonio Perez*, that he may serue you in Italie, or in some other of your Estates, but suffer him not to returne into Spaine, nor to go into the Low Countries. Touching your marriage, she instructions are in the custodie of the Secretarie *la Lea*. Read this often that is written with mine owne hand. Haue a watchful eye ouer your most secret counsellers, acquaint your selfe with cyphers, discontent nor your Secretaries, keep them alwaies employed, be it about matters of importance or otherwise; make triall of them rather by your enemies than by your friends. If you discouer your secrets to any familiar friend, keepe alwaies the most important within your owne bosome.

The King of Spaine begining that in his life time the marriage of his daughter with the

The king of Spaine fearing that in his life time the mariage of his daughter with the Archduke *Albert* would not be consummated, and that after his death the Infanta *Isabella* would like better of the donation than the mariage, hee tied her vnto it with strict con-

**Advice touch-  
ing the  
Pope.**

**Council con-  
ching the In-  
dies.**

Archduke  
Albert goes  
into Spain.

A conditions, defiring about all things, that she should liue vnder the protection of the Crowne of Spaine, whereunto this new alliance did particularly bind her. Whereupon the Archduke gaue order for the government of the Low Countries, and prepared himselfe to goe into Spaine, to marie the Infanta. But the king of Spaine, before his death, had concluded a marriage betwixt prince *Philip* his son, and *Marguerite* daughter to the Archduke of Austria of Gratz, being young fiftier vnto *Marie* (who had bin promised vnto the prince, but dyed before the consummation of the mariage:) Wherefore the Archduke *Albert* had commaundement to goe and receiue the said ladie *Marguerite* at Gratz, and to conduct her into Spaine. Being readie to goe on his journey, hee receiued newes of the death of the king of Spaine; yet hee went on his journey, and passing by the countrey of Treues, the Palatinate, and the duchie of Wirtemberg, into the limits of Bauria, he came into the countie of Tyrol, being receiued in all places with great respect and presents, and his traine discharged. In this countie hee met with the ladie *Marguerite* of Austria, and *Marie* of Bauria, her mother, neerer vnto the place whereas the Emperour *Charles* the fift, and his brother *Ferdinand* king of Romans, met, in remembrance of which happie enterview there was a table of braffe hung vp for a monument, and is yet to be seene; which table doth represent them as they embraced one another. This ladie was attended on by 500 gentlemen of high Hungarie, whereas the Archduke her father makes his chiefe residence.

C Having joined their troupes, being about two thousand horse, and three thousand five hundred foot, they pass by Bolzene, and came to Trent the nine and twentieth of October, where they spent some days, to visit the reliques of Saints. Then entering into the territories of Venice, which was neere, they were honourably received by two Senators, at a village called Delce, vpon the riuer of Adde, where there was a bridge made by commandement of the State, for them to passe ouer. They went on by small journeyes through the Venetians country, who defrayed the charges of them and their whole traine ten dayes together.

Hauning past Verona, they entered the duke of Mantouas country, who came in post with ten noblemen to Offia (a small village) upon the river of Po) to salute the queene: where D there were many boats made ready, among others there was a nuptiall barge, verie sumptuously made, and covered with tapistrie of filuer, the which was diuided into chambers, halls, and cabinets. The future queene, her mother, the Archduke *Albert*, with some noblemen and ladies, entered this barge, where they found the tables ready furnished with all exquisite meates. The rest of the traine past the river in three great boats, vnto the other side, whereas Rouere stands, a towne belonging to the duke of Mantoua, from thence going downe the river they were carried to Ferrara, whereas the Pope was, with many Cardinals (whither he came after the composition of Pance, with *D. Caesar* of Este).

The Pope being certified of the queenes coming neere the towne, hee presently sent forth two Cardinals Legats, which were, *Aldobrandini* and *Saint Clement*, with a great number of Prelats and gentlemen. Having gone three miles, they received the queene very honourably, at a place called the islands, euen as shee landed, in the name of the Apollotike Sea, and of the Pope, presenting vnto her, in his name, a rich caroch, whereof all the yron- worke was gilt, being drawne by fix white horses, in the which the queene, her mother, and the Archduke, entred into Ferrara.

Without the cite gates the duke of Seffa, embassador for the king of Spaine, presented vnto her, in his mazzers mane, a litter couered with cloath of gold, and richly appointed, both in the yron-works, which was of siluer and gilt, as of all other royall furniture, hauing two white mules, and the muleters, in the like luerie, and withall a carroch, with six pied horses, and two coach-men clad in cloath of gold, which made a glittering show.

F At the port called Angels gate, shee was receiued by two other Cardinals, *Shew* and *Alamato*, and conducted into a house artificially made, where shee was seated in a royall throne, where she staid vntill the rest of the Cardinals came to visit and receiue her.

After this reception the queene was mounted vpon a white horse, and the princeesse her mother vpon the like (which the Pope had sent them) & in that maner she entred the city, being

He meetes with  
the future  
Queene of  
Spaine.

3  
- Venetians de-  
S siay the charge  
e of the future  
Queen of  
spaine.

*Duke of Mato-  
ua entertaines  
the Queen of  
Spain.*

ly Pope sendes a  
a present to the  
c Queene of  
Spaine.

Present sent by  
the King of  
Spaine to his  
Queene.

9. Arrivall of  
the Queene  
of Spaine into  
Ferrara.



## The generall Historie of Spaine.

Lib. 31.

*Myriads of  
Spain arrive  
at Binaros.*

take some dangerous resolution. Wherefore he retired his gallies into a place of safety, and the storme did arise sooner than the mariner had told them. They thought at Martelles that all had beene lost; and their belief had not beene vaine, if *Doria* had not given credit to that which the best aduised could not beleue. The danger being past, they continued their voyage along the coast of Cartelonia, they saluted Barcelona, and came to the port of Rode, they surmounted the Promontorie of the Moone, and came to Alsiques, which is at the strait of Gibraltar, on Africke side, and in the end they put in at the port of Binaros, in the realme of Valencia: from whence the queene sent prince *Doria* sonne to the Catholike king, to aduertise him of her happie voyage, and safe arrival. The last of March they came to S. Mathew, whereas the marquisse of Denia came to salute the queene, in the behalfe of the king her husband, and to acquaint her with his Majesties speciall intentions. Passing from thence to Gabanes, and Villa-reall, they went and stayed at Moluedro, a village built of the ruines of Sagunt, an auncient towne allied to the Romans. The Archduke *Albertus* tooke post there, and went with all speed to kisse the kings hands, and to visit the Infanta, his spouse: from whence hee past to Madrid, to see the Empreffe, his mother, where hee stayed foure dayes, and then returned to Valencia.

The king in the meane time burning with an amorous desire to see his new queen, came in a disguised habit like one of his noblemen, making his pretence to be sent from the king to kisse her hands, but he was discovered by the princesses and ladies which then attended the queene, where he was receiued with an incredible joy and content to them all.

*Magnificence  
at Valencia at  
the Kings of  
Spaines marriage.*

In the meane time they made wonderfull preparation at Valencia, for the celebration of these marriages, all which being readie, on the seuenteenth day of Aprill the queene made her entrie into Valencia, with so goodly a traine of princes and noblemen there assembled, as the glittering of their glorious and sumptuous apparel, the varietie of colours, and the shining of the gold, did dazle the eyes of the beholders. Before this royall assemblie there marche fise companies of men at armes, after whom followed thirtie kettie drummes on horsebacke, with trumpets, claires, and hautbois, which did sound continually: then came the courtiers in troupe, without any precedence or prerogative of rank: among which there were foure hundred young noblemen like vnto pages of honour, gallantly attired, attended on by their pages and footmen, some hauing six, others eight, some ten, yea twentie, twentie foure, twentie six, and more, attired in their lueries of diuers colours, richly appointed. There were moreouer 700 knights of honor in the queens colours, which were white and crimson gilt, the ground fatten. Then there followed foure knights, carrying royall maces, after whom followed the Stewards of the queenes house, and then sixteene of the Grandos of Spaine. Next marched the heraulds with their cassocks richly imbrodered with the kings armes: after whom went the Lord Steward and the Master of the horse: and last of all came the queene on horsebacke, vnder a canopie of cloth of gold, the which was carried by twentie of the chiefe nobles of Valencia, and the reines of her bridle, being of silke and gold, were held by the greatest lords of that kingdom. The queenes gowne was of cloth of gold, the ground siluer, very richly imbrodered with pearle and precious stones, so as there could be no more added. The queenes mother and the Archduke *Albert* followed with the queenes cabinet, and a great number of princes and noblemen, and to finish their nuptiall pompe, the princesses and ladies came last of all in their caroches and coaches. Some thought that there were spent in this nuptiall pompe three millions of ducats.

The queene hauing entered the port, where there was a stately triumphant Arch made, shee was led vnto the church, which was hung with cloth of tisse. The high altar was royally appointed, before the which there was an Oratorie erected, covered with cloth of gold, able to containe three persons: there was also another which might hold fise, which was scene by them all, and was verie commodious to kneele in: thither the queene went, after that shee had kist the Crosse, which was wonderfully enriched with reliques, being presented vnto her by the Patriarke, who was Archbishop of Valencia.

The Catholike king came downe into the church with his sister the Infanta, by a pri-

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Lib. 31.

## The generall Historie of Spaine.

1295

1599

A uie way, which was made of purpose, where the Popes Nuncio (the solemnitie of the ceremonie being ended) demanded of the king first, and then of the Archduke, if they did ratifie the mariages which had beene contracted before by their embassadours, and celebrated by the Pope: Which either of them confirming, they all went vp vnto the altar, where kneeling downe, they assisted at the last blessing of their marriage. The prayers being ended, they went from the church vnto the palace, where the nuptiall feast was made with all the pompe and state that could be deuised. Two dayes after the king made three knights of the Golden fleece, which were, the Archduke *Albert*, the Constable of Castille, and Prince *Doria*. For the space of eight dayes there were all sports and fights that mans wit could inuent. There was a Theatre built, able to containe threecore thousand persons, fit to behold all kind of sports, as baiting of the bull, Ioco di Canna, after the African manner, tilts, turneyes, and all other exercises wherein the Spaniards delight.

This nuptiall pompe being ended, the king and queene went to Vailledolit, whereas the king settled his Court, after the example of *Charles* the fift, his grandfather, and not at Madrid, which, after the death of king *Philip* the second, was abandoned. The king, after his marriage, gaue himselfe wholly to the exercises of peace, and left the managing of affaires to his Councell, retiring himselfe in a manner from the sight of all the Grandos of Spaine, being loath to see, or to be scene of any, but of the marquisse of Denia, whom he made duke of Lerma. Since that this prince tooke the scepter in hand, he hath made them change the conceits they had of him, and hath shewed more vigour than they did attribute vnto him. That which he wants by reason of his youth, abounds in his Councell, to whom he commits the conduct of his Estates. A prince must be wise, and that this common Sinne should haue no light but for two eyes; that this fontaine should haue no water, but to quench one mans thirst: which made them to grow in- to great discontent, and the rather, for that his wife was made chiefe Ladie of honour to the queene, wherewith the greatest house in Spaine would haue thought it selfe much honoured, being impossible that so grearnd sudden preferments should not be enuid and maligne. Hence grew complaints and murmuring, wherein the best wits im- ploied their tongues and pennies to write freely. This discontentment was scene in all the sorts that malecontents could discouer it. They made images to speake at the kings coming to the Crowne, and at the entrie which hee made at Madrid, they set vp *Iupiters* statue, carrying a globe of the world vpon his shoulders, and discharging the one halfe vpon king *Philip*, with an inscription, That the Empire was diuided betwixt *Iupiter* and *Cesar*: they found in strange characters, and an unknowne hand, at the foot of *Iupiters* image, these words; *This is the duke of Lerma*. They also made *Paquin* to speake. The king

*King of Spaine  
settles his Court  
at Vailledolit.*

*Favours of prin-  
ces full of enuie*

*Diallum Im-  
perium cum  
Ioue Cesar  
habet.*

*Paquin.*

E of Spaine made request vnto the Pope, to grant him the renthes of the Clergie-livings, besides that which his predecessors had beene accustomed to take: The feare they had the Pope would not grant it, made them to write this on the palace gates at Vailledolit: *An unkind Pope, an innocent King, and an insolent Duke*; They made counterfeite letters, both without name and subiect, hauing nothing but a superscription. The king coming one day from walking, he found vpon his table a letter sealed vp, with this direction: *To king Philip the third of that name, king of Spaine, being now at the seruice or deuotion of the duke of Lerma*: The post which brought it had not returned without an answer: it hee had stayed; The king, who knew that there is nothing makes such brues vanish sooner than contempt, nor that reuiues them more than a feeling and apprehension, laugh at it, and turning to the duke of Lerma, said, *see here what they say of us*.

F They spake vpon stages, and in publicke Scenes. They made a Tragedie at Vailledolit: the actors were the King, the Constable of Castille, the Duke of Lerma; and the people: The Argument was the complaints and insolencie of the duke of Lerma: the Catastrophe, the duke of Lermas death, who was torne in peeces by the furious multi- tude.

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## The generall Historie of Spaine.

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They made fooles to speake, who are about kings onely to tell truth, and to make wise men, which dare not speake it, to blush. A iester passing betwixt the king & the duke of Lemna, iustled him in such sort as he made the duke to stagger, and said vnto him, Stand fast, for if thou fallest thou wilt neuer rise againe. The king taking the word, answered presently, We will then fall both together. The Grandes, who smiled at the jesters speech, were much amazed at the kings answer. All Spaine admires his fortune. The most happie hold, that who so will be fortunat, must bee borne vnder the same Planet. But no man knowes how long this happinesse will continue: And in the end the great fauours of princes are prejudiciall and ruinous to their fauourites. One sayes, That we must approach neere vnto kings, as vnto fire, neither standing too farre off, least we take cold, nor approaching too neere, for feare of burning. This fauour is a fire, as it shines, it burnes. Courtiers flie vnto it, and burne themselves like Butterflies. Hee is not wise that vseth it as a fountaine, and drinckes as much as he can, for the thirst that is past, for the present, and that which is to come: but he is wise that drincks of these fauours as dogs do of the riuer of Nol, passing and running, least they be deuoured of Crocodiles by enuie and jealousy.

The Archduke hauing brought the kings wife into Spaine, and receiued the Infanta his wife, to condu& her into Flanders, & to take possession with her of those countries, which the king had giuen her in dowrie, hauing taken leaue of the king, queene, and empress, his mother, he took his way towards the sea, which was so fauorable vnto them, as imbar- king at Barcelona the seuenth of Iune, they arrived in 18 daies at Genoua, where they remained the rest of that moneth in prince *Doria's* palace. From thence they past to Paia, where the duke of Parma came to see them. Then they came to Milan; thither the Pope sent cardinall *Dietestain* to visit them, who presented a sword vnto the Archduke, in his Holinesse name, and a robe of gold to the Infanta: and so they past on their journey through the Grisons country.

At the conclusion of the peace of Veruins, betwixt the French and the Spanish, the queene of England was not comprehended in that treatie. The king of Spaine desired to enter into a particular treatie with her, the French king being willing to further this good motion, offered the towne of Bouillon for their Commissioners to meet at: whither they came, but it was of no effect, by reason of the precedence, which neither would yeeld to other: for the English refusing to yeeld to the deputies of Spaine, they returned without any fruits of this meeting, neither was there any one of them but thought it vnreasonable to purchase a peace with so great a disadvantage to his masters service.

The king of Spaine being at peace with France, he thought him much wronged, & the treatie infringed, that the French went to serue the vniued Estates: wherefore he gaue commandment to his embassador in France, to make complaint vnto the French king, That contrarie to the conditions of the treatie of Veruins, and contrarie to the publike faith, the French went to serue prince *Maurice*, and by the fauor of their arms did countenance the vniued provinces of the Netherlands in their rebellion: that a friendship in words without effect, was more prejudiciall, a peace which doth not obserue the conditions, was more hurtfull vnto him, than the acts of open war. The French king desiring to obserue the articles of the treatie sincerely, & without any just exception, disauowed all his subiects which caried armes in that qualitie, commanding them to returne home within six weeks, vpon paine of confiscation of body and goods, forbidding all others to goe thither to that intent: yet hee grew jealous, for that there was an armie newly imbarke in Portugal, which made him suspect some designe either against France or England: whereupon he commanded his seruants to stand vpon their gard.

This yere the marquisat of Saluces was in question betwixt the French K. and the duke of Sauoy, who in his proceedings seemed so discontented with the Spaniards, for sundrie reasons, and made them so jealous of him, as the Councell of Spaine demanded vp after a prince his eldest son, and his eldest daughter, vnder a colour of bringing them vp after a royall manner, in the Court of Spaine, whereas they might one day hope to raigne. The duke was much discontented herewith, seeing that it proceeded rather from suspicion than affection; yet by the aduice of his Councell; hee gaue the king of Spaine to vnderstand, That hee could not lodge his children better, being the true cymment of per-

Archduke  
pass for Flan-  
derr.

Treaty at Bou-  
llon betwixt the  
deputies of  
England and  
Spaine.

King of Spaine  
complains that  
the French  
serue his ene-  
mies.

King of Spaine  
demands the  
Duke of Sauoy  
children.

## The generall Historie of Spaine.

A fe& friendship, yet he resolved to send one to make his excuse, pretending, That the estate of his affairs would not suffer him to send them at that instant, nor to provide them a train and things necessary for their voyage. But the king of Spaine, to prevent all excuses, gaue order that money should be provided at Milan, perswading the duke to send the count *de Masie* as gouernour to the prince. But hauing the money, he kept his children still, saying, That the ayre of Spaine would not agree with his children, and that their indisposition and young yeares, would not suffer him to expose them to so long and dangerous a voyage. At which refusal the king of Spaine was much discontented.

The Estates of the vniued Prouinces not content to make head against the forces of B Spaine within their countrey, they sent forth a goodlie fleet, in the which were about 8000 souldiers and mariners, with all other necessary prouisions for such a preparation. They set saile on the 25 day of May, hauing for Generall *Peter vander Does*, and went to affront the Spaniards at their owne doores. On the eleuenth of Iune comming neere the Groine, they met with two small boats, which were sent forth to discover them: in one of them they found a Spaniard, by whom they vnderstood, that they had bene aduertised of their comming vpon that coast, where they stood vpon their gard, and that in the Groine there were foure thousand foot, and some horse: which made the Generall (hauing called all the capitaines to counsell) to thinke it not expedient to attempt any thing in those parts. Which made them to hoise saile, and to bend their course towards Cap S.

C Vincent: to passing the islands of Lancerote, Allegance, and Forre-aventure, they disco- uered the great island of the Canaries, whereas the Generall *vander Does* came with his whole fleet before the towne of Alegoena, the 26 day of Iune, where he cast anker vnder the great castle, which is on the North-west part of the towne; and causing those ships to approach which had the greatest ordnance, he began in like maner to batter the castle of Gratiofa. The Spaniards and islanders hauing three peeces of ordnance, resolved to hinder their landing, after some great shot from the castle, which did much annoy the Hollanders. In the meane time the Generall put part of his armie into boats, to row to land, but not able to come vnto the shore, for want of water, he leapt first into the sea vp to the girdle, being followed by all the rest, who marched resolutely to land, notwithstanding all the attempts of the Spaniards and islanders, who kept their ground, and defended the landing verie valiantly: yet the Hollanders forced them, not without some losse of their men. At this charge the Spaniards lost some fortie men, before they would quit the place: among others the gouernour (being on horsebacke) had a leg shot off with a great peece. The Generall of the Hollanders was hurt in the leg with a pike, and had three light hurts on the bodie, and if one of his souldiers had not laine the Spaniard which in- counted him, he had bene in danger of his life. The islanders leauing their artillerie fled to the towne with their lame gouernour, and the Hollanders landed at their ease. They of the castle of Gratiofa seeing foure and twentie companies of Hollanders lan- ded, and put in battell, and their colours flying, there came three mariners running from towards the castle, who told the Generall, That they of the castle would yeeld, if they might haue their liues and goods saued: whither hee presently went with some cap- taines, to whose mercie the place was yeelded, they leauing their armes, nine peeces of brasse ordnance, and six of yron, with all the prouision and munition. There were eight and fiftie prisoners, all the rest hauing bene slaine by the canon, all which he sent home in a Spanish ship which the fleet had taken, reseruing only three of the chiefe for his better instruction.

The Hollanders meaning the next day to besiege Alegoena, they were much annoyed by the canon of another castle which was neere vnto the towne, so as being forced to fetch their canon to batter it, they spent foure houres, the great ordnance playing of either side: in the end they within the castle being beaten from their defences, their ordnance dismounted, and their men slaine, the Generall hauing also set one of the towne gates on fire, which they of the towne, castle, and a mountaine which shot with some great ordnance, seeing they abandoned both towne, castle, hill, and artillerie, and fled to rockes and caues in the mountaines, carrying their plate, jewels, and the richest of their mouables with them, with their wiues and children.

Success of the  
Estates army at  
the Canaries.

Castle of Grati-  
of yeelded to  
the Hollanders.

Towne and ca-  
stle of Alegoena  
abandoned.

1599

After this the Generall caused some ladders to bee brought, with the which they entered the towne, finding no opposition. His men ran directly to the castle, where the Spaniards, at their retreat, had left a mine, with a match burning, the which tooke fire before the Hollanders were entred, so as it did them no harme. They found five peeces of ordnance in the place, the which, with all the rest of the bootie which they found, was carried into the Admirals ship, as the Estates had commaunded. The towne and castle being taken, the Generall put his men in battell, as if hee would muster them, in a plaine within the towne. The souldiers brought a Flestinguer vnto him, whom they had drawne out of prison: whereupon the Generall went vnto the prisons, and freed some six and thirtie persons, who told him, that the inhabitants flying away, they had been quartered, and lodged within the towne, except such as were appointed to bee in gard towards the mountaines, whereas the islanders did sometimes shew themselves in great troupes. The towne was spoyle of all that remained, the best being carried away; and then the Generall caused a proclamation to bee made, That no man should appropriate any goods vnto himselfe, for such was the will of the Estates.

Estates men  
slaine in the  
mountaines.

On the nine and twentieth of Iune some mariners went vp into the mountaines to get some bootie, but the islanders intercepted them, and slue some twentie. Towards euening the Generall sent three hundred men to a small castle; halfe a league from the towne, but the garrison seeing them approach abandoned it presently, and fled to the mountaines; whereas the Estates men found three peeces of ordnance, and leauing a Squadron there, the rest returned to the towne. The last of Iune the Generall commaunded that the wine, oyle, and all other goods, should bee imbarked. The Spaniards that were in the mountaines did often make offer to treat, but the Generall hearing their first demands, which hee held impertinent, dismissed them, and would giue them no more audience. The Hollanders being master of the towne, the Generall caused the bells, artillerie, munition, and all other commodities which the islanders had left behind them, to be shipped, and then he sent two thousand to charge them that were fled into the mountaines, who at the first made head, and fought valiantly; where, although the Spaniards had great aduantage, yet they retired into the mountaines, where the Hollanders not knowing the passages, durst not pursue them, but returned to the towne with the losse of seuentie men, and one sea captain.

Alcogena burnt  
by the Hollanders.

The next day the Generall blew vp the castle of the towne, and burnt all the churches and religious houses, both within and without it: then, being readie to make his retreat, he drew forth his men in battell, and caused the towne to be fired: Then they marcht to Gratiofa, some halfe mile from the towne (which castle they also blew vp) where their boats attended them to carrie them aboard. They were no sooner imbarked, but the islanders came running from the mountaines to quench the fire. The Generall being at sea, hee called all the captaines to counsell, asking their aduice what was to bee done, and to informe himselfe of the situation of other islands in those parts. At this time there came certaine Spaniards to the shore, which desired a parley. Whereupon the Generall sent forth a boat to fetch them: Their comming was onely for those prisoners which had beene taken in the castle of Gratiofa; whose ransomes being payed, they were let goe.

Gomora taken  
by the Hollanders.

Leauing this island, within few daies after the fleet discovered the island of Gomora, one of the Canaries, whereas they landed without any resistance, the Spaniards and islanders being fled to the mountaines and caues, as they had done from Alegoena. The Hollanders hauing taken Gomora, and seeing the islanders flee to the mountaines, there were foure companies, which landed first, pursued them, to cut off their passage: but being ignorant of the passages, they were charged by the Spaniards, who slue 80 of their men. The Generall hauing caused the ordnance, bells, wine, and such other commodities as he found there, to be imbarked, hee set fire to the towne, which the islanders came running downe to quench, as they had done at Alegoena.

Behold

1599

A Behold how these two Ilands of the great Canarie and Gomora, which in a hundred yeares had not seene any enemies, were spoyle and burnt by the States armie, the which diuided it selfe into two parts; and twenty ships were sent homeward with the spoile they had taken, vnder the command of the Admirall *John Ghesbrantsen*, who arrived scatteringly about the middest of September. The Generall *Vander Does* bent his course with thirty and sixe ships towards the Iland of *Saint Thome*, which is vpon the coast of Guinee, directly vnder the Equinoctiall line. This Iland is inhabited with naturall Portugals, and abounds with Sugars, which is their greatest trade: whereof they became Masters vpon their first approach, without any resistance or losse. But the Hollanders B being more accustomed to the cold blasts of the Northerne Region, than to the violent heat of the burning Zone, they were not long Masters thereof, but there fell a conragious sicknesse among them, wherof they died in very great torments. The Generall seeing this, caused them to imbarke the spoile with *Francisco de Meneses*, Gouvernour of the said Iland, his prisoner: but this infection did not leaue them being at sea, for they died in so great numbers, as the Generall *Vander Does*, and all the Captains but two or three, with three parts of the Mariners & Souldiers had no other Sepulchres but the Sea, so as they had scarce men to gouerne their ships, yet in the end they got home safely by one and one.

*Saint Thome*  
taken by the  
Hollanders.

In the beginning of this yeare began the Iubile at Rome, which although it doth not directly concerne this Historie of Spaine, yet haue I presumed to make a litle digression to relate the maner of this ceremony. This action of Iubile was in old time so rare, as few men might see it twice in their times. *Bonifacius* 8 ordained first of all that it should be celebrated at Rome euerie hundred yeares, and made it to be past in forme of a law, which before was done but by deuotion. *Clement* 6 abridged it to fiftie, to reduce it to the prefixed time of the ceremoniall law, which yeare all debts and iniuries were abolished, and the trumpets and cornets did sound lower than of custome. *Vrbane* 6 had another consideration: Our Sauour had liued thirty and three yeres in the world, and therefore he wold that men reuerencing the yeare which fell out at the end of that space, should sanctifie it with the celebratio of the Iubile. *Paul* 2 finding the time yet too long, diuided the hundred into foure parts, that as the Bulls are proclaimed at the foure corners of Rome, and bind the that pretend to obtaine the pardons which are granted in this reuolution of yeres, to visit the foure principall Churches, so the foure parts of the world should be inuited to frequent this Iubile, so called of the Hebrew word Iobel, which signifies a Rammes home, for that it was published that yeare by the found of the Cornet with reioicing. It doth commonly begin on New yeares eue, with a solenne procession, in the which the Pope, the Cardinals, the Embassadors of Christian Princes, the Prelates, Clergie and Officers of the citie of Rome, march according to their ranks, with a world of people, vnto the doore called Holy, which finding walled vp, and neuer open but the yeare of Iubile, they put a candle into one of the Popes hands, and a little sluer hammer into the other, with the which hauing strooke thrice vpon the wall, it is presently beaten downe by men appointed to that purpose, whereupon the people carrie away the peeces with great ptease and deuotion.

1600  
Iubile at Rome.

*Clement* had preidents for the deferring of this day *Iulio* 3 began his Iubile in the yeare 1550, on S. Mathias day, for that the Sea had been void vntill then. The importune paine of the gout should haue made *Clement* delay this ceremony: but the concourse of people was greater at Rome than had bin in the memory of man: the Pilgrimes were exceeding poore, and a longer stay wold haue bin very hurtfull vnto them. Which inuited the Pope not to frustrate their expectation: wherefore hee was carried in a chaire according to the custome, and gaue his first blessing to this worke the first day of the yeare.

F The French king hauing long expected restitution of the Marquise of Salusses, which the duke of Sauoy detained from him, or some recompence, was forced to seek it by arms: whereupon he came in person with an army into Sauoy, and tooke the chiefe places of strength. The earle of Fuentes Gouvernour of Milan fortified the duke with foure thousand Spaniards. The Ministers of Spaine murmured much at the French kings approaching so neare Italie, saying, that the Marquise of Salusses was the pretext, but Milan

Spaniard apprehends  
the French kings  
taking of Sauoy

or

or Naples was the true cause of this warre. Italie was in alarme, who thought that the idleness of the French at home would make them trouble their neighbours: The Pope feares that these first sparkles will set all their neighbours on fire: The duke of Sicilia, king Philips ambassador at Rome presses him; hee cries out of the miseries & calamities which the continuance of this warre would cause; hee doth intreat, beseech, and coniure the Pope to send Cardinall *Aldobrandin* his nephew to the most Christian king to quench the fire of this great diuision, and to exhort them to come vnto the effects of the treatie of Paris: which the Pope did willingly yeeld vnto.

Spanish forces  
keep Christen-  
dome in alarme

After an accord made betwixt the French king and the duke of Sauoy, all things seemed quiet, but suddenly both Italie and France were in alarme, hauing intelligence that both the duke of Sauoy, and the Earle of Fuentes, kept their forces together, and increased them daily, and that they had some great designe which could not be yet discovered, they threatened many, to strike but one, but no man knew where the chance would fall: that all the Princes of Christendome had cause to doubt him, and that the king of Spaine would make himselfe fearefull by armes in the beginning of his reign: but they knew not whether his designe was against Asia, Afrike or Europe. Men spake diuinely of this preparation; In France some said that the king of Spaine would reuine the pretensions of his Grand-father, *Charles* the first, against the Venetians: others said, and with some reason, as the issue will verifie, that hee threatened to enter the estates of the great duke of Tuscany, with this mightie army, if he deliuered not into his hands that man which for some yeares had qualified himselfe, *D Sebastian* the true and lawfull king of Portugall, who being banished from Venice vpon this occasion, had bene staied at Florence as hee past, thinking to imbarke at Liouorne to get to Marceilles, and so come vnto the king during the warre of Sauoy. The Venetians gaue order for their Gulphe, and did thinke to demand *Frances de Bonnes* Lord of Des Digueres from the French king, to be their leader, if they were invaded; to the end that as France had lately furnished the Emperour with a Lieutenant General, and Malta with a great Master against the Infidels, it might also supply them with a great Capitaine against the Spaniards, if hee did attempt to trouble the quiet of their estate.

At Rome it was bruted that Geneva was in danger, and that the Marquess of Aix was sent thither to intreat the Pope to blesse the enterprise, and to fortifie it with his meanes. In England they thought that some great men had some practises in Castille; and the yeares following will shew that their jealousie was not vaine. The Flemings said that it was to make king *Philip* to be declared king of Romans: but it were not conuenient to breed new factions among the Princes of Germany, when as the Turke was so powerfull in Hungarie.

All these erred in their iudgements, time had discovered that this great armie which so troubled mens affections, was entertained for an enterprise which they had vpon Marceilles, but one of them which should haue deliuered the Towne to the Earle of Fuentes, discovered it to the duke of Guise, and so they were disappointed.

Gentleman of  
Venice enter-  
tied.

During the stay of this army in Italie, a Venetian Gentleman of the house of *Donati*, appointed to be gouernour of Crete, was conuicted to haue intelligence with the Spaniard, and publicly executed; hee testified that this army had many and diuers delignes at one instant, of the which if any one had succeeded it may be they had not lost their time and paines at sea, as they did at land. But seeing all their designes proue vaine both in Italie and Prouence, the army imbarked at Vada, in the State of Genoua, in two troupes, the one vnder the command of *D. John Andrew Doria*, and the other vnder *Charles Doria* his Son, and so they bent their course towards the Turkes, being in all seuentie galleies, to the which the Pope, the king of Spaine, the great duke of Tuscany, the duke of Sauoy, and the great Master of Malta had contributed. The Venetians would not infringe the peace they had with the great Turke, and yet they provided for all things necessarie for their defence, both by sea and land, if any did quarrell with them.

Enterprise iust  
but not blest of  
heauen.

The enterprise was iust and worthy of the first stratagems of a Prince, who desires to begin his raigne by some worthy act; the opportunity of doing well being so fauorable, as if Christendome could haue made her profit by the diuision which was then in

A in *Mahomet* estate, by the mutinies of the Ianisaries, and the reuolts in Asia, they might in shew haue aduanced the accomplishment of that prophesie, whereof the Turkes doe not speake but with sighes, That by the common armes of the Christians they shall be rooted from the face of the earth.

This armie being imbarked they came, in the beginning of Iuly, to Naples to make prouision of great store of armes, and a good number of Petards, which made the world thinke that hee would both arme some of the Turkes subiects, which were ready to reuolt, and that hee had intelligence in some place to surpris it suddenly. And for that footmen are alwaies weake if they bee not seconded by some horse, they made prouision also of fiftene hundred, or two thousand armors for horsemen.

The Venetians seeing them bend their course towards Messina, entred into new apprehensions, that if they attempted any thing in Albania they should bee troubled in their gulse, but being come to Trepany, which is the promontarie of Sicile next to Afrike, they were freed from this feare. Hauing past the Ilands of Baleares, they then thought it was for Alger. But *Cigala* of Sicile was come from Constantinople with fifty galleies to crosse his delignes, and to watch him vpon his retreat, being loth to fight at one instant against the Christians and against the Moores, their slaues and rebels; for it was giuen out that the Christian army should be assisted with eight or ten thousand Moores, and some Christians. Wherefore *Cigala* had drawne all them that dwelt along the Seacoast, and might fauour this army into the Towne, and did shut vp aboute tenn thousand slaues in caues, tyed with double chaines, and straitly garded.

There was great hope of good successe of this enterprise; and the Spaniards said, that the King would giue good testimony of his affection to Christendome. Prince *Doria* the better to fauour this designe, had intreated the great Master of Malta, in the king of Spaines name, to send some galleies to spoile in the Levant seas, and to make a diuersion of the Turkes forces, and to aduertise him of their course. They were verie fortunate in the designe, for passing into Morea with sixe galleies, *Beau-regard* a French knight had commandement to set a Petard to the gate of Chasteau-neuf, which the Turkes call Passana; and in the meantime some other knights should attempt by Scalado on the other side. As nothing is easie to cowards, so the valiant find nothing difficult: where they entred with such furie, as they forced the second Port, and yet it was valiantly defended by seuen or eight hundred Turkes, where they tooke many slaues, cloyed their ordnance, spoiled and burnt the Town and countrie about it, and returned with speed.

Chasteaufort  
in Morea taken  
by the knights  
of Malta.

The Sea armie of Spaine recovered the coast of Afrike, but both men at land, and windes at Sea were banded against it. God would not blesse this enterprise although it were iust and holie, the reasons remaine in the Register of his iustice and infinit wisdom: against the which wee may not murmure, as the Romanes did against the conduct and gouernment of their gods, when as they saw that *Pompey*, doing nothing according vnto iustice, was fauoured with their assistance; and when as hee fought for their laws and countrie, yea for the gods themselves, he was most vnfortunate. Prince *Doria* seeing that both heauen, earth, and sea did crosse his delignes, resolued to retire and not attempt anything.

The Prince of Parma did serue as a voluntarie in this army: who grieuing to see this great armie returne without any employment, desiring rather to erre in iudgement than in the greatnesse of his courage, told Prince *Doria*, That hee should not suffer so goodlie an armie to returne without some attempt, the which had done nothing but incense a mightie enemy, who to bee reuenged of a dead enterprise ready for execution, would seeke to annoy the king of Spaine in all his estates. To whom the old man made this present answer: I know my charge, my head is grown white in learning this experience. Your excellencie is accountable vnto the king my lord but for your pike onely, and I for a whole army, wherein although I haue bene vnfortunate, yet will I not that other parts belonging to my charge, as coultage, authoritie and experience shall faile thee, or that any shall obiect vnto me that I haue erred therein. A gallant and worthy answer, to teach a young Prince how great

Prince of Parma  
speech to  
Prince Doria.

Prince Doria  
his answer

his answer

his answer

his answer



great fouer hee bee in an armie) that hee must onely studie to obey, and not to lead and command which was the Generalls charge.

So Prince *Doria* hauing discharged his armie went towards Genoua, chosing rather to giue them cause to speake disgracefully of his retreat, than to haue attempted an impossible enterprise in vaine. The Popes Gallies attended the Prince of Parma at Barcelona, who was gone into Spaine to kisse the king of Spaines hands. Those of the great duke of Tuscany went to Genoua, and from thence to Li- uorne.

Policy of the  
corte of Fran-  
ce.

Most of the Souldiers came and lodged in the duchie of Milan, to the vtter ruine of the Countrie. But the Earle of Fuentes, who neuer forceth the people when hee can persuade them, found an inuention to make this burthen sweet and supporta- ble. Hee fought to drawe their commerce by water from Milan to Paui, and cau- sed them to digge Trenches, to bring the Riuer together which are betwixt those Townes.

The people seeing commodities that might well recompence their losses with aduantage, seasoned the remembrance of their present harme, with the hope of so great a good. Many haue attempted the like, but in vaine, who in the end haue bene forced to giue ouer the worke, and to leaue the world as it was made.

The Emperour *Charlesmaigne*, sought to ioyne the Riuer of Rhin to the Danowe, and the Morelle to the Rhin, to the end the French might traffike by water through- out all Europe, and to this end hee caused great and deepe Trenches to bee made, but finding lesse, not fore-seene nor thought off, they remained vnprofitable and filled of themselves.

And the Earle of Fuentes encounters great difficulties in this designe, which did frustrate their worke, and renewed the peoples complaints, when as they sawe themselves furcharged with the ruines of this last Ship-wracke, and that the Souldiers which came from the armie of Alger, liued in Lombardie at discretion and with- out discretion: wherefore to giue the Millanois some ease, hee entreated the duke of Sauoy to lodge the Regiment of *Barbo*, in the Marquisate of Salusses, burknow- ing how difficult a thing it is to make the Spaniard leaue his lodging, he excused him- selfe vpon the ruine and miserie of his estates.

Ten billings  
flaring.

In the end the king of Spaines Commisaries cast those companies of Italians that were in Alexandria, they wrapt vp their colours, disarmed them, and left them in a manner naked, giuing to euerie one but five liuers of that Countrie money; the King of Spaine hauing no meanes to doe better, his Treasurie being much wasted in the charges of this last sea armie, being also to furnish money for the Swisses and Germanes.

Infanta of  
Spain borne.

This yeare the Queene of Spaine was brought in bed of her first Childe, the which although it were a Daughter, yet were the Spaniard as full of ioy as the French were for their new borne Dauphin, saying they had rather their Queene should beginne with a Daughter than with a Sonne, least they should fall into those difficulties which ielousie and ambition doe breede, when as the Sonne grows vp so soone and sollicit his father to be gone, when as their ages are in a manner confounded, the one being in the flower, the other in the season of frutes, the which is fittest for gouernement; and that the desire to succede may not trouble the order of Nature, which makes the one repeat that they are fathers, and shewes the other unworthy to be children.

This Daughter was borne on Saint *Maurice* day, the second of September, and was after wards Christned *Anna Maria Mauricetta*.

Outrage done  
vnto Rochepot,  
embassadour in  
Spaine.

There fell out an accident this Summer, which had like to haue drawne the two great Monarchs of Christendome into armes. The Maiestie of kings is so inter- cessed in the wrong which is done vnto their Embassadours, as there is nothing more sensible, nor a iuster subiect to quarrell with them that doe the wrong: And this pretext is so nice, as the Prince which suffers the wrong vnpunished, is no lesse cul- pable than they that doe it.

This

A This accident did trouble the mindes of many, and transported their imaginati- ons beyond the Pyrenees, if hee who quencheth the last combustions of France; had not speedily cast water vpon this new fire which began to kindle. A nephew of the earle of Rochepots, embassadour in Spaine for the French king, bathing himselfe at night with some other Gentlemen after the manner of the French: certaine Spani- ards looking on them, vsed some iesting speeches, which were as suddenly answered, wherewith the Spaniards being moued: cast the French mens clothes into the wa- ter, the French attired themselves with all speed, and from words they fell to swords, in which conflict there were some Spanish Gentlemen slaine, and some hurt. The kinsmen of the dead made complaint vnto the king of Spaine, who commanded his officers to doe justice as the cause required. And they, not remembering that the name of an embassadour is inuiolable, even among enemies, forced the doores of his lodging without any respect, and drew forth his Nephew, and some other Gentlemen to pri- son.

The French king, being aduertised of this affront, was much offended, and deman- ded satisfaction from the king of Spaine, else hee should not take him for his friend, and withall hee called home his embassadour, forbidding all his subiects to traffike into Spaine and Portugall, vpon paine of corporall punishment, and the losse of goods, protesting to be reuenged if reason were not done him by some mild course:

Traffike forbid-  
den into Spaine

C whereupon hee went presently towards the frontiers and came to Calais. The iniury done vnto Rochepot, the defence of traffike, and the kings approach, made all men thinke that this goodlie Sunne of peace, which began but to spread his beames over both realmes, would be soone eclipsed, at the least it would bee ouer-cast with clouds, from whence would grow many great and ruinous stormes.

The Archduke tooke an alarme at the kings approach, being then at the sege of Ostend: wherefore hee sent the Earle of Sora to beseech his Majestie not to suffer his enemies to preuaile against him, and presume to find a support in him, which would be of dangerous consequence for all other people that would shake off the yoke of obedience, and an odious example to princes from whome they should receiue alaw.

Archduke in-  
uolous of the  
French king.

D And for that many thought the king would embrace this occasion of the sege of Ostend, whereby it seemed he should haue good meanes to enter into Artois, with- out any opposition, he sent the duke of Esiguillon to assure the archduke that he had no other designe but to maintaine peace with all his neighbours; that his coming to Calais, was to view and to provide for that which should bee necessarie to assure the frontiers against all dangers. That he desired peace, yet would not endure a wrong: And as he did hope, the king of Spain would do him reason for the affront done vnto his em- bassadour, so he would not seeke any reuenge vntill it were denied him. But the Pope fear- ing that this violence offered to the French embassadour, would not passe without some reuenge, and that it might kindle a warre betwixt these two great kings, hee sent into Spaine for the prisoners, the which were sent vnto him, and hee presently deliuered them into the hands of *Monsieur de Bethunes*, embassadour for the French king at Rome: and so the peace was continued.

French king  
sends to the  
Archduke.

Impost now make some mention of a wonder or miracle in Spain, wherof the Spaniards brag much, but I leaue it to the iudicious Reader to beleue what he please: it is a bell in Arragon, which they say, doth sometimes ring without any mans help, and therefore they call it, The miraculous bell.

Bell in Arragon  
miraculous.

Neere vnto the riuer of Ebro, whereas in old time was a colony of Romans, called *Curia Celsa*, from whence they brought goodly vessels of Alabastrer, as *Titus Lin- ius* and others doe witnesse, there is a place, the ruines wherof shew that there hath been a great town which is now demanteled, and did stretch from Villila vnto a place cal- led *Celsa*, which keeps stil the old name though it bee corrupted.

Neere Villila there is a little hil, on the top wherof there is a little church dedicated to S. *Nicholas*, where among other things there is a square stone of alabastrer, very ancient, on the

the which there are many personages cut in stone, kneeling before a Bell, which hangs in a Tower of that steeple. But now the Church hath a Tower vnderpropt with three pillars, in the which there hangs two bells, one a little one, which calls the neighbours daily to diuine seruice, and the greater is commonly called by them the miraculouse Bell, the which is ten spannes about, and there is printed on it on two places: The picture of Christ crucified, with that of the Virgin Mary and Saint *Iohn*, the one towards the East and the other towards the West; and in like manner two crosses, one towards the South, and the other towards the North, and about it there are Letters grauen which containe this Sibilline propheticke: *Christum Rex venit in pace, Deus homo factus est.* This bell by ancient tradition, as they affirme, hath often founded of it selfe, and hath foretold strange H and v unexpected events.

This yeare one thousand sixe hundred and one, on the thirteenth day of Iune, this bell did found without the helpe of man, and without any shaking, the knepple striking sometimes on one side alone, and sometimes on both sides of the bell; at the first it gaue fixe stroakes, then nine, and afterwards twelve, fiftene, and in the end thirty stroakes, continuing striking after this manner for the space of two houres; and the greatest blowes were for the most part giuen towards the East, and towards the South: and diuers daies following it strooke sundrie times in the presence of the Curate of the place, and of an infinite number of people, vntill Saturday the sixteenth of that moneth: So as the bruit of this noueltie was spred ouer the whole Countre, and in the end it came vnto Sarragossa the chiefe Towne of the Realme of Arragon, whereas D. *Garcia* of Villiapando, Lord of Quinto and Villila, was at that time, who hearing these newes went with his wife, and daughters, and many others of good accompt, presently to Villila, being desirous to see that with their eyes which had bene reported: and for that after their arrivall the bell found still some daies, they held themselves very vnfortunate, that they came not in time, fearing it would found no more.

But the next day which was Thursday, being *Corpus Christi* day, about fixe of the clocke in the morning, when they were ready to goe in procession, it beganne to found very lowd, and so continued diuers times, vntill the day after Saint *Iohn Baptists* day, that it stayed for a time, and afterwards as if the clapper had bene guided by ones hand, it gaue twenty great stroakes towards the East verie melodiously, and so it ceased.

They say that they haue autentike testimonies in their Annales, that this bell did found of it selfe, when as *Afonso* the first, king of Arragon, went into Italie, to take possession of the Realme of Naples; and when as the Emperour *Charles* the first, died: In like maner when as D. *Sebastian* king of Portugall went into Afrike; and when as king *Philip* the second was extremely sicke at Badajos, at which time his wife Queene *Anne* dyed; from which time vntill now it had neuer founded. This Bell did found (as I haue said) when as D. *Sebastian* went into Afrike, and the Portugals (who alwaies produce some Prophecies, assure that this bell did found this yeare for the retorne of their king D. *Sebastian*.

The accident of a man which termed himselfe D. *Sebastian*, sometime king of Portugall, is so common throughout all Christendome, as there is not any Nation but talks of him, yet diuerly: The verification thereof would not onely giue pleasure and profit, but would rauish many of them with admiration, who beleue him to be so, as well as the others, who hold him to bee an Impostor, or a Magitian: And with all it might serue for an example, as well to those that are now or shall come hereafter, in matter of willfull and malicious incredulitie, as well as in too indiscreet and light beleefe.

The Spaniards in this beleefe are contrarie to the Portugalls, for they hold him for an Impostor. Some among them say, that he is a Calabrois, borne at Taurne: others maintaine that he is Monke, which had renounced his order: And others hold that it is one *Mark Tulle Catizian*, born in a town of Apulia, & that he hath a wife liuing at Messina, being induced by some Portugalls enemies to the Spaniards, who by this pre-

text

D. Sebastian  
king of Portu-  
gall.

Opinion of the  
Spaniards of D.  
Sebastian.

A text would seeke the deliuerie of the realm of Portugall; which they say, is held by the violence of the Kings of Castille: That in most certaine the king D. *Sebastian* was slaine at the battell in Afrike: That he being dead, his bodie was knowen and deemed by king *Philip* the second for a hundred thousand etrowes. Others say, that the Moores deliuered it without any money, by reason of the accord made betwixt *Malley Moab*, and king *Philip*: it is true that king *Philip* did sollicite them for it by reason of his pretensions. That hee was honourably interred at Belem by Lisboners: That foure kings, accompting the election of D. *Antonio*, haue raigned since his death. That it is not likely that king *Sebastian* should haue continued two and twenty yeeres a prisoner, and a wanderer about the world, and not haue a desire, nor find any means to make himselfe to be knowen for him who this Impostor saies he is. Moreover, the miserable estate wherein this afforther hath long liued among poore people, and in the end was scene in Italie before hee sailed who hee was, hauing not written vnto any of the Princes of Christendome: That hee could not answer pertinently to all the demands made vnto him by the Seigniorie of Venice, who had deliberately examined him both in prison and at liberty. And that he had not all the markes which the deceased king D. *Sebastian* had. That the king D. *Sebastian* was flaxen haired, and this Impostor is blacke. That he doth not speake good Portugall. That in all Ages there haue bene some seene to resemble one another in countenance, to be of the like stature, and to haue like markes. That it is not now alone that there haue bene such Impostors which said they were the king D. *Sebastian*; yea a Mason borne in the Island of Tercere, was so impudent as to assume himselfe to be the same, who was followed by some Portugalls armed, and if he had entred into Lisbon on Affention day, as he had resolved, and had written vnto the Gouernour, he had bene receiued by all the Portugalls for their king D. *Sebastian*: but others say, that onely some peasants of the countrey followed him, and that he had written vnto the cardinall *Albert* to leaue Portugall; but being taken and knowen for an Impostor, he was hanged. That also in a Prouince of Portugall called Beira, a certain Portugall of bale condition maintaine himselfe to be the king D. *Sebastian*: the which was giuen out to be so true, as *Albert* Cardinall of Austria then Viceroy of Portugall, was resolved (as the Portugalls themselves say) to retire himselfe into Castille, yet by the aduice of the five Gouernours of Portugall, which gouerned the realme ioyntly with him, he sent to capitaine *Gil de Mesa* (who at this day is one of the French Kings chamber) to go and apprehend him with his companion of two hundred men, and to bring him with honour and respect: for if haply hee were the same whom he vaunted himselfe to be, hee would deliuer vp into his hands the scepter and crowne of the kings of Portugall, with his realmes. *Gil de Mesa* went into the prouince of Beira, and came to the towne of Pena macor, where he tooke him easily, and carried him to Lisbon, who being knowen for an impostor, he was publickely whipt and sent to the gallies; which Impostor liued of late yeeres, and was called *Sebastian* in derision, who was not hanged notwithstanding, for that in his processe hee was not found charged with any other crimes than with that of his intention: But one who termed himselfe Bishop of La gard was hanged, for that hee had perswaded this man: And as for the cardinall *Albert*, he would not retire, but whenas the King D. *Antonio* came into Portugall with his sea armie. That there haue not onely bene such Impostors, who termed themselves to be the king D. *Sebastian*; but that lately in Castille, there was a pie baker at Madrigal, who gaue it out secretly, that he was D. *Charles* prince of Spain, whom king *Philip* his father had put to death twenty yeeres before, who being knowen for an abuser was hanged: Others say, that this pie baker termed himselfe king *Sebastian*, being incited thereunto by *Michel delos Sanctos* an Augustine Frier, Preacher to Queene *Katherine*, who was hanged in his religious habite: That in like maner other ages had furnished the like Impostors which had taken vpon them the name of Kings and Prin-

ces. The Portugalls on the other side maintaine, that this is their true king by many and sundry great markes, which he carries like vnto those of the true *Sebastian*, wherein they are the better confirmed, for that the Spaniards (say they) ground onely vpon simple common, and light presumptions, the which doe in no sort ballance for many marks and

D d d d d

Portugalls opi-  
nion touching  
D. Sebastian.

reasons

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reason which iustifie this to be the true king: And moreover, that the Spaniards, who say that he is a Calabrois, a Monke, or *Marc Tullio Catizoni* of Apulia, have not yet produced any apparent proofes of his life and means whom they call an Impostor. The which they may lo easily doe; by the authoritie and absolute power which they haue in those Prouinces, as the Portugalls doe not receiue their negatiue, but for a meere slander: but on the other side they repeat the life of *D. Sebastian* from his birth, vnto his coming to Saint Lucar of Barameda, with many prophesies, signes, and predictions: the which we haue added, that it may serue as an example to posteritie.

Birth of D. Sebastian king of Portugall.

*D. Sebastian* (as you haue heard) was the onely sonne and after-birth of the Prince *D. John* sonne to this king *D. John* the third, who died young, leaving *D. Ioane* of Austria, princeesse of Castille, and daughter to the Emperour *Charles* the first with child, who was deliuered of *D. Sebastian* on Saint *Sebastians* day, eightene dayes after the fathers death, who as it seemes was in a manner writed out of the hands of God, by the great prayers which were made generally throughout the realme of Portugall, to the end the crowne should not be left without lawfull heires males: in the succesion of great *Alphonso* the first king of Portugall. They were induced hereunto by the predictions and reuelations which had beene giuen to the said *Alphonso* the first founder of the said realme: by the which it was promised them of God, *To warrant his posteritie in such sort as it should not faile upon the earth, yet, at the sixteenth descent from him, it should haue great tribulations and afflictions.*

By this Oracle it appeareth it was spoken of his birth, for the which also the Portugalls made such praier, and shewed such deuotion, for that they feared to fall vnder the Spaniards yoke, who are their natural enemies: either for that the Portugalls had in olde time their beginning from the French, as the name doth shew, for that the French coming into those parts did inhabit that country, and gaue it their name; or else for that the Spaniards being enuious of their prosperities, seeking alwayes to raigene ouer them, are become their enemies without cause.

The king *D. Sebastian* being ouerthrowne at the battell of *Alcaferquibir* in Africke, the Spaniards say that some noblemen of Portugall which followed him, seeing all lost, aduised him to reite, but he answered that he had rather die, and so thrust into the midst of his enemies, where some noblemen entred with him, where they beleue he died, whose bodie they say was buried at Belem.

But the Portugalls say, that they did neuer beleue that it was *D. Sebastians* bodie, or that he was dead, but that he imbarqued (as you shall heare) and that he went into Algarue, and put himselfe into a monastrie of Ieronimits, or according vnto some, of *S. Francis*, whom they called *los Descalcos*, or the bare footed, and there hee caused his wounds to bee cured; the which they say had beene verified by a seruant to Cardinall *Henric* the Kings vnckle, who was a Church-man and trusty to his master, and brought an Act signed by the Gardian and monks of the said monastrie of Ieronimits: this seruants name was *Mmanuel Antonex*: But cardinall *Henric*, who was acknowledged king, did not then speake neither did the said *Mmanuel Antonex*: the which (as they say) was afterwards the cause of great miseries in Portugall: for the cardinall dying notwithstanding that the Portugalls did after him chooſe *D. Antonio* a prince of Portugall for their lawfull king, yet the king of Castille seized vpon the Realme, and held it by force. Afterwards the said *Mmanuel Antonex* revealed this Act, seeing that in the yeere 1598, it was said that *D. Sebastian* was recovered; who being sent for by king *Philip*, hee went vnto him, but no man knew what was become of him, some said he was dead.

How the Portugalls beleue that D. Sebastian rescued himselfe from the battell.

The Portugalls beleue, that the king *D. Sebastian* (seeing the battell lost, that hee was in daunger to be taken, but that defending himselfe valiantly, hee slew some which fought to take him, and hid himselfe amongst the dead carcases vntill night, at which time hee went towards the sea, where the rest of his armie lay in the roade. There hee met with the Duke of *Auero Christopher de Tanora* his great fauourite, the Erie of *Redonde*, and other noblemen, with whom he imbarqued, and went into Algarue, as you haue heard, sending his shippes away: where hee resolved with the said noblemen to wander ouer all Europe, Aſiacke, and Asia, into Ethiopia to *Pete Ian*, and into Persia, where hee was in battells against the Turke, and receiued many wounds.

Being

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A Being wearie of running, and tired with the vanitie of the world, hee came vnto an Hermitage, where hee continued vntill hee had viſions and reuelations both to himselfe, and to an Hermit with whom hee liued: so as after many delays he left him: which was in the yeere 1597. And that being in Sicilie he sent letters into Portugall, by *Marc Tullio Catizoni* a Sicilian, who neuer returned, and was neuer seen since. That king *Sebastian* after hee had attended him long, parted from Sicilie, with an intent to manifest himselfe vnto the Pope. But there fell out an other accident, his seruants robbed him, and ranne awdy, so as he remained naked and without meanes, being forced to begge vp and downe Italie: and in the end hee came to Venice in Iune 1598, having but one gazette, which is not a peny of our English mony: being there, he got into a Cooks house, and lodged in a poore cockloft or garret, the Cookes name was *Francisco*, borne in Cyprus, who (being but a poore man and charged with wife and many children) entertained him as well as he could, for the vertues and good parts which he seemed to haue, being continually at his prayers.

Within few dayes he was discouered by the Portugalls to be *D. Sebastian* king of Portugall, whereupon some of them carried him to Padoua, whether it were vpon hope to be aduanced by him, or otherwise, so as there was a great broue of him. The Embassador of Spaine made his complaints, and the Seigniorie sent to the gouernors of Padoua to chase away this man, who called himselfe *D. Sebastian* king of Portugall, within 3 daies out of their towne. This sentence being signified vnto him, touched him so neere as hee felt sicke. Being recovered, he resolved to go in person to Venice to yeeld an accompt of himselfe. He presents himselfe vnto the Senate, relates the historie of his life, his rout in Africke, his retreat into Calabria, his resolution neuer to haue shewed himselfe in anie place of knowledge for the shame of his disgrace, and the punishment of his rashnesse, if the Spirit of God had not inspired him with another will, and giuen him a certaine assurance to make him known for him that he was borne. He added moreover, that among all the soueraigne Estates of Europe, he would not haue recourse to any, but to the common weale of Venice, to iudge the truth of his condition. And for a proofe, hee remembered vnto them with all circumstances, the Embassadors which they had in former times sent vnto him, the answers and dispatches which they had brought backe from him, and the difficulties that were of either side. The Senate caused their records to be searched, and found them conformable to his words. They questioned with him, with great wisdom and iudgement, of many other matters of importance; whereunto hee answered so pertinently, as many held him to be the true king *D. Sebastian*, and others tooke him to be a magitian, for that no other but himselfe could be informed of such secret matters, without the spirit of *Pithon*.

Then grew there a great rumour in Venice, the people fauoured him with their wishes and praers, euery man desired to see him seated againe in his throne. But hee had a violent enemy, the Embassadour of Spaine, who maintained for his master, that hee was an impostor, charging him moreover, with many horrible and detestable crimes (which being proued could not haue deserved lesse than fire) he made himselfe partie against him, and got him to be committed. Being in prison, the Senat deputed Iudges to make his proceſſe, who used all diligence to informe vpon the crimes imputed vnto him by his aduerser partie, but they found him innocent. They examined him eight and twentie times, at all the which he shewed such an vndaunted courage and countenance, as he seemed rather capable to iudge the Iudges, than to vndergoe their censures. In the end, imagining that their demands were more curious than iust, and that they fauoured the greedinesse of the Spaniard more than the truth of his cause, hee would not answer any more, but did insilt vpon his first request, That they would let him be seene vnto the Portugalls, and to such strangers as had knowne him before hee past into Africke, and if he were a counterfeit, hee was in their hands to doe that iustice on him which an impostor deserved.

This Seducitor (said the Embassadour of Spaine) is borne in Apulia, and married at Messina, we haue the depositions of his wife, that his name *Marcus Tullio Catizoni*; that he had beene procured & instructed by certain Portugalls, enemies to the Estate of Spaine,

D d d d d j who

*D. Sebastian* was  
prisoned at Venice.

Reasons of the  
Embassadors  
accusing *D. Sebastian*.

who vnder this pretext would stirre vp a rebellion, which they call a deliuerie or restoring G of the realme of Portugall: what Prince of Christendome would deale in the affaires of this affront? The qualitie of those persons whom hee hath followed since the time that he hath wickedly taken vpon him the name of D. *Sebastian*, doth it not sufficiently shew that he is a man of a bad life? Hee hath some markes which D. *Sebastian* had on prooue that he is a man of a bad life? Hee hath some markes which D. *Sebastian* had on his bodie when he liued, but most of them are counterfeited by art. The King *Sebastian* was flaxen haired, and this impostor is blacke; neither doth he speake good Portugall. By these and many other reasons he concluded, that the prisoner should vndergoe the same punishment which they had suffered which were culpable of the same crime, during the reignes of the last king and gouernours of Portugall.

Portugals de-  
fend him.

The Portugals defended him with as great animosities as the Spaniards accused him H with passion: they maintained that their king D. *Sebastian* being grieued, that through the violence of his courage he had made as like the sepulchre of so many thousands of men, who might haue done more profitable seruice vnto Christendome; and being ashamed after so great a losse, had wandered vp and downe the world, vntill that the diuine providence had forced him to manifest himselfe. His aduenture was no stranger, nor more incredible than that of *William* 5 duke of Aquitaine, who hauing maintained the Antipope *Leon* surnamed *Anacle*, against *Innocent* 2, who was lawfull Pope; notwithstanding that Saint *Bernard* had exhorted him not to countenance a Schisme in the Church, I and against the seruice of God: the said duke hauing displaced the Bishops of Poictiers and Lynogues, and aduanced others, of his owne authoritie, being toucht with remorse, and a desire of penance, he left his Estates, to lead a solitarie life like some poore man: with this desire he reconciled himselfe vnto the Pope, and by his aduice went to Ierusalem, with a Secretarie of his called *Albert*; there he liued nine yeares in great abstinence. At his returne to Rome, he thought to haue taken partie in the warres which were then in Italie, but knowing that this aduice was a temptation of the deuill, he returned to Ierusalem, and afterwards came backe into Italie, where he built diuers monasteries, and in the end died, in the yeare 1154.

If this prince had had a meaning to returne and take possession of his Estates, should he haue found the like inhumanitie among the princes and common weales of Christendome? should he haue had such toyle to verifie the true qualitie of his person K as the Portugals did neuer beleue that their king D. *Sebastian* was slaine at the Battle of Alcasar. If they would haue the people beleue it, they should haue caused his body to be viewed by such as were interest, and that knew him, for that they had bene brought vp with him, and the markes which he carries on his person: and not to poore prisoners taken in the warres, to whom vnder promise of libertie, they might drawe what depositions they pleased. There is nothing more easie than to suppose a bodie, to put it into a beere, to interre it royally, and to proclaim, This is the body of the deceased D. *Sebastian* king of Portugall.

As for impostors which haue qualified themselves with his name, haue they found any beleefe, but with the simple and people of no sort? Haue we not abandoned them as I soone as euer their falshood was discouered? The Mason of Tercere, was he not hanged by a publike consent? That other raskall of Pegnamacor, who did for a time trouble Cardinal *Albert*, and the five gouernours of Portugall, was hee not declared a seducer, publicly whipt, and sent to the galleys.

But what credit may be giuen to the depositions of a silly woman, who for a peece of money will sing any note you please? we haue witnesses to whom shee voluntarily declared, that shee came to Venice against her will: That shee is the wife of *Marco Tullio Catizani*, but had not seene him since hee parted, with many letters to goe into Portugall. Wee knowe moreover, that hee distributed the greatest part of them, and that hee died at Lisbon, attending the returne of some that were absent, to deliuer them M to their owne hands. The king D. *Sebastian* had during his raigne more intelligence with this Seigniorie, than with all the other Estates of Christendome: and therefore he had rather address himselfe vnto them to be relieved in the iustice of his cause. The afflictions and miseries which haue oppressed him since hee began to discouer himselfe, haue

A haue forced him to accept of that which is allowed the most infortunate in a strange country: to receiue courtesies, and to bind himselfe indifferently to all men for their good deeds. They haue examined his life exactly, and theirs whom he hath frequented: could they conuict him of any crime? of any vice? if it be not a crime or vice to spend many daies of the weeke in fasting with bread and water, in continual prayers, and in giuing vnto the poore the remainder of the almes which had bene giuen him. The Spaniards which say that he is a Calabrois, a Monke which hath quit his Order, and which call him *Marco Tullio Catizani*, should they not rather desire that he should be brought forth vnto vs, to examine him, to see him, to heare him, and to know him? If hee bee a seducer, B and if we be impostors, what meanes shall wee haue with him to auoyd the punishment which the Lawes inflict in such cases? Wee know the markes and characters which Nature, not without some great misterie, hath set vpon the bodie of the king D. *Sebastian*, Let vs see this prisoner, if he carries them, it is a great presumption for many other signes which we haue: if there be art, we will be the first that shall crie out against the abuser. And vntill this be done we cannot take the Spaniards negative, who are the vsurpers of Portugall, but for a meere slander.

If the king Don *Sebastian* hath changed the colour of his haire since his youth, what miracle is it? Is it not ordinarie, that a flaxen haire turnes blacke with age? But moreover, doe not wee know, that if any one that is as white as snowe, passe the Equinoctiall line, if he make a voyage to Guiney, to Saint Thome, or to some other part of Ethiopia; if hee stay some yeares in Barbarie, hee will become blacke as pitch, and the whiter a man is, the sooner he growes blacke. Wee haue a familiar example in the person of Don *Christopher* Prince of Portugall: From his youth vntill the age of eightene, that hee past out of England into Barbarie; wee haue seene him white as milke, faire, and of a cleere complexion; but hauing liued at Marroc little above three yeares, hee grew so blacke, as at his returne we did not know him. Hee is yet liuing, and no whiter than when hee returned out of Barbarie. If little above three yeares had such power to breed so strange an alteration in Don *Christopher*, what might aboute twentie yeares doe in the king Don *Sebastian*? Neither may we find it D strange, if conuersing with so many Nations, differing in language, he hath forgotten something of the true and naturall pronounciation of ours. Thus our enemies grounding onely vpon simple and light presumptions, cannot ouerthrowe so many certaine markes and reasons which iustifie this man to bee the true and lawfull Don *Sebastian* king of Portugall.

The Venetians would gladly their prisoner were gone to seeke iustice elsewhere, for they found no lawfull subiect to condemne him, and they could not openly giue him meanes to escape, but they must incense the king of Spaine. The greatest part of their Senat found great likelihoods that he should be the same, others knew not what to say, neither durst they intreat him as a king. They therefore gaue the Portugals to vnderstand by the Archbishop of Spalato, who knew him particularly, and had kept him E sometime in his house, That they should bring vnto them the true and naturall markes of the king Don *Sebastian* well verified, without the which they might not see him; for that hauing so great a desire to free themselves from the Castilians command, if need were they would maintaine a Negro to be the king Don *Sebastian*.

Doctor *Sampayo* a Iacobin goes to Lisbon, from whence he returnes to Venice with a Chanon, and brings an instrument made by an Apostolicke Notarie, containing all the markes testified by many others, and beseecheth the Seigniorie to confront them, and to vnderstand the truth. They answered, that the reason of Estate did not allow them to enquire whether he were a king, or not, vntill they were required in his fauour by the kings and princes of Christendome. After this the Portugals went to begge fauour in France, Germanie, England, with the Estates of the vnited Provinces, and else-where. In the end Don *Christopher* younger sonne to the deceased Don *Aluonius* king of Portugal by Election, who died at Paris, being come to Venice with letters from the Estates and prince *Maurice*, obtained audience, and deliuered that which hee pretended in writing. The Counsell assembled foure severall daies for the prisoners af- D d d d d iij faires,

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Tobz

saies, and conclusions being taken the 16 of December, 1600, he was called vnto the Senat at ten of the clocke at night, where there did assist about 200 of the chiefe men of that State; where the same inuincion which had bene made vnto him by the Podesta of Padoua, in the year 1598, was againe intimated vnto him by foure Deputies of the Seigniorie, all standing vp bare headed, with great respect: where they pronounced this sentence vnto him, and he still couered, if we shall beleue the Portugals.

Going forth of the Senat many presented themselves to accompanie him to his lodging, but he would not suffer them. The Portugals which were at Venice, *D. Christopher, D. John de Castro, Diego Manuel, Rodrigo Marques, Sebastian Figueroa, Francisco Antonio, Sampayo and Chrysostome Monkes*, with many others, whereof some had seene him often in Portugal, and since in Barbarie after the defeat, protest that at the first sight of him they were much amazed, for that they saw him differ so much in age and haire; but hauing well obserued his countenance, his forehead, his eyes, his nose, his lippe of Austria, that is well obserued his countenance, which most of the Princes of that house haue (from to say, greater than the ordinarie, the which most of the Emperours *Charles* when he was defended by his grandmother *Catherine*, sister to the Emperour *Charles* the first, and by his mother *Joane* daughter to the said Emperour) his stature, his speech, his writing, all the visible markes of his bodie, whereby they did know him infallibly; the left parts, as his arme, hand, leg, and foot, shorter than the right; his wart vpon the little toe of the right foot, which was almost like vnto a sextoo; the moles of his face and hands, his hurt vpon his right brow & head, the place where he wanted a tooth in his right iawe beneath, the which *Sebastian Nero* his Chirurgion had once pulled out: all which markes, with many other, did rauish them with wonderful admiration, & forced them to confesse that he was their true & naturall king, who was miraculously preferred for the restoring of Portugal, and for the benefit of Christendome, and they lue yet in this expectation.

*Sampayo* a Doctor and professor of Diuinitie at Tolouza, and a Iacobin by profession, to giue an indubitable beleefe to this new manifestation, and to make the world thinke that it were Atheisme not to beleue it; writing to Paris, presumed to deliuer these words: I assure you that Iesus Christ is no more the sonne of the true and eternall God, whom I call to witnesse, than this is *D. Sebastian* our true and naturall king and Lord. A bold speech, although it were an vndoubted truth, confest by all the world; the comparison is vnlawfull, the which I doubt cannot be made without blasphemie, seeing there is no proportion betwixt the Creator and the Creature.

Being at libertie, the Portugals which were at Venice besought him to speake vnto them, to the end they might see if his speech would giue them as much knowledge of his qualitie as his countenance had done, not being able to iudge of the inward man by the outward parts: whereupon he spake vnto them after the Portugal manner, proudly & royally, telling the what he was, & what his life had bin since his ouerthrow in Afrike, which forced teares from him in speaking, and from them in hearing. Being thus resolved, they were much troubled how they should saue him from the ambushes of the Spaniards, for they were aduertised that the Embassadour of Castille laid wait for him at euery passage. The duke of Sauoy & the Earle of Fuentes had the like charge. The Archbishop of Spalato offred to conduct him safely in his Carouage vnto the frontiers of Germany, but they would not trust him, & yet they knew not what to resolve: some would carry him to Lions, where they treated of a peace with the duke of Sauoy: whereas when they saw any troupe of horse a far off, they ran to meet them, with acclamations, hoping to see *D. Sebastian* rather passe by Florence, to imbarke at Liouorne, & so get to Marfeilles. But as euery one in particular fought to haue the honour to preserve the king, their obstinate disagreement spoiled all. They made choice of the worst, & followed the aduice of *Sampayo*, who was a turbulent & cholericke man: they attire him like a monke of the Order of *S. Dominike*, & imbarke him in a gondole in the night, from whence he goes to Padoua: there he changed his habit for a cloake and a rapier, & so went to Florence, whereas the duke caught him to be stayed, by the aduice of the Archbishop of Pisa, where he kept him vntil the 23 of Aprill.

The king of Spaine being aduertised that hee was at Florence, prest the great duke

Prefumption of  
Doubt Sam-  
poy.

D. Sebastian  
Baird prisoner  
at Florence.

1601

A to deliuer him vnto the Viceroy of Naples, and to his entreaties he adds threats. But why should he deliuer him, seeing that the Venetians seeme rather by their sentence to giue their prisoner means to seeke justice elsewhere, than to take knowledge of his cause? Shall he violate the law of nations, in deliueing him that trusted vnto his protection? Being thus in suspense betwixt the feare of threats, and the reason of demaill, they represented vnto him a great armie, at the king of Spaines deuotion, the which affright all Italie, and threatens his estates. He desires rather to auoid the storme, than to incense a mightie Prince, and to draw a warre vpon him, the end whereof must needs be ruinous: Whereupon he sent him to Orbitello, where some, appointed by the Viceroy, receiued him, and conducted him safely to Naples.

B Seeing himselfe in the Castillans power, and that he had nothing free but theare and his tongue, he poured forth all that might be spoken against one that may be taxed of treason, inhospitalitie, and treacherie, as the violence of choler thrust him on to strange imprecations against them that do so deliuer vp the poore, vnjustly afflicted, which commit themselves to the safegard of another. Notwithstanding these violent humors, he presented himselfe before the earle of Lemos, Viceroy of Naples, with as setled a countenance as he had done to the Senat of Venice, and the great Duke; yea (the Portugals say) with as great maiestie, as if he had bene sitting in his royall throne at Lisbon: For at his coming in, to a great hall, seeing the Viceroy bare headed, whether it were to respect the title of a king, which he did attribute vnto himselfe, or by reason of the heat, *Copier* vnto Earle of Lemos, said he, with such a hardie grauitie, as it amazed the whole companie.

C The Viceroy demanded of him, whence comes this authoritie to commaund me? To whom he answered, It is borne with me. You seeme not to know me, I know who you are: doe you not remember that the deceased king Philip mine vnclie sent you twice vnto me when I reigned in Portugal? Declaring vnto him euery particular so precisely, as it bred some scruple in the minds of the hearers, and did much distemper the Viceroyes thoughts: who dying some moneths after, charged his sonne and succellor to carrie himselfe discreetly and moderately to this prisoner, as indeed he had intreated him (as the Portugals say) with little rigour and much courtesie. But this new keeper, whether that he had a contrarie commandement from his Soueraigne, or to insinuate more into his fauor, or else fearing the corruption of some Portugals, who followed him no more libertie than to many others, to goe out on Sundayes and festiual daies to heare Masse in a chappell within the castle. Yet the Viceroy, who would not publicly seeme to consent to the affliction of this vnforgotten man, dispensed with himselfe to call him Impostor: who finding himselfe much toucht with this reproch, fell to those armes which his condition did furnish him, which were as bitter words as might be giuen to any one that would not respect his qualitie. These violent words did not free him from a hard prison in the castle d'Ouo, in the which he did not find any thing (according to the report of the Portugals) but a cord, and a long knife, fit instruments for some desperat malefactor, who would free himselfe from some exemplarie punishment. There he continued three daies without bread, wine, water, or bed.

E On the fourth the Auditor generall being followed by two Registers, came to visit him, and finding him safe and well (for there was no great likelihood that with such cruell usage he should seeke to prolong his life, especially hauing such fit instruments to end his miseries, and to free himselfe from a more sensible ignominie before men) he said vnto him, That if he did not forbear to say and maintaine himselfe to be *D. Sebastian* king of Portugal, they had not any thing to sustaine his hunger nor thirst, nor to giue him rest. Doe what you please, said the prisoner, for I am *D. Sebastian*, the true king of Portugal, and no other. God forbid that I should fall into so great a mischief, and so contrarie to my soules health, that for feare of men I should denie the truth, and confesse that which is not. I am that *D. Sebastian* king of Portugal, who in the year 1578 past into Africke against the Infidels: he who to augment the number and power of Christians, put his life in hazard: that vnforgotten man who for his sinnes lost a battell, which was the cause of so great alterations in Christendome. This is the very truth, and I can say no other.

The

King of Spaine  
denies D. Se-  
bastian.

D. Sebastian in  
the castle d'Ouo.

The Auditor and the Registers departed with this answer: from which time they G  
gave him bread and water for his diet; but some dayes after he had five crownes a  
moneth given him, and a man to serve him, without any further proceeding in his  
cause, vntill the seuenteenth of Aprill 1602. Vpon which day the Viceroy sent to  
know if he persisted in his first deposition, and that he should be now well aduised to  
answere pertinently. This is not (said he) the right course they should take to exa-  
mine and judge my proceffe: present me vnto the Portugals, who haue bred me, knowne  
me, and serued me; vpon whose saying and testimonie the whole profe and verifika-  
tion of my cause doth depend. If I should liue a thousand yeares, yea more, I would  
neuer answere otherwise. If you be resolu'd to put me to death without any other  
profe, I take God for my onely judge, who knowes the truth of my cause. I am H  
D. Sebastian the true king of Portugall: you may now deale with me as you haue  
heretofore pretended. After which he disposed himselfe to die, made a generall  
confession, and receiued the Sacrament, still maintaining, that he was as he had  
said.

Whilest that he attended the houre of his death, they sent againe vnto him to make  
his last answer; that is to say, he should sing a new song, and recant the former: but  
he made the same answer: And vpon this last answer he was at the instance of the  
Castilians exorcised by the Bishop of Rhegium, as a Magitian, for that he had answered  
very pertinently to all they had demanded of him. During which adion hee  
shewed vnto the Bishop with a cheerefull countenance a Crucifixe, which he carried at  
his breast: Behold (said he) the Image of the Master in whom I trust, and for whom I would  
die. Wherevnto the Bishop went away, confounded with his conjurations, as some  
report, who say they were then present. After which he was set vpon an Ass, the last  
day of Aprill, and carried publickly through the streets, hauing three trumpets go-  
ing before him, and proclaiming his sentence, by the which he was condemned to be  
led ignominiously through the streets of Naples, and then put into the galleyes, for  
that he had called himselfe D. Sebastian king of Portugall, being but a Calabrois. At  
this crie when he pronounced this word King, he answered with a loud voice, So am I;  
and when he added, being but a Calabrois, he said, That is false. Neither did any of  
the officers or people hinder him, or once moue: Euerie man heard him with admiration  
crying at the corners of the streets: I am in my enemies hands; let them doe with my bodie  
what they please, I recommend my soule vnto God, who hath created it, and knowes the truth,  
that I am as I say.

Hauing thus led him through the citie, they put him into the royall Galley, where  
they attired him like a slaue, and cut off the haire both of his head and beard, which  
some gathered vp, either through reuerence or superstition, as a matter of great esteeme,  
and then they fastened him to the chaine, yet aduising them that they should not force  
him to rowe.

The galleyes passing from Naples to Barcelona, arrived in August 1602, at the  
port of S. Lucar of Barameda, whereas the Duke of Medina Sydonia and his wife  
were desirous to see him: who hauing deuised long with him, he demanded of the  
Duke if he had the sword which he had ginen him, when he embarked to goe into  
Barbarie. The Duke answered, It is true Don Sebastian king of Portugall presented  
me with a sword, which I keepe among others. Seeing you haue it yet, said the  
Gallerien, I pray you let me see it: for although it be foule and twentie yeares  
since I gaue it you, yet will I know it. Wherevpon the Duke caused a dozen  
to be brought, but it being not among them, he sent for others. The Gallerien seeing  
it in the bringers hand: behold (said he vnto the Duke) the sword which I gaue  
you when as I vnderooke my voyage into Afrike. Then, turning vnto the Du-  
chesse, who was Anna de Silva, daughter to the prince of Eboli; Cousin, said  
he (after that he had told her what secrets had passed betwixt them when he tooke  
his leaue of her at Cadis) I remember that I gaue you a jewell, haue you it al-  
so? The Duchesse made the like answer vnto the Duke her husband, That  
the

D. Sebastian led  
ignominiously  
through the  
street.

He is put into  
a Galley.

His discourse  
with the Duke  
of Medina Si-  
donia and the  
Duchesse.

A the king D. Sebastian had ginen her a jewell: he then replied, Shew it me; I shall know it  
well, and shall tell you of a secret which it may be you know not: then hauing chosen it  
out from among many, he said vnto her, That to proue his saying true, he should cause  
the stone to be taken out, vnder which she should find his name and cypher grauen.  
There was a Negro in the Duchesse's companie, whom he knew, saying, that he had  
serued him for the washing of his linnen, when he raign'd in Portugall. The Duke and  
Duchesse seeing these apparent things, and so conformable to truth, went away with  
heauie countenances, and as it were weeping for compassion to see this miserable  
prince in so wretched an estate. Many old Portugals saw him, knew him, and did ad-  
uow him to be the true D. Sebastian, king of Portugall. Finally, the Portugals (if  
wee may beleue them) report so many particularities touching this man, as it  
would require a whole volume to relate them all: adding, that they that haue seene  
him, and knowne him, haue ginen this testimonie, that he is the same, or a deuill  
incarnate.

But besides these probabilities, which they take for truth, they arme themselves  
with certaine predictions or prophecies, which they say must needs haue relation to  
the adventures of this poore Gallerien, whom they maintaine with an obstinate con-  
stancie to be their lawfull king. S. Isidore, sonne to Suerian, the sonne of Thierry, king  
of the East Gothes, and of Italie, did leaue in writing about a thousand yeares since,  
That a hidden king, twice ginen by prayers and deuotions, shall come into Spaine vpon a  
horse of wood, whom many seeing, shall not beleuee that it is he, &c. And for the vnder-  
standing of this prophecie, which they attribute particularly vnto king D. Sebastian, they  
say, that he was twice ginen; first, by the intercession of the people of Portugall for his  
birth, when they saw his father die, leauing no other issue but what might be hoped for  
from a woman with child: the second by the acknowledgement they haue made of  
him at Venice, after that he had wandered twentie yeares yknowne throughout the  
world: That the wooden horse is the galley vpon the which he came from Naples in-  
to Spaine.

Sampayo sweares, that he found this other prophecie at S. Vitor's Librarie at Paris:  
That the king D. Sebastian shall goe out of Naples vpon a horse of wood: that out of the Me-  
diterranean sea he shall enter into the Ocean, and that his horse shall stay at S. Lucar of Ba-  
rameda. The which is accomplished, when as the galley passing from Naples to Barcelo-  
na, entered into the Ocean sea.

This other was found in a Castilian Author, in his language: The yknowne shall  
come, yea without doubt he shall come: he shall enter into the garden by the gate which is  
most on this side the wall: and that which seemes obscure, shall be seene clearly and plaine-  
ly. By this garden they vnderstand the countrey which is on this side Mont Calpe  
vnto the riuer of Guadalquivir, which they call the garden of Spaine, for that it is  
pleasant and fruitfull: the wall is Cadiz, the gate S. Lucar of Barameda.

That the labourers of Portugall did hold for a most ancient tradition, That a  
time will come, when as a King, whose name shall be as Bysia, shall vanishe out of sight,  
and that after he and his realme haue suffered many great afflictions and miseries, the  
same king, whom all the world held for dead, shall rise againe, and recover his  
throne with incredible prosperitie. Which they say must needs be applied to their  
king D. Sebastian, for that the peasants in Portugall, in stead of Sebastian, say Be-  
sistam.

And as they hold these predictions to be accomplished in the person of this priso-  
ner, so it is not possible to root out this beleefe. That he is the true and naturall D.  
Sebastian, king of Portugall. Sampayo after he had proclaimed this miraculous adven-  
ture ouer all Christendome, and runne into a thousand dangers for his sake, he went a-  
gain into Portugall with Frier Bonauenture, a Franciscan: where publishing this opini-  
on as a most certaine truth, they bred such a mutinie among the people, as they were  
ready to make a generall revolt, if they had found any assistance with strangers: but being  
in the end discouered at S. Lucar, they were degraded of their Orders, and hanged at Lis-  
bone, with horrible tormentes, the which notwithstanding could not stop their mouths, but

Predictions al-  
ledged by the  
Distinguisht  
Iuror of D. Seba-  
stian.

Sampayo and  
Bonauenture  
hung for this  
Gallerien.

but they tooke earth, heaven, and all heauenly creatures, yea and God himselfe, to whom the most hidden secrets are knowne, to winnesse of their innocencies and words, the which they maintained vnto the last gaspe to be as true as the Gospel; so as through compassion of their cruell tortures, and the firme beleefe which they had setled in the hearts of their countreymen, they drew many thousands into danger. Some retired themselves vnto their friends, to escape the search which was made for the adherents of this noueltie: some got them away disguised, and escaped into diuers provinces here and there. Some comming to Paris presented a petition vnto the king in the name of the Portugals oppressed by the tyrannie of the Castilian, beseeching his Maiestie to succour them onely with two thousand men, commanded by a Prince, or some great man of Fraunce, such as he should please to name, and some store of armes to disperse among the people at their arriual, being assured (said they) of money for their entertainment, and other munition of warre both by sea and land, which the Queene of England and the Estates should furnish them, to restore their lawfull king, and free them from the command of strangers. Moreouer, they gaue hope, in case they might recover their king D. Sebastian, vniually detained prisoner, whenas they should cause him to be duely acknowledged, and restore vnto him his inheritance, to marrie the duke of Vendosme with the daughter of D. Catherine duchesse of Braganca, who had right to the succession of the realme of Portugal, and to crowne him king of Portugal, if it should so please the most Christian king his naturall father. But God hath not blest the voyages made into Portugal, with a designe to drawe it from the Spaniard, who hath enioyed it quietly for many yeares; and a wise man will not prouoke the wrath of a mightie prince, by drawing him into warre, the end whereof must needs be doubtfull and ruinous.

The Spaniard considering the attempts of the Portugals, who would willingly trouble heauen, earth, yea and hell it selfe, to free themselves from his subiection, hee caused their pretended king to be taken out of the royall galley of Naples, and to be brought to Seuille in the galley of D. Pedro de Toledo the Generall, there to be more safely kept. But afterwards, to take all knowledge from the world, hee caused him to be shut vp in the castle of S. Lucar. The Portugals hope that hee shall come forth in despite of all his enemies, and fulfill all the prophecies that are made of him, and recover possession of his realmes. It is in the power of the king of Spaine, but it is not likely that hee will seeke to verifie the qualitie of this person by any other meanes: for if hee causeth him to be declared an impostor, and to be punished, the Portugals who had procured him to maintaine himselfe to be their king, might hereafter suborne another to the same end; whereas so long as they shall seeue this man is aliue, they will not attempt any thing in fauour of another, and this man being detained perpetually in prison, or in the galleys, shall daily feele the paines of death, without dying. And if he were duely proued to be such as hee qualifieth himselfe, reason and equitie would require that he should be restored to the iust and lawfull possession of his Estates, which is the fairest rofle of the Spaniards ground, and the rarest peeple of his cabinet.

Whatsoever hee bee, Donatus and Delphinus Procurators of Saint Marc at Venice, being sent to congratulate the French kings victories, and his marriage, they were demanded by the Prince of Conde, what iudgement the seigniorie of Venice made of him who called himselfe king of Portugal; to whom they made no other answer, but that the State had done what it might in his cause, and that he had bene ill counselled and conducted.

This yeare the Queene of England was much troubled with her rebels in Ireland, by reason of the aide and support they received from Spaine: the king sending D. John d. Aguilar vnto them, with about two thousand old souldiers in sixe ships: they came to Castel-hauen, Balmemoore, and Beer-hauen; all three important places; here they landed their men, with an intent to fortifie them, being then about the end of September. Sir Richard Lewison, who was Admiral of some of the Queens ships, lying then in the haven of Kinfale, & hearing of the Spaniards comming into the aboue named ports, he drew forth his ships both against wind and weather, & went & fought with the Spaniards within Castel-hauen, where he did so batter them, as he made 5 of their 6 shippes vnseruiceable,

Gallies sent  
in the Castle of  
S. Lucar.

Policy of the  
Counsell of  
Spaine.

Spaniards sent  
into Ireland.

A seruiceable, most of their men were landed before he came, by reason of the weather, who played dangerously vpon him with their ordnance from the land, whereof they were well furnished with great store of munition. Presently after D. John d. Aguilar put himselfe into Kinfale with most of his Spaniards, where he fortified himselfe: whither in October after, the Lord Montjoy, Lord Deputie of Ireland; and Generall of her Maiesties forces in that kingdom, came with an armie to besiege him; the which continued long in a very vnseasonable time, and was in shew very dangerous for the English: for they within the towne were for the most part old souldiers, well armed, and in no want, as was supposed, and without the rebels were all in armes, and had drawne their forces together, which were the greatest that euer had bin seene together in Ireland, being fixe thousand foot (whereof there were fixe companies of the new arriued Spaniards) and five hundred horse, and began to march towards Kinfale, with an assured hope to releue the towne, raise the siege, and defeat the English, if they of the towne did fallie forth when as Tyrone and Odonell should giue charge vnto the campe: they had great reason to hope for good successe, for the English were scarce so many in number, all in a manner tyred with the miseries of a long winters siege, their horses weake and decayed, and likely to want victuals. Notwithstanding, continuing their approaches still towards the towne, as if they regarded not the rebels, on the twentieth of Decenber at night, the Lord Deputie had intelligence that Tyrone and the rebels would campe the next night within a mile and a halfe of them, with all their forces; and so on the 21 day at night he shewed himselfe, with most of his horse and foot, vpon the toppe of a hill, within a mile of the English campe. I must craue pardon if I make a relation of this battell, and the overthrow of the rebels armie in this historie of Spaine, both for that they were then relieved by the king of Spaine, with money, men, and munition, and supported in their rebellion; and also for that the yeelding vp of Kinfale by the Spaniards, depended wholly vpon this action.

Tyrone (hearing himselfe (as I said before) and seeing two regiments of foot, with some horse, drawne out of the campe, and marching towards him, he retired to the other side of the hill, where he camped that night, being fortified both with woods and water. One the three and twentieth day the Lord Deputie was aduertised, and had also intercepted letters, written from D. John d. Aguilar General of the Spaniards, and commaunded him within the towne, by which he did presse and importune Tyrone to make an attempt vpon the English campe, intimating his wants, and likelihood to be soone forced, putting the rebels in mind of their faithfull promises to succour him, and of the easinesse of the enterprise, and vndoubted successe, assuring them that the English were much decayed in numbers, and that those which remained were much weakened with that long winters siege; so as it was not possible they should be able to maintaine so much ground as they had taken when their strength was full: if they on the one side, and he on the other, charged them at one instant, which he for his part promised to doe whensoever they should giue the attempt. It seemeth that vpon this aduice they resolved to put it in execution that night, or the next following. In the meane time they gaue the English continuall alarms, and made sallies from the towne, keeping them still in action, that they might be the lesse able to make resistance when they were charged. But the Lord Deputie provided for all inconueniences, making forts, barricadoes, and trenches, and fortifying all the approaches to the towne, keeping good gards, and his armie ready vpon all occasions. On the 23 day at night hee was assured that the next day the rebels would charge his campe, whereupon he commanded the whole armie to be in readinesse.

Tyrone had an intent early in the morning to put all his Spaniards into the towne, with eight hundred of his best Irish, vnder Tyrrell; but seeing at the breake of day some of the English troupes aduance, hee made a stand, and then retired to the body of their armie. The Lord Deputy giuing the charge of the campe to Sir George Carew then L. President of Munster, to attend the Spaniards within the towne, hee drew forth part of his forces, being about foure hundred horse, and a thousand and two hundred foot, and hearing that the enemy retired disorderly, hee aduanced towards them, who still retired with feare. In the end, (omitting euery particular circumstance touching the marshalling of the English armie, to them that write that historie) they

Kinfale besieged  
with the Spaniards  
in it.

Readynesse  
his is injected  
into the history.

Letters from  
D. John d. Aguilar to the  
L. Deputie.

English and  
Spaniards de-  
fended in Ire-  
land.



they ouertooke the rebells, charged them, and put them to rout. The Spaniards (being abandoned by the Irish) were almost all slaine, *D. Alonso d'Ocampo* their colonell, with three Captaines, fixe Alferes, and fortie soldiers were taken prisoners. There were found (of Irish onely) twelue hundred bodies dead vpon the place, and about twelue hundred hurt, whereof many died that night. The rebells lost two thousand armes which were brought forth, all their munition, their drummes, nine ensignes, whereof fixe were Spanishe: the English had but one man slaine, and not aboute tenne hurt. Thus they got a miraculous victorie, to the great honor of the Lord Deputie, and of all that commanded vnder him.

After this glorious victorie, the Lord Deputie posted that present day vnto the camp, lest the Spaniard should haue made some fallie in his absence, but they had not attempted any thing: the next day he commanded the approaches vnto the towne should be aduanced nearer: But after fixe or fixe daies worke, *D. John d'Aguilar*, who commanded the forces within the towne, offered to parle, and sent a drumme with a letter sealed vp to the Lord Deputie, by the which he demanded that some men of qualitie and sufficiencie might be sent into the towne from his Lordship, to conferre with him, whom hee would acquaint with such conditions as hee then stood vpon: wherunto the Lord Deputie condescended, imploying *Sir William Godolphin* in that busines; the which was managed after this manner, according to the originall.

*D. John d'Aguilar speaks*

*D. John* told *Sir William*, that having found the Lord Deputie (whom hee termed Viceroy) although a furious and powerfull, yet an honourable enemye, and the Irish not onely weak and barbarous, but (as he feared) treacherous friends, he was so farre in his affections reconciled to the one, and distastd with the other, as it did inuite him to make an ouerture of such a composition as might be safe and profitable for the state of England with least prejudice to the Crowne of Spaine, by deliuering into the Viceroyes power the towne of Kinsale, with all other places in Ireland held by the Spanishe, so as they might depart vpon honourable termes, fit for such men of warre, as are not enforced by necessity, to receiue conditions, but willingly induced vpon iust respects, to disengage themselves, and to leave a people, by whom their king and master had bin so notoriously abused, if not betrayed. That if the Viceroy liked to entertaine further parley touching this point, he would first be pleased to vnderstand them rightly, and to make his Propositions such as might be futable to men throughly resolved, rather to bury themselves alive, and to indure a thousand deaths, than to giue way to one article, that should taste of baseness or dishonor, being so confident of their present strength, and the royall succors of Spaine, as they should make no doubt of yielding a good accompt of themselves, and of their interest in this kingdome, but that a just disdain and spleene conceiued against the nation, dissuaded them from being farther ingaged for it, than of necessity they must.

*Sir William Godolphin* having charge from the Lord Deputie, only to receiue *D. Johns* propositions and demands, hauing made this relation to his Lordship, and the Council, he was sent backe by them with this answer following.

*Answer from the Lord Deputie to D. John*

That although the Lord Deputie hauing lately defeated their succours, did so well vnderstand his owne strength and their weaknesse, as it made him nothing doubt offering them within a short time, whom hee knew to be prest with vnresistible difficulties, how much soeuer they laboured to couer and conceale them: yet knowing that her sacred Maestie out of her gracious and mercifull disposition, would think the glorie of her victorie blemished, by a voluntary effusion and oblitinate expence of blood, was content to entertaine this offer of agreement, so as it might be concluded vnder such honourable Articles for her Highnesse, as the aduantage he had against them gaue reason to demand. The which were the same that are set downe in the Articles of Agreement following, signed by the Lord Deputie, *D. John* and others: sauing that there was an Article more in them, for the leasing of his treasure, munition, ordnance, and the Queens naturall subiects to her disposition; all which points he did peremptorily refuse: Protesting that both he and all his would rather indure the last of miseries, than be found guilty of so foule a treason against the honor of his prince, and the reputation of his profession, although

A although hee should find himselfe vnable to subsist, much more now when as hee might not onely hope to sustaine the burthen of the warre for a time, but with patience and constancy in the end overcome it. That heeooke it so ill to be misunderstood in having articles of that nature propounded vnto him, as were they but once againe remembered in the capitulation, the Viceroy should from thenceforth vse the aduantage of his sword, and not the benefite of his former offer: adding, that the Viceroy might rather thinke to haue made a good and profitable purchase for the realme of England, if with the expence of two hundred thousand ducats hee had procured *D. John* to quit his interest and footing but in Balmore alone, speaking nothing of Kinsale, Castell-haen, & Beerhaen: for said he, suppose that all wee with the rest of our places here had perished, yet would that Peninsula being strong of its owne nature, bettered by our art and industrie, (furnished as it is with victuals, munition, and good store of ordnance) preserve vnto the king of Spaine, a safe and commodious Port for the arrival of his fleet, and bee able to maintaine it selfe against a Land armie of tenne thousand, vntill Spaine (being so deeply ingaged) did in honour releue them: which would drawe on a more powerfull inuasion than the first, being vnder taken vpon safe groundes, at the instance of a safe and barbarous people, who in discouering their weakenesse and want of power, haue armed the king my master to relie vpon his owne strength, being bound in honour to relieue his people which are ingaged, and to cancel the memorie of our former misfortunes. But this is spoken, said he, in case the Viceroy be able to force this towne, as I assure my selfe hee cannot, hauing vpon mine honour, within three wales at this instant, about two thousand fighting men, which are strong and able, besides which some hauing been sicke and hurt recover daily, the greatest part of these consisting of old Soldiers, which shal not but by the sword, and those that were new, being now both trained to their arms, and acquainted with the clymate, are more able to endure than at the first: our means as good as they haue bene any time these two moneths, such as Spaniards can wel indure, and able to suffice vs three moneths more: we lodge in good warme houses, haue store of munition, and (which is best of all) stand well assured, that our succour will be here shortly. To bee plaine, wee preserve our men, and reserve our strength the best we may, hoping to front you in a breach, which (if our hearts faile vs not) wee haue hands and breks enow to stop, against treble your forces: but I wil giue the Viceroy this right, that his men are passing good, yet spent and tyred with the miseries of a Winter seage, which hee hath obstinately maintained beyond my expectation, but with such caution, and vpon so good gard, as hauing nicely watched all aduantages, I could neuer fasten a falley yet vpon him, but with losse to my selfe: wherein I must confesse my hopes were deceived, that grounding vpon some error in his approaches, I promised vnto my selfe the defeat of at least a thousand men at one blow. But when wee meet vpon a breach, I am confident vpon good reasons, to lay fixe hundred of your best men on the ground, and rest hopefull that the losse of those will make a great hole in an army, which hath already suffered so much extremity.

B But to conclude our businesse: the king my master sent me to assist the Condees, *Onesale* and *Odonnell*, presuming on their promise, that I should within few daies after the arrival of our forces haue ioyned with them: I expected them long in vaine, sustained the Viceroyes armie, saw them drawne to the greatest head they could possibly make, lodged within two miles of Kinsale, fortified with certaine companies of Spaniards, euerie hour promising to releue vs, and being ioyned together to force your campe: At last we saw them broken with a handfull of men, and dispersed into diuers parts of the world, *Odonnell* into Spain, *Onesale* into the farthest parts of the North: so as now I finde no such Condees in *vicinam natura*, as I came to ioin with: and therefore haue moued this accord the rather to disengage the king my master from assisting a people so vnable in themselves, as the whole burthen of the warre must lie vpon him, and so perfidious, as perhaps they might be drawne in the end to betray him.

F Vpon relation made, by *Sir William Godolphin*, to the Lord deputy & Council, of these offers made by *D. John*, it was thought good, for many important reason to proceed roundly to an accord, there being nothing propounded by him that admitted any exception,

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Articles of the  
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but that he demanded to carrie away his ordnance, munition & treasure, which did not for much import, as it should breake off the treatie which concerned the common good and safety of the kingdom: whereupon a composition was made vpon these articles following.

1 That said D. John d' Aguilar shall quit the places which are held by the Spaniards, or other souldiers vnder his command in Castell-hauen, Baltemore, and in the Castell of Beerhanen; or other places, to the Lord deputy, or to whom he shall appoint, giuing him safe transportation & sufficient shipping and victuals for his said Souldiers, with the which the said D. John may passe with them into Spaine, if he may, at one time, if not at two shippings.

2 That the Souldiers which are at this present vnder the command of the said D. John in this kingdom, shall not beare armes against the Queenes Maiesty of England, wherefoer supplies shall come from Spaine, vntill the said Souldiers be vnshipped in some of the Ports of Spaine, being sent away as soone as may be by the Lord Deputy, as hee promisseth vpon his faith and honour.

3 For the accomplishment whereof, the Lord deputy offereth to giue free passport to the said D. John and his army, as well Spaniards as other nations whatsoever, that are vnder his command, and that he may depart with his armes, munition, money, ensignes displayed, artillerie, and any other prouisions for warre, or other things, both that which is in Castell-hauen, Kinfales, and other places.

4 That they shall haue ships and victuals sufficient for their money, after such rates as they vse here to pay. That all the Souldiers and the said things may be shipped if it bee possible at one time, if not at two, and that to bee within the time aboue mentioned.

5 That if by contrarie winds, or any other accidents, there shall come into any of the ports of Ireland or England, any of those ships wherein the said Souldiers shall passe, they shall bee intreated as friends, and may ride safely in the harbour, & be victualled for their money, & shall moreover haue such things as shall be needfull to furnish them for their voiage.

6 That during the time they shall stay for shipping, victuals shall be giuen to D. Johns people, at reasonable rates.

7 That there shall be cessation of armes of either side, & security giuen that no wrong be offered to any one.

8 That the ships wherein the said Souldiers shall be transported for Spaine, may passe safely by any of the queenes Maiesties ships, of England, and so shall the said Queenes and her subiects by those that shall go from hence: and the said ships being arrived in Spaine, shall return as soone as they haue vnshipped their men without any impediment giuen them by his Maiestie, or any other person in his name, but rather they shall shew them fauour, and help them if they need any thing: and for securitie thereof they shall deliuer into the Lord deputies hands three Captaines, such as he shall chofe.

9 For assurance of the performance of these articles D. John promisseth that hee will confirme and sweare to accomplish this agreement, whereunto some of the captaines vnder his charge shall in like manner sweare.

10 That the said D. John shall remain within the realme of Ireland, where the Lord deputy shall appoint, vntill the last shipping, vpon his Lordships word, & if it happen that his souldiers be shipped all at once, the said D. John may go in the same fleet without any let, but rather the Lord deputy shall giue him a good ship wherein he may passe, and if his men go in two shippings, then he shall go in the last.

11 And in like manner the said Lord deputy shall confirme & sweare the same, & giue his word in the Q. Maiesties behalf & his own to keep & accomplish this accord, & that the chiefe officers of the camp, with the council of state, & some nobles shold sweare the like.

These were the articles of the accord made before Kinfales, for the sending the Spaniards out of Ireland, & freeing this kingdome from an imminent danger. They were signed & sworn accordingly on both parts the 2 of Ianuary, and the towne yielded vpon the ninth.

At such time as the duke of Biron's treasons were discovered in France, the king of Spain had an army ready to passe at Pont de Grefin, vpon the frontiers of Bourgundy vnder command of passing into Flanders: but the passages being kept by the marshal *Lauerdin*, *Taxis* his ambassador for Spain demaied passage of the king, beseeching him to think that the king

Answer made  
by the French  
king to the em-  
bassador of  
Spain.

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A his master had not fought to draw the duke of Biron from his obedience. To whom the king answered, you would haue me believe that the king your master was not acquainted with the praefises which the marshal of Biron had with the Cont *Fuenter*, & I tel you that it is impossible his treasure shold haue bin so freely distributed, without the consent of his council: I haue no reason to leaue my frontiers disarmed vntill that all the marshals conspiracy be discovered by his process. In the mean time I do not mean to hinder the commerce according to the treaty.

The Cont of Fuentes not able to dissemble his discontent, to see matters fall out so contrary to his desires, he discharged his rage vpon the marquisse of Final, sometimes pretending a donation of the said Marquisate to the king of Spaine, when as the Marquisse was verie sicke: and sometimes that he should haue a principality in the realm of Naples in exchange, but he first seized vpon the place, and then published his pretensions: Hee sent D. *Diego Pimentel* his nephue, & D. *Sancho d' Luna* with some troups of souldiers, who surprised Final, hauing corrupted the Lads knits which were there in garrison with a promise of 16 moneths pay, assuring himselfe both of the countrey and Port by a garrison of 200 Spaniards vnder the command of D. *Pedro de Toledo*. Milefimo a place nere vnto it was by the same right purchased by the king of Spaine. The Marques of Final, who is vassall to the emperor, made his complaints vnto the pope, & vnto his imperial maiesty, but they had no other effect, but that he had a pension giue him during his life, & so was forced to yeeld vnto the stranger. By this prize the Genouois did hereafter reap no profit by their Commerce with Spain, but what pleased the governor of Final. Doubtlesse that seruant loues his masters greatnes with passion, which doth raish another mans inheritance without any lawfull cause, or precedent wrong, neither respecting reason nor equitie, nor considering that God is offended with such violences. But king *Philip* did not limit and bound his hopes with so small a purchase. That great leuie which was made at Naples, in Sicile, in the dutchie of Milan, and in many estates of Italy, witnessed that his desires flue a higher pitch. It was thought they would either renew the enterprise of Alger, or make head against *Cigala*, who they said was coming out of Constantinople with a fleet of 100 faile. As the designe was secret, so was it not known who should be generall. *Andrew Doria* had demanded leaue to retire himselfe, he had been vnfortunat the year before, & therefore he thought the Spaniards would not willingly employ him againe. The duke of Sauoy seemed willing to accept of this charge, if it were offered: but it was giuen to D. *John de Cordona*, who shall be no more fortunate in his enterprises than *Doria*. The chief designs of this army were rather against the Christians than the Turks & Moors, although it were giuen out that the king of Fez had intelligences vpon Alger, & that he had promised the K. of Spain to make him master thereof: yet this army did not forsake the sight of Europe, & some thought it lay howering to see what would become of the treasons which were praefised in France. But want of money & some other difcommodities made them to giue ouer al attempts for this yere against the Turks. These were the opinions of the king of Spains designs, & withall they added that *d' Albigny* was gone to Milan to the earle of Fuentes, that the marques of Aix had past into Spaine, and that the duke of Sauoy was ready to intange himself wholly to the will of the coucel of Spain, to whom he did consign his 3 Sons. That he had made them knights of his order, to prepare the for the voyage, & had sent an extraordinary ambassador to Rome to beseech the Pope to send them his blessing.

There were 8 great gallies made ready this yere at Scuile, the which were appointed to be sent into Flanders to the Archduke, vnder the command of *Frederic Spinola*, to annoy the coast of England, Holland & Zeland. There were 400 men in either of these gallies, besides the slaues, and 800 souldiers more which they tooke in passing by Lisbon. Two of these gallies called the Trinity & the Ocean were sunk by sir *Rich. Lewis* vpon the coast of Portugal, the rest a while after went on their course towards the low-countries. Commensel bewixt England & France, they were first discovered & pursued by sir *Robert Mansel*, being then admiral of the queenes maiesties ships in those seas, who lay there of purpose to attend them, he hauing them in chase, the States ships which lay in the downs vpon his aduertisement came in, & in the end the said gallies were defeated, some were sunk and the rest made vnersuiciable. This great seruice was diuersly reported according to the humors & passions of men. The Hollanders did challenge all the honor of this action, & did publish

Earle of Fuentes  
takes the  
Marquisate of  
Final.Arms of Spaniards  
at Sea.Duke of Sauoy  
refuses to send  
his sonnes into  
Spain.Gallies sent out  
of Spain into  
the Low countries.

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lish in print in diuers languages. Sir Rob. Mansel finding the state interessed, & his reputation somewhat blemished by their pamphlets, made a true relation of the whole seruice, the which he presented vnto the lord admirall, vnder whose comand he was, & published it to the view of the world, with an offer to maintaine it by any course fit for a gentleman that professed arms. And for that the Statesmen haue left their assertions recorded in their history, & haue made the French to write it after the same maner, I haue thought good for the better satisfaction of posterity, to insert in this history, in the same words and phrase as hee himselfe hath set it down, speaking in his own person as followeth.

On the 23 day of September, being in the Hope, & hauing in my company, the Advantage only of the Q. ships, which captain Jones commanded, & two other Dutchmen of war I had more the half channell over, towards the coast of France, vpon a northwest & southeast line, my self being next that coast, captain Jones next vnto me, & the Dutch men of war a sea-board, & to the Westward of him. The final force at that time present & with me remaining, thus disposed for the intercepting of the gallies, hauing dismissed the Dutch men of war that serued vnder me, vpon their own intreaty to rescindual & trim: & hauing employed the rest of the Q. ships vpon especial seruices, I desired from my top mast heads, 6 low sailes, which some made for ground from Diep towards the Downes. To which opinion (though their top-sailes, being bound from Diep towards the Downes. To which opinion (though I inclined most) yet caused I the matter to waite and to stand with them, that I might leame some news of the gallies, which by your Lordships aduertisement sent me, I knew had either past me that night, or were nere at hand, vnlesse the sea had swallowed them vp in the stormes which had raged 3 daies before. Hauing set my selfe vnder saile, the weather waxt thick, which caused me to lask some two points fro the wind, towards the English coast, least the continuance of that dark weather might giue them power to runne out ahead of me. About 11 of the clock the weather cleared, when I discoursed them plainly to be the Spanish gallies so long time expected; at which time with the rest, I plied to receiue them by crossing their forefoot as they stood alongst the Channell: which they endeououred, till they perceived that by the continuance of that course, they could not escape the power of my Ordnance.

All this time these two Fly-boats were betwixt them and me, and as the slaues report that swamme ashore at Douer, they determined with three gallies to haue boarded each of those ships, and would haue executed that resolution, but for the feare of her Maiesties great Gallion (as they rearmend the Hope) whose force that they shunned in that kind (considering the disadvantage that twice fixe of the best gallies that euer I saw, hath by fighting against one ship of her force) I doe as much commend, as otherwise I doe detest their shamefull working, in that, full of cowardlinesse and weakness, they rowed backe to the Westward, and spent the day by running away, in hope that the darknesse of the night would giue them liberty sufficient to shun the onely ship they feared, or that was indeed in the sea at that time, to giue them cause of feare, I meane betwixt them & Dunkerke or Newport. This error only of theirs bred their confusion, as you may perceiue by the sequel. For they no sooner began that course of rowing backe again; but I instantly made signes for Captaine Jones in the Advantage of the Queenes, to come vnto me whom I presently directed to repaire to Calais road, & thence to send the alarm vnto the States army prepared before Sluce: and to aduise such men of warre as kept on the coast of Flanders, vpon any other occasion, to stand off to the sea, to meet with the gallies in the night, which shold be chased by me with my lights in my top-mast heads & a continual discharging of my ordnance. Captain Jones hauing shap't his course according to my directions, I gave order for hoysing & trimming of my sailes by the wind, to keep fight of the gallies: the two Fly-boats being still aweather of me, did the like. Which chase we held till sunne-setting, obseruing this course following all the day. They being a weather of me, kept their continuall boards, that the gallies were alwaies betwixt them. And my self being to leeward, made such short turns, as I kept all the afternoon in a manner, even in the verie eye of their course, betwixt them & the place of their design: euer discharging my best ordnance to warn the Answer of her Maiesties, that rid by my directions at the Downes, vpon important seruice as your Lordship knoweth; and the Flemings that were there, hauing left the Sea vpon yknowne groundes to mee (yet sent from

Portsmouth

A Portsmouth, by the most prouident direction of her sacred Maiestie, to awaite the comming of the Gallies, vpon aduertisements that her Highnesse receiued of their being put to sea, to set saile, who else had receiued no vnderstanding of the Gallies, neither came they within shot of them, till after night, how soeuer the reputation of the seruice is wholly challenged by them.

Hauing giuen your Lordship an accompt how this day was thus spent by me, from eight of the clocke vntill the euening, and with these onely helps: I beseech your Lordship to be pleased to vnderstand, that with the setting of the Sunne, I could both discern the ships last mentioned vnder saile at the downes, and the Gallies to haue set their sailes: directing their course close aboard our shoare, each of them beeing out of sight of the other, and my Dutch consorts by this time to haue beene left by the Gallies to a sterne chase. When I perceived them to hold that course, which would bring them within shot of the Answer, and the rest that were in the Downes: I held a cleane contrarie course from them towards the coast of France, to confirme the fewe passage they thought to find on our coast, which I continued, vntill the report of their battery gaue me assurance of the Gallies being engaged vnto them.

How the batterie began, who began it, how it was continued, how ended, and to whom the reputation of the seruice is due, I leaue to be considered by your Lordship, by the perusal of the true discourse following. The Answer of the Queenes, which Captaine Bredgate commanded, as she rid most Southerly aeth the Downes than the Flemings, so came the first to the Gallies, and bestowed 28 peeces of Ordnance on them before the Flemings came in, who at length seconded him with verie many shot.

During this batterie of ours vpon the gallies (which I so terme, because they neuer exchanged one shot) at the very first report of the Answeres ordnance, I directed the master of my ship to bear vp with the south end of the Goodwin, with which direction I deliuered my reasons publicly, as I stood on the poope of my ship, viz. That if I stood directly into them, the gallies, before I could recouer the place, would either be driuen a shoare or sunk and so would there proue no need of my force; or else by their nimble sailing they would escape the ships, of whom (once getting ahead) they could receiue no impediment: for there was no one ship but the Advantage in the sea that could hinder them to recouer any port in Flanders or the East countries (Sluce onely excepted) vnlesse I staid them at that sand head. Hauing recovered as neere that place as I desired, I staid at least a quarter of an houre, before I could either see galley, heate or see any of those ships, their lights or report of their ordnance, which made me and all my company hold opinion that they had outsailed the Answer, and the rest of the Flemings, and shunned sight of mee by going afeaboard of my ship: which I so verily beleueed, as I once directly determined to saile for Sluce, with hope onely that the preparation which I knew the States had there, would be able to prevent their entrance into that place. Whilst I remained thus doubtfull, or rather hopelesse to hinder their recouerie of Dunkerke or Newport, in case they had bin afeaboard of me, some of my company desired a single galley plying from the shoar to get ahead of my ship. When she approached within caluer shot, I discharged about 30 peeces of ordnance of my lower and vpper tire at her alone, my selfe with many other in my ship saie when her maineyard was shot afinder, heard the report of many shot that hit her hull, heard many their most pittifull outcries, which when I perceived to continue, & instead of making way from me, to neer me what she could, I forbore shooting, & commanded one that spake the Portugall language, to tel them that I was contented to receiue them to mercy: which I would accordingly haue performed, had not the other 5 gallies offered to stand out ahead of me at that very instant, & thereby would haue left me as they had both the first two Dutch ships, and afterwards the Answer with the rest of the Flemings, had I omitted any small time of executing the advantage I had of their being on my broad side, which as appares was so effectually employed (howsoeuer the might wherein this seruice was performed, might hinder the particular mention of their hurts) as none can deny but that God pleased thereby onely to worke their confusion. For since that time none hath said or can speake of any one shot made towards them: yet foure of them are sunke and wrecked, the fift past doing the enemy seruice,

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and the sixt they are forced to new build at Dunkerke, where (if I be not much deceived) G she will proue more chargeable than profitable, if the default rest not in our selues.

The disagreement between the Dutch captaines themselves touching the stemming and sinking of the gallies (whereof one challenged before your Lordship, and in many other publicke places, to haue stemmed and sunke two himselfe) and the printed Pamphlet containing the stemming and sinking of three Gallies, giueth the reputation thereof to three severall Captaines, amongst whom no mention is made of the first; and whereas there are but two in all sunke; I leaue to bee reconciled amongst themselves, and to your Lordship, whether that the same of right appertaineth not to her Maiesties ship the Hope, in respect of the allegations before mentioned, euerie particular whereof being to bee proued by the oathes of my whole company and maintained with the hazard of my life with that which followeth.

1 As the shooting of the single Gallies mainyard asunder, my bestowing about thirtie peeces of ordnance vpon that one Gallie, within lesse then Caluier shot.

2 That they in the Gallie made many lamentable outcries for my receiving them vnto mercie.

3 That I would accordingly haue received them, but for giuing them out to encounter with the other five Gallies, which else had left me to a steme chase.

To these reasons I adde the assertions of the Viceadmiral himselfe, who told me (whatsoever he spake in other places) that one of the Gallies, which he stemmed, had her mainyard shot asunder before his coming aboard her: by whom sooner (she was then stemmed, your Lordship may iudge, who ruind her, considering she made no resistance, by his owne report, but by crying to him for mercie).

Touching the other galley stemmed and sunke, I haue already proued how free (as all the rest) had got ahead the Answer of the Queenes not named, and the rest of the States men of warre with her, who challenge the whole credit of this seruice. They (as all other Sea-men) cannot deny but that the gallies will outsaile all ships, in such a loome gale of wind and smooth sea, as we had that night.

The Gallies being then faster offshale than they, how could they by any means possible fetch them vp, but by some impediment? impediment they received none, but by my ordnance: which amounted to fiftie great shot at those five which came last from the shoare, when all the ships were about a mile assteme.

Some notwithstanding out of their detracting dispositions may perchance say, that the two which were wrecked at Newport would haue perished by storme, though they had not bene battered. Whereunto I haue sufficiently answered, first in shewing that they might haue recovered any of the places thereabouts before eight of the clocke that night but for mee; and then the second time before the morning, had they not bene encountered by me alone, at the South-sand head: Yet for further proofe that they miscaried by our batterie onely, I say that if one of the gallies which received least damage by our ordnance did our liue Fridaies storme, continuing till L Saturday noone, being driven among the llands of Zealand to recouer Calais; then surely those two (vntill they had bene exceedingly torne) would haue made shift to haue recovered the ports of Newport, Graueling or Dunkerke; especially fith from the place where I battered them, they might haue bene at the remotest of those places about foure houres before any storme beganne. But such seemed their hast to saue their liues, as their thought ran of a shoare, and not of a harbour.

Now that I haue deliuered vnto your Lordship the whole & true discourse of this business, I shall forbear to trouble your patience with any further relation of that night & next daies spending my time (though the same in their chase had like to haue cost her Maiestie her ship, and the liues of as many as were in her) and conclude with admiration of their not holding her Maiesties ship, nor I (her vnworthie fith seruant) and then and yet by her Highnesse grace and your Lordships fauour, Admirall of the forces in that place, are not once mentioned: especially fith the fixe Gallies might safely haue arrived before seven of the clock that night at any of the Ports of Flanders to the Westward of Ostend. And that the Dutch ships had not come fro an anchor in the Downes, but for the

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## The generall Historie of Spaine.

A the signes they receiued from me. Then that the force of her Majesties ship, wherein I was, enforced them to keepe close aboard the English shore, whereby those ships in the Downes had power giuen them to come to fight, which fight was begun by the Answer of the queenes.

And lastly, fith the gallies escaped their batterie, and had gotten ahead those ships, about a mile at least, and neuer receiued any impediment after, but onely by me, who lingered them (as you haue heard) vntill the coming vp of those ships that challenge to stemme them: which being granted, I cannot see how any other credit can rightly be giuen them (for that steme I meane) than to a lackey for pillaging of that dead bovie

B which his master had slaine.

Thus much I haue set downe out of his owne mouth, touching the seruice that was done vpon those six gallies of Spaine.

This year there was a new fleet made readie in Spaine, the which bred a ieaousie in the French, and made them to stand vpon their gard in Languedoc and Prouence. This fleet was readie to set saile, the which vnder colour of renewing the enterprise of Alger in Africke, might frame some designe vpon that coast. Prince Doris, and D. John de Cordoas, had bene both vnfortuned in their charges. The honour of Christendome made all men wish, that this execution might proue more successfull than the rest. But as bad designes do manie times prosper better than good, the successe depending commonly on the blindness of fortune, this enterprise of Alger was no more successfull than the two former.

C It was managed by a Franciscan Frier, called Father Mathew, who promised as great glorie vnto himselfe, in chasing away those petie kings of Africke, as Aratus had of freeing Sicyonia of tyrans. He had negotiated with the king of Cycco, who promised (that for a certaine summe of money, whereof he should receiue fortie thousand crowns in hand) not onely to fauour any designe, but to declare himselfe openly against the king of Alger, and to reduce the towne to what condition they would: but there is a great difference betwixt saying and doing: And it is a great simplicitie to giue credit to an Infidell, seeing that treacherie is inseparable from his soule. The Viceroy of Majorca, who was General in this action, and with whom the king of Cycco had promised to

D joyne, approached with foure gallies vpon this assurance, and landed about an hundred men, to deliuer fortie thousand crownes vnto the Moores, who received the money, and deliuered the men into the hands of the Viceroy of Alger, where the Frier was slain, and the Viceroy retiring, freed their neighbours from ieaousie. They of Barcelona (who are subiect to the king of Spaine) did no lesse apprehend this armie than the Moores: they feared that the Catholike king would rake their priuiledges from them, as hee had done from them of Arragon; yet the passage of the three princes of Sauoy into Spaine, renewed their ieaousie in France. The duke came with them to Nice, where they attended the commoditie of their imbarcking, the princeesse Marguerite, his eldest daughter, commanding in Piedmont; and from thence they past to Barcelona, where they attended the kings pleasure, and were entertained with all the honours that might be done vnto princes of that alliance.

E The king of Spaine rejoyced at the dukes resolution, and seemed to haue a great desire to see them. He sent D. Henriques de Guzman to congratulate their arrivall, and to commaund them to take small journeyes, by reason of the heat of the season. Being come to Court, he made prince Filor, the dukes second sonne, Viceroy of Portugal: the which did much content the Portugals, to see the fruits of D. Beatrice, his great grandmother, who was daughter to D. Emanuel king of Portugall and married to Charles duke of Sauoy. The third sonne was afterwards made Archbishop of Toledo, and then cardinal.

The queene of England being dead this year, and the king of Scotland come to the succession of that Crowne, the king of Spaine sent D. John Baptista Taxis, earle of Villa Mediana, his embassadour into England, to witness vnto the king the great contentment hee receiued by his happie coming to the Crowne, who after his first audience of congratulations and ordinarie complements, made a speech vnto the king to this effect.

The king of Spaine, my master, assuring himselfe to find the same effects and affection

1603  
Armie of Spaine  
at sea.Moores treache-  
rous.Passage of the  
prince of Pied-  
mont into SpainKing of Spaine  
sends an embas-  
sador into Eng-  
land.

1603 *Speech of the ambassador of Spaine to the king of England.* "ons of friendship in you, being king of England, which you have alwayes made shew of G  
vnto him being king of Scotland, hath sent me vnto your Maiestie, to confirme the sincer-  
" itie, to desire the continuance, and to preferre it by all the proofes of friendship and affir-  
" stance which he offers you, which is the same that many great princes haue desired, and  
" could not obtaine, and for that it is offered is no lesse necessarie, and to be wished for of  
" your Maiestie. If the king D. Philip the second, of glorious memorie, hath attempted  
" any thing against England, and queene Elizabeth against the Estates of Spaine, it was  
" more vpon some priuat spleene, than for any reason of State. But one tombe should  
" interre both their bodies and their passions. The successours doe inherit the great-  
" nesse and power of their predecessors, but they are not tied to their designses, which haue H  
" no end but the ruine one of another.

" The Catholike king hath such rich and goodlie Crownes in Europe, Asia, and A-  
" fricke, and at the East and West Indies, as they are sufficient to settle the desire of his am-  
" bition within the bounds of his owne greatesse. If hee hath dealt in the affaires of a-  
" ny other princes, it was to support them and keepe them from ruine, time hauing disco-  
" uered how many things were readie to fall, if they had not bene vnderpropt by the  
" hand of D. Philip. The enemies of the house of Spaine haue published, That the am-  
" bition of this prince was to make himselfe Monarch of all Christendome, and that hee  
" had left these designses hereditarie to his posteritie. But the wiser sort may easily judge, I  
" that if hee had bene so affected, he would haue carried himselfe otherwise, and begun  
" the execution of the enterprise by Italie, in the which hee is the stronger, the conquest  
" whereof would be easie, hauing such advantages.

" But as hee is contented to preferre his owne, and desires no lesse to raigne justly,  
" than long and happily; so hee grieued to see his friends crosse him in a thing that is  
" so iust and reasonable. Complaints are free for all men, but they are more affection-  
" ate among neighbours. My master, who holds you in this qualitie of a friend, and  
" will doe what possibly hee may that you be neuer other, complains to you of your  
" selfe. Hee cannot dissemble how much hee thinks himselfe wronged, for that your  
" Maiestie doth affect the defence and protection of the rebels of the Low Countries,  
" against their lawfull Lord, and that you haue larely granted them a great leuie of Scot- K  
" tish men. Hee assures himselfe of all friendship and justice from you, and hee in-  
" treats you, that in calling home these Scottish men you will punish them as they  
" haue deserved. Hee desires to treat sincerely with you, and beleues that your Maiestie  
" (considering how much the friendship of so mightie a prince should bee deere vnto you,  
" and will be profitable) will seeke and imbrace it, and will neuer be so carelesse of his good,  
" as to wish him ill.

*King of Eng-lands answer to the Spanish am- bassador.* "The king returned him many good words, to witnesse the alliance which hee de-  
" sired to entertaine with the king of Spaine, vpon the like termes hee had with him asking  
" of Scotland. But aduowning the Scottish troups which were sent to the generall Estates  
" of the vnited Provinces, to be leuied by his commendement, he said they had not pleased L  
" any punishment; giuing leaue to king Philip to make vse of Scottishmen, if he de-  
" sired; and letting him know, that he had not transgressed the lawes of neutralitie. And as for  
" their protection, he desired he should vnderstand, That the great interresse which En-  
" gland hath with the vnited Provinces, as well in regard of their townes which they haue  
" ingaged, as for the succours which they haue receiued from thence, did bind him to af-  
" sist them, and to haue a care of their preferuation, and to second the intentions of the de-  
" ceased queene, and to build vpon the foundations which she had laied; yet he desired to  
" see them all well reconciled with the king of Spaine.

*Spaniards think vaine so power- full as their own king.* "The ambassador (as my Author sayes) answered, That whosoever knew the power of  
" the king of Spaine, were not ignorant that he can easily bring the rebelled Provinces vn-  
" der the yoke of his obedience, when hee shall please to make an enterprise equal to his  
" power: That no man should doubt, that hee that had passed the Hellespont, will easily  
" passe the riuer of Granique; and that a prince which triumphs ouer so many nations,  
" so many islands, so many seas, and so much firme land at the new-found world, will  
" not adde the islands of Holland and Zeland to his triumphant chariot: the wise will  
" alwayes

A alwaies giue the counsell which Phocion gaue vnto the Athenians, either to make them  
" felues the strongest, or to be obedient vnto them that were so. He then desired leaue to en-  
" ter into conference with some of his Maiesties Councill, and to consult of the meanes of  
" some treatie; which would be no lesse profitable and honourable to England, than to  
" Spaine: the which was granted him. After some meetings, the lords finding that he had  
" no power to treat, they attended other deputies, who came the next yeare with an ample  
" Commission, as you shall heare.

" There fell out two accidents, which had like to haue troubled the quiet of those two  
" great Monarchs of France and Spaine. The yeare before king Philip and the Archdukes  
" had imposed thirtie in the hundred vpon all marchandise which came in or went out of  
" the countries that were vnder their obedience: the which did seeme directly to infringe  
" the treatie of Veruins. The French king commanded his ambassadors to deale with those  
" princes touching this imposition, and to aduertise him of their resolutions. But their an-  
" swers, and the force they vsed afterwards to the kings subiects, to make them pay the im-  
" position, did witnesse sufficiently, that they had no will to exempt them. Whereupon the  
" French king made a defence, That no marchandise should be carried out of France into  
" Spaine, or the Low Countries, that were vnder the Archdukes obedience, nor any bee  
" brought from thence into France, vpon corporall punishment, and losse of goods. But  
" this did not alter the peace, onely there were complaints made by the two kings one of  
" another. King Philip began: Hee tooke it ill that the French going voluntarily to serue  
" the Estates, did prolong their rebellion, and did hinder the reduction of Ostend: that  
" the king did succour them with men and money; and that hee had forbidden his subiects to  
" traffique into Spaine and Flanders. But the king disauowed them that went to serue  
" the Estates: If hee sent them money, it was (sayed he) but to pay that which hee had  
" borrowed: And the defence of traffique tended to no other end, but to force the king  
" of Spaine and the Archduke to take away that intollerable imposition, and to let him  
" know, that France can liue better without the commodities of Spaine, than Spain with-  
" out those of France.

" The second accident, or cause of jarre betwixt these two princes grew also from  
" D Spaine; the French king complaining, and justly, That the secrets of his cabinet were  
" discovered to his enemies. Will the king of Spaine neuer cease (said he) to withdraw  
" my subiects from their due tie and loyalties? Will hee still entertaine some traitor  
" within my realme? My embassadour complains vnto me by his letters, that hee is so  
" slowly aduertised of our affaires, as the king of Spaines ministers know them before  
" him.

" The king being much troubled to find out the spring from whence this pestilent li-  
" quor of Infidelitie did flow, behold God discovered the treacherie of Indus, by such  
" means as the wisdom of man could not find out. Villeroi, the chiefe Secretarie  
" of State, who managed the greatest secrets of the kindome, had an vnder clerke,  
" called Nicholas Lost, in whom hee reposed much trust, and the rather, for that his fa-  
" ther had serued him long. This young man hauing attended on Monsieur de la Roche-  
" fort, being embassadour in Spaine, there laied the plot of this treason, whereof you may  
" read the whole discourse at large in the historie of France.

" There was some likelihood of a new enterprise this yeare vpon Africke. The king  
" of Culco, who had promised the last yeare to ioyne with the Spaniards against Alger,  
" had receiued fortie thousand crownes vpon the bargain, and treacherously betrayed them  
" that brought the money vnto their enemies, this yeare hee sent an embassa-  
" dour vnto the king, who gaue him audience at Valencia: Which made many  
" thinke, that hee would make another attempt vpon Alger, for that he caused him  
" F be conducted home by a Master of the campe, and an Engineer, giuing him great store of  
" munition, and fire-works, laden in three fregats.

" The king of Spaine being aduertise out of England, from his embassadour Taxis,  
" of the successe of his embassage, and of the expectation of a treatie, hee appoint-  
" ed the Constable of Castille to vndertake this charge, giuing him an ample  
" Commission, to treat and conclude a Peace betwixt England and Spaine: hee  
" past

1604  
Imposition ex-  
acted by the Spa-  
niard.

Treason of Lost.

Embassadors  
from the king  
of Culco as Pa-  
lencia.

Constable of Ca-  
stille sent into  
England.

pass through France, where he was verie honourably received, and so came into Flanders to the Archdukes, from whence he went into England, for the conclusion of the peace.

There were Commissioners appointed on either side: For the king of great Britaine were named, the earle of Dorset, high Treasurer of England, the earle of Nottingham, high Admirall of England, the earle of Deuonshire, Lieutenant of the kingdom of Ireland, the earle of Northampton, and the lord *Vicomte Cranborne*, principall Secretarie, and now earle of Salisbury, and high Treasurer of England; being all of his Majesties priuie Councell.

For the king of Spaine there were deputed D. *John de Velasco*, Constable of Castille and Leon, Duke of Frias, Earle of Haro, &c. D. *John Baptista Taxis*, Earle of Villa Mediana &c. and *Alexander Rowidius* a Lawyer, and Senator of Milan. The Archdukes sent for their Commissioners, *Charles* Earle of Aremberg, Counsellor of State, and Admirall to the said Archdukes, *John Richardus* Knight, President of the priuie Councell, and Counsellor of State, and *Lodowike Verreiken*, Knight their principal Secretarie. All these Commissioners, after many consultations and conferences, in the end concluded a peace, on the 18 of August, betwixt the two kings, their Estates and subiects, vpon certain articles, whereof I haue set downe the contents.

Articles of the  
peace betwixt  
England and  
Spaine.

1 First it was concluded, That from thenceforth there should be a sincere and firme league and peace inuolubly obserued for euer, and in all places, betwixt the most renowned king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c. and the most renowned king of Spaine &c. and the most renowned Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Bourgondie, their heires and successors, their countries, dominions, and subiects, of what condition or degree soeuer they be, or may be.

2 That all acts of hostilitie should cease, and all wrongs and injuries done, during the troubles, be forgotten, so as there should be no action pretended for any depredations or spoiles committed, but all should be freely abolished, except such depredations as had bene committed since the 24 of April 1603: and that from thenceforth they and their subiects should forbear from all depredations and spoiles, and cause restitution to be made of any that should be after that time committed.

3 That neither of the aboue named princes, their heirs or successors, by himselfe or any other, should do, treat, or attempt any thing against the other, or against their kingdomes or dominions, vpon any pretence, nor assult or consent vnto any warre, attempt, or treatie, to the prejudice one of another.

4 That they should neither themselves giue, nor consent to be giuen by any of their vassals, subiects, or inhabitants, any aid, fauour, or supplie, vnto the enemies or rebels of either part, (whether they shall invade their countries, or withdraw themselves from their obedience and subiection) of souldiers, victuals, money, ordnance, and munition, or any other aid to maintaine warre.

5 That the said princes should, and did, renounce all leagues, confederations, and intelligence, made to the prejudice one of another, which did or might impugne this peace, & the contents thereof: all which they shall disannull, and declare to be of no force.

6 That the said kings and Archdukes should restraîne their subiects from doing any wrong, and should reuoke all Commissions and letters of Reprisall and Mart, of what nature soeuer, being to the prejudice of the said princes, or of their subiects, to whomsoever they haue bene granted: the which they shall declare to be void and of no force. And that whosoever should do to the contrary, should be punished criminally, and compelled to make restitution to the parties damaged.

7 That as concerning the townes of Fleissingue, Brill, Ramekins, and other forts thereunto belonging, in the which the souldiers of the king of England did remaine in Garrison, forasmuch as the said king affirmed, that by contracts formerly made betwene queene *Elizabeth*, of famous memorie (vnto whom his Maiestie did succceed) and the Estates of the vnited Prouinces, hee stood bound not to redeliuer the said townes and forts to any, but to such as had deliuered the same for caution; so as by the said contracts his Maiesties faith & honor (which he resolved to keep religiously towards all men) being

inga-

A ingaged, he might not then restore those places vnto the Archdukes; yet hee promised to enter into treatie with the said Estates, wherein his Maiestie would assigne them a conuenient time to accept of conditions conformable to iustice and equitie, for a pacification with the renowned princes, his deere brethren: which if the Estates should refuse to accept, then his Maiestie, as being freed from the former conuention, would determine of those townes as hee should thinke most iust and honourable, wherein hee would doe all good offices for the said Princes, his louing brethren.

8 That the renowned king of England &c. would commaund the garrison souldiers not to serue the Hollanders, nor to succour them with victuals, armes, or any munition for warre, or other the king of Spaines or the Archdukes enemies, vpon any colour or pretext soeuer, nor doe any act of hostilitie against the king of Spaine, the Archdukes, or their subiects: And in like manner the king of Spaine and the Archdukes did promise, that no act of hostilitie should be done against the said garrison souldiers, nor against the king of England &c. or his subiects.

9 That betwene the said kings, their kingdomes, vassals, inhabitants, and subiects, there should be free commerce in all places where it hath bene formerly vsed before the warres, according to the auncient leagues and treaties, so as the subiects of either partie might goe and enter freely into the others countries and dominions both by sea and land, without any Safeconduct, or other licence, and depart from thence with their goods, and marchandises, paying the ordinarie customes and imposts.

10 That it should be lawfull to haue access vnto the ports of the said princes, there to make stay, and with the like libertie to depart, not onely with ships for merchandise, but also for warre, whether they come thither being forced by foule weather, or for the repairing of their ships, or for prouision of victuals, so as they exceed not the number of six or eight ships, when they come in voluntarily, nor stay longer in the hauens than they shall haue cause, for the repairing of their ships, or to make prouision of necessaries, least it should cause an interruption of free traffique with other nations in amitie. And if any greater number of ships of warre than is aboue mentioned, shall happen to haue access into those ports, then it shall not be lawfull for them to enter without the priuie and consent of the prince. Provided, that they should not commit any act of hostilitie within the said ports, to the prejudice of the princes: and that there should be an especiall care had, that vnder the pretext of traffique there should be no victuals, armes, or munition for warre, carried by the subiects of those kingdomes, to the enemies of the one or other king. And whosoever should attempt the contrarie, should be punished as seditious persons, and breakers of the peace. It was also provided, That the subiects of the one should not be worse intreated in anothers dominions in his sales and contracts of merchandise, than his owne naturall subiects.

11 That the king of England &c. after the conclusion of these articles, should forbid by proclamation, That none of his subiects, or any inhabiting within his realme, should carrie ouer in his owne name, directly or indirectly, or colour any ships, merchandise, or any other thing going out of Holland and Zeland into Spaine, nor any Holland or Zeland marchant, vnto the said ports, vpon paine of punishment. And to auoyd fraud, all merchandise to be sent out of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to the dominions of the king of Spaine and Archdukes, was to be sealed with the Towne or Cittie Seale from whence they should be laden: and that which was not so sealed, should be taken for good prize, and confiscated, and all Hollanders and Zelanders found in the said ships, should be also taken.

12 That all English, Scottish, and Irish merchandise, might be transported out of those countries into the dominions of the king of Spaine, without paying the imposition of thirtie in the hundred, lately imposed, but onely the customes and tolls usually demanded before the said imposition of thirtie in the hundred.

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13 That for such marchandise as the English, Scottish, or Irish marchants should buy in Spaine, or other the king of Spaines dominions, and should carrie in their owne ships, or in ships hired or lent them (except they be of Holland Zeland) they should onely pay such customes as were accustomed to be paid before the imposition of thirtie in the hundred: provided, that they should carrie the said marchandise to the realmes of the king of England &c. or to the ports of those provinces which obey the Archdukes. And to prevent the transportation of the said marchandise to any other places, and especially to Holland and Zeland, it was agreed, That the marchants should enter bond at such time as they did lade their ships in Spaine, or in any of the king of Spaines dominions, before the magistrat of the place where they should lade, to pay the said imposition of 30 in the hundred, in case they carrie the said marchandise to any other countries: and that they should bring a certificat, within one yeare, from the magistrat of the place where they should vnlade the said goods, testifying that they haue discharged in the king of Englands dominions, or in those provinces which are vnder the Archdukes obedience; exhibiting of which certificats their bonds should be deliuered vp.

14 That the king of England &c. soone after the confirmation of this accord, should forbid his subiects to export any marchandise out of the K. of Spaines dominions, to any other places but to his Majesties kingdoms, and the said ports of Flanders, vpon paine of confiscation of all their marchandise, to the vse of the king of England &c. whereof the Informer is to haue the one halfe, the imposition of thirtie in the hundred being first deducted, the which shall be payed to the king of Spaines officers: the proofes being lawfully receiued in Spaine, and sent into England in authentical forme, should be credited.

15 That the magistrats of any townes or cities within his Majesties kingdoms, which should make certificats of the vnlading of ships, and giue testimonie of the registring of marchandise, should not commit any fraud therein, vpon paine of the losse of their offices, and the kings displeasure: With this prouiſo, That when as the king of Spaine and the Archdukes shall agree with the French king, or any other, touching the last Edict of thirtie in the hundred, and the commerce betwixt them be restored, then it should be lawful for the subiects of the said king of England &c. to transport their marchandise into his or their dominions vnto whom the commerce shall be restored, without the payment of thirtie in the hundred, paying onely the former vsual customes.

16 That there should be free commerce betwixt the subiects of the king of England &c. and the Archdukes, in all places where they had beene formerly accustomed to trade, both by water and land, hauing free libertie to enter into the dominions, townes, and ports one of another, and to buy, sell, carrie and recarrie their marchandise, repaire their ships, provide victuals, and all things necessarie, at reasonable prices, and should depart with the like libertie with their goods and marchandise, paying the vsual customes. Provided, that the subiects of the king of England &c. should not vse the shipping of the Hollanders, or the vnited Provinces, nor bring any of their manufactures into the Archdukes countries, nor any other thing for the which any tribute was payed in Holland, neither should they transport any thing from the Archdukes Provinces, vnto the vnited Provinces, vntill a pacification were made; neither should they receiue any goods belonging to the vnited Provinces, into their ships, nor put any of them into the vnited Estates ships, nor fraudulently colour the goods of any one of the vnited Provinces: the which being found, it should be held to be good and lawfull prize.

17 That the former Prouisoes should not onely be vnderstood of ships laden for marchandise, but also of ships of warre, which the said princes should send forth to prevent the attempts of their enemies: which ships of warre, not exceeding the number aboue mentioned, might freely enter into one anothers ports, being driuen by tempest, or to repaire their ships, or buy necessities, and there stay, so as they committed no act of hostilitie, with the like cautions and exceptions as is contained in the tenth article.

18 As the said kings and Archdukes did religiously promise, not to giue any warlike succours to any of the others enemies, so it was provided, that the subiects or the inhabitants

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A tants of their realmes, of what nation or qualitie soeuer, should not vnder colour of commerce, nor vpon any other pretext, giue any aid to the enemies of the said princes, or supply them with money, victuals, armour, munition, ordnance, or other warlike prouiſion: and those which should do the contrarie should be seuerely punished, as breakers of the league, and seditious persons.

19 And for the greater benefit and good of their subiects, it was agreed, that the king of England &c. and the Archdukes, should do their endeavors, that their subiects should haue the passages open vnto their ports and dominions, so as they might freely come and go with their ships, marchandise and carriages (paying the ordinarie customes) to all the said ports, kingdoms and dominions, & depart when they please with the like libertie.

20 As touching the ancient treaties of commerce and traffique betwixt the realms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions of the dukes of Bourgonie, and princes of the Low Countries, the which during the late troubles had beene intermitted, and it may be in some parts impaired: It was concluded by way of prouiſion, That they should remaine in their auncient force, and be vied on either side, as they had beene before the warre. And if it happen, that by both parts, or by any one, any breach thereof be pretended: or that the subiects shall complaine, that the conuentions were not observed, or that more grieuous burthens than were accustomed were imposed on them, then there should be deputies appointed on either part, which should meet, and treat friendly, and restore such things as should be found out of course, or to haue beene altered by the iniurie of time, or by corrupt custome.

21 And to make this peace fruitfull to the subiects of the king of England &c. it was concluded, That such as had recourse to and from the realmes and dominions of the king of Spaine and Archdukes, and should remaine there for trade, should not be molested in the cause of conscience: wherefore to the intent their traffique might be safe and without danger both by land and sea, the said king of Spaine and Archdukes should prouide, that vsing their trade and commerce, they should not be called in question nor molested for their consciences, so as they gaue no scandall.

22 If any goods or marchandise prohibited to be carried, should be conueyed out of the realmes and dominions of the said kings and Archdukes, by the subiects of the one or the other, that in such case the person offending shall onely incurre punishment, and only the goods prohibited shall be confiscated.

23 That the goods of subiects dying within the realmes and dominions of either, should be preferred for the right heires and successors of the deceased, alwaies reseruing the right of any third person.

24 That graunts and priuiledges giuen by the princes to marchants of either of the kingdoms, comming to their realmes, which priuiledges, by reason of the warres, haue ceased, should from thenceforth be reuiued, and stand in their full force and vertue.

25 And if hereafter any vnkindnesse should grow betwixt the king of England &c. and the king of Spaine, or the Archdukes, whereby there might grow any interruption of entercourse and traffique, the subiects of either prince should be so aduertised thereof, as they might haue six monethes from the time of the admonition, to transport their marchandise, without any arrest, disturbance, or molestation in the meane season, to be offered or done them either in their persons or goods.

26 That neither of the said princes should imbarre or stay for their prouiſion in war, or for any other seruice, to the prejudice of the owners, the ships of the others subiects, lying in their ports or roads, vnlesse one of those parties to whom the ships do belong, bee first aduertised thereof, and yeeld his consent thereunto.

27 It was also accorded, That if during this peace and league of friendship, any thing should happen to be attempted, or done, against the force and effect thereof, either by water or by land, by any of the said princes, their heires and successors, their vassals and subiects, or by their allies comprehended in this league, or by the heires & successors of any of those allies, their subiects or vassals, yet notwithstanding this peace and amitie, should remaine in his full strength and vertue, and the attempters and such as doe offend onely that be punished for their attempts.

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28 That



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28 That all prisoners taken in the warres, or condemned to the galleys, should be released and set free, the charges of diet, of such as were not in the galleys, being first paid, and the ranfomes of such as had before compounded for the same, being discharged.

29 It was concluded, That all ciuile aditions which were in force at such time as the last warre begun, should be continued and pursued, notwithstanding any lapse of time during the same warre, so as they should not be any way prejudiced by the continuance of the warre: those onely were excepted which were already come to the princes treasure or Exchequer.

30 If any action should be commenced in the realmes and dominions of any of these princes, by any person not being subject to the same prince, touching any depredations or spoiles, the cause should be remitted to the Iudge of the jurisdiction vnder that prince, against whose subject or subjects the suit is commenced.

31 If the Hollanders and the other confederat Estates, would accept of conditions of pacification with the Archdukes, or their successours, by the means of the king of England &c. the said Archdukes and their successours would always willingly hearken vnto that which should be propounded therein, and would desire, that by the helpe of the king of England &c. they might be brought to imbrace equall conditions; wherein they should well vnderstand how much the said Archdukes did attribute vnto the king of England.

The last three articles were for the comprehending of the allies, friends, and confederats of the said princes in this present treatie, the which they did feuerally and particularly name: and for the ratification, confirmation, and due obseruation of the said treatie.

There was also an order set down touching marchandise of high Germanie to be transported into Spaine, and free from the imposition of thirtie in the hundred, whereby the Constable of Castille, hauing speciall procuration from the Catholike king, did promise that it should be lawfull for the subjects of the king of England &c. to conuey marchandise out of high Germanie, being subject to the imposition of thirtie in the hundred, and could not without payment thereof, be carried into Spaine, the same marchandise being first conueyed into England, and there discharged and customed, and from thence to bee afterwards transported into Spaine, or any other of the king of Spaines dominions, without payment of thirtie in the hundred, so as the said marchandise had not paid any thing to the Hollanders and Zelanders, or other enemies of the king of Spain and the Archdukes: which marchandise they should conuey in their owne ships, and not in any belonging to any other prince or nation. And, to avoid fraud, the marchandise of high Germany, which should be transported out of England, Scotland, and Ireland, into the dominions of the king of Spaine and the Archdukes, should be registred and marked with the seale of the towne from whence it came, and a certificate sent from the magistrat of the said towne, testifying, that the said marchandise were discharged in England, Scotland, or Ireland, and that they had paid custome there; vpon paine of the kings displeasure, & the losse of their offices, and other punishments, to bee inflicted at the kings pleasure vpon the magistrats of townes vnder the obedience of the king of England &c. which are to certifye the vloading of ships, and the registring thereof, if they shall herein commit any fraud. And what marchandise fouer of high Germanie, shall not be discharged in England, Scotland, or Ireland, and yet to be transported into Spaine, and other the dominions of the king of Spaine, all such marchandise shall be confiscated, and reputed good prize.

There were also three articles concluded, concerning a moderation to be had in the proceedings in the Inquisition in Spaine, against the king of Englands subjects.

First, If they exceeded in any thing before their entrance into Spaine, they should not be called into the Inquisition for the same, neither should they bee molested for any of those things so committed out of Spaine, neither should any account be demanded of them for the same.

2 That no man should compell them to enter into churches, vnlesse they would, but if they did enter, they should performe those duties and reuerence which are vied towards the holy Sacrament of the Altar, being there; and if they should see the Sacrament comming towards them in any street, they shall doe reuerence by bowing their knees

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A knees, or else they shall passe aside by some other street, or turne into some house.

3 If any of the said persons being masters or masters mates, or any other officers of ships which be not their owne, doe exceed in any of these things, the Inquisition proceeding against them by office, is onely to sequester their own proper goods, and are to leave the ships and all other goods, not belonging to the offenders, free: and the same was to be vnderstood for all traders and factors.

During this treatie betwixt England and Spaine, the defence of traffique betwixt France and the dominions of the king of Spaine and the Archdukes, was verie troublesome. The French suffered great discommodities, and the Spaniards found this restraint heauie and insupportable, for that all things grew exceeding deere, and the tradesmen murmured, and grew almost desperat. The Pope commaunded his Nuntio to deale in this businesse, and to reconcile these princes; but the French king would not yeeld to anything, vntill that the Spaniards, who had first troubled the water, had cleared it againe, in reuoking the imposition of thirtie in the hundred, which made the libertie of traffique a meere seruitude, and the profit an assured losse. This was verie seuer and rigorous. It is in euery kind bitter vnto the marchant, couetousnesse hauing changed the first cause, as well as the quantitie of customes and imposts. At the first they were paid onely to haue free libertie and assurance of passage from one place vnto another; and for that princes haue vnder their protection the highwayes (for the which they are called Royall)

C they did acknowledge this right of protection with some dutie. Such impositions for so necessarie causes are just, others are not, and yet they must be borne, being not lawfull for the subject to murmure against the customes and imposts wherewith the prince doth charge him. They said, That the Spaniards, which are long in their consultations, and constant in their resolutions, would neuer reuoke this imposition, for that they would not loose the reputation of constancie in their lawes, and bee noted of inconstancie and lightnesse, by applying themselves to the time and affaires. But there was no remedie, the deputies of the two kings and Archdukes meeting, tooke off the imposition, and set the commerce free.

The peace being fully concluded betwixt England and Spaine, and sworn by the king of England in the presence of the king of Spaines Commissioners, the Constable of Castille hauing receiued great honour in England, both in his entertainment and presents giuen him from the king; returned into Flanders, much satisfied in himselfe, to carrie home with him such joyfull tidings. From thence hee past into France, where the French king vsed him so royally, as hee afterwards said, That hee had entertained him as a king, and intreated him as a kinsman.

In the yeare a thousand six hundred and foure the king of Great Britaine sent the earle of Nottingham, high Admirall of England, into Spaine; to take the Catholike kings oath, for the confirmation of the peace, as hee did the earle of Hartford vnto the Archdukes, to the same end. The sayd earle of Nottingham, being attended on by a gallant traine of noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, arrived at the 'Groine', where hee was no sooner discovered from the land, but D. Lewis de Carilla de Toledo, marquisse of Carascena, Gouverneur both of the towne and of the countrey of Galicia ygaue order for his entertainment, the which was verie royally performed.

At his comming into the harbour, a fort vpon the North side of the towne, did salute him with twentie peeces of ordnance: then a fort lately built vpon a rocke, with six and thirtie peeces; and lastly from the towne and castle with about thirtie peeces of ordnance. And the earles ship, with the whole fleet, being at an anchor, requited them with all their ordnance. Presently after the Gouverneur sent foure chiefe officers of the towne, with D. John de Pacheco, his brother, and D. Lewis de Carilla de Toledo his onely sonne, to welcome the earle: After some time spent in complements, the Gouverneur himselfe came aboard the earles ship in a barge, the matings and rowers being in blew silke cassocks and capps, and the barge couered with blew velvet. After hee had saluted the earle, he told him, That the king his master had giuen vnto him an especiall charge to haue a respect

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Discomodities  
for the restraint  
of traffique.Commerce set  
at liberty in  
France.Constable of Ca-  
stille returns in-  
to Spaine.1605  
Earle of Not-  
tingham sent  
into Spaine.

He lands at the  
Groine.

who he was that came embassadour, from whom hee came, and to whom hee was sent: and that he should doe euerie thing for the honour of these three persons, not sparing any thing that might be fit for his Lordships entertainment. Wherefore hee did intreat the earle to goe to land, the which he did forbear vntill the next day; so as that night hee sent vnto his Lordship a present of fish, fruits, bread, and such commodities as the country yielded.

On Tuesday, the sixteenth of Aprill, the earle of Nottingham prepared to goe to shore, to his lodging, which was appointed in the gouernours house. The gouernour hauing taken care to receiue his Lordship in most honourable manner, had (vpon notice of his comming to the Groine) caused a bridge of timber, being aboute fortie yards long, to be built and painted, the which was garnished with many penciles of silke of diuers colours. The way into the towne was set on either side with boughes of bayes and Orange trees, and strewed with rushes and flowers. The whole garison of the towne, and other companies that were drawne out of the country, were there readie to make a gard for him.

His Lordship being readie to land, the gouernour sent diuers of the Commanders to let him vnderstand, that he and the magistrats of the towne would attend him on the bridge. Whereupon the earle tooke his barge, and (being followed by his whole traine) went vnto the bridge, where the Spaniards entertained the English as they landed, the haultboyes and shagbotts playing all the while. Being all landed, they entred into the towne an English man and a Spaniard marching together in verie good order. At their entrance into the towne they were saluted with a great volley of shot, both great and small; and so they went on foot to the gouernours house, where, when the earle entred, there were many chambers shot off.

During the earle of Nottingham's stay at the Groine, hee solemnized Saint Georges feast, the which was performed with the greater state, for that the people came thither in troups to see that ceremonie; and it was thought the gouernour (being inuited) would haue dined with his Lordship, but hee fearing to heare something that might touch the king, his master, excused himselfe, and so retired, hauing seene his Lordship set downe: But hearing, after dinner, by his owne brother, that there was not any thing that might giue cause of offence, or exception, hee was forie, and did accompanie his Lordship at supper, whither many ladies and gentlewomen came to see the order of that State.

On the foure and twentieth of Aprill D. Blasco d'Arragon, nephew to the duke of Terranova, who had bene in England the yeare before with the Constable of Castille, came from Court, being sent from the king his master, to salute his Lordship, and to acquaint him with such preparations as were made for him and his traine for that journey. There was also D. Gaspar de Bullion, the kings chiefe Harbinger, who came with commission from the king, to provide all things necessarie for his Lordships journey. After some conference (notwithstanding they had promised there should be no want of any thing) they found, that the whole country would not furnish mules ynow, there being six hundred and fiftie persons, besides the carriages, which were verie many. Whereupon his Lordship resolved to leaue some of his owne companie aboard his ships vntill his returne. There were foure coaches and foure litters attended them at Villafraanca, besides their riding mules, whereof there was a coach and a litter for his Lordships owne vse, another coach and a litter for six Charles Cornwallis, who was then sent to be embassador leager in Spaine, and the rest for the knights and gentlemen which should be sicke.

During his Lordships stay at the Groine, hee was entertained with sundrie sports, the which were performed in a square made of purpose on the market place; as assaulting of a castle by armed knights, and freeing a ladie from foure monsters which defended it, fighting at barriers, and in the end verie rare fire-works, the which were generally commended for their strangeness. After which his Lordship, hauing all his traine furnished with mules, began his journey towards the Court the 3 of May; the gouernour and magistrats bringing him out of the town with musick & shot. He was accompanied by D. Blasco d'Arragon, & D. Gaspar de Bullion, chiefe harbinger to the K. who had the charge of the conduct.

His

Earle of Nottingham goes  
from the Groine

A His Lordship pass from the Groyne to Bytance, to Villa Alua Lugo, Terra Castella; Cebrera, Villa Franca, Bubibre, Altorga (where his Lordship saw a fayre castle belonging to the marquisse of Altorga) Banca, Benauent, Villa Garcia: and from thence hee had order to goe to Simancas, which was as farre as Vailledolit: To which towne his Lordship came in twelue dayes, hauing bene honourably receiued in all places where hee past. His Lordship comming to Simancas on Tuesday the 14 of May, he had order from the king, not to come to Court till Thursday. On the Wednesday after dinner there came D. Pedro de Suniga, or Estuniga, newly appointed embassadour for England, and D. John de Taxis, sonne to the earle of Villa Mediana, then embassador in England; B who hauing saluted his Lordship, departed againe.

On Thursday, his Lordship being appointed to goe to Court, there came to attend him the marquisse of Camerla, D. Pedro de Suniga, D. John de Taxis, D. Blasco d'Arragon; with diuers other knights and gentlemen of the kings house and chamber, bringing diuers coaches with them. Simancas was not aboute six English miles from Court. Vpon the way the earle of Nottingham was perswaded to go into a banqueting house which stood vpon the highway, and to see the delicacie of their orchards and gardens, and to tast of the fruits: but it was rather to stay for the noblemen which were appointed by the king to meet him. During his stay in this garden, there was a horse presented vnto him from the king, which he did vsually ride on. After an houres stay, there came diuers

He goes to  
Court.

C Grandoes and other noblemen, the chiefe whereof were, the duke of Frias Constable of Castille (lately embassadour in England) the duke of Infantago, the duke of Albuquerque, the duke of Cea, the duke of Sessa, the duke of Pastrana, the marquisse of S. German, the earle of Chinchon, the earle of Punno en Rostro, the marquisse of Baneza, the earle of Aguilar, the earle of Berofa, the earle of Nieua, the earle of Corunna, the earle of Paredes, the marquisse of Carpio, the marquisse of Taura, the marquisse of Villanoua, the earle of Salinas, the marquisse of Seralua, the marquisse de Fuentes, the marquisse of Alcanices, the earle of Galues, the Admirall of Arragon, with many other lords and knights. The earle with all these nobles, and his whole traine, being vpon the way, the weather being exceeding hot, there fell a verie great shoure, which continued vntill they came into the towne, where his lodging was appointed in the house of the earle of Salinas, not farre from Court. There was a multitude of people, and eight hundred coaches (as it was thought) full of ladies and gentlewomen, gotten out of the towne to see the earle and his companie. I omit the manner of their marshalling with the Spanish knights and lords. They entred by a gate called Puerta del Campo, and passed through the chiefe parts of the towne, by the Court gate, the king, queene, and ladies, standing (as they said) at certaine windows, to take view of the companie. That night there came diuers noblemen, and the queene sent her Major Domo to visit his Lordship: which caused some admiration in the Spaniards, who saied, they neuer knew the like fauour done to any embassador.

Noblemen that  
met the Earle  
of Nottingham.

E The day after, his Lordship comming to Vailledolit, D. Francisco Gomes de Sandomal, duke of Lerma, the kings great fauourite, being accompanied by many dukes and earles, came to visit him, and so consequently all embassadours, and most of the Grandoes and noblemen of the Court, came to visit him, and congratulate his comming. He had his first audience on Saturday the eighteenth of May. In the morning the king sent the earle of Galues, and diuers of his priue chamber, to visit his Lordship. In the afternoone the Constable came accompanied with aboute twentie noblemen, whereof three or foure were of the Grandoes, bringing many coaches with them, to conduct his Lordship and his companie to Court. The kings gard made a way for them to the prefence chamber doore, they being three hundred in number, Suisses, Spaniards, and Wallons, attired in red and yellow veluet, but of severall fashions. At the palace gate stood the duke of Infantago, and the marquisse of Vellada, with diuers noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, to receiue his Lordship, & to conduct the companie into the prefence, where the king sat vnder a rich cloth of Estate, and by him eight Grandoes of Spaine covered. His Lordship hauing delivered his message by his interpreter, & his letters into the kings own hands, coming from his chaire, he gaue his Lordship a very kind & honorable entertainment.

The Earle goes  
to Court.

His Audience.

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tainment, causing him to sit neere vnto him: which fauour was much obserued, as a thing G  
(sayd the Spaniards) neuer vied to any embassador before that time. After some conference, the noblemen and gentlemen hauing kist the kings hand, his Lordship was conducted by the Constable and others, to the queenes presence, where shee sat vnder a rich cloth of Estate, and the Infanta by her: hee was receiued by the Major Domo to the queene, and conducted to her presence: where hauing ended his complements, being somewhat late, he tooke his leave, and returned with those dukes and lords vnto his lodging.

King of Spaine  
goes in procession.

On the nineteenth of May, being Sunday, the king went in procession, going first to S. Pauls church neere the Court, and then through the town to S. Maries, after this manner. H  
First went the Monkes and religious Orders singing, and bearing crosses, banners, and other church reliques, the Sacrament being also carried by foure officers of the Church. Then followed diuers noblemen in their ranks, according to their degrees. And next before the kings owne person went the younger of the princes of Sauoy. After king followed the cardinal, being Archbishop of Toledo, and with him the prince of Sauoy his elder brother. Then followed the prince of Maroc, with the Emperours embassador, the embassador of France, and he of Venice: after whom followed diuers gentlemen of the kings chamber, and the rest of the traine.

Christening of  
the prince of  
Spaine.

After dinner the same day there was preparation made for the Christening of the prince. There was a large scaffold made for their passage at the end of a long gallerie, I  
and joyned to the church: the timber of which scaffold was covered with rich cloth of gold. They came vnto the church after this manner. The trumpets were set in seuerall companies neere vnto the church, still sounding, and answering one another. About foure of the clocke there past by this scaffold, to go into Saint Pauls church, the Knights, Lords, and Grandees going before, and some Dukes of especiall name bearing sundrie ceremonies, as the salt carried by one, a wax taper by another: then came the Constable, who carried the Crowne, before whom went the king at Armes. The duke of Lerma bare the prince in his armes, being tied vnto him with a rich scarf; he was assisted by the prince of Sauoy, and the earle of Miranda. Then followed the Infanta in a chaire, the which diuers gentlemen of the kings bed-chamber, and priuie chamber, carried on their K  
shoulders, the younger prince of Sauoy going by. At the church doore the cardinall attended them in his pontificall robes, hauing three bishops, and other officers of the Church with him; and so they conducted them with singing vnto the Font, the which was richly covered with a canopie of cloth of gold. The cardinall performed the ceremony; the which ended with church musicke, sounding of trumpets, and other wind instruments: and so they returned as they came, being accompanied by most of the great Ladies of the Court and kingdom. The prince was Christened by the name of Philip Domingo Victor. The elder prince of Sauoy was his godfather, of whom he tooke the name of Victor, and the Infanta, his sister, was his godmother. The Lord embassador of England was placed in the earle of Ribadauias house, both to see the procession in the morning, and the prince going to the Christening: after which he was conducted by a priuat way into the church, to see the ceremonie.

Churching of  
the queene of  
Spaine.

The next day, being Monday, the embassador leger was presented to the king, and graciously allowed of by him. On Tuesday the Lord embassador was conducted to S. Maries church by D. Blasco d'Arragon, to see the ceremonie of the queenes Churching, whither the king and queene came together, the king being on horsebacke, and the queene in a verie rich carroch of cloth of gold, drawne with foure horses, hauing their furnitures of cloth of gold, with whom the Infanta sat. After which, in another carroch, came the young prince, in the armes of an auncient ladie: and then followed two other carroches of blacke velvet, with diuers duchesses, countesses, and other great personages, widowes. M  
Then came foure other carroches, all of one fashion, with diuers ladies, the queenes maides. This was the first day of the queenes going abroad, and as it was held, her Churching day.

Earle of Nottingham  
suffered by the Constable

That day the Lord embassador was invited to dine with the Constable, where he was accompanied by the dukes of Albuquerque, & of Sessa, & others: where there wanted not any

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A any thing that the countrie could yeld for his entertainment. On Friday being the 20 of May there were certaine presents, sent by the king of England, deliuered, the king and Queene comming themselves into a priuat garden to receiue them. They were fixe horses, three for the king, and three for the Queene, with saddles and clothes verie richly imbrodered, two Crosse-bowes with sheafes of arrowes, foure fowling peeces, with their furnitures, all verie richly garnished and inlaid with plates of gold, and a couple of limehounds: which presents were kindly receiued, the king and Queene admiring the faith- on and richnesse thereof.

1605  
Presents sent  
to the king and  
Queen of Spaine

On Tuesday the eight & twentieth of May, the Lord embassador, with all the English B  
were invited to dine with the duke of Lerma, where they were verie honorably entertained to their great contentment: he was accompanied at the table by the duke of Lerma, the duke of infantado, and the duke of Albuquerque. They were attended on at the table by Marqueses, Earles, Knights, and gentlemen of the kings priuy-chamber, and few others.

Embassador  
suffered by the  
duke of Lerma.

Hauing receiued what pleasure could be deuised at the table, they were afterwards carried down into a faire Court, paved with square stone, in the midst whereof was a fontaine of cleere water; the whole Court was covered with canuas to keep them from the heat of the Sunne: There was a stage set vp in this Court with all things fitting for a play, which the embassadour and the rest were invited to see. The king and Queene were also C  
in priuat to see this Comedie.

The day appointed for the taking of the kings Othe, was vpon Thursday the thirtieth of May, being Corpus Christi day, on the which the king went in procession: and for that hee would bee seene by the English, hee appointed to passe by the gate where the embassador was lodged, after this manner.

King of Spaine  
goes in procession.

First there came eight great Giants, three men, three women, and two Moores, with a Taber and pipe playing, and they dauncing: Then followed certaine Pilgrimes clad in blew: After whom came twenty or fixe and twenty crosses, belonging to seuerall Churches, with many pictures and holy reliques, Monkes, Morris dancers like Gipsies, Beastes with fire workes, wild men, and such like vanities, as it should seeme, to draw the D  
people more readily to admiration: After these followed diuers other Church-reliques, with certaine Augustine and Franciscane Friars, with their reliques. Many Church-men had Tapers in their hands: the kings Pages bare Torches: Then followed the Sacrament carried by foure Church-men in rich Copes; after whom came the Noble men, and Grandees of Spaine; and then followed the king with a Taper light in his hand, of white Virgin waxe: after whom came the Cardinals, the embassadors to the emperor, French, and Venetians, the Prince of Sauoy, the Prince of Maroc, with others, euerie one carrying a Taper light.

The same day D. Blasco de Arragon brought word vnto the Lord embassador that the king expected his coming presently vnto the Court for the taking of the othe: wherefore there was order taken that the Noblemen and Gentlemen which should attend him thither, should be furnished with Genets out of the kings stable. Being all mounted, the Constable D. Pedro de Saniga, with many other Lords and Knights, were sent to accompany him: And at the court gate the duke of Lerma and some other of the Grandees staid to receiue him; by whom hee was conueied through a long gallerie into a presence, and so into an inner chamber, where the king staid his coming, and receiued him with a kind salutation, and so took him along with him. The kings Sergeants at armes going first, then followed the Noblemen and Grandees of Spain, then the foure kings at arms, in their coats of armes; after whom came the duke of Lerma, bearing the sword naked, nor vpright, as the custome is in England, but lying vpon his left shoulder; and in this order the king marcht to a verie faire banqueting house, newly built, the embassadour, Leeger, the Lords, and diuers others following.

King of Spaine  
takes the othe.

The king being set in his estate, the Lord embassadour & the Leeger were placed vpon his right hand, the Grandees and other Noblemen of Spaine, being on the right, but two degrees lower. There was a little table set before the king, whereon lay the Bible and a Crucifix vpon it. The Archbishop of Toledo read the othe: at one part of the othe the embassador

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*Juego de Toro  
and Juego de  
Cane.*

baſſadour held the kings hands betwene his, to which othe the king ſwore kneeling and G  
laying his hand vpon the booke, and afterwards ſubſcribed the articles concluded by both  
kings.

On the laſt of May there was preparation made for certaine ſports, as Juego de Tora, &  
Juego de Cane, where there was a careful order taken that al the English ſhould be placed  
to ſee thoſe fights. About noone the king and Queene came on Horſebacke after the  
Spaniſh manner, being attended on by many Lords and Ladies. The Lord embaffador was  
in one roome with the king and Queene, and the other Lords not farre off. Theſe ſports  
were performed in the market place, being built round about with ſcaffolds, & the ground  
covered with ſand. There were fourteen bulſlaine that day, not without danger to ma- H  
ny that were actors, and the loſſe of ſome of their liues. Which being ended began their  
ſports of Juego de Cane, wherein the king himſelfe was an actor: Firſt there came in  
twelve Atabales or kettle drums; then followed thirty Trumpets, al clad in Caſſaks of red  
and white taſata; then followed twelve great mules, called Aſtemulaes with coverings of  
crimſon velvet, bearing bundles of canes, chained together with great hooks of ſiluer;  
then followed the kings Gentlemen and Pages richly ſuited, being 32 in number.

For the two Princes of Sauoy, there came two Pages riding, bearing white targuets on  
their armes: after whome were led three horſes, with capariſons of blacke velvet, richly  
imbrodered with pearle: then followed twelve other horſes, their capariſons of blacke I  
velvet, but imbrodered with ſiluer. For the duke of Lerma were led ſix horſes with capa-  
riſons of white and red; his Groomes and Pages attending were ſureable. For the Con-  
ſtable were led foure and twenty horſes of ſeuice in white and greene, his Pages and  
groomes al ſuited alike. There were eighty horſemen which were actors that day in thoſe  
ſports, being diuided into eight bands or companies: beſides the king and the reſt aboue  
named, there were many of the Grandees, and they were all men of ſpeciall note in the  
Court of Spaine: whole names for breuities ſake I omit: At the firſt they came riding  
in ſwiftly by couples, with their targuets on their ſhoulders, and ſhaking their flaves after  
the manner of the Moores and Arabians. Being all come in, they diuided themſelues into  
two parts, either ſide hauing foure ſquadrons, and euerie ſquadron ten in number: Being  
al ready, the kings ſide firſt gaue the charge, and the others answered them, & ſo they co- K  
ntinued chafing one another, ſquadron after ſquadron, and caſting their canes one after  
another, for the ſpace of an houre, and ſo the ſport ended.

*Show of the  
kings horſemen*

On the firſt of Iune, the Lord embaffador was invited to ſee the kings horſemen in arms  
in a ſpaciouſ place called El Campo, conſiſting of launces, light horſemen and Carbines,  
to the number of two thouſand, of the which the duke of Lerma was generall: theſe  
troups after ſome ſallies one vpon another, and certaine ſkirmiſhes, drew themſelues into  
a ring, and ſo marching vnder the window whereas the king, Queene and embaffador  
ſtood, went their way.

*Maſke at Court.*

On the fixt of Iune he was requested to ſee a maſke, & about fix of the clock in the eue-  
ning D. Blaſco d' Aragon came to condux his Lordſhip, and the reſt through a priuate L  
gallery of the kings, to the appointed place which was the new built banquetting houſe,  
where his Lordſhip and his followers were conueniently appointed. The roome was ſur-  
niſhed with 320 wax lights, all ſet in ſtandards of ſiluer of diuers faſhions. Where after  
ſome ſongs and muſicke, the maſke appeared after this manner.

There came firſt of al 30 muſitions, in long robes of crimſon taſata, wel ſet out to ſhew,  
playing on ſeueral inſtruments. After whome followed ſix Virgins dancing, one bearing  
in her hand a ſun, another a branch of an Oliue tree, another an anchor, another a ſword  
with two points, on either point a bunch of flowers.

Then followed a Chariot of an antick faſhion, drawn by two liued horſes, being excee-  
ding little: In the vpper part whereoff ſat the Infanta, with a Scepter of gold in her hand, M  
hauing the picture of a Doue at the vpper end of it: at her feet ſat two other Virgins, who  
attended her, and on either ſide went diuers pages bearing torches of white waxe.

At the vpper end of the hal there was a rich State built all of Maſons work aſcending  
vp by degrees, richly gild, and garniſhed with ſundrie ſtatues gild alſo; in which ſtate  
there were three chaires ſet, two great, & one leſſer, which was betwixt the other two. In  
which

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A which middle chaire the Infanta being taken out of her Chariot was placed, the two vir-  
gins neere her, and the other ſix vpon the degrees at the foot of the eſtate. At the ne-  
ther end of the Hall ſtood the maskers in a gallerie, made of purpoſe, who vpon drawing  
of a curtaine, appeared as it were in clouds: They were eight and twentie Knights & La-  
dies beſides torch-bearers, whereof the king and Queene made two, the reſt were all Gran-  
does, and men of great honour; the Ladies were the Queens Maides. The gallerie being  
built in manner of an arch, and ſet full with looking glaſſes, did with the light of torches  
ſhine as if it had bene full of Starres. The muſick playing, the maskers deſcended by foure  
and foure at a time, vpon a ſtage made in faſhion of a cloud vntill the whole number was  
come forth dancing together in good forme and meaſure. Having danced awhile, they all  
vnmasked themſelues, the king and Queene ſitting in the chaires aboue mentioned, where  
after ſome other dances the ſport ended.

On the ſeuenth of Iune the Lord embaffador was appointed to take his leaue of the  
king, and returne for England. Before his coming to Audience, the king ſent by D. Pe-  
dro de Sangua, and ſome others, to the number of ſouretene chaines of gold, or therea-  
bouts, for ſome of the kings Seruants, and his lordſhips chiefe officers: hauing likewiſe  
ſent before by the ſaid D. Pedro, vnto the Lords, and to many knights, and other eſpecial  
men of his Lordſhips companie, ſeueral Jewels and chaines which were verie rich. In the  
aftermoone the king ſent vnto the embaffador a verie rich preſent of Jewels, both for  
C himſelf and his Lady, the which were preſented vnto him by D. Blaſco, and brought by the  
maſters and officers of the jewel houſe, whome he rewarded honorably.

Not long after the Conſtable came with ſome others to condux him to his Audience,  
where, after ſome priuate conference with the king, hee tooke his leaue, hauing receiued  
many gracious words from his Maieſtie, as alſo a ring with a Diamond, which ſome valu-  
ed at three thouſand pounds, the which the king put vpon his finger, in token (as hee  
ſaid) of wedding him perpetually in true loue. After which the king commanded the duke  
of Infantazgo, to condux him vnto the Queene, where hauing performed all due comple-  
ments hee tooke his leaue alſo of her Highneſſe. And the ſame day (being accompanied,  
a mile out of the Towne, by the Conſtable and ſome other Noblemen) he began his jour-  
ny towards England, and on the fifteenth day came to Saint Andreas where his ſhips at-  
tended him. Where being arriued, and all things ready for his imbarcking, hee ſhewed his  
bountie in rewarding D. Blaſco, the Apotentador or chiefe Harbinger, and al the kings of-  
ficers & ſeruants that attended him, with great chains of gold, faire Jewels of good value,  
and large ſums of money, to their generall content. After which hauing feaſted them on  
ſhipboard, hee put to ſea on the 25 day of Iune.

Thus haue I ſummarily ſet downe the ſubſtance of the Earle of Nottinghams hono-  
rable entertainment at the Court of Spaine, when as he was ſent thither  
embaffador for the ſwearing of the othe iwith which I will end  
this Hiſtorie, and conclude my labour with his Lordſhips  
ſafe returne into England.

FINIS.



## Observations touching the state and government of Spaine.



Or as much as my Author in the beginning of this Historie hath made an exact description of Spaine, setting downe the number of leagues the whole continent doth containe in circuit, describing the principall rivers within the Countrey, with their Springs and courtes, setting downe the mountaines and hills, and distinguishing the Prouinces, within the countrey, as they lye at this day, and by whome they were in ancient time inhabited, with a declaration of the fertilitye, riches, and commodities of the Countrey: I haue thought good to adde something touching the government of that state, with some other observations concerning that subiect, the which I haue collected out of such as haue bene curious to see, obserue, and write thereof.

The king of Spaine, as hee is a potent Prince and Lord of many countries, so hath hee many Councils for the managing of their affaires, distinctly & apart, without any confusion, euerie Council treating only of those matters which concerne their Iurisdiction & charge, and meddle not one with anothers businesse: with which Councils and with the Presidents, being men of chiefe note, the king doth conferre touching matters belonging to the good government, preservation, & increase of his Estates, and hauing heard euerie mans opinion, he commands that to be executed that shall be held most fit and convenient. The first is,

The Council of state; wheron the rest depend. They name Viceroyes for all the king of Spaines countries, and prouide for many things for the preservation of his realms. The king himselfe is President of this Council: the Counsellours, who are the chiefe men in the court, haue no fees.

The Council of warre. It prouides for Generalls, Colonels, Captaines, the Generall of the gallee, and for whatsoeuer concerne the war, with the aduice of his Majestie, who is president of this Council. They punish all commanders and officers at warre that doe not their duties. And in like maner they dispose of the companies of men at arms appointed for the gard of the kingdom, and they giue order for the artillerie, munition, and fortifications, or any thing that is necessary for the warre. The counsellours haue no wages.

The royall Council of iustice. Here they treat of the good government of all Spaine, they determine controuersies betwixt Noblemen, and ease the grieuances of other Courts. This council is of great preeminence: the president names all Iustices of Spain, the Prouosts of the kings house, with many other Counsellours and Iustices. They take information how euerie one hath behaved himselfe in his charge, punishing and changing as they shall thinke good, but with the kings priuie. There is a President, and sixteen counsellours, who haue all wages.

The Council of Italie: which treats of matters concerning the realms of Naples and Sicile, and the Duchie of Milan. The Constable of Castille is President: there are fixe Counsellours, three Italians, and three Spaniards. In this Council they dispose of the government of Italie, and giue aduancement to the Souldiers that serue in those Countreies; they appoint Gouernours, and Iudges in cities, and giue titles to Noblemen: but they first acquaint the king with their consultations.

The

Council of  
state.

Council of war

Council of  
iustice.

Council of Italy.

A The Council of the Indies. The Presidents of greatest esteeme next vnto the Council royall: there are eight Counsellours, and haue all wages. They appoint Viceroyes, for Peru, & Noua Hispania, and a general of the army that goes into these parts, with all other Offices and Spirituall livings. In this Council they also treat of all greiuances and complaints, that come from the Indies, by way of appellation. All which things they present vnto the king. They also appoint Visitors to goe into those Prouinces, to examine how all Officers carrie themselves, and to heare the peoples greiuances; and they punish or dismisse as they shall see cause.

B The Council of Orders. It hath a President, and foure Counsellours, with wages, which must be Knights, of the Order of Saint Iames, Calatrava, or Alcantara. In this Council they treat of suits; which happen in Prouinces belonging vnto these orders, and to see that the Knights weare their habits neatly. This Council appoints two and twentie Iustices in their Prouinces, wherewith the royal Council hath not to deale. They punish the Commanders and knights which obserue not their orders: They dispose of many Benefices, Vicarages, Chappels, and other Offices, in the Prouinces of their Orders; but all with the kings priuie, and allowance.

The Council which they call de Camera. It hath a President and three Counsellours, of the most ancient of the Council Royall, which haue no wages. In this Council they provide superiour officers for the Realme, and they dispose of Bishopricks, Chanonries, and other Ecclesiastical livings, the king hauing the nomination from the Pope of Rome.

C The Council of Hacienda: where there is a President and three Counsellours, without fees, wherin they treat of the kings reuenues, and of all duties, entries & accompts, like vnto our Exchequer in England.

There is a Council of accompts: which consists of foure Counsellours; in the which two of the kings chiefe Auditours haue place, and the most ancient Counsellor presides. In this council they determine of sutes touching the subsidies and taxes, and giue order to Collectors, for recouerie thereof.

The Council of Cruzada. It hath a President, two Counsellours and three Anditours: Their charge is onely to diuide the Cruzado by the bishopricks, and to send forth Commissaries to gather it.

D The Council of Aragon, Valentia and Cattalogia. It hath a President, who is called Vicechancellour, with fixe Counsellours, which haue wages. They treat of the government of those Realmes, and of the Ilands of Maiorca, Minorca, & Sardinia: they appoint gouernors and Iudges, and determine suits from those places by way of appeale, and heare their greiuances, and to giue rewards in the kings chamber of those realmes; all with his Majesties approbation.

E The Council of the Inquisition. The President is called Inquisitor Maior, an Office of great dignitie, which most commonly the Archbishop of Toledo holdes: hee hath fixe counsellours, or Inquisitors, they appoint all the Inquisitors, Prouosts, and Secretaries in all the Inquisitions within the Realme, which are aboute twentie, in either of which are three or foure Inquisitors: who deale in matters of Heresie, & with such men as do or say any thing against the church of Rome. And before they condemne any offender they send him to this Council to determine of him.

The Council of Delcargos, treats of the paying of the old kings debts, and the execution of their last wils.

F There are two Chanceries in Spaine, one at Vailledolit, and another at Granada, either of which hath a President and twelue Counsellours. They take knowledge of all ciuill causes which come vnto them by way of appeale from other inferior courts. They also take knowledge of sutes, for the estates and inheritances of Noblemen, from the which they may appeale to the Council royall, if the matter in question exceed the value of foure thousand ducats. There are foure Alcaldes or Prouosts of the Chancery, who determine of all ciuill and criminall causes, within fixe leagues; from whome they appeale to the counsellours of the Chauncerie.

There is a Council for the realme of Nauarre, where there is a Regent, fixe Counsellours, and foure Alcaldes, or Prouosts, they take knowledge of sutes, both ciuill and criminall

The Council of  
the Indies.The Council of  
Orders.Council de  
Camera.Council of Ha-  
cienda.Council of Ac-  
compts.Council of the  
Cruzada.Council of Ar-  
ragon.Council of the  
Inquisition.Council of Del-  
cargos.Chanceries of  
Spaine.Council of Na-  
uarre.

minall within that Realme, and end them there, of what qualitie soever they be without  
appeale, whereof they consult euerie weeke with the Viceroi, who determines what they  
shall doe.

*Council of Gal-  
licia.*

There is also a Regent, 4 Comcellors, and 4 Prouosts in the realm of Galicia, who end  
all suits within that realme, but they deale not in questions of Nobilitie and Gentrie,  
which goe to the Chancerie of Vailladolid.

*Council of  
Seuille.*

The Citie of Seuille with the dependances hath a Regent, 6 Councillors, and 4 Pro-  
uosts, who take knowledge of all ciuill and criminall matters, whereof the iudges of the  
said citie or realm haue given sentence. There is an appeale from them to the royal coun-  
cell: all questions of Nobilitie goe to the Chancerie of Granado.

*Power of the  
President of the  
Council royall.*

The President of the Council royall of Iustice appoints all the Councillors, Pro-  
uosts, Presidents, & Regents of the Chanceries, & changeth them from one to another,  
& draws them to be Councillors of that Court: Moreover he names sixty and sixe Go-  
uernors of Cities and Provinces, changing them as occasion shall require. These Gouer-  
nors or Iudges, haue commonly two or three Lieutenants in the townes of their gouern-  
ment. They or their Lieutenants gouerne the cities or provinces which are vnder their  
charge, with twelue or more Aldermen which hee hath in euerie citie and towne: which  
Aldermen doe onely deale with the maintenance of the citie, and with the publike works  
wherein they haue a voice, but the gouernors or their Lieutenants determine of al mur-  
ders, thefts, or other misdemeanors: and punish according to the qualitie of the fact, e-  
uerie Gouernour hath as much power in these matters, as the king himselfe, the matter  
being iustifiable, and they may deale in al matters for that their Commissions are verie am-  
ple, representing the kings person, from whom they doe appeale to the Chanceries of  
Vailladolid or Granado.

*Reuenues of  
the king of  
Spaine.*

I am afraid to enter into any discourse of the reuenues of this king, men write so diuersly  
therof: some write that he hath but 14 millions of ducats, comming in yearly others  
say eighteen Millions, and some bring it to 23 millions, which differences may haply with  
some limitations bee reconciled: But whatsoever it bee, it is most certaine, that during  
the warres of the Low-countries, it was too little to mainteine his charge, for although  
that Naples, Sicile, Milan, Sardinia, Maiorca and Minorca, Flaunders and Burgondie,  
yeeld him about fise Millions yearly, yet there comes little of all this to his coffers,  
being employed in the entertainment of Viceroys, Gouernors, Captaines, Garrisons, Of-  
ficers, and other charges in those countries. The kings reuenues in Spaine, rise not from  
his demeanes, as in some other Countries, but from the great impositions which hee ray-  
seth vpon the ports of the Sea, and from his drie Ports, which bee the passages from one  
kingdome to another: and of all Merchandize which is sold, hee takes ten in the hundred,  
and how often soeuer it be sold. A great part of which Gabelles & Impositions in Spaine  
stands engaged vnto the Genouois & other merchants for the paiement of the kings debts.  
Some hold that he hath not about fise millions of ducats comming in cleerly to maine-  
taine the charges of his court, and all other extraordinary expences of war, gifts, pensions,  
voyages and such like.

The Impositions which are raised in Spaine, are not laid equally vpon all his Countries,  
but they lie most heauie vpon the two Castilles, Leon and Andaluzia, for in the  
realmes of Valencia, Arragon, and Cartelonia, hee imposeth little, but mainteineth their  
priuiledges which be great, and they themselves redeiue the Gabelles and customes, &  
not the king: the profit which growes there by confiscations and pecuniarie fines, doth  
scarce entertaine his Viceroys and other officers. So as it seemes hee hath but *merum im-  
perium* in those three countries, they being also bound to serue him in his warres.

The king reapes great commoditie, by the popes fauor, from the Clergie: hee giues him  
Buls of Croyfadoe; he enioyes the masterships of S. James, Calatrava, Alcantara, & dis-  
poseth of the Comanderies; he hath the first fruits of Ecclesiastical liuings, and a part of  
the tythes, which comes yearly to three millions of ducats at the least; & he hath the no-  
mination of all Archbishops, Abbots and Priors, yet he may not giue any benefices, but  
to naturall borne Spaniards, or to such as haue bene formerly naturalized,

The

## The Realmes which they number in Spaine, are these:

The Realme of Seuille.  
Cordoua.  
Iaen.  
Toledo.  
Leon.  
Nauarre.  
Valencia.

The Realme of Gibralter.  
Granado.  
Murcia.  
Castille.  
Gallicia.  
Arragon.  
Cattelognia.

In these Realmes (besides Arragon, Valencia, and Cattelognia) there are some Cities,  
which are called to the generall Estates, and haue voices for the Provinces in which  
they are; the which be these:

Seuille.  
Granado.  
Cuenca.  
Madrid.  
Soria.  
Auila.  
Cordoua.  
Iaen.  
Toledo.

Guadalajara.  
Segouia.  
Salamanca.  
Zamorra.  
Vailladolid.  
Burgo.  
Toro.  
Leon.  
Murcia.

## The names of all the chiefe Cities in Spaine and Portugal, and in what Provinces they are.

*In Galicia.*  
Compostella.  
Tuye.

*In Asturia of Oviedo.*  
Mondenedo.  
Leon.  
Pomperado.

*In Asturia S. Ellene.*  
S. Ellene.

*In Biscaie.*  
Victoria.

*In Naurrie.*  
Pampelone.

*In Cattelognia.*  
Barcelona.  
Tariagone.  
Moufon.  
Seguença.

*In Arragon.*  
Saragossa.  
Tarel.  
Duiago.  
Valencia.

*In Valencia.*  
Cuenca.  
Segonia.  
Oraguella.

*In Mancha.*  
Alacanye.  
Segure.

*In Granado.*  
Granado.  
Almerie.  
Cartagena.  
Murcia.  
Guadix.

*In Andaluzia.*  
Seuille.  
Cadix.  
Medina Sidonia.  
Elica.  
Iaen.  
Mallega.  
Xeres.  
Cordoua.  
Vbeda.  
Baeza.  
Andujar.  
Gggggg

*In the Countie.*

Aymonte.  
Auyta.

*In Castile.*

Burgos.  
Tarragone.  
Guadalajara.  
Segovia.  
Calohorra.  
Zamora.  
Toro.  
Medina del Campo.  
*In Spaine there are 57 Cities.*  
Salamanca.  
Valencia.  
Alhorgo.

*In Toledo.*

Cuidad Royall.  
Alcala de Henares.  
Toledo.

*In Extremadura.*

Placentia.  
Auyta.  
Badajos.  
Merida.

*In Portugall.*

Lisbone.  
Euora.  
Coimbra.  
Porto.  
Braga.  
Bragance.  
Cuidad Rodrigo.  
Beiria.  
Cono.  
Oliuenfa.  
Eluas.  
Guarda.  
Settuual.  
Selnes.  
Leria.

*In Portugall there are 15 Cities.*

Some haue obserued in their late trauels, that the King of Spaine hath alwaies within that continent 16000 foot, which are mustered and enrolled, and are bound to be ready in armes at the ringing of a bell, or the sound of the drumme. The Grandos, Nobilitie, and Prelats of the Kingdome are charged with horse, and they amount to the number of 16000. Besides, the inhabitants of the sea coasts, and of diuers other Ports of his dominions within land, are bound to find horse, which come to 12000 at the least, all which must be ready at a months warning. This I had from the relation of a yong nobleman, wherein he hath shewed great industrie and judgement, but it may be there was some mistaking in the writing of these great numbers of horse.

*A note of all the Hauens, Ports, and Fisher Townes vpon the coast of Spaine, from Fontarabie in Biscaye, to Barcelona in the Mediterranean sea.*

*In Biscaye.*

Fontarabie, a bard hauen.  
Passage and Rendarie, an open hauen.  
S. Sebastians, a bay hauen.  
Sumaye and Guittario, bard.  
Montrica and Deua, fisher townes.  
Mondac and Alequito, Fishers.  
Vermeo and Placentia, Fishers.  
Bilbao and Portugalete, bard hauen.

*Castries.*

Aluredo, a key hauen.  
S. Ander, an open hauen.  
S. Vincent de la Barkera, fisher town.  
Aryba de Sella, Fishers.

Villaviciosa, Fishers.  
Chynchon, a key.  
Torre, Fishers.  
Pena, Fishers.  
Loarca, bard hauen.  
Auiles, bard hauen.

*Gallicia.*

Ribadeo, bard hauen.  
Vuiero and Sidera, Fishers.  
Farrol, open hauen.  
The Groyne, an open hauen.  
Mongea, bard hauen.  
Corcauiana, bard hauen.  
Muros, bard.  
Porta viedra, bard hauen.  
Vigo and Bayone, open hauen.

In

*In the Countie.*

Aymont, a bard hauen.  
Selua and Palos, Fishers.

*In Andalusia.*

S. Lucar de Barameda, it stands in the mouth of the riuer of Guadalquivir, which goes vp to Seuille, Fisher town.  
Seuille, bard hauen.  
Rota, a key.  
Cadiz, an open hauen.  
S. Marie Port, barred hauen.

*Streits toward Barcelona.*

Gibraltar, an open road and key.  
Grand Malega, a key road.  
Maruela, an open road.  
Velez Malega, a key road.  
Almerie, Fishers.  
Carthagena, a hauen.

*In Valencia.*

Alicante, which is the Port of Valencia, a hauen.  
Valencia, a Creeke.

*In Castile.*

Empullas.  
Taragona.  
Palamos.  
Empurias.  
Rojas.

All Fisher Townes.

Barcelona, an open hauen.

*In Portugall.*

Camina, a barred hauen.  
Viana, barred.  
Villa de Conde, barred.  
Auiro, barred.  
Porto de Portugall, barred.  
Calsais, Fisher Townes.  
Lisbone, an open hauen.  
Sesambrie, barred hauen.  
Sevan, an open hauen.  
Lagos, a key.  
Villanovas, a barred hauen.  
Farouillas, barred.

Figera.  
Fauilla.  
Cathromarin.

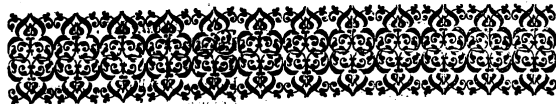
Fisher Townes.

I will not trouble my selfe nor the Reader in setting downe what shippes and starks belong vnto these Ports and Hauens, as some haue done, being very variable and vncertaine: but I will onely make some mention of the king of Spaines forces at sea, as I haue learned from those that haue curiously inquired thereof, at their being in the country. The king maintaines vpon the coast of Spaine and Portugall some 40 good shippes and galleons, with 32 galleyes, besides smaller vessels. And besides all these, he hath at Naples 25 galleyes, in Sicilie 16, and they of Genoua, which he entertaines continually, but the galleyes are none of his.

Gggggg j

A





A Catalogue of the Princes which haue raigned in  
Spaine since the euersion of the *Romane Empire*,  
with their Alliances and Successions.

*The Kings of the Gothes.*

1	V	Allia, first King of the Gothes, which settled himself in Spaine about the yeare of our Lord	420	15	Ricaredo.	585
2		Theodoric the first.	440	16	Luiba the second.	601
3		Totismond.	453	17	Videtic usurper.	603
4		Theodoric the second.	458	18	Gundamir.	610
5		Henry or Euric.	471	19	Sizebuth.	612
6		Alaric.	483	20	Suintilla.	621
7		Gensularic or Gesularic.	508	21	Sizenand.	631
8		Amalaric.	511	22	Cinthilla.	637
9		Theude.	526	23	Tulca.	641
10		Theodisic.	524	24	Cindasunthe, and his sonne.	642
11		Agila.	546	25	Reccesunthe.	652
12		Aranagilde.	551	26	Bamba.	672
13		Lyba the first.	565	27	Eruinge.	681
14		Leonigilde.	567	28	Egica.	688
				29	Vitiza.	701
				30	Roderic.	711

*During the raigne of Roderic, last King of the Gothes,*  
the Arabians, Saracens, or Moores invaded or conquered Spaine;  
against whom did rise many Christian Potentates, whose  
lines and descendant follow: that is,

<i>The Line of Ouiedo and Leon.</i>	<i>Fol. 1345</i>
<i>The Line of Castille.</i>	<i>1349</i>
<i>The Line of Nauarre.</i>	<i>1355</i>
<i>The Line of Arragon.</i>	<i>1362</i>
<i>The Line of Cattelogue.</i>	<i>1367</i>
<i>The Line of Portugall.</i>	<i>1369</i>

*The names of the Archbishops of Toledo.* *Fol. 1374*

*Moreover, the names of the Kings and Princes*  
*Moores which haue raigned in Spaine,* *Fol. 1375.*

The



*The Line of Ouiedo and Leon.*

I.  
Pelagius first king of Ouiedo, sonne to *Fafila*, Gouverneur of Biscaie.  
Gaudiosa his wife.  
Lawfull children { *Fafila*.  
                              *Ormifinda*.  
II.  
*Fafila* sonne to *Pelagius*, in the yere 733, raigned two yeres, and died without children.  
*Ormifinda* his wife.  
III.  
*Alphonso* first of that name, sonne to *Peter*, Gouverneur of Biscaie, in the yere 737: he  
raigned 19 yeres.  
*Ormifinda*, daughter to king *Pelagius*, his wife.  
                              *Froila*.  
                              *Vimar*.  
                              *Aurelius*.  
Lawfull children { *Odefinda*, a daughter.  
                              *Mauregat*, a bastard.  
IV.  
D. *Froila* the first of that name, sonne to king *Alphonso* I. in the yere 756: he raigned  
11 yeres, 6 moneths.  
*Mennine* or *Momerane*, daughter to the Duke of Aquitaine, his wife.  
                              D. *Alphonso*.  
Lawfull children { D. *Bermund*, or *Veremund*.  
                              D. *Ximena*, mother to *Bernard del Carpio*.  
V.  
D. *Aurelius* brother to *Froila*, in the yere 768: he raigned 6 yeres, and died without  
children.  
VI.  
D. *Sillo* husband to *Odefinda*, daughter to king *Alphonso* the first, in the yere 774: he  
raigned 9 yeres, and died without children.  
VII.  
D. *Mauregat*, bastard to king *Alphonso* the first, an Usurper, in the yere 783: he raigned  
five yeres and six moneths, and died without children.  
VIII.  
D. *Bermund*, or *Veremund*, sonne to king *Froila*, and first of that name, in the yere 789:  
he raigned two yeres alone, and four with *Alphonso* his brother.  
D. *Imelona* his wife.  
Lawfull children { D. *Ramir*.  
                              D. *Garsia*.  
IX.  
D. *Alphonso* second of that name, sonne to king *Froila*, called the chaste, in the yere 795:  
he raigned 29 yeres after the death of D. *Bermund*.  
D. *Berthis* his wife, with whom he had no companie, and therefore he had no children.  
G g g g g iij D. *Ramir*

## X.

D. Ramir and D. Garcia, sonnes to king *Bermond*, raigne together in the yere 824:  
D. Ramir who furnished, held the realme six yeres.

D. *Vrraca* of Castille wife to D. Ramir.

Lawfull children { D. *Ordogno* or *Fortun*,  
D. *Garcia*.

## XI.

D. *Ordogno* or *Fortun*, first of that name, and sonne to the king D. Ramir, in the yere 831:  
he raigned 10 yeres.

D. *Nugno* his wife.

Lawfull children { D. *Alphonso*,  
D. *Bermond*,  
D. *Nugno*,  
D. *Odoaire*,  
D. *Froila*,  
D. *X*, a daughter.

## XII.

D. *Alphonso* third of that name, sonne to king D. *Ordogno*, in the yere 841: he raigned  
46 yeres.

D. *Amelina*, or as some say, *Ximena* his wife.

Lawfull children { D. *Garcia*,  
D. *Ordogno* or *Fortun*,  
D. *Froila*,  
D. *Gonfal* the Archdeacon.

## XIII.

D. *Garcia* first of that name, sonne to D. *Alphonso* the third, in the yere 886: he raigned  
three yeres, and had to wife the daughter of D. *Nugno Fernandes de Castille*, and died with-  
out children.

## XIII.

D. *Ordogno* or *Fortun*, second of that name, brother to D. *Garcia*, in the yere 889: he  
raigned eight yeres.

D. *Nugno* or *Elaira*, as some say, his first wife.

Lawfull children { D. *Sancho*,  
D. *Alphonso*,  
D. *Ramir*,  
D. *Garcia*,  
D. *Ximena*.

D. *Arrogonde*, or it may be *Radegonde* of Galicia, his second wife repudiated.  
D. *Sancho*, Infanta of Navarre, third wife to this king D. *Ordogno*.

## XV.

D. *Froila* second of that name, and third sonne to king *Alphonso* the third, an usurper,  
in the yere 897: he raigned one yere six monthes, surnamed the cruell.

D. *Nugno* or *Marina* his wife.

Lawfull children { D. *Alphonso*,  
D. *Ordogno*, or *Fortun*,  
D. *Ramir*,  
D. *Froila*, a bastard, father to D. *Pelagius* the Deacon.

## XVI.

D. *Alphonso* fourth of that name, sonne to the king D. *Ordogno* the second, in the yere  
898: he raigned 6 yeres.

D. *Vrraca Ximenes* Infanta of Navarre his wife.

D. *Ordogno* or *Fortun*, called the bad.

D. *Ramir*,

## XVII.

D. *Ramir*, second of that name, brother to D. *Alphonso* the fourth, in the yere 904: he  
raigned 20 yeres.

D. *Theresa* Infanta of Navarre, his wife.

Lawfull children { D. *Bermond*,  
D. *Ordogno*,  
D. *Sancho*,  
D. *Elaira*, a Nun.

## XVIII.

D. *Ordogno* 3 of that name, sonne to D. *Ramir*, in the yere 924: he raigned 5 yeres.  
D. *Vrraca*, daughter to D. *Fernand Gonfalez* Earle of Castille, his wife repudiated.

D. *Elaira* his second wife, by whom he had

D. *Bermond*.

## XIX.

D. *Sancho*, brother to D. *Ordogno*, in the yere 929: he raigned 22 yeres, the first of  
that name, and was surnamed the Grossie.

D. *Theresa* his wife, of whom was borne

D. *Ramir*.

## XX.

D. *Ramir* third of that name, sonne to D. *Sancho*, in the yere 941, he raigned 24 yeres.  
D. *Vrraca* his wife, by whom he had no children.

## XXI.

D. *Bermond* second of that name, sonne to king D. *Ordogno* the third, in the yere 965:  
he raigned 17 yeres.

D. *Pelaguita* his wife, of whom came

D. *Christina* married to D. *Ordogno* the  
blind, & had issue D. *Pelagius*.

D. *Elaira* 2 wife, mother to D. *Adancia*, who was wife to D. *Pelagius* the Dea-  
con above named, and had by him D. *Pedro Ordogno*,  
D. *Alphonso*, D. *Pelagius*,  
D. *Theresa*, a Nun. D. *Nugno*,  
D. *Theresa*.

Of two sisters Concubines, he had

D. *Ordogno* by the one:  
D. *Elaira* by the other.

## XXII.

D. *Alphonso* fifth of that name, sonne to king *Bermond*, in the yere 982: he raigned 46  
yeres.

D. *Elaira* daughter to D. *Melanjo Gonfalez* his wife.

Lawfull children { D. *Bermond*,  
D. *Sancho* married to D. *Ferdinand* first king of Ca-  
stille.

## XXIII.

D. *Bermond* third of that name, sonne to D. *Alphonso* the fifth, in the yere 1028: he raign-  
ed 9 yeres.

D. *Theresa* his wife, daughter to *Sancho* Earle of Castille, who brought him

D. *Alphonso*, who died an infant.

## XXIII.

D. *Sancho* heire to the realme, sister to D. *Bermond*, was married to king  
*Ferdinand* the first of Castille, and 24 of Leon, in the yere 1037: he raigned 20 yeres.  
Children

Children after she came to the  
 Succession of Leon

Children after she came to  
 the Crowne

D. *Alphonso* sixth of that name, son to D. *Sancha*, in the year 1067 he reigned 41 years in Leon, and came to the crowne of Castille. He had many children by many wives, specified in the line of Castille, and among others,

D. *Constance* his fourth wife, a Spaniard, brought him  
 D. *Vrraca* who was Queene of Leon and Castille, married first to D. *Raymond* of Burgundie, of whom came D. *Alphonso Raymond*, king.

D. *Vrraca* had to her second husband, D. *Alphonso* king of Navarre and Arragon, number of the fourth of that name among the kings of Leon in the year 1108: they had not any children.

D. *Alphonso Raymond* eighth of that name, sonne to D. *Raymond* of Burgundie, Earle of Galicia: he reigned in the place of D. *Vrraca* his mother 35 years, in the year 1122.

D. *Berenguela* daughter to D. *Raymond Arnold* Earle of Barcelone, by whom among other children named in the line of Castille, he had  
 D. *Ferdinand* his second sonne, king of Leon.

D. *Ferdinand* second of that name, and second sonne to king D. *Alphonso* the eighth, in the year 1157: he reigned 31 years.

D. *Vrraca* of Portugal, his first wife.

D. *Alphonso*.

D. *Theresia* his second wife, of the house of Lara.

D. *Vrraca Lopes* his third wife, mother to

D. *Sancho Ferdinand*.

D. *Garcia*.

D. *Alphonso* ninth of that name, sonne to D. *Ferdinand* the second, in the year 1188: he reigned 42 years.

D. *Theresia* of Portugal his first wife.

Lawfull children { D. *Ferdinand*.  
 D. *Sancha*.  
 D. *Dolce*.

D. *Berenguela* Infanta of Castille, his second wife, mother to

Lawfull children { D. *Ferdinand*, king.  
 D. *Alphonso*, Lord of Molina.  
 D. *Constance*, a Nunne.  
 D. *Berenguela*, Countesse of Brenne, and Queene of Ierusalem.

Of a Concubine whose name is unknowne,  
 D. *Roderigo Alphonso* of Leon.

D. *Ferdinand* the third, he reigned at Leon after his father D. *Alphonso* the ninth, but he first seized vpon the crowne of Castille, by the diligence of D. *Berenguela* his mother: in him the two realmes were vnitid, and neuer more diuided, in the year 1230.

D. *Beatrice* daughter to the Emperour *Philip*: their posteritie is in the line of Castille.

Line

## Line of Castille.

D. *Nugno Fernandes* Earle of Castille, under the Soueraignie of Leon, father of grand-father to

D. *Ximena* married to D. *Gonsal Inste*.

D. *Diego Porcello* Earle also, or gouernour of Castille under the same Soueraignie.

D. *Sulla* married to D. *Nugno Bellides*.

These two gouernours were slaine by king *Ordogne* the second of Leon, in the prison of Leon.

D. *Nugno Bellides* Earle of Castille.

D. *Sulla* daughter to *Diego Porcello* his wife.

Lawfull children. { D. *Nugno Rasure*.  
 D. *Inste*, *Gonsales*.

D. *Nugno Rasure* father to

D. *Gonsal Nugnes*.

D. *Eluira* or *Theresia Nugnes* turnamed the Faire.

D. *Flamin Caluo* husband to *Eluira*, whence comes the race of *Cid Roy Dias*.  
 These gouerned the countrie of Castille, in qualitie of Iudges: after that it was drawn from the obedience of the kings of Leon, during the reign of D. *Froila* the second, about the year 896.

D. *Gonsal Nugnes* sonne to D. *Nugno Rasure*, sole gouernour of Castille.

D. *Ximena* daughter or grandchild to D. *Nugno Fernandes*, whom wee set in the first place in this Line, mother to

D. *Fernand Gonsales* their sonne.

## First Soueraigne Earle.

D. *Fernand Gonsales* first Earle proprietor of Castille, in the year 910: he gouerned 32 years.

D. *Vrraca* his first wife, mother to

D. *Vrraca*.

D. *Sancha* Infanta of Navarre, second wife to D. *Fernand*, daughter to D. *Sancho Abarca*.

Children { D. *Gonsal Fernandes*.  
 D. *Sancho Fernandes*.

D. *Garci Fernandes*.

D. *Pedro* father to two sonnes { D. *Gonsal Nugnes*.  
 D. *Fernandes Gonsales*.

D. *Baldwin*.

It is doubtfull by which of his wives he had these three sonnes.

## II.

D. *Garci Fernandes* the third sonne to D. *Fernand Gonsales*, in the year 942: hee held the Earldome 48 years.

D. *Argentina* his first wife, a French woman.

D. *Sancha*, Ogna, or *Abba*, his second wife, mother to

Children { D. *Garci Roland*.  
 D. *Sancho Garcia*.

D. *Vrraca* a Nun.

## III.

D. *Sancho Garcia* the second sonne to D. *Garci Fernandes*, in the year 990: he gouerned Castille 38 years.

D. *Vrraca* his wife, mother to

Children { D. *Garcia*.  
 D. *Nugna* Queene of Navarre.

D. *Theresia* Queene of Leon.

D. *Tigrida* a Nunne.

D. *Garcia*

Castille.

III.

D. Garcia second of that name, (same at Leon before he was married, so as the Earldome fell to his sister.

D. Nunga Queene of Nauarre by the right of proximity.

V.

D. Nunga sister to D. Garcia, married to the king.

D. Sancho fourth of that name of Nauarre, in the year 1028, they held the Earldome six years, then they gaue it to D. Fernand their second sonne, with the title of a King.

D. Fernand, second sonne.

The other children of this marriage are named in the line of Nauarre.

First King of Castille.

D. Fernand, second sonne of D. Sancho, fourth of that name of Nauarre, had Castille for his portion, with the title of a king, being the inheritance of his mother D. Nunga: in the year 1034 he vniued Leon vnto it, by his wife D. Sancho, and reigned 32 years.

D. Sancho sister to D. Bermund, third king of Leon, mother, among other children, to

D. Sancho Fernandes.

D. Alphonso.

Their other children are named in the line of Leon.

II.

D. Sancho Fernandes, whom we will call the second of that name, in regard of the Earle D. Sancho Garcia, in the year 1067: he reigned 6 years, died without children, and left his realme to his brother D. Alphonso king of Leon.

III.

D. Alphonso brother to D. Sancho, first of that name in Castille, and sixth in Leon, in the year 1073: he reigned 34 years 8 moneths.

D. Inez or Agnes first wife to D. Alphonso a Spaniard.

D. Constance, second wife, a Spaniard, and mother to

D. Vrraca Queene of Castille married to D. Raimond 5 D. Sancho.

of Burgondie first, by whom shee had

D. Maria otherwise called Caida a Moore, third wife to D. Alphonso, mother to

D. Sancho.

D. Berthe fourth wife, an Italian.

D. Isabell, fifth, a Spaniard, mother to

D. Sancho.

D. Eluira Queene of Naples.

D. Beatrice a French woman, sixth wife to D. Alphonso.

By D. Ximena Nunga de Guzman a Concubine, he had

D. Eluira, Countesse of Toloufa.

Of another Concubine whose name is not knowne,

D. Therese, first Countesse of Portugall.

III.

D. Vrraca being the eldest, widow to D. Raimond Earle of Burgondie, was hereditarie Queene of Castille and Leon, shee tooke to her second husband, D. Alphonso king of Nauarre and Arragon, first of that name, from whom being divorced, and liuing loosely in her country, the Earle did choose D. Alphonso Raimond her sonne for their king, during her life: yet we will set her in the fourth place.

D. Alphonso husband to D. Vrraca, fourth king of Castille, in the year 1108, where hee reigned eight years.

V.

D. Alphonso Raimond, sonne to Raimond of Burgondie, and to D. Vrraca, in the year 1122, he reigned 35 years, and is numbered for the third of that name.

D. Berenguela

Castille.

D. Berenguela, daughter to the Earle of Barcelone called D. Raymond Arnold his wife, mother to

D. Sancho king of Castille.

D. Fernand king of Leon.

D. Isabell or Constance Queene of France.

D. Sancho or Beatrice Queene of Nauarre.

D. Garcia.

D. Rica 2 wife to D. Alphonso Raimond, aunt to the Emperour Frederic 1, mother to

D. Sancho Queene of Arragon.

D. Marie a concubine, mother to

D. Estienne, wife to D. Fernand Roderigo el Castellon, whose sonne D. Pedro Fernandes de Castro was.

D. Goutrude sister to Diego Apricio, a concubine also, mother to

D. Vrraca Queene of Nauarre.

VI.

D. Sancho sonne to D. Alphonso Raimond, in the year 1157: he reigned two years, the fourth of that name.

D. Blanche of Nauarre his wife.

D. Alphonso their sonne.

VII.

D. Alphonso sonne to D. Sancho 4 of that name, in the year 1159: he reigned 55 yerres;

D. Leonora daughter to Henrie the second king of England,

D. Blanche Queene of France.

D. Berenguela Queene of Leon.

D. Sancho died an infant.

D. Vrraca Queene of Portugall.

D. Fernand died young.

D. Malfade died a virgin.

D. Constance a Nunne.

D. Leonora Queene of Arragon.

D. Henrie King of Castille.

Two daughters which died in their infancies,

Children

VIII.

D. Henrie first of that name, sonne to D. Alphonso 4, in the year 1214: he reigned about three years.

D. Malfade of Portugall his wife.

The king D. Henrie being dead without children, his sister D. Berenguela second daughter to king D. Alphonso seized vpon the realme of Castille, to the prejudice of D. Blanche mother to Saint Lewis king of France, who was the elder, and there leised D. Fernand sonne to her, and to D. Alphonso ninth king of Leon.

IX.

D. Ferdinand third of that name, sonne to D. Alphonso ninth king of Leon, and to D. Berenguela of Castille, obtained the realme of Castille, to the prejudice of Queene Blanche, mother to Saint Lewis, in the year 1217, and reigned 35 yerres.

D. Beatrice daughter to the Emperour Philip, of whom was borne

D. Alphonso.

D. Frederic.

D. Ferdinand.

D. Henrie.

Lawfull children D. Philip.

D. Sancho.

D. Emanuel.

D. Leonora not married.

D. Berenguela a Nun.

By

## Castille.

By *Isabel* or *Adelle* as some write, of the house of Poitiers, his second wife, he had

Lawfull children {  
D. Ferdinand.  
D. Lewis.  
D. Leonora.

In this King the two Realmes of Leon and Castille were vnited, and were no more diuided.

## X. King of Castille. 31. of Leon.

D. ALFONSO sonne to D. Ferdinand 3, numbred for the 5 of that name, and 10 in Leon: but they that joyne these two Lines, accompt him the 11, adding his great grandfather *Alfonso* 4 of Castille, who had no interest in Leon.

D. Violant of Arragon his wife, by whom he had

D. Ferdinand called de la Cerda, who married D. Blanche daughter to K. Lewis of France, and had	D. Alfonso who married the Ladie of Luner, named <i>Maria</i> , daughter to the Viscont of Narbonne	D. Lewis Earle of Clermont husband to D. Leonora de Guzman	D. John earl of Clermont husband to D. Leonora de Guzman
D. Sancho 3. sonne	D. Fernand, who had to wife D. Marie de Lara, and had one daughter D. Blanche married to D. John Manuell father to D. John 4. sonne to D. Alfonso	D. John Constable of France, named by some <i>Charles</i>	D. Isabel wife to Bernard de Foix, baird, the butler of the house of Castille
D. Pedro 3. sonne	D. John called de Lara, heire to his mother.		
D. John 4. sonne to D. Alfonso	D. Alfonso the wife who married D. Maria Lopez Diaz, heire of Biscaye, and had D. John the blind, father to one Daughter married to D. John Manuell de Lara.		
D. James 5. sonne.			
D. Berenguela.			
D. Beatrice.			
D. Isabel.			
D. Leonora.			

D. Maier de Guzman a Concubine, mother to  
D. Beatrice Queene of Portugall.

## XI. King of Castille. 32. of Leon.

D. SANCHE second sonne to the King D. Alfonso, seized vpon the realme in his fathers life time, to frustrat the children of his elder brother D. Ferdinand deceased in the year 1284, and reigned about 11 years: wee number him for the 4 of that name in Castille.

D. MARIA of Castille, daughter to D. Alfonso Lord of Molina, his wife.

Lawfull children {  
D. Isabelle Duchesse of Britaine.  
D. Ferdinand.  
D. Alfonso son Philip.  
D. Henry.  
D. Peter.  
D. Beatrice.

## XII. King of Castille. 33. of Leon.

D. FERDINAND sonne to D. Sancho the 4 of that name, in the year 1295: hee reigned 17 years.

D. Constance of Portugall his wife.

Children {  
D. Alfonso.  
D. Leonora.

D. Alfonso

## Castille and Leon.

## XIII. King of Castille. 34. of Leon.

D. Alfonso 11 of that name, sonne to D. Ferdinand in the year 1312: he reigned 38 years.

D. Maria of Portugall his wife.

Lawfull children {  
D. Ferdinand died in his infancie.  
D. Pedro King.

By Leonora de Guzman a Concubine he had

Bastards {  
D. Pedro.  
D. Sancho.  
D. Henry.  
D. Frederic } Twins.  
D. Ferdinand.  
D. Tello.  
D. John.  
D. Joane, who was wife to Ferdinand de Castro.

## XIII. King of Castille. 35. of Leon.

D. Pedro the cruell, in the year 1350: he was lawfull sonne to D. Alfonso, or as some hold, suppoed by the Queene D. Maria, who was cruel of the fruitfulness of D. Leonora de Guzman: he reigned tyrannously 18 years.

D. Blanche of Bourbon his wife.

D. Maria de Padilla his Concubine.

Bastards {  
D. Beatrice.  
D. Constance Duchesse of Lancaster.  
D. Alfonso.  
D. Isabel Countesse of Cambridge.

D. Joane de Castro, whom he married in the life of Queene Blanche, mother to D. John.  
D. Isabella an other Concubine, mother to

Bastards {  
D. Sancho.  
D. Diego.

D. Theresa of Ayala, vpon promise of marriage, brought him D. Maria.

## XV. King of Castille. 36. of Leon.

D. Henry 2 of that name, baird sonne to Alfonso 11: being persecuted by the king D. Pedro, he had recourse vnto the French, by whose ayde he conquered the Realme of Castille, and slew the king D. Pedro in the year 1368, and reigned 11 years.

D. Joane Manuell his wife, mother to

Lawfull children {  
D. John king of Castille.  
D. Leonora Queene of Navarre.

D. Leonora Ponce, some call her Beatrice, a Concubine: by her he had

D. Frederic duke of Benauent.

D. Elvira Iniguez an other Concubine, mother to

D. Joane married to D. Alfonso sonne to the Marquesse of Villena.

Of vncertaine mothers were borne

D. Alfonso Earle of Gijon.

An other daughter married to D. Pedro sonne to the marquesse of Villena.

## XVI. King of Castille. 37. of Leon.

D. John 1 of that name, sonne to D. Henry the second, in the year 1379: hee reigned 11 years.

D. Leonora of Arragon his wife, mother to

Lawfull children {  
D. Henry.  
D. Ferdinand.

A daughter which died young.  
D. Beatrice of Portugall, his second wife.

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XVII.

## Castille and Leon.

XVII. King of Castile. 38 of Leon.

D. HENRY third of that name, sonneto D. John the first, in the yere 1390: he reigned 16 yeres.

D. KATHERINE of Lancaster his wife.

Lawfull children } D. Marie, Queene of Arragon.  
D. John, King of Castille.  
D. Katherine.

XVIII. King of Castile. 39 of Leon.

D. JOHN sonneto D. Henry the third, in the yere 1406: he reigned 48 yeres.  
D. MARIA of Arragon, daughter to D. Ferdinand his vncl, his wife.

Lawfull children } D. Katherine, died yong.  
D. Leonora.  
D. Henry king of Castille.

D. ISABELL of Portugall his second wife, daughter to the infant D. John, Master of S. James.

D. Isabel, Queene of Castille.  
D. Alfonso.

XIX. King of Castille. 40 of Leon.

D. HENRY fourth of that name, called the vnble, in the yere 1454: he reigned 21 yeres.

D. BLANCHE of Nauarre, daughter to the king D. John, his first wife, put away.  
D. IOANE of Portugall his second wife, mother to

D. Ioane, a supposid child.

XX. King of Castile. 41 of Leon.

D. ISABELL of Castille, sister to king Henry the fourth, was Queene of Castille, as next of the blood, and lawfull, she married with

D. FERDINAND, Prince of Arragon, King of Sicile: they began to raigine in the yere 1474, and had

Lawfull children } D. Isabel, Queene of Portugall, mother to D. Michel,  
who had beene heire to all the realmes of Spaine, if  
he had liued.  
D. John, who died yong.  
D. Ioane Queene heire.  
D. Maria Queene of Portugall.  
D. Katherine.

XXI. King of Castile. 42 of Leon.

D. IOANE, daughter to the Queene D. Isabel, and D. Ferdinand her husband: she was married to the Archduke

D. PHILIP of Austria: they succeeded to the Realmes of Castille and Leon, in the yere 1504, and raigned together two yeres, they had

Lawfull children } D. Leonora Queene of Portugall and of France.  
D. Charles King and Emperour.  
D. Isabel Queene of Denmarke.  
D. Ferdinand Emperour.  
D. Marie.  
D. Katherine.

XXII. King of Castile. 43 of Leon.

D. CHARLES by the decease of his father D. Philip, succeeded to the right of the Crowne of Castille, vnder the gouernment of the King D. Ferdinand his grandfather, after

## Castille and Leon.

after whose death hee tooke vpon him the gouernment of the realme, by reason of the incapacie of the Queene D. Ioane his mother, in the yere 1516: hee raigned 43 yeres in Castille, Arragon and Nauarre.

D. ISABELL daughter to King Emanuel of Portugall his wife.

Lawfull children } D. Philip king.  
D. Marie Emperesse.  
D. Ioane married to the Prince of Portugall.  
D. Ferdinand who died yong.

By Concubines he had

Bastards } D. Marguerite duchesse of Florence, and Parma.  
D. John d Austria.

XXIII. King of Castile. 44 of Leon.

D. PHILIP, 2 sonne to the Emperour Charles 5, in the yere 1558: hee raigned fortie yeres.

D. MARIE of Portugall his first wife, mother to

D. Charles.  
D. MARIE Queene of England, died without children.  
D. ISABELL of France, his 3 wife, mother to

D. Anna of Austria his 4 wife, by whom he had

Lawfull children } D. Charles.  
D. Laurens, some say Ferdinand.  
D. Diego, or James.  
D. Philip.  
D. Na daughter.

XXIII. King of Castile. 45 of Leon.

D. PHILIP 3 now raigining, sonneto Philip 2, in the yere 1598.  
D. MARGUERITE of Austria daughter to the Archduke Ferdinand of Gratz, his wife.

## Line of Nauarre.

First King in Sobrabre and Nauarre.

D. GARCIA Ximenes in the yere 716: hee raigned 42 yeres.  
INIGO his wife, mother to

Garcia Inigo.

II.

D. GARCIA INIGO, second of that name, in the yere 758: hee raigned 44 yeres: the name of his wife is vnknowne.

D. FORTUN GARCES his sonne.

III.

D. FORTUN GARCES, sonneto D. Garcia Inigo, in the yere 802: hee raigned 13 yeres.

D. THEYDA of Arragon daughter to D. Galinde.  
D. Sancho Garces.

III.

D. SANCHE GARCES, first of that name, sonneto D. FORTUN, in the yere 815: hee raigned 17 yeres.

The name of his wife is not found.

D. Ximen Inigo, it may be their sonne.

Hhhhhh j

D. XIMEN

## V.

D. XIMEN INIGO, in the year 832: he reigned 8 yeres.  
D. NUGNA his wife.

D. Inigo Arista.

## VI.

D. INIGO ARISTA, in the year 840: he reigned 27 yeres some hold that hee was not sonne to D. Ximen, but suffred from the Lords of Bigorre, and elected.  
D. THEYDA, daughter to Zeno Earle of Biscaie.

D. Garcia Inigo.

## VII.

D. GARCIA INIGO, third of that name, sonne to D. Inigo Arista, in the year 867: he reigned 18 yeres.

D. VERRACA, heire of Arragon, his wife.

Children {  
D. Fortun.  
D. Sancho Abarca.  
D. Sancho Queene of Leon.

## VIII.

D. FORTUN, in the yere 885: hee reigned 6 yeres in Nauarre and Arragon, which was a small thing then, and vnder the foueraigntie of Nauarre. This king made himselfe a Monke, and left the realme to his brother.

## IX.

D. SANCHO ABARCA, 2 of that name, in the year 901: reigned 19 yeres.  
D. TODA, or THEYDA his wife.

Children {  
D. Garcia Sanchez.  
D. Prraca Xerimes, Queene of Leon.  
D. Marie Countesse of Barcelona  
D. Theresa Queene of Leon.  
D. Sancho Countesse of Castille.  
D. Blanche married to the Lord of Biscaie.

Some hold this King had 3 sonnes more,

{  
D. Ramir.  
D. Gonfal.  
D. Ferdinand.

## X.

D. GARCIA SANCHES, 4. of that name, sonne to D. Sancho Abarca, in the year 920: he reigned 49 yeres.  
THERESIA his wife.

Children {  
D. Sancho Garcia.  
D. Ramir.  
D. Prraca.  
D. Ermeisilde.  
D. Ximena.

## XI.

D. SANCHO GARCIA, third of that name, sonne to D. Garcia Sanchez, in the year 969: he reigned 24 yeres.  
D. VERRACA his wife.

Children {  
D. Garcia.  
D. Ramir father to D. Sancho.  
D. Gonfal.  
D. Garcia.

## XII.

D. GARCIA the shaking sonne to D. Sancho Garcia, 5. of that name, in the yere 993: he reigned 7 yeres or therabouts.

D. XIMENA

D. XIMENA his wife.

D. Sancho their sonne.

## XIII.

D. SANCHE, 4 of that name, sonne to D. Garcia the trembling, in the year 1000: hee reigned 34 yeres.

D. NYENA daughter to D. Sancho Earle of Castille, which by some is called D. Nena, heire of Castille.

D. Garcia King of Nauarre.

Children {  
D. Ferdinand king of Castille.  
D. Gonfal king of Sobrabre and Ribagoda.

Of D. Caya the Ladie of Ayurca Concubine

D. Ramir King of Arragon.

## XIII.

D. GARCIA, 6 of that name, sonne to D. Sancho 4, in the yere 1034: he reigned 20 yeres.

D. EYVETTES French woman, of the house of Carisone, and of Beciers, his wife.

D. Sancho Garcia King.

D. Ramir.

D. Ferdinand.

D. Raymond.

Children {  
D. Ermeisilde.

D. Zimena.

D. Mayor.

D. Prraca, or Oyma.

## XV.

D. SANCHO GARCIA, 5 of that name, sonne to D. Garcia, in the yere 1054: hee reigned 22 yeres.

D. PLAISANCE his wife.

D. Ramir Sanchez of D. Elaira

daughter to Cid Roy Dias had.

D. Garcia the elder.

D. Garcia the second.

These children did not succeed.

## XVI.

D. SANCHO RAMIRS, who was 2 king of Arragon leazed vpon the realme of Nauarre, and is nombred for the 6 of that name, in the yere 1096 he reigned 18 yeres.

D. FRONCA, daughter to the Earle of Yrgel his wife, mother of some children named in the Line of Arragon, to

Children {  
D. Pedro, who was king of Nauarre and Arragon.  
D. Alfonso, who was king of Arragon.  
D. Ramir a Monke.

D. PEDRO, 1 of that name, sonne to D. Sancho Ramirs, in the yere 1098 he reigned 10 yeres.

D. BERTHA or INES of Tuscaine his wife.

D. Pedro died an infant.

D. Isbell died also before the father blind.

## XVIII.

D. ALFONSO, brother to D. Pedro 1 of that name, vniued all the Christian realms

Hhhhhh ij of



of Spaine together by his marriage with *D. Vrraca* heire of Castille and Leon, he came to the Crowne of Nauarre, in the yere 1104, and reigned 30 yeres.

*D. VRRACA*, daughter to *Alfonso* 6 of Leon and Castille, his wife, by whom he had not any children.

## XIX

*D. GARCIA RAMIREZ*, 7 of that name, sonne to *D. Ramir Sanchez*, 8 grand-child to *D. Sancho Garcia*, 5 of that name, he was chosen by the Estates, in the yere 1134, and reigned 16 yeres.

*D. MARCELLINA* OR *MARGUERITE*, as some say, daughter to *Rotron* Earle of Perche, his wife.

Children {  
*D. Blanche.*  
*D. Sancho* king.  
*D. Alfonso Ramirez.*  
*D. Marguerite* Queene of Naples.

*D. VRRACA*, base daughter to *D. Alfonso*, 8 king of Leon and Castille, his second wife, mother to

*D. Sancho* Vicountesse of Bearn, and then wife to *D. Pedro de Molina*, of which second marriage came *Americ* Vicont of Naboma, for *D. Pedro* his father was sonne to *Ermiscinda* Vicountesse of Naboma.

## XX

*D. SANCHE*, 7 of that name, called the wife, sonne to *D. Garcia Ramirez*, in the yere 1150: he reigned 46 yeres.

*D. BEACIA* OR *BEATRIX*, or as some say *D. Sancho*, daughter to *D. Alfonso Raymond*, king of Castille and Leon, his wife, by whom he had

Children {  
*D. Sancho* King of Nauarre  
*D. Ferdinand.*  
*D. Ramir* Bishop of Pampelone.  
*D. Berenguela* Queene of England.  
*D. Theresa*, or *Constance.*  
*D. Blanche* Countesse of Champagne and Brie.

## XXI

*D. SANCHE*, 8 of that name, called the strong, sonne to *Sancho* 7, in the yere 1194: he reigned 40 yeres.

*D. CLEMENCE*, daughter to *Raymond*, 4 Earle of Tolousa, his wife

*D. Ferdinand*, who died before the father.

Of a Concubine whose name is unknowne, this king had

*William* a bastard.

By the death of the king, the Crowne of Nauarre pass into the House of Champagne, *D. Blanche* his sister, wife to Count *Thibaud*, remaining sole of the race, having issue

## XXII

*D. THIBAUD*, 1 of that name, sonne to *D. Blanche* of Nauarre, succeeded his vncler *D. Sancho* 8, in the yere 1234, and reigned 19 yeres.

His first wife was of Metz.

The 2, was daughter to *Guichard* Earle of Beausieu, and had

*D. Blanche* Duchesse of Britaine.

The third wife, was daughter to *Archambaud*, Earle of Foix, named *Marguerite*, mother to

Children {  
*D. Thibaud.*  
*D. Henry.*  
*D. Lewis.*  
*D. Pedro.*

*D. THIBAUD*,

## XXIII

*D. THIBAUD*, second of that name, sonne to the first, in the yere 1253: he reigned 18 yeres.

*D. ISABELL* of France, daughter to *S. Lewis*, by whom he had not any children.

*D. Marguise Lope de Rada* a Concubine, brought him

*D. Marguise* a bastard, who was wife to *Pedro Fernandez* of Isar, base sonne to *D. James* the first, King of Arragon.

## XXIII

*D. HENRY*, brother to *Thibaud* the second, in the yere 1271: he reigned three yeres, the first of that name.

*D. IOANE*, daughter to *Robert* Earle of Artois.

Children {  
*D. Thibaud*, died an infant.

*D. Ioane* Queene.

By a Concubine of the house of *Laparra*, he had

*D. Henry*, bastard, Marshall of Nauarre.

## XXV

*D. IOANE*, sole daughter to *D. Henry* the first, married to *Philip* the faire, king of France, and reigned in Nauarre, in the yere 1274, the space of 31 yeres: of which mariage issued

Children {  
*D. Lewis* Hutin.  
*D. Philip* the long.  
*D. Charles* the faire.  
*D. Ioane.*  
*D. Isabell* Queene of England.

## XXVI

*D. LEUVIS* HUTIN, King of France and Nauarre, first of that name, in the yere 1303: he reigned 10 yeres in Nauarre.

*D. MARGUERITE* daughter to *Robert* of Burgundie.

*D. Ioane* of Nauarre.

His second wife was *Clemence*, daughter to the King of Hungarie.

*D. John* an after-birth, who lived but eight dayes.

## XXVII

*D. PHILIP* the long, king of France and Nauarre, second of that name, in the yere 1313: he reigned five yeres.

*D. IOANE* daughter to *Othelin* Earle of Burgundie.

Children {  
*D. Ioane* Duchesse of Burgundie.  
*D. Marguerite* Countesse of Nemours.  
*D. Marie*, wife to the Dauphin *Humbert*.  
*D. Blanche*, a religious woman.

## XXVIII

*D. CHARLES* the first, first of that name, king of Nauarre and France, in the yere 1328: he reigned about eight yeres.

*D. BLANCHE*, daughter to *Othelin* Earle of Burgundie, his first wife.

*D. MARIE* of Luxembourg his second wife, mother to

*D. Blanche* Duchesse of Orleans.

A sonne, which died in his infancy.

*D. IOANE*, daughter to *Lewis* Earle of Euzeux, by whom (some say) *D. Blanche* was borne.

## XXIX

*D. IOANE*, daughter to King *Lewis Hutin*, heire of Nauarre, in the yere 1328: (he reigned with her husband 21 yeres.

*D. PHILIP*

D. PHILIP Earle of Eux, husband to D. Joane, the third of that name, among the kings of Nauarre: of which marriage descended

- Children
- D. Charles king.
  - D. Philip Earle of Longueville.
  - D. Lewis Earle of Beaumont. This D. Lewis married the heire of the house of Beaumont le Roger in Normandie, and were the stemme of the Barons of Lerin.
  - D. Joane Countesse of Rohan.
  - D. Marie Queene of Arragon.
  - D. Blanche Countesse of France.
  - D. Agnes Countesse of Foix.

## XXX

D. CHARLES second of that name, sonne to D. Philip the third, in the yeare 1349: he reigned in Nauarre 37 yeares, and was furnished the bad.

D. IOANE of France, daughter to king John, his wife: of which marriage descended these following.

- Lawfull children
- D. Charles King.
  - D. Philip died young.
  - D. Pedro Earle of Mortaigne, from whom descended D. Pedro of Portugal, Constable of Nauarre, the stemme of the Marquess of Falfes.
  - D. Blanche.
  - D. Joane, Duchesse of Britaine, and Queene of England.
  - D. Marie Countesse of Denia: it is doubtfull whether she were daughter to this Queene.
  - D. Leon or Lionell a bastard, the beginning of the Marquess of Cortes, Marshals of Nauarre.

## XXXI.

D. CHARLES third of that name, sonne to Charles the second, in the yeare 1386: he reigned 39 yeares.

D. LEONORA of Castille his wife.

- Children
- D. Joane Countesse of Foix.
  - D. Marie.
  - D. Blanche Queene of Sicile and Nauarre.
  - D. Beatrix Countesse of Marche.
  - D. Isabell.
  - D. Charles.
  - D. Lewis.

By a Concubine whose name is unknowne.

- Bastards
- D. Godfrey Earle of Cortes.
  - D. Joane married to D. Inigo d'Ortiz of Bistuniga.

## XXXII.

D. BLANCHE, daughter to D. Charles the third, had to her second husband D. John of Arragon, and began to reigne in the yeare 1415, and lasted 17 yeares: then after her decease D. JOHN, who was king of Arragon and Sicile, continued his reigne vnto the yeare 1479, who had by D. Blanche

- Children
- D. Charles.
  - D. Blanche Queene of Castille.
  - D. Leonora, Countesse of Foix, and afterwards Queene of Nauarre.

This King John had a second wife, and other issue which is set downe in the Line of Arragon.

## XXXIII.

D. LEONORA, Countesse of Foix, wife to D. Gaston the fourth, came to the Crowne of Nauarre, suruiuing her brother and sister, in the yeare 1479, and died the same yeare.

D. GASTON,

D. GASTON Earle of Foix, called Prince of Viana, husband to D. Leonora, by whom he had

- Children
- D. Gaston, of whom and of Mar- Francis and guerite of France descended Katherine.
  - D. John, Vicount of Narbona.
  - D. Pedro, Cardinall.
  - D. James.
  - D. Marie, Marquess of Montserrat.
  - D. Joane, Countesse of Armaignac.
  - D. Marguerite, Duchesse of Britaine.
  - D. Katherine, Countesse of Candalle.
  - D. Leonora died a maid.

## XXXIII.

D. FRANCIS, sonne to Gaston, surnamed Phebus, and grandchild to D. Leonora, his father being dead before her decease, he succeeded her in the realme of Nauarre, in the yeare 1479, and reigned four yeares: he died without any children.

## XXXV.

D. KATHERINE, sister to Francis Phebus, reigned after her brother in the yeare 1483: she married with

D. JOHN of Albret: of which marriage issued

- Children
- D. John.
  - D. Andrew.
  - D. Henry king of Nauarre.
  - D. Charles, or rather Francis, who died at Naples in Monsieur de Lautrecs voyage.
  - D. Katherine.
  - D. Anne.
  - D. Quiterie.
  - D. Magdelaine.
  - D. Isabell.

And five other children which died young.

During the time and raigne of these Kings, D. John of Albret and D. Katherine, D. Ferdinand and D. Isabell his wife, kings of Castille and Arragon, seized on the realme of Nauarre beyond the Pyrenees, and joynd it to Castille.

## XXXVI.

HENRY, the second, of Albret, successor to the rights of Nauarre, second of that name, in the yeare 1517.

MARGUERITE of France, sister to king Francis the first, his wife.

Joane, whom Bertrand Helie calls Charlotte.

## XXXVII.

IOANE, daughter to Henry the second, succeeded in her fathers rights, married to ANTHONIA, Duke of Vendosme, of the noble house of Bourbon.

- Henry.
- Katherine.

## XXXVIII.

HENRY the third of that name in Nauarre, and the fourth in France, in the yeare 1579, and reigned 38 yeares.

MARGUERITE of Valois, from whom he was diuorced, having no children.

MARIE de Medicis, daughter to the duke of Florence, his second wife, by whom he had Lewis, with diuers other children.

## XXXIX.

LEWIS now reigning, the second of that name in Nauarre, and the thirteenth in France: he succeeded to his fathers rights in the yeare 1610.

Line

## Line of Arragon.

I.

There is mention made about the year 775, of *Aznar* the sonne of *Aznar* and grand-king to *Ende*, Duke of Aquitaine, who had two sonnes.

*Galinde* and  
*Ximenes Garcet*.

II.

*D. Galinde* obtained some lands of the Souveraigntie of Navarre, and had his dwelling and seat at *Iaca*: This was the beginning of Arragon.

*D. Theuda*, who was Queene of Navarre.  
*D. Ximen Aznaret*.  
*D. Endregot*.

III.

*D. Ximen Aznaret*, sonne to *D. Galinde*, the third Earle of Arragon.

IIII.

*D. Ximen Garcet*, brother to *D. Galinde*, fourth Earle of Arragon, in the year 803.

*D. Garcia Aznaret* his sonne.

V.

*D. Garcia Aznaret*, sonne to *D. Ximen Garcet*, fift Earle of Arragon.

*D. Fortun Ximenes* his sonne.

VI.

*D. Fortun Ximenes*, sixt Earle of Arragon.

*D. Vrraca*, as some say daughter to this *D. Fortun*, and others to *Endregot* above named, vniwed the Earldome of Arragon to the Crowne of Navarre, bringing it in dowrie to the King *D. Garcia Inigo*, second of that name.

VII.

*D. Garcia Inigo* king of Navarre and seventh Earle of Arragon, in the year 867.

*D. Vrraca* above named, his wife.

*D. Fortun* their eldest sonne: the rest are named in the Line of Navarre.

VIII.

*D. Fortun* king of Navarre, second of that name, and eight Earle of Arragon, in the year 885.

IX.

*D. Sancho Abarec* king of Navarre, and ninth Earle of Arragon, brother to *D. Fortun*, in the year 901.

X.

*D. Garc Sanchez*, sonne to *D. Sancho Abarec*, king of Navarre, and tenth Earle of Arragon, in the year 920.

XI.

*D. Sancho Garcet*, sonne to *D. Garc Sanchez*, eleventh Earle of Arragon reigning in Navarre, in the year 969.

XII.

*D. Garcia the Shaking*, sonne to *D. Sancho Garcet*, king of Navarre, and twelfth Earle of Arragon, in the year 993.

XIII.

*D. Sancho the Great*, sonne to *D. Garcia the Shaking*, thirteenth Earle of Arragon, in the year 1000. This king of Navarre erected the Countie of Arragon to a Realme, and gave it to his baird sonne *D. Ramir*, as appears by the discourse by the Historie.

First

## First King of Arragon.

*D. RAMIR*, first of that name, sonne to *D. Sancho* the great, king of Navarre, was the first king of Arragon, in the year 1034: and reigned 42 years.

*D. ERMISSENDE*, daughter to the Earle of Bigorre, by some named *Giberge*, his wife.

Children {  
*D. Sancho Ramirez*,  
*D. Garcia* Bishop of Iaca.  
*D. Sancho* Countesse of Tolousa.  
*D. Theres* Countesse of Prouence.

He had by a concubine

*D. Sancho* Lord of Ayuar, Atares, and Xauierre.

II.

*D. SANCHO RAMIRRS*, king of Arragon, in the year 1076: he reigned 18 years, and vsurped the realme of Navarre.

*D. FELICA* daughter, to the earle of Virgel, his wife.

Children {  
*D. Pedro* king.  
*D. Alphonso* a king.  
*D. Ramir* a Monke, and then a king.

By a concubine, whose name is not extant,

*D. Garcia*, Bishop of Iacca.

III.

*D. PEDRO*, first of that name, sonne to *D. Sancho Ramirez*, in the year 1094: he reigned 14 yeres.

*D. BERTHE*, or *IONES*, his wife, an Italian.

Children {  
*D. Pedro* 2.  
*D. Isabell* } They died both before the father.

IIII.

*D. ALPHONSO* first of that name, brother to *D. Pedro*, in the year 1108, and reigned 26 yeres: he married *D. Vrraca* the heire of Castille, and died without children: after him Navarre was seperated from Arragon.

V.

*D. RAMIR* a Monke, sonne to *D. Sancho Ramirez*, and brother to the last kings, was king of Arragon, in the year 1134, by election of the Estates: his raigne was vncertaine: for hauing for the most part led a Monkish life, he gaue ouer the gouernment of the realme vnto his sonne in law, *D. Raymond Berenger* Earle of Barcelona.

*D. AGNES* sister, or daughter, as some hold, to *William* Earle of Poitiers, his wife, mother to

*D. Petronilla*, heire of Arragon.

*D. Petronilla*, daughter to *D. Ramir*, did not raigne, as some hold, but her sonne *D. Raymond*, whom she had by the Earle of Barcelona.

*D. Raymond Berenger*, who gouerned the realme in qualitie of a Regent, and was called Prince of Arragon, who had by his wife *Petronilla*, among other children which are named in the line of Cattelogne, this sonne

*D. Raymond*, who changed his name, and was called *Alphonso*.

VI.

*D. ALPHONSO*, second of that name, called before *Raymond*, sonne to the Earle *D. Raymond Berenger*, and of the Princess *D. Petronilla*, in the year 1162: he reigned 34 yeres.

*D. SANCHA*, daughter to *D. Alphonso Raymond*, king of Castille and Leon, and of *D. Rica*, the was mother to

*D. Pedro*,

## Arragon.

**D. Pedro** king of Arragon.

**Children**

- D. Alfonso** Earle of Prouence, who had to wife **D. Maria de Folcaquier**, whence descended **D. Raymond Berenger** who was married to **Batrix** daughter to **Thomas** Earle of Morienne, who had
- D. Ferdinand** a Monke.
- D. Constance** Queene of Hungarie and then Emperesse.
- D. Leonora** Countesse of Toloufa.
- D. Sancho** Countesse also of Toloufa.
- D. Doulee** a Nunne.

**Marguerite** queene of France.  
**Leonora** Queene of England.  
**Sancho** Queene of England & Emperesse.  
**Batrix** Queene of Naples.  
**Isabel**, who had the countie of Prouence, as the Arragonois say.

## VII.

**D. Pedro** 2. of that name, sonne to **D. Alfonso** the 2., in the yeare 1196: he reigned about 18 yeares.

His first wife was of the house of **Folcaquier**, by whom he had

**D. Raymond Berenger.**

**D. Marie** daughter to the Earle of Mompellier, who had bene marryed to the Earle of Cominges: by this second wife he had

**D. James** king.

By a Concubine not named

**D. Constance** marryed to **William Raymond** of Moncado, Seneschall of Cartelogne.

## VIII.

**D. James** first of that name, sonne to the king **D. Pedro** the first, in the yeare 1213: hee reigned 43 yeares.

**D. Leonora** of Castille, daughter to king **D. Alfonso** the 9., by whom he had

**D. Alfonso**, who dyed before the father.

**D. Violant** daughter to the king of Hungarie his second wife, mother to

**D. Pedro** king of Arragon.

**Children**

- D. James** king of Maiorca, who married **Elsclermond** of Foix, who brought him
- D. Sancho** Archbishop of Toledo.
- D. Isabel** Queene of France.
- D. Ferdinand**.
- D. Violant** Queene of Castille.
- D. Constance** wife to **D. Manuel**.
- D. Sancho**.
- D. Maria**.

**D. James** a Monke.  
**D. Sancho** king of Maiorca.  
**D. Ferdinand**.  
**D. Philip**.  
**D. Sancho**.

Of **D. Ferdinand** 3. sonne to **D. James** of Maiorca, and of **Isabel** heire of Morca, issued

**D. James** king of Maiorca.

**D. Frederic**.

And of his 2. wife of Cypres

**D. Ferdinand**.

**D. James** sonne to **D. Ferdinand** had by **Constance** of Arragon

**Isabel** Marquesse of Montserrat.

**James** heire of Maiorca.

King **James** had also by **D. Theresa** Gil de Bredoure, whom hee had married secretly,

D.

## Arragon.

**D. Pedro**, Lord of Ayerbes.

**D. James**, Lord of Arica.

**D. Berenguela**, a concubine.

**D. Pedro Fernandez**, Lord of Ixtar.

Of the daughter of **D. Sancho d. Antilla**, a concubine,

**D. Ferdinand Sanchez**.

## IX.

**D. Pedro**, third of that name, son to **D. James** 1., in the yere 1276: he reigned 9 yeres.  
**D. Constance**, daughter to **Manfroy**, ballard to the Emperour **Frederic** 2. his wife, mother to

**Children**

- D. Alfonso**, King of Arragon.
- D. James**, King of Sicile, and then of Arragon.
- D. Frederic**, King of Sicile.
- D. Pedro**.
- D. Isabel**, Queene of Portugall.
- D. Constance** or **Violant**, queen of Naples.

**D. Maria** **Nicolsa**, a concubine, brought him

**D. James Perez**.

**D. Anne Zapate**, a concubine, mother to

**D. Ferdinand**.

By another concubine not named,

**D. Sancho**.

## X.

**D. ALPHONSO**, third of that name, sonne to **D. Pedro**, in the yeare 1285: he reigned six yeares, and died without children.

## XI.

**D. JAMES**, second of that name, brother to **D. Alfonso**, in the yeare 1291: he reigned 36 yeares.

**BLANCHE**, daughter to **Charles** King of Naples, called the Lame, his wife, mother to

**Children**

- D. James**, who became a Monke.
- D. Alfonso**.
- D. Pedro**, Earle of Ampurias.
- D. Raymond Berenger**, Earle of Prages.
- D. John**, Archbishop of Toledo.
- D. Constance**, wife to **D. John Manuel**.
- D. Maria**, wife to **D. Pedro** of Castille.
- D. Blanche**, a Nunne.
- D. Violant**, Princess of Tarentum.
- D. Isabel**, wife to the Emperour **Frederic** the third.

This King had first of all married **D. Isabel**, daughter to **D. Sancho** King of Castille but the Pope dissolved this marriage.

**D. MARIA** of Cypres was his third wife.

**D. ECLISENDE**, sister to **Othon** of Moncado, his fourth wife.

By a concubine, not named,

**D. James** of Arragon, Earle of Luna.

## XII.

**D. ALPHONSO** fourth, sonne to **D. James** 2. in the yere 1328, and reigned 8 yeres.

**D. THERESA** ENTENZA, Countesse, heire of Virge, his wife.

**Children**

- D. Pedro**, King.
- D. James**, Earle of Vagel.
- D. Constance**, Queene of Majorca.
- Some write hee had five other children which died.
- D. LEONORA** of Castille, his second wife, mother to
- D. Ferdinand**, Marquesse of Tortosa.
- D. John**.

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D. Pedro,

## Arragon.

**XIII**  
**D. PEDRO**, 4 of that name, son to **D. Alphonso**, in the yere 1336: he reigned 51 yeres.  
**D. MARIA**, second daughter to **Philip** 3, King of Nauarre, his wife.

Children **D. Constance**, Queene of Sicile.  
**D. Ioane**, Countesse of Ampurias.  
**D. Maria**.

A sonne which dyed young.

**D. LEONORA**, of **ELVIRA** of Portugall, his second wife.  
**D. CONSTANCE**, of **LEONORA** of Sicile, sister to King **Lewis**, his 3 wife, mother to

Children **D. John**, King.  
**D. Alphonso**.  
**D. Martin**, who was King.  
**D. Leonora**, Queene of Castille.

**D. SIBILLE** FORTIA, widow to **Artol de Foix**, his 4 wife, by whom he had  
**D. Isabel**, Countesse of Virgel.

**XIIII**  
**D. JOHN**, 1 of that name, son to **D. Pedro** 4, in the yere 1387, and reigned 8 yeres.  
**D. MATTHEW**, daughter to the Earle of **Armaignac**.

Children **D. James**, who dyed.  
**D. Ioane**, wife to **Mathew** of Castillon, Earle of Foix.

**D. VIOLANT**, second wife to **D. John**, mother to

Children **D. Violant**, wife to **Lewis**, 1, Duke of Calabria.  
**D. John**, Duke of Calabria.  
**D. Nicholas**, Marquess of Pont.  
**D. Marguerite**, Queene of England.  
**D. Violant**, Duchesse of Lorraine.  
**D. One sonne**, who dyed young.  
**D. Charles**, Earle of Mayne.

**XV**  
**D. MARTIN**, brother to **D. John** deceased, for want of heires male by him, succeeded by election of the Estates, and by will, to the realme of Arragon, to the prejudice of **D. Ioane**, Countesse of Foix, and against her matrimoniall conventions, and the promises made by her father and grandfather to **Mathew** of Castillon, her husband.

**D. MARIA** de Luna was his first wife, before he came to the Crowne, by whom he had  
**D. Martin**, who was King of Sicile, and dyed before his father, without any children.

**D. MARGUERITE** de Prades, his 2 wife, by whom he left no issue.

**XVI**  
**D. FERDINAND** first of that name, brother to **Henrie** 3, King of Castille: hee obtained the realme of Arragon by election of the Estates, all other pretendants being rejected in the yere 1412, and reigned about foure yeres.

**D. LEONORA** d'Albuquerque, a Princess of the blood of Castille, his wife, mother to

Children **D. Alphonso**, King of Arragon.  
**D. John**, King of Nauarre and Arragon.  
**D. Henrie**, Master of **S. James** in Castille.  
**D. Pedro**, Master of **Alcantara**.  
**D. Marie**, Queene of Castille.  
**D. Leonora**, Queene of Portugall.

**XVII**  
**D. ALPHONSO**, 5 of that name, son to **D. Ferdinand**, in the yere 1416: he reigned 42 yeres.

**D. MARIE** of Castille, his wife, but without children.

By

## Arragon.

## Cattelogne.

By concubines not named, he had

**D. Ferdinand** king of Naples.  
**D. Marie** Marquess of Ferrara.  
**D. Leonora** Princess of Rossano.

## XVIII.

**D. JOHN** second of that name, brother to king **Alphonso** 5th, for want of lawfull heires, succeeded to the Realme of Arragon, in the yere 1458: and reigned one and twentie yeres and fixe moneths.

**D. BLANCH** of Nauarre his first wife, in whose right he was king of Nauarre, and had by her three children

Children **D. Charles**, who died before his father, and had these base children,  
**D. Philip** Master of Montefia.  
**D. John** Bishop of Huesca.  
**D. Anne** duchesse of Medina Celi.  
**D. Blanche** Queene of Castille.  
**D. Leonora** Queene of Nauarre.

**D. Ioane** daughter to **D. Frederic Henricus** Admirall of Castille, his second wife, mother to

Children **D. Ferdinand** king of Arragon, Castille, Nauarre, &c.  
**D. Ioane** Queene of Naples.

By concubines whose names are vnknowne,

Bastards **D. Alphonso** Earle of Vilhermosa.  
**D. John** Archbishop of Saragossie.  
**D. Leonora** Countesse of Lerin.  
**D. Ferdinand**.  
**D. Maria**.

## XIX.

**D. FERDINAND** second of that name, sonne to king **John**, in the yere 1479: he reigned 37 yeres in sonne.

**D. ISABEL** Queene of Castille his wife, by whom the realmes of Arragon and Castille were vnitid.

**D. Ioane** mother to the Emperour **Charles** the first.

The other children of **D. Ferdinand** and **D. Isabel** are mentioned in the Line of Castille.

**D. GERMAINE** second wife to king **Ferdinand**.

**D. John**, who died an infant.

The Vicountesse of **Eboli** a concubine, mother to

**D. Alphonso** of Arragon Arch-bishop of Saragossie.

Of another concubine

**D. Ioane** of Arragon wife to **D. Bernardin de Polesco**, Constable.

Of **D. Tots** of Bilbao, a concubine

**D. Marie** of Arragon a Nun.

By a Portugall of the family of **Pereira**.

**D. Marie** of Arragon a Nun.

## Line of Cattelogne.

**BERNARD**, Earle, Duke and Marques of Spaine vnder **Charles** the great, confirmed by **Lewis** the gentle, gouerned Cattelogne about the yere 795.

**D. GEOFREY** d'Arria Earle of Barcelona, vnder the French, in the yere 899.

**D. ALMIRA** his wife, a French woman, mother to

**D. Geoffrey** the hairie.

**D. SALOMON** Earle of Cerdagne, an vsurper, in the yere 898.

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Ex

*First proprietas Earle.*

D. GEOFFREY the haire obtained Cattellogne in proprietas, vnder the Soueraignty of France, in the yere 884, of *Charles the Grosse*.

D. N. a Fleming, his wife.

Children { D. *Rodolphus*, Abbot of Ripol, and Bishop of Virgel.

D. *Geoffrey*.

D. *Myr*.

D. *Seniofrid*, Earle of Virgel,

who was father to

One daughter.

{ D. *Borel*, Earle &c.

{ D. *Armingol*, Bishop of Virgel.

## II.

D. *Myr*, sonne to D. *Geoffrey*, in the yere 914: he held the Countie 15 yeres: his sonnes were

Children	D. <i>Seniofrid</i> , earle.	Bernard, called <i>William</i> the fat, Breake-yrone, father to	earle of Belsalu, father to	Bernard Guillel, also Earle of Belsalu.
	D. <i>Oliban</i> , called <i>Cheurette</i> , earle of Cerdagne & Belsalu, father to	D. <i>Geoffrey</i> , earle of Cerdagne, who had five sonnes.	D. <i>Raymond</i> <i>Geoffrey</i> , earle of Cerdagne, father to	D. <i>William</i> <i>Raymond</i> , earle of Cerdagne, father to
	D. <i>Myr</i> , Earle and Bishop of Gironne.	D. <i>Oliban</i> , Bishop of Vic, of Ossone.	D. <i>Geoffrey</i> <i>Guinard</i> , Arch-bishop of Narbonne.	D. <i>Henry</i> .
			D. <i>Berenger</i> <i>Geoffrey</i> , Bishop of Gironne.	D. <i>William</i> <i>Geoffrey</i> , Bishop of Virgel.

D. *Geoffrey*, Earle of Bergade.

## III.

D. *Seniofrid*, sonne to D. *Myr* in the yere 919: he ruled vnder the gouernment of his vnkle the Earle of Virgel, and alone, about 38 yeres.

D. *MARIA*, Infanta of Nauarre, daughter to the King D. *Sancho* *Abarca*, his wife, by whom he had not any children.

## IIII.

D. *Borell*, sonne to D. *Seniofrid*, Earle of Virgel, succeeded his cousin D. *Seniofrid* in the Countie of Barcelona, by right of intrusion: yet some pretend an insufficiencie in D. *Oliban*, brother to the deceased, in the yere 967.

D. *LEONOR*, his first wife, mother to

D. *Raymond* *Borel*.

D. *ARMERYDE*, or as some write, *Engelrade* his second wife.

Children { D. *Ermengauld*, Earle of Virgel.

D. *Borella*, a Nunne.

## V.

D. *RAYMOND* *Borell*, sonne to the Earle D. *Borel*, in the yere 993, and held the Earle-dome 24 yeres.

D. *SANCHA* his wife, mother to

D. *Berenger* *Borel*.

## VI.

D. *Berenger* *Borel*, sonne to D. *Raymond*, in the yere 1017: he ruled 18 yeres. The name of his wife is vncertaine.

Children { D. *Raymond* *Berenger*.

D. *William* *Berenger*.

D. *Sancho* *Berenger*, a Prince.

D. *RAY-*

## VII.

D. *RAYMOND* *BERENGER*, sonne to D. *Berenger* *Borel*, in the yere 1035: he ruled 41 yeres.

D. *RADALMVS* his first wife.

D. *Pedro* *Raymond*.

D. *Berenger* *Raymond*.

D. *ALMODIA*, a French Ladie, descended from those Lords which ruled then in Languedoc, by whom the house of Barcelona got the rights it hath had to Carcassone, and other lands in that country: by her D. *Raymond* had

{ D. *Raymond* *Berenger*, Earle.

{ D. *Lucia*, Countesse of Palsars by her marriage with the Earle of Arual.

## VIII.

D. *RAYMOND* *BERENGER* the Young, and third of that name, sonne to D. *Raymond* *Berenger* 2, in the yere 1076: he held the Earledome of Barcelona six yeres.

D. *ALMODIA*, daughter to *Robert* *Guichard*, Duke of Ponglia, his wife, mother to

D. *Raymond* *Arnould*.

## IX.

D. *RAYMOND* *ARNOULD*, sonne to D. *Raymond* *Berenger*, and 4 of that name, in the yere 1082: he ruled 48 yeres.

D. *DOVICE*, Countesse of Prouence, daughter to Count *Gilbert*, or *Gibert*, his wife, mother to

{ D. *Berenguela*, Queene of Castille.

{ D. *Raymond* *Berenger*, Prince of Arragon.

{ D. *Berenger* *Raymond*, Earle of Prouence.

{ One daughter, married to *Amery*, Vicont of Narbonne.

{ Another daughter, married to Count *Roger*, some call him *Bernard de Foix*.

## X.

D. *RAYMOND* *BERENGER*, sif of that name, sonne to D. *Raymond* *Arnould*, in the yere 1131: he ruled 31 yeres.

D. *PETRONELLA*, daughter to the king D. *Ramir* the Monke: by which marriage the realme of Arragon and the Earledome of Cattellogne, or Barcelona, were vnyted, they had

{ D. *Raymond*, who was afterwards called *Alphonso*, king of Arragon.

{ D. *Pedro*.

Children { D. *Sancho*.

{ D. *Adoncia*, Queene of Portugall.

{ One daughter, married to the Earle of Virgel.

D. *RAYMOND*, afterwards *Alphonso*, sonne to D. *Raymond* *Berenger* the first king of Arragon, and Earle of Barcelona, in the yere 1162: his posteritie is in the line of Arragon.

*Line of Portugall.*

HENRIS of Bescanson, or of Lorrain, was first Earle of Portugal about the yere 1090, by his marriage with D. *THERESA*, daughter to D. *Alphonso* the first king of Leon and Castille, to whom that country was given in dowrie: Their children were

{ D. *Alphonso* *Henriques*, King.

{ D. *Theresa* *Henriques*.

{ Another daughter, married to D. *Ferdinand* *Menides*.

*First King of Portugall.*

D. *ALPHONSO* *HENRIQUES* succeeding his father in the Earldome of Portugal in the yere 1112, tooke vpon him the title of King about the yere 1139, and held that country 72 yeres.

IIIIII III

D. *MAL-*

D. MALFADA MANRIQUE de Lara, his wife.

Children D. Sancho, King of Portugall.

D. Vrraca, Queene of Leon.

D. Theresa, Countesse of Flanders.

D. Malfada.

Bastard D. Pedro Alphonso.

## II.

D. SANCHE, first of that name, sonne to D. Alphonso, in the yeare 1184: he reigned 28 yeares.

D. ALBONCIA, or D. Vrraca, daughter to D. Raymond Berenger, Earle of Barcelone, mother to

D. Alphonso, King.

D. Ferdinand, Earle of Flanders.

D. Pedro, Earle of Vigel in Arragon.

D. Henrique.

Children D. Theresa, wife to D. Alphonso of Leon.

D. Malfada, Queene of Castille.

D. Sancho, a Nunne.

D. Blanche.

D. Berenguela.

By D. Maria Aires, a concubine, he had

Bastards D. Vrraca.

By D. Maria Peres of Ribera another concubine,

D. Theresa Sanches.

D. Gil Sanches of Portugall.

Bastards D. Constance Sanches.

D. Roy Sanches of Portugall.

## III.

D. ALPHONSO, second of that name, son to the King D. Sancho, in the yeare 1212: he reigned 11 yeares.

D. Sancho.

D. Alphonso.

D. Ferdinand.

D. Leonora, Queene of Denmarke.

By a concubine, a Moore,

D. Alphonso Martinis.

## III.

D. SANCHE, called Capello, second of that name, sonne to D. Alphonso the second, in the yeare 1223: he reigned in troubles vnto the yeare 1257; for then by reason of his incapacie, D. Alphonso, his brother, was called to the gouernement of Portugall.

D. MENCIA LOPES, his wife, by whom he had no children.

## V.

D. ALPHONSO, third of that name, brother to D. Sancho, of a Regent and Gouernor he made himselfe king of Portugall, about the yeare 1257, and reigned two and twentie yeares.

MARAVLT, or MATILDE, Countesse of Boullen, his lawfull wife, mother to

D. Ferdinand, or Peter.

D. Robert.

This king D. Alphonso, to be supported in his desires to raigne by the fauour of Castille, his lawfull wife Matilde Countesse of Boullen, and married, in her life time, with the daughter of D. Alphonso, called the Wife, king of Castille.

D. BEATRIX

D. BEATRIX, a bastard, his wife, by whom he had

D. Denis, king.

D. Alphonso.

D. Blanche, a nun.

D. Constance.

By a concubine, or by diuers, he had

D. Leonora.

D. Ferdinand Alphonso of Portugall.

## VI.

D. DENIS, sonne to D. Alphonso the third, in the yeare 1279: hee reigned 46 yeares.

D. ISABEL of Arragon, daughter to the king D. Pedro, his wife, mother to

D. Constance, Queene of Castille.

Children D. Alphonso, king of Portugall.

D. Pedro, Earle of Portalegre.

D. Alphonso Sanches, a bastard.

Some write, that the lawfull children of D. Denis and D. Isabel, were,

Isabel.

Constance.

Alphonso.

By concubines,

D. Alphonso, author of the familie of Albuquerque.

D. Peter, who gaue himselfe vnto learning, and made a booke of the great houses of Spaine.

Bastards D. John.

D. Ferdinand.

A daughter married to D. John de la Cerde.

Another daughter, a Nunne.

## VII.

D. ALPHONSO the fourth, sonne to D. Denis, in the yeare 1325: hee reigned thirtie two yeares.

D. BEATRIX of Castille, his wife, mother to

D. Pedro, King.

D. Maria.

D. Alphonso.

D. Denis.

D. John.

D. Leonora, or Isaura, Queene of Arragon.

## VIII.

D. PEDRO, I of that name, son to D. Alphonso 4, in the yeare 1357: he reigned 10 yeares.

D. BLANCHE, daughter to D. Pedro king of Castille, whom he put away, and then married

D. CONSTANCE, daughter to D. John Manuel, mother to

D. Lewis, who died an infant.

D. Ferdinand, King.

D. Marie, wife to D. Ferdinand of Arragon.

D. Beatrix died young.

By AGNES de Castro, a clandestine marriage,

D. Alphonso.

D. John.

D. Denis.

D. Beatrix, Countesse of Albuquerque.

D. Theresa Gallega, a concubine.

D. John, who was King.

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D. FERDINAND



## IX.

D. FERDINAND, sonne to D. Pedro, in the yere 1367: he raigned seuentene yeres.  
D. LEONORA TELLES de Meneſes, his wife.

D. Beatrice, queene of Castille.

By a concubine he had  
Isabella Countesse of Gijon.

## X.

D. JOHN first of that name, base sonne to the king D. Pedro: he got the realme by his sword, and also by election, in the yere 1385, from D. John king of Castille and D. Beatrice his wife. He was before master of Auiz. He raigned 49 yeres.

D. PHILIP of Lancaster, an English woman, his wife, mother to

D. Blanche.

D. Alphonso.

D. Edward king.

D. Pedro duke of Coimbra, who married D. Isabel of Arragon, and had

D. Henrique duke of Viseo.

D. Isabel duchesse of Bourgondie.

D. John Master of Saint James, father to D. Isabel, who was queene of Castille.

D. Ferdinand Master of Auiz.

Besides these lawfull children, the king D. John had by D. Agnes a concubine,

D. Beatrice Countesse of Arundel.

D. Alphonso Earle of Oren and Barcellos, and duke of Bragance.

## XI.

D. EDWARD sonne to D. John the first, in the yere 1433: he raigned five yeres.

D. LEONORA of Arragon, daughter to D. Ferdinand the first, his wife, mother to

Children D. Alphonso king.

D. Ferdinand Duke of Viseo,

who married D. Beatrice, daughter to his vncl D. John Master

of S. James, and had

D. Philip a daughter.

D. Leonora, wife to the Emperour Frederic the third.

D. Katherine.

D. Joane queene of Castille.

D. Leonora queene.

D. Dominike.

D. Emanuel king.

D. Isabel, Duchesse of Bragance.

## XII.

D. ALPHONSO first of that name, sonne to D. Edward in the yere 1438, and raigned 43 yeres.

D. ISABEL, daughter to his vncl D. Pedro Duke of Coimbra, his wife, mother to

D. John, who died young.

D. Joane.

D. John king, whom some call Ferdinand, and make him father to John which raigned, and adde a third sonne,

D. Henrique.

## XIII.

D. JOHN, second of that name, son to D. Alphonso the first, in the yere 1481: he raigned foureteene yeres.

D. LEONORA, daughter to D. Ferdinand Duke of Viseo, mother to

D. Alphonso, who died before his father.

By D. Anna de Atendosa, a concubine,

D. George, Master of S. James and Auiz.

D. EMANUEL

## XIII.

D. EMANUEL Sonne to D. Ferdinand duke of Viseo, by right, and also by the nomination of king John, was king of Portugall, in the yere 1495, and raigned 26 yeres: he married first:

D. ISABELL, eldest Daughter to D. Ferdinand and D. Isabel Kings of Castille and Arragon, mother to

D. Michel who lived little.

D. MARIA, Sister to the said D. Isabel his second wife, by whom hee had

D. John king.

D. Isabel Queene of Castille, and Emperesse.

D. Beatrice Duchesse of Sauoy.

D. Lewis, father to D. Anthony the Bastard chosen king after Cardinal Henry his vncl.

D. Henry Cardinall.

D. Alphonso Cardinall.

D. Catherine.

D. Ferdinand.

D. Edward husband to Isabel, daughter to John or Jaime, duke of Bragance, & had  
 { Marie duchesse of Parma.  
 Catherine duchesse of Bragance, wife to John second sonne to Theodosius.  
 Edward an after birth died in the yere 1576.

D. Anthony, he died soone after he was borne.

D. LEONORA, sister to the Emperour Charles the first, mother to

{ D. Charles, he died an Infant.

{ D. Marie, who being 56 yeres old, died at Lisbon in the yere 1578.

## XV.

D. JOHN, 3 of that name, Sonne to D. Emanuel king of Portugall in the yere 1521: he raigned thirty and sixe yeres.

D. CATHERINE, sister to the Emperour Charles, his wife, mother to

D. Alphonso.

D. Marie Princeesse of Castille.

D. Catherine.

D. Beatrice.

D. Emanuel.

D. Philip.

D. John Prince, father to D. Sebastian, & husband to D. Joane, daughter to the Emperour Charles.

D. Anthony.

## XXI.

D. SEBASTIAN Sonne to the Prince D. John, in the yere 1557, hee raigned one and twentie yeres, and died in Africke, leauing no heires.

## XVII.

D. HENRY, Cardinall, Archbishop of Eбора, sonne to the King D. Emanuel, in the yere 1578, he raigned about a yere and a halfe.

## XVIII.

D. PHILIP 2, king of Castille vnited the Realme of Portugall to Castille by force, after the Cardinals death, in the yere one thousand five hundred and eighty, and held it eightene yeres.

## XIX.

D. PHILIP the third doth now hold this Realme.

Archbishops

## Archbishops of Toledo.

<i>Eugenius</i> , first Archbhop.	<i>Campeius</i> .	<i>Iustus</i> .
<i>Pelagius</i> .	<i>Cintuacius</i> .	<i>Eugenius 2.</i>
<i>Patruuius</i> .	<i>Patron</i> .	<i>Eugenius 3.</i>
<i>Turibio</i> .	<i>Paramacius</i> .	<i>Illefonus</i> .
<i>Quince</i> .	<i>Peter 1.</i>	<i>Quiricus</i> .
<i>Vincent</i> .	<i>Celsus</i> .	<i>Julian 2.</i>
<i>Paulacius</i> OR <i>Pauist</i> .	<i>Montanus</i> .	<i>Seferbert</i> OR <i>Sicarius</i> .
<i>Natalis</i> .	<i>Julian 1.</i>	<i>S. Felix</i> .
<i>Andens</i> .	<i>Bacchand</i> .	<i>Gunderic</i> OR <i>Guttiere</i> .
<i>Astur</i> .	<i>Peter 2.</i>	<i>Sinderic</i> .
<i>Illicus</i> .	<i>Enfernius</i> .	<i>Opas</i> .
<i>Maorian</i> .	<i>Excipius</i> .	<i>Yrbain</i> .
<i>Caitin</i> .	<i>Adelphius</i> .	<i>Peter</i> , ? In the time of
<i>Melanicius</i> .	<i>Aurafius</i> .	<i>Cixilas</i> , the Moores.
	<i>Heladim</i>	

After the Conquest of the Citie of Toledo from the Moores.

<i>Bernard</i> Abbot of Sahagun.	<i>Blasco</i> .
<i>Raymond</i> .	<i>Gomez Manrique</i> .
<i>John 1.</i>	<i>Pedro Tenorio 4.</i>
<i>Celebrun</i> .	<i>Pedro de Luna 5</i>
<i>Gonfal 1.</i>	<i>Sancho de Roias</i> .
<i>Martw</i> .	<i>John de Contreras 4.</i>
<i>Roderigo Ximenes</i> .	<i>John de Cerezuela 5.</i>
<i>John 2.</i>	<i>Guttiere Gomes de Toledo</i> .
<i>Guttiere 2.</i>	<i>Alfonso Carillo de Acugna</i> .
<i>Pascal</i> .	<i>Pedro Gonfal de Mendoza</i> , a Cardinal
<i>Sancho 1.</i>	<i>Francis Ximenes</i> a Cardinal.
<i>Sancho 2</i> , Infant of Arragon.	<i>William of Croy</i> .
<i>Gonfal 2</i> , Cardinal.	<i>Alfonso Fonseca</i> of Azeneda.
<i>Guttiere 3.</i>	<i>John Tancra</i> , Cardinal.
<i>Gonfal 3.</i>	<i>John Martinez Silico</i> , Cardinal.
<i>John 3</i> , Infant of Arragon.	<i>Frier Barthelmew Carranza</i> de Miranda.
<i>Ximene de Luna</i> .	
<i>Gil Carillo d' Albornos</i> , Cardinal.	
<i>Blaise</i> .	

76. Archbishops.

### Moores.

Gouernors vnder the Miraluminis or kings of Affrike.

<i>Musa</i> in the year	714	<i>Heman</i> .
<i>Tarif</i> .		<i>Ausuman</i> .
<i>Abdulaziz</i> tooke the royal diademe at Seuille.		<i>Alhatan</i> .
<i>Aiub</i> , who restored the ancient Bilbilis, and called it Calataub.		<i>Manes</i> .
<i>Alabir</i> .		<i>Mahumet</i> .
<i>Adam</i> .		<i>Abderrahamen</i> .
<i>Abderrahamen</i> .		<i>Abdimeic</i> .
<i>Tabca</i> .		<i>Abubacar</i> .
<i>Adaisa</i> , <i>Alscaxzin</i> .		<i>Redoon</i> .
		<i>Toaba</i> .
		<i>Josepb</i> .

Soue-

*Soueraigne kings at Cordoua ouer the other Princes Moores, in Spaine, and did no more acknowledge the Miraluminis of Affrike.*

<i>Abderrahamen 1.</i>	year 757	<i>Zuleima</i> .	889
<i>Hizen</i> his sonne.	787	<i>Mahumet 3.</i>	993
<i>Hilithan</i> , sonne to <i>Hizen</i> .	794	<i>Hali</i> .	1001
<i>Abderrahamen 2.</i>	819	<i>Caein</i> .	1003
<i>Mahumet</i> .	839	<i>Hata</i> .	1007
<i>Almundir</i> .	874	<i>Abderrahamen</i> .	1007
<i>Abdalla</i> .	876	<i>Mahumet 4.</i>	1007
<i>Abderrahamen Almanfor 3.</i>	889	<i>Hizen 3.</i>	1009
<i>Hali Hasan 2.</i>	938	<i>Joar</i> .	1011
<i>Aizen 2.</i>	956	<i>Mahumet 5.</i>	1014

*After these there were great alterations and changes among the Moores in Spaine, sometimes free, sometimes vnder the kings of Maroc and Fez: in the end the realme of Granado was erected, the which continued about two hundred and fiftie years vnder the kings which follow.*

### GRANADO.

<i>Mahumet Aben Alhamar</i> .	1236	<i>Joseph</i> his Sonne.	1392
<i>Mahumet Mir Almu</i> his sonne.	1272	<i>Mahumet Aben Balua</i> .	1396
<i>Mahumet Aben Alhamar Aben Azar</i> .	1302	<i>Joseph</i> .	1407
<i>Mahumet Azar Aben Leuin</i> .	1309	<i>Mahumet Aben Azar</i> .	1423
<i>Ismael</i> .	2319	<i>Mahumet</i> the little.	1427
<i>Mahumet Sonne to Ismael</i> .	1322	<i>Joseph Aben Almas</i> .	1432
<i>Joseph Aben Amet</i> .	1334	<i>Mahumet Aben Ozmen</i> .	1445
<i>Mahumet Lagus</i> .	1354	<i>Ismael</i> .	1453
<i>Mahumet</i> the Vermeil reigned two yeres, but		<i>Muley Alboacen</i> .	1462
<i>Mahumet</i> whom he had expelled returned		<i>Mahumet Boabdalin</i> the little.	1482
<i>Mahumet Guadix</i> .	1379	<i>Muley Boabdalin</i> .	1485

*This king being expelled from Granado by Mahumet aboue named retained Malaga, Basa, Almerie, Guadix, and some other places, which were taken from them by the kings D. Ferdinand and D. Isabell, some by force, some by composition, Boabdalin, remaining sole king of Granado, whereof he was dispossest by the same kings.*

### The Titles and families of all the Dukes, Marquesses, and Earles of Spaine.

**T**He duke of Lerma and of Cea, Marquesse of Denia and Villamisar, Earle of Ampudia, of the Councel of state, cup-bearer, to king *Philip 3.* and master of his horse, commander Maior of Castille, captain general of the horse of Spain and of the holy church of Toledo, Adelantado, or Lord President of Calabria, the head of the house of *Rotas* and *Sandoval*: he holds his estate in Castille the old, and his house in Vailledol, and in Denia.

2 The duke of Frias, Marques of Berlanga, earle of Haro, Lord of the house of the seven Infants of Lara, Constable of Castille, Justice Major and high Chamberlain, he is the chiefe of the *Velasco*: his house is in Burgos, & his estate in Castille the old, in the mountains of Biscaia, and the hills of Soria; hee is of the Councel of State and President of the Councell of Italie, he had a daughter which was married to the duke of Braganca.

3 The duke of Medina of Riolecco, Marques of Modica, earle of Melgar, Vicont of Esterlin, Admiral of Castille, head of the *Enriques*: he holds his house in Vailledol, and his estate in the Prouince of Campos, Catalonia and Sicilia.

4 The

*They are called Grandes to whom the king gives leave to stand covered before him. All dukes be Grandes.*

- 4 The duke of Alua and Guefca, marques of Coria, Earle of Saluaterria, Vicor of Salduca, & lord of Valde Comeia, the chief of the familie of the *Toledos*: he holds his house in Salamanca, and his estate in Castille the old, towards Portugal, and the realm of Granada, he is Constable of Navarre, and a knight of the order of the Golden fleece.
- 5 The duke of Infantado, Marques of Cenete, and Santillana, earle of Saldanes, Lord of the royaltie of Manfanares, and head of the *Mendoza*: he hath his house in the cite of Guadalajara, and his estate in the kingdome of Toledo, and in the mountaines of Castille the old, and in the Prouince of Alaua, he is of the Councell of State.
- 6 The duke of Medina Celi, Marques of Cogolludo, Earle of Port Santa Maria, chief of the familie of *Los Cerdas*: his house is in Medina Celi, and his estate in the Realm of Toledo, & Seuille, he is of the bloud Royall of Castille.
- 7 The duke of Medina Sidonia, Marques of S. Lucar of Barameda, Earle of Niebra, head of the familie of *Guzmans*: he holds his house in Seuille, and S. Lucar, and his estate in the country of Seuille.
- 8 The duke of Escalona, Marques of Moya, earle of Esteuan, hee hath his house in the cite of Toledo, and his estate in the realm of Murcia, and in la Mancha, he is chief of the *Pachecos*, he was married vnto the sister of the duke of Braganca.
- 9 The duke of Osuna, Marques of Pegnafiel, earle of Vrena, head of the familie of *Girones*: he hath his house in Pegnafiel, and his estate in the realm of Seuille and in Castille.
- 10 The duke of Bejar, Marques of Gibralfon, earle of Benalcacar, head of the *Zunigas*, and of the familie of *Soto Maior*: he holds his house in Seuille, and his estate in the realm of Seuille and in Castille the old he is of the bloud royall.
- 11 The duke of Albuquerque, Marques of Biedma & Cuellar, earle of Ledefina, head of the familie of the *Cuenas*: he hath his house in Cuellar, his estate in Estremadura, and in Castille the old.
- 12 The duke of Alcala de los Gasules, Marques of Tarifa, earle of Hornos and Villamartin, chief President of Andalusia, he is of the familie of the *Enriques* and *Riberas*: hee hath his house in the cite of Seuille, and his estate in Andalusia, hee hath married with a daughter of the Marques of Castell Rodrigo, Verrey of Portugall.
- 13 The duke of Seta and Terranova, Earle of Cabra and Baena, head of the *Cordouas* & of *Aguilar*: he holds his house in Cordoua, and his estate in the kingdome of Naples, & in the realm of Cordoua: he is of the Councell of state, and chief steward to the Queene.
- 14 The duke of Najara, earle of Treuigno & Valencia, of D. Iohn, hee is head of the familie of the *Manriques de Lara*: he hath his house at Najara, and his estate in the Prouince of Rioje, and in the realm of Leon.
- 15 The Duke of Maqueda, Marques of Elche, head of the *Cardenas*: hee hath his house in Toledo, and his estate in the realm of Seuille.
- 16 The duke of Feria, Marques of Safra, head of the familie of the *Figueras*: he hath his estate in Estremadura, and his house in Safra.
- 17 The duke of Arcos, Marques of Lara, earle of Marchena, head of the house of *Panaces*: hee hath his estate in Andalusia, and house in Seuille.
- 18 The duke of Gandia, marques of Laiba, head of the familie of the *Borjas*: hee hath his estate and house in the Realm of Valencia.
- 19 The duke of Sogorue and Cordoua, marques of Comares, lord of Lucena, of the bloud royall of Arragon, and of la Cerde: hee hath his house in the cite of Valencia, and the Duchie of Sogorue in the realm of Valencia, and that of Cordoua, in Cartelonia, and his greatest estate in the realm of Cordoua.
- 20 The duke of Soma, earle of Panamos, admiral of Naples, his of the familie of the *Cardenas*: he hath his house at Belpuche, and his estate in the Realm of Naples.
- 21 The duke of Villahermosa, earle of Ribagorça, head of the house of *Arragon*: he hath his house at Saragoffe, and his estate in the realm of Arragon.
- 22 The duke of Veraguas, Admirall of the Indies, of the house of *Toledo*: hee keeps his house in the city of Saragoffe, and his estate in the realm of Arragon.
- 23 The duke of Pastrana, prince of Eboli, of the familie of *Silvas* in Portugall: he hath his house and his estate in Pastrana.
- 24 The

24 The duke of Franca villa, Prince of Melito, of the house of the *Mendozas*: hee hath his house in Franca villa, and his estate in the realm of Naples.

*Marquesses that be Grandes.*

- 1 The Marques of Astorga, Earle of Trastamara, Lord of the house of Villa Lobos, head of the familie of the *Oforros*: he hath his house in the cite of Astorga, and his estate in the realm of Leon, and in the prouince of Campos.
- 2 The Marques of Aguilar, Earle of Castagneda, of the house of the *Manriques* of Lara: he holds his house in Carriou and in Aguilar del Campo, and his estate in the mountains of Leon, and in the prouince of Campos.
- 3 The Marques of Montedon, Earle of Tendilla, one of the house of the *Mendozas*: he holds his house in Montedon, and his estate in Alcaria.
- 4 The Marques of Tavares, master of Montefia, of the house of *Borjas*: he may giue the habit of Montefia in Arragon and Valencia, and hath his estate and house in the said realmes.
- 5 The Marques of Pliego, Lord of the house of Aguilar, of the familie of *Figueras*: he hath his house in Cordoua, and his estate in the said realm, and in base Andalusia.
- 6 The Marques of Los Velez, Adelantado or President of Murcia, of the familie of the *Paredos*: he hath his estate and house in the realm of Murcia.
- 7 The Marques of Villa Franca, of the house of the *Toledos*: he keeps his house in Villa Franca, and his estate in the realm of Leon and Naples.
- 8 The Marques of Santa Cruz, of the familie of the *Bafanes*: he hath his house in Vifo, and his estate in the realm of Toledo.
- 9 The Marques of Frichilla, and of Malagon, he is brother to the duke of Braganca: he hath his estate in Castille, and is of the bloud royall of Portugall, and liues in the city of Eborra, in the same realm.

*Marquesses which be not Grandes.*

- 1 The Marques of Ayamonte, of the familie of *Swigas*: he hath his estate & house in Seuille.
- 2 The Marques of Benefa, of the house of *Aneltonada*.
- 3 The Marques of Viana, of the familie of the *Pimentelles*: he hath his house in Vailledolit, and his estate in Galicia.
- 4 The Marques of Cameraca, of Sauiore, and Earle of Riscla, he was Adelantado of Calorla: he is of the house of *Cobos* and *Mendoza*.
- 5 The Marques of Cortes, he is of the *Toledos*: he hath his house in Cortes, and his estate in the realm of Navarre.
- 6 The Marques of Monte-mior, of the house of *Silvas*.
- 7 The Marques of Guardia, Earle of Santa Euphemia, he is the chief of the familie of the *Mexias*: he hath his house in Salamanca, and his estate in Andalusia, and in the realm of Iden.
- 8 The Marques of Montes Claros, of the house of the *Mendozas*: he hath his house in Guadalajara, and his estate in Alcaria.
- 9 The Marques of Las Nauas, he is chief of the house of *Anilas*: he hath his house in the city of Auila, and his estate in the mountaines of Auila.
- 10 The Marques of Pola, he is of the familie of *Roxas*: he hath his house in Pola, and his estate in Castille the old.
- 11 The Marques of Stepa, of the house of the *Centuriones* at Genoua: he hath his estate and house in the realm of Seuille.
- 12 The Marques of Tabara, he hath his estate in Castille the old, & his house in Vailledolit.
- 13 The Marques of Villanoua del rio, of the familie of the *Enriques*: he holds his estate in Extremadura, and his house in Seuille.
- 14 The Marques of Villanoua of Barca rota, he is chief of the familie of *Puerto carveros*: he holds his house in Seuille, and his estate in Extremadura.
- 15 The Marques of Ladrada, of the familie of *Los Cuenas*: he holds his estate in the realm of Toledo.
- 16 The Marques of Canete, of the familie of *Mendoza*: he hath his house in the city of Cuencia, and his estate in the said prouince.
- 17 The Marques of Palcs, head of the *Peraltes*: he hath his house in Navarre, and his estate in the said kingdome.

- 18 The Marques of Fiomesta, of the familie of the *Benavides* and *Enriques*: he hath his house in Fiomesta, and his estate in the province of Campos.
- 19 The Marques of Valle, sonne to *Fernando Cortes*, who conquered Noua Hispania: hee hath his house in Seuille and in Mexico, and his estate in Noua Hispania.
- 20 The Marques of Aunon, he is of the *Hercera*: he hath his house in Madrid, and his estate in Alcaria.
- 21 The Marques of Ardale, Earle of Teba, of the house of *Guzman*: he keeps his house in Malaga, and his estate in the realme of Seuille.
- 22 The Marques of Beretta, of the familie of the *Cardenas*: he hath his house in Herena, and his estate in Estremadura.
- 23 The Marques of Villa Manrique, of the house of *Saniga*: he hath his estate & house in the realme of Seuille.
- 24 The Marques of Motta, of the house of *Villos*: hee holds his estate and house in Castille.
- 25 The Marques of Alcanices, of the familie of the *Henriques*: he hath his estate and house in Castille.
- 26 The Marques of Auila Fuente, of the house of the *Saniga*: he holds his estate and house in Castille.
- 27 The Marques of Molina.
- 28 The Marques of Fuentes.
- 29 The Marques of Villada, Maior domo, maior or chiefe Steward, to the king: he is one of the Grandes.
- 30 The Marques of Laguna, chiefe steward to the Queene: he is a Grande.
- 31 The Marques of Sarrauo.
- 32 The Marques of Caracena, of the familie of the *Carrillos* and *Toledos*.
- 33 The Marques of Cuellar.
- 34 The Marques of Saint Germain, of the house of *Mendoza*: his Marquisate is in Sauoy, and his house and estate in Castille: He is a gentleman of the kings chamber, and Lieutenant generall of his gards and of all the horse in Spaine.

*Earles which be Grandes.*

- 1 The Earle of Miranda, Marques of Baneza: he is head of the *Anellaneda*, and is of the familie of *Saniga* and *Basanes*: he holds his house in Penaganda villa suya, & his estate in Castille the old, and the mountaines thereof: he is of the Councell of State, and President of the chiefe of Castille.
- 2 The Earle of Benauent, the head of the *Pimentels*: he holds his house in Vailledolit, and his estate in the province of Campos: he is the greatest Earle in Spaine.
- 3 The Earle of Alua de Lita, of the familie of the *Henriques*: he hath his house in Zamora, and his estate in Castille the old, and Estremadura: he is of the Councell of State, and chiefe huntman to the king, and of his chamber.
- 4 The Earle of Lemos and Andrada, of Castro and Villalua, Marques of Sarria, and Lord of Villos, he is head of the house of *Castros*, and gentleman of the kings chamber, he is president of the councell of the Indies: he hath his house in Lemos and Sarria, and his estate in the realm of Galicia.
- 5 The Earle of Oropeza, he is of the house of *Toledo* and *Pacheco*: he hath his house at Talavera, and his estate in the realm of Toledo, he had one daughter and heire, who was married to a brother of the Duke of Braganes.
- 6 The Earle of Santa Gadea, he is head of the familie of the *Padillas*, he is a gentleman of the kings chamber, and Adelantado maior of Castille: he hath his house and estate in Castille.

*Earles which he not Grandes.*

The Earle of Salinas and Ribadeo, of the house of *Anellaneda* & *Mendoza*: he hath his house in the city of Burgos and his estate in Biscaye, & the mountaines, who (for that his predecessors did helpe much in the winning of Toledo) haue this priuiledge, to dine on twelfe day with the King, and the apparell, which the King wears that day, is his, with his best horse, and a Cup of gold. This house fell by mariage to *Roy Gomez de Silva*, Duke of Pastrana, who was second brother

- to him that died in Flanders, and Viceroy to him that holds the state at this day, he is president of the Councell of Portugall.
- 2 The Earle of Aguilar, head of the *Arrelanos*, and Lord of Los Cameros: he hath his house in the towne of Nilda, which is his, and his estate is in Rioja, and the Mountaines of Soria.
  - 3 The Earle of Aranda, Lord of Almuernin.
  - 4 The Earle of Alcaudette, of the house of the *Cordons*: he keeps his house in Alcaudette, and his estate in the realme of Cordova, he is also of Aluadia, of the house of Milan.
  - 5 The Earle of Alcamira, of the house of *Roxas*, and *Moscofo*: he hath his house in Alcamira and his estate in Galicia.
  - 6 The Earle of Citona, of the house of *Moncada* and *Heredia*.
  - 7 The Earle of Buendia, Lord of Duenas, of the house of *Acugna*: he hath his house in Acugna, and his estate in the Territorie of Campos.
  - 8 The Earle of Ayllon, of the house of *Leon* and *Cordova*.
  - 9 The Earle of Belchite, of the house of *Tiar*: he holds his estate in Valencia and Arragon.
  - 10 The Earle of Castellar, he is the chiefe of the *Sayavedras*: he hath his house in Seuille, and his estate in the same realme.
  - 11 The Earle of Castro Xeris, of the house of *Mendoza*, and *Manriques*: he hath his house in Castro Xeris, and his estate in the realme of Leon.
  - 12 The Earle of Chinchon, head of the house of the *Bobadillas*: he hath his house in Madrid, and his estate in the realme of Toledo.
  - 13 The Earle of Cifuentes, he is the head of the *Silvas*: hee hath his house in Toledo, and his estate in Alcaria.
  - 14 The Earle of Corunna, of the house of *Mendoza*: his house is in Guadaluja, & his estate in Alcaria.
  - 15 The Earle of Fuenfaldia, he is the head of the *Ayales*, his house is in Toledo, and his estate in the same realme.
  - 16 The Earle of Gelues, he is chiefe of the house of the *Portugals*, he hath his house in Seuille, and his estate in the same realme.
  - 17 The Earle of Gomera, which is in the Iland of the great Canarie, hee is of the house of the *Ayales*.
  - 18 The Earle of Gajan.
  - 19 The Earle of Oliuarez, he is of the house of *Guzman*: his house is at Seuille, and his estate in Andalusia.
  - 20 The Earle of Ierna, of the familie of the *Carrillos*.
  - 21 The Earle of Costania in Valencia.
  - 22 The Earle of Cortijo.
  - 23 The Earle of Fuentes of the house of *Heredia*: hee hath his estate in Arragon, and his house at Fuentes.
  - 24 The Earle of Luna, he is head of the *Quignones* and *Villasanes*, he hath his house and estate in the realme of Leon.
  - 25 Earle of Medellin, of the house of *Puerto Carrero*: hee hath his house in Medellin, and his estate in Estremadura.
  - 26 Earle of Montecagudo, he is of the house of *Mendoza*: he holds his estate in Raca of Arragon, and his house in Almasa.
  - 27 Earle of Monterey, of the house of *Azuado*: he hath his house in Salamanca, and his estate in Galicia.
  - 28 Earle of Ofomo, he is of the *Manriques*, his house is in Vailledolit, and his estate in Castille the old.
  - 29 Earle of Onante, head of the *Guenares*: he hath his house in Onante, and his estate in the province of Guipuscoa.
  - 30 Earle of Oliua, of the house of *Gentillas*.
  - 31 Earle of Morata, of the house of *Luna*.
  - 32 Earle of Orga, he is of the house of *Ayala* and *Mendoza*: and some say hee is the head of the *Mendosas*.
  - 33 Earle of Puebla, of the house of the *Cardenas*: he hath his house in Llerena, and his estate in Estremadura.

34 Earle of Palua, of the house of *Puerto Carrero*, he holds his house in Eccia, and his estate in the Realme of Cordoua.

35 Earle of Pliego, of the house of *Cerillo* and *Mendoza*: hee hath his house in Guadalajara, and his estate in the mountaines of Cuenca.

36 Earle of Puno in Rostro, he is head of the *Sarras*: he hath his house in Madrid, and his estate in the Realme of Toledo.

37 Earle of Paredes, of the house of *Manriques*: his house is in Paredes, and his estate in the prouince of Campos.

38 Earle of Ribadavia, of the house of *Auellaneda*: he hath his house in Vailledolit, and his estate in Galicia.

39 Earle of Ciruela, of the house of *Velasco*.

40 Earle of Saffago and Pina, of the house of *Arragon*: hee hath his house in Saragoffe, and his estate in the realme of Arragon.

41 Earle of Saint Esteuan, the head of the *Benanides*: his house is in the citie of Vuida, and his estate in the realme of Arragon.

42 Earle of Nauarre, of the family of the *Toledos*, & by his wife, by whom he had the estates, of the bloud of Nauarre, & of the *Beaumonts*: he hath his house and estate in the realm of Nauarre.

43 Earle of Bargas, he is head of the house of *Capotas*, his house is in Madrid.

44 Earle of Puebla of Montaluan, of the familie of the *Telles*, *Girones* and *Pachecos*: hee holds his estate in Estremadura.

45 Earle of Baileu, hee is of the *Ponfos* of Leon: his house is in Baileu, and his estate in the realme of Iacn.

46 Earle of Nieua, of the house of *Valefos*: he hath his house in Nieua, and his estate in Rioja.

47 Earle of Saluatierra, of the house of *Ayala*: he holds his estate in Castille the old.

48 Earle of Cosentraina, of the house of *Correlias*: his estate & house is in the realm of Valencia.

49 Earle of Galuas, of the house of *Los Cordas*.

50 Earle of Delda, of the familie of the *Colomas*: his estate & house are in the realm of Valécia.

51 Earle of Ficallo, of the house of *Gandia* and *Borias*: his countie is in Portugall, but his estate and house in the Realme of Valencia.

52 Earle of Cuba, he is of the *Henriques* of Almanca: he hath his countie in Portugall, and his estate and house in the realme of Castille.

53 Earle of Villamediana, he is of the familie of *Taxis*.

54 Earle of Barraja. 58 Earle of Villador. 62 Earle of Villalonso.

55 Earle of Mayalde. 59 Earle of Castarubios. 63 Earle of Rifco.

56 Earle of Mirabel. 60 Earle of Los Arcos. 64 Earle of Malpica.

57 Earle of Galue. 61 Earle of Salafar. 65 Earle of Torrejon.

#### *Vicounts, Admirals and Adelantados.*

Vicount of Peralta. Admirall of Arragon.

Vicount del Buli. Admirall of Valencia.

Vicount of Altamira. Adelantado Maior of Castille.

Vicount of Chelba. Adelantado Maior of Andalusia.

Admirall of Castille. Adelantado of Galicia.

#### *Masterhips of Orders of Knights.*

The great Masterhip of Saint Iames.

The Masterhip of Alcantara.

The masterhip of the Calatrava.

These three are annexed to the Crowne, and the king is perpetuall Gouvernor and Administrator of them.

These be the Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Admirals, and Adelantados, which are in the realmes of Castille, Leon, Arragon, Nauarre, Galicia, Valencia, and Cattelonia, and the other estates of Spaine, except Portugall. Some haue precisely set downe the reuenues of euery one of these Noblemen in their relations, as if they were immuable; but, being subiect daily to increase and decrease according to the disposition and frugality of the persons that enioy them, I haue wittingly omitted it; but thus much I dare boldly say, that the nobility of Spaine are exceeding rich in their yerely reuenues, and if I be not much deceiued, they are the richest subiects in reuenues of any country of Christendo me.

F I N I S.

## 50 A Table of the most memorable things contained in this

### *Historie of Spayne: wherein the Reader is to be aduertised*

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## F f N f S.

Excuse these grosse misprisions, and for the re? I put my selfe to your fauorable construction.  
I fol. 225. lin. 48. for daughter, reade wife. f. 859. l. 21. for, suffered the Portugals  
to take it, read, suffered it to be taken from the Portugals. In the marg. fol. 273. for  
delible, r. detestable. fol. 1144. r. by the *Moors*, f. 889. l. 12. for your husband,  
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